

Intertribal Relationships

French went south of the Savannah River, and there they received the food they needed.¹⁰² Thus, the Indians north and south of the Savannah seem to have been on good terms, but not for long.

When the Spanish were on their way to Port Royal in 1566, they stopped at Guale and found that the Guale had declared war on the Edisto for a trivial reason. The Guale readily accepted the Spaniards' peace proposals because "the Indians of Santa Elena were more powerful than they...."

In 1576 the Guale turned from enemies of the Edisto to become their allies, and they helped the Indians of Port Royal to drive the Spanish from the area. The Guale Indians sought an alliance with the Escamacu--that is, they did not have one: "They sent them gifts as well as an account of the injury they had received."¹⁰³ The Escamacu did not join with the Guale simply because they were asked to, however. The Escamacu started the war only after the Spanish had "treated them in such wise that, with the news which they had of what had been done to those of Guale...", they feared even worse treatment than they had already suffered.¹⁰⁴

The Spanish soon won the Guale back to them. By 1577 the Guale turned on their Indian allies and killed a chief, probably Escamacu himself.¹⁰⁵ When in 1598 the Spanish were back at war with the Guale, they appealed to the Escamacu to aid them, and the Escamacu welcomed the opportunity. This treachery probably is one reason the St. Helena sided with the English against the Yemassee in 1715-1716 since some Guale had come to South Carolina along with the Yemassee.

An even more ambitious alliance was attempted in 1577, although the French may deserve some of the credit. Indians from Guale and Port Royal went to St. Augustine to try to convince the Indians there to join them and "with the help of the French" (shipwrecked in 1577) to drive the Spanish from the Southeast. The Spanish already had replaced the destroyed San Felipe with Fort San Marcos, and the St. Augustine Indians declined.

The Indians of Port Royal had contacts even further to the west than to the south. In 1580 Menéndez Márques was still trying to track down the last French survivors of the 1577 shipwreck, and he learned that some of them were west of the Appalachian Mountains.¹⁰⁶ In a letter from Santa Elena, he says "The Indians, because of the fear they have, offered to deliver to me, and so they went to seek them, and brought me the captain, who was on the other side of the mountain ridge, one hundred and twenty leagues from here..." (about four-hundred-eighty miles). This

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implies that the Coastal Tribes were able to travel safely among the Cherokee. In addition to captives, they traded cassena,¹⁰⁷ salt and fish,¹⁰⁸ and probably shells and other material to inland tribes, further increasing their contact and cultural diffusion.

In 1604 a chief named Orista was staying at St. Simons Island. He was heir to the leadership of a Guale tribe. If he was also chief of the Edisto, which is not impossible, this does not mean that the two tribes had or would be combined. They spoke different languages and even if they did have the same chief, which is uncertain, they did not necessarily have more in common than the German Hanover and English Britain of George I.

Little is recorded about relations between the Coastal Tribes and the Indians to the north of them. In 1666 the Kiawah, Edisto, and St. Helena were not concerned that the English and Indians at Cape Fear were in a war. Sandford says that these three tribes "knewe wee were in actuall warre with the Natives att Clarendon and had killed and sent away many of them, For they frequently discoursed with us concerning the warre, told us the Natives were nought...."¹⁰⁹

Sandford also mentions that the Cassique of Kiawah "used to come" to trade at Cape Fear, implying more than one trip.¹¹⁰ The Cacique must have been able to travel north in safety despite the fact that the Kiawah had no connection with the Indians at Cape Fear. No information has been found to indicate that the tribes of the Lower Coast ever had any special relationship with a tribe north of the Santee.

Woodward says he was in "Chufytachyqj" in 1670, and "I there contracted a leauge wth. ye Empr. & all those Petty Cassekas betwixt us & them...."¹¹¹ Out of context his meaning seems to be that the tribes between Charleston Harbor and the Wateree River were all in league with the Emperor of Cofitachiqui and that by winning the Emperor over he automatically gained the alliance of the others. Assuming for a moment that this is his meaning, the tribes directly in between were only the Etiwan and Santee. Their alliance is highly unlikely because the Santee were so against the Province during the Yemassee War that they were totally "exterpated,"¹¹² while the Etiwan remained allies of the English (as did the other Coastal Tribes except for the Sewee later). Woodward's entire letter is exceptionally cryptic, and he may have intended to indicate that he made additional alliances on his way to or from seeing the Emperor. Although any statement by Woodward carries authority, this implication of an alliance is not sufficient to outweigh all of the earlier evidence.

