"easily room enough for 200 men...[to] live in..." and which can be considered "a village" in themselves are not equivalent to state houses, which did not take the place of dwellings on the Lower Coast. South considers the two structures to be of equivalent areas because the Gualdape dwelling was from 15 to 30 feet wide and 300 feet long and because the Escamacu state house was, according to his interpretation, 200 feet in diameter (which would give it more than four times the area of the Gualdape house and which would be considerably larger than the Pantheon's approximately 144 feet; even if the state house had innumerable supporting members, such an immense diameter is unlikely). The shape also was different since the Gualdape example was rectangular and the Escamacu example was circular. The Gualdape people are said to be idolatrous, to have ossuaries, to intertwine the tops of pine trees and to cover them with mats for a roof, and to use stone and mortar; the Coastal Indians were not idolatrous and are not known to have had stone ossuaries (a feature so extraordinary that it could not fail to have been noted by later travellers) or to have used stone and mortar for construction (a method no Southeastern tribe is known to have used). In addition, pine is too brittle a wood to "interlace" to form a roof that would need no "other covering." This house description alone is sufficient to eliminate the Allyon material from consideration here, and some of the other information derived from these accounts is more dubious.

[261]1666: 65-66. Their earlier state house at Santa Elena was mentioned by Merás 1577: 176.

[262]1789: 54, 26-27, & 57.

[263]328-329.

[264]Cf. Merás 1577: 176.

[265]Laudonnière 1562: 317-318.

[266]1562: 315.

[267]1779: 66-67. His use of the past tense probably indicates that he is describing the customs of Coastal Tribes; he generally used the present tense in writing about Indians.

[268]Sandford 1666: 76.

[269]p. 66.

[270]p. 74.

[271]1789: 34-40, 52-57; fig. 4.

[272]p. 315.

[273]p. 14.

[274]Quoted in Juricek 1962: 41. Cf. Swanton 1946: 638.

[275]Hilton 1663: 24; Ferguson 1682: 14; & Ashe 1682: 141. This was good promotional material, but seems nonetheless accurate.

[276]1569-1571: I, 99-120; cf. Childs 1940: 83-86. For the identification of Saincte Mathewe as San Mateo, cf. Swanton 1922: 51. The paragraphs quoted from Monardes in the text are from his pages 103-104. "Paume" is probably a Timucuan word, since that language has "p" as a common initial consonant (Gatschet 1877: 629), but it may instead have been the word used at Santa Elena.

[277]1663: 21.

[278]1682: 142.

[279]1569-1571: I, 126-127. Kerrigan (1970: 403, n. 53) gives the present designation of this plant as "Apios Americana (American potato bean), according to the investigations of H. H. Hume, former Provost of the College of Agriculture, University of Florida, and Erdman West, of the Department of Botany. 'In some of the botanies,' reported Dr. Hume, 'this plant is referred to as Apios tuberosa and Glycine apios.'"

[280]1723: 142. Since Monardes says they used it "for the moste parte every daie," the Indians bathed a great deal more frequently than Europeans (cf. Childs 1940: 93, n. 157).

[281]1680: 157-158.

[282]1682: 142-156; cf. Ashe and Mathews in the Bibliography.

[283]Ashe 1682: 142.

[284]p. 145. Cf. Hewatt for a statement that this is an Indian discovery (1779: 87).

[285]p. 147-148.

[286]1777: I, xv; cf. II, 57. Cf. Hudson 1976: 226.

[287]1714: 5. OED.

[288]1779: 73. Their physician-priest was believed capable of restoring imbalances in unseen forces which might be causing an illness and of counteracting witchcraft (cf. Hudson 1976: 336-365).

[289]Mathews 1671: 334.

[290]Rogel 1570.

[291]Sandford 1666: 77.

[292]1563: 92-93. Le Moyne pictures such vessels, including two which were probably borrowed from the Port Royal Indians (1591A: pl. 7; cf. pl. 42).

[293]1564: 116. Cf. Sandford 1666: 62.

[294]1663: 19; cf. Sandford 1666: 74.

[295]1567: 173.

[296]1701: 11.

[297]1771: I, xi; again, oyster shell probably indicates that he is referring at least partly to the coast.

[298]Cf. Fundaburk 1958: 53.

[299]Myer's map (1928: opp. 748), with Swanton's revisions (1928D: 748) is based largely on Mitchell's 1755 map (cf. Cumming 1962: pl. 59), which for the Lower Coast is too late to argue an Indian origin for a path.