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Adair probably refers to the Indians of the Lower Coast when he says "as they had no connection [emphasis added] with the Indian nations, and were desirous of living peaceably under the British protection, none could have any just plea to kill or inslave them."¹¹³ His statement that they had "no connection" implies that they were unrelated to the traditional enemies of the Indians allied with the French. If they could have been considered Muskogean, there might have been some excuse for attacking them.

There seem thus to have been no certain connections with tribes outside the Lower Coast, but it cannot be doubted that the Coastal Tribes were thoroughly exposed to and well acquainted with customs far beyond their boundaries. Since they are known to have travelled as far south as St. Augustine, as far north as Cape Fear, and nearly five hundred miles inland, they were not culturally isolated, neither from one another nor from most other tribes of the Southeast.

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At least two entirely separate languages were probably spoken between the Santee and the Savannah, and possibly more. One was probably Siouan as will be established later. Another was possibly a dialect of Muskogean, but it may be an essentially separate language. Without texts, the relationship of this second language, that of the Port Royal Indians, to other Indian languages may never be known. An attempt will be made here, though, to evaluate what contemporary comparisons were made or can be inferred and to make some sense from the surviving words.

The most important indication of a basic difference between the speech of the Indians in the Port Royal Region and those of Guale is the series of interrogations by the Spanish in 1671: Indians from Escamacu and Combahee were called "Chiluques" in the Guale language or "Chilokee," the Muskogean name for "people of a different language."¹¹⁵ These Indians had to be interrogated by two interpreters, one who spoke Spanish and Guale and the other who spoke Guale and the language of these people, but no Spanish. Their languages were mutually unintelligible, if not entirely separate.

This same procedure was followed in the interrogation of another "native of St. Helena" in 1672, and he was said to be one of the "so-called Cherokees" or Chilokee. Although the two (or more) languages seem not even to have been related by the interpreters' estimation, several of the dialects of Muskogean are so divergent that speakers of other dialects considered them to be unrelated. This reference does not eliminate the possibil-

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ity that the St. Helena Indians spoke a dialect of Muskogean, but it makes it certain that if it was, it was very unlike that of Guale.

This also is the implication of a statement by Menéndez de Avilés in 1568:

As we have already established friendly relations with the Indians for more than three hundred leagues [about 1,200 miles] along the coast and for a much greater distance inland, it is necessary that Fathers and Brothers be apportioned throughout the provinces and among the chieftans, as the languages are different.

The following year, in 1569, some of the Jesuits were assigned to Guale and others assigned to Santa Elena. Evidently, the intention was to enable them to learn two separate languages or at least mutually unintelligible dialects.¹¹⁶

Thomas in 1706, after he had lived in South Carolina for several years and had made specific inquiries about the languages spoken there, reported his conclusions:

The Several Nations of Indians in Carolina are generally small, most of them not consisting of more than fifty, the Yamonsea Indians are indeed more numerous there being, as I am informed near 200. of them. Admit then that a Missionary were qualified to converse with them in their own tongue, yet would he after all his pains be capacitated to treat with but one Nation of Indians, and if that one Nation would not hearken to Instruction (as we have just reason to fear) then is all his labour in attaining their tongue lost, for every Nation of Indians has a different dialect and that so independant of each other that being a perfect master of one Indian Tongue is not the least advantage toward the knowledge of another.¹¹⁷

Since the Yemassee spoke the Creek or Muskogean language, this statement is again confirmation that learning Muskogean would have been little or no help in communicating with the other tribes.¹¹⁸

Thomas was trying to justify not going among the South Carolina Indians as he had been instructed to do, so he might be suspected of exaggerating somewhat when he says knowing one "Tongue is not the least advantage toward the knowledge of another...." Nevertheless, his assertion is corroborated by Ferguson, who in 1682 refers to "...the Native Indians inhabiting

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in & near to the present Settlements..." as only "seven, or eight Nations; and of several & different Languages...." This statement introduces his list of the Santee, Etiwan, Kiawah, Stono, Edisto, Kussah, and St. Helena. He follows the list with "...nor do they converse, no well understand the Language of one another."¹¹⁹

While Ferguson's pamphlet is propaganda since it emphasizes the positive aspects of the Province to the point of distortion, it nevertheless seems to be carefully correct, despite the obvious slant. He had reason to make the Indians seem as dis-unified and little a threat to the Colonists as he could, but from his and Thomas' assertions, it must basically have been correct that these tribes had difficulty understanding one another's language.

Lawson says much the same and presumably meant at least that the Sewee and Santee languages were dissimilar: "Although their Tribes or Nations border one upon another, yet you may discern as great an Alteration in their Features and Dispositions, as you can in their speech, which generally proves quite different from each other, though their Nations be not above ten or twenty Miles in Distance."¹²⁰ He makes this observation in his journal after having been only among the Sewee, Santee, and Congaree. It may be a later insertion, and he may have been thinking primarily of the next group he mentions, the "Wateree Chickanee." However, "generally" means he intended most of the tribes he already had or would visit, and most if not all of the journal was kept day by day.

Despite the variety of languages, most Southeastern Indians were able to communicate with one another. As the next two quotations indicate, many Indians were multi-lingual, just as many people are elsewhere who grow up exposed to languages different from their own. Le Jau was well informed on the subject and discusses it in a 1711 letter:

The Crick Indians Language is understood by many Nations namely the Yamousees; and I am still Confirm's that the Savannock Language is understood as far as Canada. These two General Languages have no manner of Affinity and each Nation has a Peculiar not only Dialect but Language [emphasis added], and yet the two Languages of the North and South called Crick and Savnock are understood by the respective Inhabitants the most part and most sensible of them.¹²¹

Catesby also found that the multiplicity of languages did not isolate Southeastern tribes: "...although every clan or nation

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hath a language peculiar to itself, there is one universal language like the Lingua Franca in the seaports of the Mediterranean, which is understood by all their chiefs and great men thro' a great part of North America."122

These explicit statements are sufficient grounds for assuming that the Coastal Tribes spoke basically dissimilar dialects or languages. Unless more evidence can be produced, it is unreasonable to assume the opposite, that they all spoke the same language.

This diversity of speech helps to explain the disunity of these tribes. Speaking of a similar situation in North Carolina, Lawson says:

Now this Difference of Speech causes Jealousies and Fears amongst them, which bring Wars, wherein they destroy one another; otherwise the Christians had not (in all Probability) settled America so easily, as they had done, had these Tribes of Savages united themselves into one People or general Interest, or were they so but every hundred Miles.¹²³

Since multi-lingual speakers were common, evidence which only implies a similarity between dialects or languages is not usable. Too many inferences have been made on the basis of a European's changing or presumably not changing interpreters at specific points in a voyage. In addition, far too much has been made of the seeming absence of some sounds in a dialect. Since we have relatively little material to judge from, only the definite presence of significant sounds can be considered as evidence.

Swanton does not seem to have been aware of the statements by Thomas, Ferguson, and Le Jau, and he seems to have overlooked the importance of the 1671 interrogations.¹²⁴ He deals with the remaining evidence in detail. He approached the evidence with a preconception that each of the coastal tribes must have spoken either Siouan or Muskogean. While he found the frequent occurrence of the letter "w" extraordinary, he does not suggest the possibility that another language may have been spoken by any of the tribes.¹²⁵

Swanton establishes immediately that two languages were being spoken. Ecija's 1609 narrative clearly indicates that the language of Santa Elena was unintelligible on the upper Santee.¹²⁶ Swanton then proposes that the language of the Santee Indians was Siouan. The proximity of other Siouan peoples, the presence

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of the letter "r," and the absence of "f" and "l" are given as evidence. He considered the Sewee to be Siouan for the same reasons.