[300]1567: 173.

[301]Cf. Ashepoo, 1672; Spoon, 1703.

[302]Mathews' c. 1685 map appears to show one, but instead indicates the boundary of marsh (although he uses dotted lines for both), and the two maps which are revisions of his have no path indicated north of Charleston Harbor. Thornton & Morden's c. 1695 map shows no path, and it was revised to show a path from St. Giles to New London. Crisp's 1711 map does not give a coastal path north of the Cooper either, and it was further revised to include a short path between Capt. Orvery's and Mr. Amory's. No path is likely to have existed between Charleston Harbor and the mouth of the Santee because the coastal waterways,

unlike the rivers, were usable almost at all times.

[303]Cf. Kussoe, 1674, & Mathews c. 1685.

[304]Mathews c. 1685.

[305]1585: 310.

[306]Hilton: 21. OED.

[307]Ashe: 156.

[308]Driver 1969: map 25.

In the Sloan Collection of the British Museum (Bushnell 1906: 678-679; illus. opp. 679) is a basket marked "1218 A large Carolina basket, made by the Indians of splitt canes, some parts of them being dyed red, by the fruit of the Solanum magnum Virginianum...rubrum, and black. They will keep anything in them from being wetted by the rain. From Coll. Nicholson, Governor of South Carolina, whence he brought them." (This information was supplied to me by Miss Beatrice St. Julian Ravenel, who also noted that the black has faded to brown.) Bushnell notes that Nicholson returned to England in June 1725 and died in 1728. Bushnell gives the dimensions as 520 mm long, 165 mm wide (max.), and about 95 mm deep. Adair (1775: 424; quoted by Bushnell) says that the South Carolinians most highly prized Cherokee baskets, and the dimensions he gives for them are close to the British Museum example. In addition, since Nicholson made a treaty with the Cherokee, he could easily have gotten an example of their work and so presumably did. Although this basket is probably not a Lower Coastal one, it is the best evidence of what theirs must have resembled, and it is important evidence that the baskets still being made in a few areas throughout the Southeast are entirely native in their technique and design (cf. White 1975 & Fundaburk & Foreman 1957: pl. 132).

[309]1562: 339; cf. Ashe 1682: 156.

[310]OED. 1562: 316; 1567: 174.

[311]1671: 334. A "toparch" is a "ruler or prince of a small district, city, or petty state; a petty 'king'"; OED.

[312]1710B: 80.

[313]1779: 71-72.

[314]Lawson 1701: 20. Assuming that the Etiwan and the San-

tee both spoke Siouan, they may have had little in common otherwise. Le Jau was most familiar with the Etiwan, and his statement can be taken to imply that their political structure was like that of other Coastal Tribes.

[315]1789: 23-24.

[316]Cf. Kussoe, 1671.

[317]Hewatt 1779: 71; Bartram 1789: 23-24.

[318]Cf. Kussoe, 1696.

[319]I am not aware of evidence which clearly indicates that influence was exercised by the chief of any tribe, inside or outside the Lower Coast, on another Coastal Tribe (see the chapter on "Intertribal Relations" herein). The autonomy of each Coastal Tribe is probable for many reasons that are included in several sections of this study and particularly because of the existence of separate state houses and ceremonial centers. Both are specifically mentioned for the Edisto and Escamacu. The "hut palace" of the Sewee was probably a state house. The Etiwan had their own ritual grounds and thus probably had their own state house as well. Since the Kussoe were a major tribe, they are likely to have had a large state house. The smaller tribes may have had separate political and religious structures or areas also because Europeans consistently accorded even the smallest separate treatment.

Baker argues that the chiefdom of Cofitachique had authority over the Coastal Tribes from the 16th through the late 17th Centuries (1974: 14). However, the influence of a chiefdom is not evident within the area. The social structure was essentially egalitarian, authority was weak, and goods were not collected for redistribution (cf. Service 1962: 173).