He proposes that the other language that was being spoken, the one at Santa Elena, was probably Muskogean. He bases this, likewise, on their proximity to Muskogean speakers and on words which he had collected. He points out that "f" and "l" are common to much of the South Carolina coast that is south of the Santee River while "r" is unknown with one possible exception; the situation appeared to be just the reverse of the situation on the Santee. He felt that "f," "l," and also "m" "argue a Muskogean connection."

While this evidence makes Muskogean a possibility, a larger group of surviving words now indicates that the letter "r" is also widely present.¹²⁷ It could be argued that the presence of letters which are supposed to be mutually exclusive (as "l" and "r") indicates that both languages were being widely spoken. It could equally well be argued that neither language was being spoken between Charleston Harbor and the Savannah River. This evidence could also indicate that one or both languages were being spoken without precluding the existence of a third or even more languages.

Swanton emphasizes the importance of changing translators during expeditions and the selection of particular translators. While his Santee example seems definite enough to establish that at least two mutually unintelligible dialects or languages were being spoken within or adjacent to the area, his other examples are questionable. He does not allow for the possibility of multi-lingual Indians. The presumed ease with which the Escamacu guides spoke with the Guale in 1562 may have been because some Escamacu spoke Guale, some Guale spoke Escamacu, or both.¹²⁸ This may also have been the case during Ibarra's 1604 expedition, during which there was "no hint of any change" of interpreters, a fact which in any case is negative evidence. He suggests that Woodward's choice of the Cacique of Kiawah to accompany him to Cofitachiqui probably "indicates some similarity between the language of the two people"; however, the Cacique is known to have been multi-lingual.¹²⁹

Swanton also makes some unlikely inferences on the basis of information that probably does not reflect anything about language. He considered it significant that during the Yemassee War, the Etiwan "assisted the English in destroying the Siouan Santee and Congaree." However, the Etiwan were probably Siouan also, as will be shown, and Swanton considers several tribes Muskogean even though they were fighting against the Yemassee,

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who were also Muskogean.¹³⁰ In addition, the Yemassee and Santee were allies, yet are considered to have spoken separate languages. Language was thus no barrier to an alliance.

A reference in 1600 to a notary who "understood much of the languages of those provinces...", that is, of Guale and Santa Elena, if anything indicates a difference rather than a close similarity since "languages" is plural. The same can be said for the 1601 reference to an individual who "understood the language of Santa Elena and also [emphasis added] that of the Province of Guale." Swanton concludes the paragraph containing these two references with:

Most important of all is, of course, the flat statement by Gov. Pedro Menéndez Márques, when, in writing in 1580 of the Indians of Santa Elena, among whom he then was, he says, "they speak the Guale language." A more nearly literal translation of the words he uses would perhaps be, "It (Santa Elena) pertains to the linguistic Province of Guale (viene á la lengua de Guale)."

The literal translation is not a "flat statement," and the context of the phrase is not given.¹³¹

Swanton says that "In 1727 the Kiawah chief was given a grant of land south of the Combahee River, which probably means that his people removed about that time to the south to be near the Cusabo Indians."¹³² From his reference, he is referring to the 1743 request for land by the Kiawah, and the conclusion is a very remote possibility. By this time the Kiawah had successively lost their lands on the Ashley, on Kiawah Island, and on the Cooper. Because of the expansion of the Colony, they probably had no choice of lands near their earliest known settlements.¹³³

In a later publication Swanton makes the statement that "the DeSoto and Pardo documents, particularly the latter, reveal the important fact that Siouan tribes of the Catawba division once occupied all the present territory of South Carolina...." Since he still believed the tribes of the Lower Coast were Muskogean, he does not seem to have intended to include the South Carolina coast in this sweeping statement.¹³⁴

Reviewing the accounts briefly, the most definite statements and the overall weight of the evidence point to at least two languages being spoken. Ecija's 1609 narrative indicates that the Escamacu spoke a dialect or language unlike the Santee. Diacan's

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1672 interrogation indicates that the Escamacu spoke a dialect or language unlike the Guale. Ferguson's 1682 statement and Thomas' 1706 statement indicate that all tribes of the Lower Coast had at least different dialects, if not different languages. The fragments of language which have survived provide some additional evidence.

Surviving Words To determine the Indian pronunciation as closely as possible, every spelling encountered in an early primary source was assembled in Part 2. The greatest weight has been given to the spellings recorded by men who spoke, probably spoke, or at least can be said to have known most about the Coastal languages. Their qualifications are discussed individually in the annotated bibliography, and the forms of each word are discussed in Part 2. The most important of them are Mathews, Woodward, Rogel, and Laudonnière. When the opinions of these best authorities are not available, usually the earliest form of a word is cited unless another seems preferable for an obvious or given reason.

More than one-hundred placenames survive, and a score were originally the names of tribes. About a dozen personal names survive and a handful of other words. The meaning of these words is almost invariably unknown. How most of them were used and what they designated is known, though, and is useful for comparison.

In the following list of placenames, the form which seems to best represent the original sound is given first and when there is a difference, the more commonly used form is given in parenthesis:

ABpoolah (Abbapoola)	Chyawhaw (Kiawah)
Adthan	Combohe (Combahee)
Ahagan	Conca
Ahoyabe	Copahee
Appeboe	Correboo
Ashepoo	Court Baw (Cotebas)
Avendaugh-bough (Awendaw)	Dataw
Bitaw (Betaw)	Deathea (Datha)
Bohicutt (Bohicket)	Dehoo (Dawho)
Boochawy	Didiwah
Booshoo	Dockon
Bou	Ectchew (Echaw)
Boowatt (Bowat)	Edistoh (Edisto)
Cainhoy	Esaw (Woosah)
Cattoe (Cawcaw)	Escamacu
Chatuache	Ettowan (Etiwan)
Chebasah (Jehossee)	Gabbo

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Hobcaw	Wackindaw (Wacandaw)
Hoya	Wadmacon (Mockand)
Iahteonwash (Leadenwah)	Wadmilaw (Wadmalaw)
Ickerby (Accabee)	Waha (Washo)
Ittichicaw	Waheawah
Jataa	Wamba (Wambaw)
Jimicau (Timicau)	Wampacheroone (Wampachecoone)
Kussah	Wampee
Kussoe	Wando
Mattaho	Wantoot
Mattasee	Wapoo
Mayon	Wappetaw
Makkean (Mepkin)	Wappock (Wappoo)
Mebshoo (Mepsheew)	Washashaw
Oala-Coll	Washoe
Ocella	Washua
Oni-se-cau	Wassam-issau (Wassamassaw)
Palawanee (Polawana)	Watbu (Wadboo)
Panchehone	Watcow
Pan Pan (Pon Pon)	Wattesaw
Pockoy	Webdoe (Wedboo)
Sampa	Weehoy
Sewanihehoee	Weepoolaw (Wappaoola)
Sewee	Wespanee
Shaway	Westo
Shembee (Shem)	Westockon
Soboy	Whiskinboo (Wiskinboo)
Spoon (Spoons)	Wimbecon (Wimbee)
Stalame	Wina
Stono	Wiskbo (Wisbo)
Tebwin (Tibwin)	Witcheaugh
Tipicop Haw (Tippycutlaw)	Wosams
Tipseboo (Tipseeboo)	Yadhaw
Tobedo (Toogoodoo)	Yantee
Touppa	Yawwhoyawran
	Yeshoe

The surviving personal names follow with their context in the second part indicated in parenthesis:

Alush (Edisto, 1670)	Jarnoche (Ashepoo, 1671)
Barchoamini (cf. Combahee, 1671)	Shadoo (Edisto, 1666, 1670)
Bluacacay (Combahee, 1671)	Shemdadee (Escamacu, 1707)
Diacan (Escamacu, 1672)	Sthiaco (cf. Combahee, 1671)
Eupeto (cf. Stono, 1684)	Tom da (cf. Etiwan, 1690)
Huannucase (cf. Combahee, 1671)	Wina (also a placename, q.v.)
	Wommony (Escamacu, 1666)
	Ynna (cf. Combahee, 1671)

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The surviving words other than placenames or personal names are as follows:

appada (Sewee, 1670)	iawas (Escamacu, 1562)
he toya (Edisto, 1562)	skorrye (Escamacu, 1670)
hiddeskeh (Sewee, 1670)	toya (Edisto, 1562)
hiddie dod or hiddy doddy (Sewee & Escamacu, 1670)	westo (also a placename, q.v.)