Baker discounts Maurice Mathews' explicit statement that Cofitachiqui did not have authority over most Coastal Tribes by saying that the statement conflicts with the implications of Spanish sources (about tribes whose locations are uncertain) and with a statement by Henry Woodward. Woodward wrote Sir John Yeamans on 10 Sept. 1670 that at "Chufytachyqj" he had "there contracted a leauge wth. ye Empr. & all those Petty Cassekas betwixt us & them...." This statement, especially out of context, can be taken to imply that an emperor had authority over all Carolina tribes, and this is the interpretation that Yeamans gave it. He wrote to the Lords Proprietors on 15 Nov. 1670 that the Province had "contracted a perpetuall Peace and Friendshipp by Articles ratified betwixt them ["the Natives"] and their

supreeme Cossique." Lord Ashley must have doubted this extravagant claim because he wrote to William Owen on 10 Apr. 1671 and asked him for definite information about the extent of the political authority: "particularly I desire you to send me word whether the Indian Cassiques your neighbours be absolutely supreame Lords, in theire owne Territorys, or else be Tributary Princes and pay subjection and homage to any greater King who is theire Emperor." Maurice Mathews responded to Ashley's inquiry and stated flatly that he found "noe tributaries" (emphasis added) among the tribes he listed. His list includes most of the Coastal Tribes and "Cotachicach" as well. There is also no doubt about the meaning of the word "tributary" because of Ashley's use of it (Cheves 1897: 187, 218, 313, & 334). Baker admitted this evidence seemed to preclude that the Coastal Tribes were involved in a chiefdom, but he nevertheless showed them as subjects of Cofitachique in his Fig. 1.

Following Service, Baker emphasizes the importance of "central collection" as a function of chiefdoms, but the two examples he gives for the Lower Coast do not even imply that food was being collected to be sent to Cofitachiqui (pp. 37 & 126). He stresses "pervasive inequality" as a major characteristic of chiefdoms, but this situation simply did not exist on the coast. The authority that is described by DeSoto's chroniclers and Lawson and the presence of large mounds are obvious indications of centralized leadership in the interior of South Carolina; however, all of the Spanish and English treaties and cessions would have been not only unnecessary, but void if the Coastal Tribes had been subject peoples.

[320]1891: 86-87.

[321]1789: 32.

[322]Hudson (1976: 268) says, "Although women could not hold offices, they could and did participate in councils." Swanton (1946: 814-815) refers to "female chiefs" as "fairly common" among Algonquian tribes and notes the presence of "powerful chieftainesses" among Siouan tribes.

[323]Locke 1672: 386.

[324]Shaftesbury 1672B: 399. Which tribe was uncertain, but White's surmise that it was the Santee is with good reason (1975).

Such democratic procedures must have profoundly affected the development of Western political thought. Milligen-Johnston (1763: 518), to cite a local example, contrasted the situation between the English and Indians generally:

> ...I must add, that the Indian nations will not allow themselves to be subjects of Britain...; subjection is what they are unacquainted with in their own state, there being no such thing as a coercive power among them: Their chiefs are such only in virtue of their credit, and not their power: there being, in all other circumstances, a perfect equality among them.

[325]1707A: 54; 1724: 496.

[326]1570: 327-328.

[327]Laudonnière 1562: 316.

[328]Hewatt 1779: 72.

[329]Hewatt 1779: 70.

[330]1709: 61.

[331]p. 289.

[332]Dennis 1711: 8; Le Jau 1710B: 80; Hewatt 1779: 69. Hudson emphasizes a basically different ethic than capitalism: "...the Indians placed no value on the accumulation of wealth. They held, in fact, a contrary value. While some of them were undoubtedly better off than others, the difference would never have been very great because to them a good person was a generous person, and one of the worst things of which a person could be accused was stinginess" (1976: 311-312).

[333]Laudonnière 1562: 315.

[334]1707: 61.

[335]1779: 69-70.

[336]Warfare in the Southeast was a relatively informal system of retribution, as Hewatt notes here and elsewhere (72). Ordinarily all that was required to begin a "war" or, more accurately, a raid was a grievance and a warrior who was willing to act as a leader. Each Southeastern tribe generally had a "war chief" who was always ready to form a raiding party. The political leader was ordinarily expected to argue in favor of peace.

War might be called off because of the slightest bad omen (Hudson 1976: 244). Presumably, the Sewee "deserted" Barnwell in 1712 because something had convinced them that the timing was

not right.

[337]1617-1620: 34-37.

[338]1577: 201.

[339]Jaime Martinez' second-hand account of torture during the Escamacu War may be correct, but he is obviously not entirely reliable (cf. Vargas Ugarte 1935: 143 & 146).

[340]Hewatt 1779.

[341]Cf. Escamacu, 1577.

[342]Cf. Stalame, 1562; Kiawah, 1580; Edisto, 1663; Sewee, 1670; & Escamacu, 1670.

[343]1666.

[344]Cf. Escamacu, 1577-1580.

[345]Lauber 1913: 25-27, 42; Driver 1969: 315.

[346]Ashe 1682: 156.

A letter of Henry Woodward to John Locke dated 12 November 1675 contains information about religious practices and a variety of other subjects. Since this letter has not been previously published and since it is of exceptional importance, it will be quoted intact instead of dividing it into segments by topic:

> Sr.
> I have made ye best inquiry yt. I can concerning ye religeon & worship Originally & customes of our natives especeally among ye Port Royall Indians amongst whom I am best acquainted. they worship ye Sun & say they have knowledge of Spirits who appeare often to them. & one sort there is who abuses their women when he meets them oppertunely in ye woods ye which women never after conceive. they acknowledge the sun to be ye imedeate cause of ye groth & increse of all things whom likewise they suppose to be ye cause of all deseases to whom every yeare they have severall feast & dances particularly appointed. they have some notion of the deluge, & say yt. two onely were saved in a canoe who after the flood found a red bird dead. the which as the pulled of his feathers between thir fingers they bless them from them of which came Indians each thee [?] a severall tribe &

of a severall speech. which they severally named as they still were formed. & they say these two knew the waters to be dried up by ye singing of ye Said red bird & to my knowledg let them bee in ye woods at any distance from ye river they can by ye varying of ye sd. birds note tell whether ye water elbeth or floweth. they seem to acknowledge ye mortality of ye soul in allowing to those yt. live morally honest a place of rest, pleasure & plenty. & contrarywise to ye others a place [end page 1] wear it is very cold & they are fed wth. nothing but nuts & acornes setting upright in their graves. they say they had knowledge of our comeing into these parts severall yeares before wee arrived. & some of them in ye night have heard great noise & as it were falling of trees one sort of them pretend to cure deseases by sucking ye part affected which is but a ffallacy they makeng their owne mouths bleed pretend to have sucked ye said blood from their patients. another sort dose accquire great knowledge in hearbs & roots, which they impart onely to ye next akin. had I not bin upp in ye maine I should have sent some now but shall by ye next oppertuinty another sort have power over ye ratle snake soe fair as to send one severall miles over rivers & woods to bite a particular Indian which has bin don since our being here & ye said Docter kild by ye relatives of ye other at whose death severall snakes came & liked up his blood. the westoes amongst whom I now am whorship ye [de]vel in a carved image of wood. they are seated in a most fruitfull soyle and are a farr more ingeneous people than our coast indians. I hope before my returne to effect yt. which will bee worth my tarrying. & shall give you a farther account by the next.

Yrs. to comand.

Henry Woodward.

ffrom Westoe towne

Noubr. 12. 1675.

Although this letter was written from the town of an inland tribe, most of the information is probably about the coast because he begins by saying that he is writing about "...our natives especeally among ye Port Royall Indians amongst whom I am best accquainted"and because he refers to tides.

"Our coast indians" is a convenient designation providing justification for my persistent use of "Coastal Tribes." Since

no 17th Century Indian name survives for the Coastal Tribes as a group, since Adair used four synonyms, and since almost every reference to more than one tribe gives the name of each one separately, the few 18th Century uses of "Cusabo" are almost surely another use of euphemism.

I am grateful to Agnes Baldwin for making me aware of this letter and to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for permission to publish it (Lovelace Collection, MS Locke C-23, pp. 102-104; microfilm in SCHS).

[347]Crafford 1683: 7.

[348]1789: 20-21.

[349]1682: 15.

[350]1789: 26. Idolatry was relatively uncommon in the Southeast, but was practiced by the Natchez (whose upper class may have been of Central American origin; Brinton 1867: 16-18) and some Florida tribes (cf. the letter of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés dated 15 Oct. 1566 and translated in Lyon 1976: 118).

[351]1779: 72. Cf. Hudson 1976: 126.

[352]1723: III, 377-379.

[353]1743: V, 703.

[354]1570: 328.

[355]p. 330.

[356]1709: 61.

[357]1562: 315.

[358]1779: 72.