Of these placenames, personal names, and other words, meanings or possible meanings are available for the following:

adthan--Goose Creek; since goose in Woccon is "auhaun," this may be the meaning.¹³⁵

appada--possibly "friends"; when a Sewee Indian said this, his armed tribesmen put away their arms and welcomed the English.¹³⁶

bou--river.

esaw--Creek or river (cf. Woosah and Wassam-issau). Since this word is used for two small unnamed creeks in the same vicinity and since it appears elsewhere, it is probably the same as the identical Catawba word which means creek or river.

hiddeskeh--"sickly"; used by the Sewee in 1670.

hiddie dod or hiddy doddy--"a word of great kindness amongst them" or "very good"; used by the Sewee and Escamacu in 1670. Possibly European or Anglicised.

hobcaw--peninsula (conjectural),¹³⁷

iawas--"as it were three priestes of the Indian law..." (Edisto, 1562) at the feast of Toya.

pon pon--"big bends" (probably conjectural),¹³⁸

skorrye--"nought" (Sewee, 1670).

Tipseboo--"clear spring" (a questionable definition).

Toya--a god of the Indians of the Port Royal Region, the feast in his honor, and the place where the feast was held.

During the feast, they shouted "He Toya" (Edisto, 1562).

Wampee--chickweed,¹³⁹

Wappaoola--"sweet water" (probably conjectural),¹⁴⁰

Westo--"enemy".

The closest similarities to other languages are esaw (almost certainly) and adthan (possibly), both of which seem to have been Etiwan words from their location. From the probable meaning of these words and their resemblance to Siouan words of the same meaning, the Etiwan may have spoken Siouan. Ecija in 1609 found an Etiwan Indian who spoke the Santee language, but the same Indian also spoke the Escamacu language, and he may have spoken others.

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If Swanton is correct in assuming that "bou" is basically the Choctaw (Muskogean) "bok," the Etiwan more probably spoke Muskogean because Boochawy, Wiskbo (Wisboo), Wadboo, and Whiskinboo, and probably Correboo and Appeboe all seem to be within their territories on the Cooper River. Booshoo and Tipseboo appear to be in Kiawah territory. For the Sewee, the examples are Avendaugh-bough, Sewee-boo, Boowatt, and possibly Gabbo. These examples are confined to the area north of the Ashley River, and that may be significant. If it is expanded to include "poo," Wepoolaw would go to the Etiwan or Kiawah and Wappock to the Kiawah. Three words then would be south of the Ashley: Abbapoola in Stono territory (although quite possibly Kiawah from the date), Wapoo near the Edisto, Ashepoo, and possibly Bohicutt. If "hoo" is equivalent, then Dehoo and Sewanihehooe, both near the Edisto, would be added. Perhaps the list should be further stretched to include "be" and so Ahoyabe and Wimbee. Which tribe applied the most southerly use of the word, "Westo bou," is unknown.

Equally confusing in its distribution is "wa." Swanton's recognition of the frequency and possible significance of "w" and "wi" have already been mentioned.¹⁴¹ Only Wina, Wiskbo, and Witcheaugh begin with "wi," but altogether thirty-one of the one-hundred-five placenames and one personal name begin with "w" (nineteen "wa," six "we," one "wh," and two "wo"). In Swanton's list of words containing "f," "l," and "m," four out of the sixteen also contained a "w." The proportion of initial "w's" to other letters is about the same in the list here and is about three times as great as for any other initial letter (even though "s" and "c" or "k" are conspicuously in second place). In addition "w" occurs within seventeen words which begin with other letters, so that, overall, nearly half of the surviving words contain this letter. This and the presence of nearly a dozen words containing "sh" seem to preclude Timicuan, which does not have these sounds.¹⁴²