[359]Hudson (1976: 120-183) describes a world view in which all animate beings, inanimate objects, and conceptualized forces were categorized in separate, mutually exclusive groups. Mixing fire and water, for example, created an imbalance in the orderliness of all existence, and an Indian would suffer misfortune until order was at least symbolically restored. Revenge was considered possible from every conceivable source. It ordinarily would result from disrespectful treatment of a force, but the same ill effect could be initiated through witchcraft. This world view was supported by an elaborate mythology.

[360]1720: 495; 1725: IV, 493-494.

[361]1789: 27.

[362]p. 7-8.

[363]1710A: 73.

[364]Lawson 1701: 21-22.

[365]Cf. Yarrow 1880 & 1881.

[366]1708: 45.

[367]1723: III, 377-379.

[368]See the notes on cassine in the section on medicine herein. Cf. Hudson 226-228 and 365-375.

[369]1779: 73.

[370]1663: 24; 1682: 145.

[371]1577: 194. This date does not seem to correspond to the appearance of a new moon, which in June of 1576 was on the 26th rather than the 17th. This information was supplied by Dr. Owen Gingerich, Professor of Astronomy and History of Science, Harvard University, and he consulted Herman H. Goldstine's New and Full Moons, 101 B.C. to A.D. 1651 (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 94). Dr. Donald Drost suggested that I contact Dr. Gingerich.

[372]1577: 239.

[373]pp. 328-329. The new moon in June of 1570 occurred on the 3rd; the ceremony may have coincided with the next new moon on July 3rd.

[374]1562: 314-315. Cf. Edisto, 1562, for the full account.

The busk ceremony and fasting at other times of the year indicate that ritual purification was probably one of their principal concerns, as it definitely was among Southeastern tribes whose beliefs are better known. Hudson refers to "their almost obsessive concern with purity and pollution"(1976: 121). If one measure taken for purification was ineffective, others were tried until an illness usually subsided or a drought inevitably ended (and reinforced a belief in the effectiveness of the measures taken).

[375]1570: 328-329.

[376]Le Jau 1712: 105-106. Cf. Varnod 1723: III, 377-379.

[377]p. 334.

[378]1710B: 78. Milliken-Johnson wrote in 1763 that "there are very few religious ceremonies or mysteries in use among them [all Southeastern Indians]; and it is observable, that the tribes nearest to our settlements, and with whom we have the freest communication, have still fewer than the others" (517).

[379]Le Jau 1710: 68-73; cf. Etiwan, 1710.

[380]For two unconfirmed reports, cf. Le Jau 1716: 175 & Varnod 1723: III, 377-379.

[381]Hewitt 1939: 149-152.

[382]Ashe 1682: 147-148; Catesby 1771: I, XV.

[383]1789: 26.

[384]1723: III, 377-379. From Varnod's location in St. George's Parish, the King was probably a Kussoe Indian.

[385]1666: 66.

[386]1670: 165-166.

[387]1507: 175; cf. 176.

[388]Laudonnière 1562: 314.

[389]Crafford 1683: 6-7.

[390]1562: 311.

[391]Rogel 1570: 328-329. Driver 1969: map 18.

[392]1570: 327.

[393]These were the patterns for most of the Southeast; cf. Driver 1969: 230-231, map 31.

[394]For the major implications, cf. Hudson 1977: 184-218. A matrilineal kinship system implies, for example, that the houses belonged to women and so when a man married, he went to live with his wife and her relations. Likewise, inheritance of

property and authority was generally through the mother rather than the father so that insofar as political authority was inherited, it probably went to a chief's sister's son rather than to his own son. This is probably why Sandford was asked by the Escamacu chief to take his "Sister's sonne" to live for some months among the English (1666: 78).

[395]1671: 334; cf. Kussoe, 1671.

[396]1570: 327-328.

[397]1724. Cf. Driver 1969: 224 & 241, and Hudson 1976: 200.

Few children were probably born to unmarried women because of abortion, but the ones who were would presumably have been brought up within the extended family in the same way as other children. Since in matrilineal societies, the father is less significant for the upbringing of his child than a brother or other relative of the mother, the presence of the father was comparatively unimportant. Divorce was common, and when it occurred, the children seem invariably to have remained with the mother and her family. Marriage had few of the consequences associated with it in European societies.

[398]1709: 34-36. Similar sexual customs existed among most Southeastern Indians, including the Creeks, Natchez and Cherokee; "the Cherokee women had the same sexual freedom that a Cherokee man had" (Hudson 1976: 232, 201, 269).

[399]1715: 37.

[400]1711: 5-9.

[401]Excerpt from a letter of Juan Rogel, 25 July 1568 (pp. 82-85):

> ...since I intended to learn the Indians' dispositions, the Captain took me to a town called Escamacú, five leagues [c. 20 miles] distant from St. Helen. Here the Indians came out in large numbers to welcome me. Despite the ill-treatment they receive from the soldiers at Fort Oristan [Fort San Felipe], they seemed well-disposed. I shall relate what I saw. While the captain who brought me was talking to some Indians, he began to appease them and give them satisfaction for certain wrongs committed by some soldiers from Oristan. That very night at midnight, we heard the outcries of some Oristan Indian women who were imploring

> the garrison at Escamacú to restrain the soldiers who had raided Oristan and captured it. As we happened to be present, the Captain sent a soldier of our company to reprehend them.

This unauthorized raid took place in early June. In the same letter, Rogel had already mentioned that "...wherever we Spaniards go, we are so proud and haughty, that we crush all before us. Thus the soldiers at the fort [Carlos] have begun to treat the natives as if they had been conquered in war."

[402]A less detailed, but more contemporanious letter written by Rogel from Santa Elena on 11 December 1569 includes the following relevant passages:

> Shortly after we arrived here, in the middle of August, the [Viceprovincial] Father sent me to reside in a tribe of Indians who are called the Orista, five leagues from Sancta Elena, where they built me a church with a house; I have since resided there with three servants that I took with me to teach me the language, alone with the Indians, without escort by soldiers. And certainly thus far everything is fine with them, glory to God, and I hope that they will be converted if we stay here, since I see in them a very natural goodness and the absence of the canonized abominations that the Indians on this coast of Florida display, and their way of living is so ordered and harmonious that [in order to convert them] it is not necessary to touch or change anything, even should they become Christians. Because they do not have more than one woman [wife] apiece and they all work, and they have their town hall, where the most ancient among them gather to govern the tribe, and there determine the laws and govern whoever is in their republic [republica], and they live with such great order and harmony, that living among them, I don't see in them in anything concerning their customs, anything worthy of reprehension, except that they are great gamblers, who play a dice game whenever they can; and they are very mercantile, and know very well how to buy and sell, and they take their dealings inland, carrying with them things that aren't available there and bringing back things that aren't available here. In addition I don't see in them the vice of cheating; and if they do something it is because the Spaniards have taught it to them. They do not do evil to those who do not do it to them; and so I live very securely among them; and if they have killed Spaniards, it is because of very great provocation by them, or at least, that is what they have told me. They

> seem to have for me great affection and when they have affection for one, they maintain me and my companions, giving to us without being asked and without my having given them anything in return, for it is the custom among them not to receive anything for food. Since there isn't sufficient language to preach to them the sainted Evangelism we are prevented from teaching it to them now, and for this reason we have not begun on purpose to teach them any more than to give them to understand the unity of God and the reward and sorrow of the other life, giving them to understand first that we have body and soul, and that the soul does not die. And certainly, Senor, I have seen in them that the fear of hell makes such an impression as to cause tears to spill, when we tell them that there they will be like a burning torch if their souls go to hell. This is, Senor, what we have done so far, since I have been at this post. I am very contented among them, glory be to God, and have great desire to finish learning this language. [pp. 399-401]

In another section of the same letter, Rogel gave his reason for being among his fellow Spaniards instead of among the Indians: "I come here [Santa Elena] sometimes to confession and to comfort myself and my beloved Fathers and Brothers, and especially now I have come because all the Indians have left to harvest acorns in the hills [montes] and to hunt for food, since they don't give me it there" (p. 402). He also refers to the Jesuit efforts in Guale to learn the language there and possibly also to learn the language of Santa Elena from Santa Elena Indians who were in Guale; this inference is uncertain, however:

> After writing the above, I received a letter from the Viceprovincial Father who told me how God had been served by taking to Himself Brother Domingo Vaez, who was the questava in Guale with Father Sedeno, whom we had all been watching because he knew how to speak the language well; and the Viceprovincial Father was determined to put him on terra firma so that he could begin to preach; and he was now the master of the language for all of ours who were there [el maestro de la lengua de todos los nuestros que allí están]; and he translated all the orations and the Christian doctrine in them [en ella], and rendered them so artfully so that they would be easy to learn....

(Translated by Gail Morrison from the Spanish version in Zubillaga 1946: 398-404.)

[403]Among the McCrady Plats in the Charleston County Office of the Register of Mesne Conveyance is a 1787 copy of a plat for land said to have been purchased from the "Hewan Nation" (Etiwan) by John Comming. It is shown bounding east on King Street or Broad Road, west on St. Philip Street, south to the depth of lots facing the southern side of Wentworth Street, and north to the depth of lots facing the northern side of Liberty Street (altogether an area of about two blocks). The date of the original is unknown, but is probably 1685 (Stoney 1960: 125-126), if not earlier. (Plat 161; reference supplied by John Norris to Wes White, who in turn passed the information on to me.)

[404]Cheves' note "& c." indicates an omission from Rivers 1856: 372-373. The omitted passage of the Journal added that the Kussoe:

> ...have been observed to make more than an ordinary preparation for some such purpose, and have altogether withdrawn themselves from that familiar Correspondence with our people which formerly they used, whereby the more friendly sort of Indians are very much discouraged and retarded from entertaining any Amity or trading with our people, by all which and many other evident consequences and hostile postures of the said Indians, It is adjudged by the [end 372] Governour and Council aforesaid, that the said Indians are endeavouring and contriving the destruction of this settlement and his Majesties subjects therein, for the prevention of which, It is advised and resolved and thereupon....

[405]Possibly, "Cofitachiqui" (emphasis added) means "Kussoe-Cherokee" or the "kussoe who do not speak Muskhogean." The "-chiqui" suffix may have been added to distinguish the Coosa of Alabama (who did speak Muskhogean) from the tribe with a similar name which presumably did not speak Muskhogean. Assuming that Cofitachiqui and Kussoe are synonymous, at least in this instance, the Cofitachique shown on Mathews' c. 1685 map on the west bank of the Wateree River may be remnants of the Kussoe (who had lost most of their land in the 1675 cession; some, though, were still in the area in 1684 and most, if not all, seem to have been there in 1711). The Kussoe tradition (1743) of having once had one thousand warriors may have some basis; smallpox may have caused them to decline drastically, and other causes such as war and enslavement may have kept them from recovering. The nearly equal number of female as male captains (1675) suggests that a female chief, as among the St. Helena and Ashepoo (p. 59), may once have reigned (the Queen of Cofitachiqui).

The location of Cofitachiqui when De Soto encountered it

would still be an open question. No mound is known to correspond to the major one mentioned in the De Soto narratives, and the site mentioned by Pardo may be a different one (particularly if his league is equivalent to nearly four miles; see footnote 51).

"Cherokee" (the English transcription) may be the same as "Chicora" (a Spanish transcription probably of Siouan pronounciation; p. 196). "Chiquola" (a French transcription, p. 131) is much closer to "Chiluques" (a Spanish transcription of Muskhogean pronounciation; p. 191). This would not automatically mean that the Chiquola of Laudonnière were the Cherokee Nation or that the Chicora were the Kussoe because the word Cherokee was being employed by all Muskhogean speakers simply to mean "non-Muskhogean speaker."

[406]On 26 December 1673 Gabriell Arther accompanied a group of Tomahitan Indians on an overland raid of an Indian town which he said was about six miles from the English town of "Porte Royall." Arther does not describe an English town; he only mentions one house. Even so, he must not have been in Beaufort County, but instead close to Charleston because no Englishman is likely to have already built a house so far from the protection of the settlement. Arther reported that an English trader was at the Indian town, and the trader was allowed to escape. "They made a very great slaughter upon the Indians and about sun riseing they hard many great guns firing off amongst the English" (Wood 1674). Numbers of Englishmen being nearby make it even more likely that Arther was not at Port Royal. From the date, this was probably one of a series of raids credited generally to the "Westoes" or enemies of Lowcountry Tribes.

[407]Lord Cardross, Dunlop, and others wrote the Governor and Council of Charles Town the bearer of their 25 March 1684 letter (in Rivers 1856: 407-408) would

> informe what sinistrous dealings Wina & Antonio, two noted Indians, have taken, both to stirr up the Indians in our part agt. another & likewise agt. ourselves, of which wee doe by this complaine & expect yor. justice, of whom wee likewise heare that they entertaine a Spanish Indian, whom wee have ground to apprehend to bee a spye sent from Sta. Augustine, Sta. Maria or thereabout.