Following through with Swanton's comparison, none of the words here has an "f" (present in Muskogean, foreign to Siouan). His one example, "Ufalague," was south of the Savannah River.¹⁴³

Although no words begin with "l,"¹⁴⁴ this letter occurs within nine widely scattered examples: ABpoolah, Alush, Bluacacay, Oola-Coll, Ocella, Palawanee, Stalame, Wadmilaw, and Weepoolaw.¹⁴⁵ The presence of this sound would seem to preclude Siouan from most of the area.¹⁴⁶

The letter "m" occurs six times initially: Mattaho, Mat-tasee, Mayon, Makkean, Mebshoo, and Mockand. It also occurs within sixteen other words (equally widespread) for a total of

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twenty-two or about one in every six words. This would seem to preclude Yuchi from the area since "m" does not occur in it.¹⁴⁷

Swanton says "the phonetic r does not appear, except in one case where it is plainly not an original sound...."¹⁴⁸ A little farther on, he says "On the other hand, it is wanting in all Cusabo names that have come down to us--with one or two exceptions which need cause no disturbance."¹⁴⁹ The exceptions would now have to include Correboo, Court Baw, Ickerby, Wampacheroone, Yawwhoyawran, Jarnоче, and Skorrye. These too are widely scattered, and their presence argues against Muskhogean.¹⁵⁰

Without these exceptions, the evidence seemed to Swanton to "argue a Muskhogean connection."¹⁵¹ However, a comparison of the Lower Coastal words for goose, river, water, spring, god (?), point, and sickly with Choctaw failed to produce even remote resemblances (except for "bok").¹⁵² On the other hand, it is fairly certain that the Yemassee changed Cusaboe to Coosawhatchie, implying a distinction.¹⁵³

Comparisons with numerous other languages were unproductive. Coastal words of known meaning do not seem to correspond with Iroquoian equivalents¹⁵⁴ or with equivalents in most of the linguistic stocks in North America.¹⁵⁵

Distribution studies were also inconclusive. Maps were prepared to show the distribution of every letter of every Coastal word and to show numerous combinations of letters (especially for syllables which may be prefixes or suffixes). In every instance the maps showed a random pattern which covered most of the area.

The comparison of surviving words is thus less definite than the historical accounts, but when both sources are carefully reconsidered, the conclusion which seems inevitable is that at least two languages were being spoken by the indigenous tribes of the Lower Coast. Siouan was probably one of them, but it was evidently confined to the area north of the Ashley River. Another language was probably spoken by the majority of tribes, by all of the ones living south of the Ashley River. This language was sufficiently different from Muskhogean and Siouan to be unintelligible to the speakers of those languages. It contained sounds which seem to preclude the possibility that it was either of those languages. Its words of known meaning do not seem to correspond to equivalents in those two languages or in any other of the languages compared. While this evidence is inconclusive, it is possible that a previously unrecognized language was being spoken.¹⁵⁶

RESOURCES AND UTILIZATION

Land and Water Since the Indians seem to have remained within about eighty miles of the coast, they lived within the geological zone of the Coastal Terraces, which extend inland from about seventy to one-hundred-twenty miles. Much of the land within fifty miles of the coast was covered by the Atlantic Ocean in Pimlico times and therefore is less than twenty-five feet high; most of this land was covered in Talbot times and so is less than forty-two feet high; nearly all of this land was covered in Penholoway times and so is less than seventy feet high.¹⁵⁷

Nearly all of this land is also part of the large wedge between the watersheds of the Santee and the Savannah. These two rivers drain all of South Carolina's mountains, beginning about two-hundred-forty miles inland, and most of its piedmont. The area in between, nearly an equilateral triangle, is drained by numerous smaller rivers which all originate within the Coastal Plain.

Promoting the Province in 1682, Wilson wrote that "Carolina doth so abound in Rivers, that within fifty miles of the Sea you can hardly place your self seven miles from a Navigable River...."¹⁵⁸ These numerous rivers arise within a relatively flat area and flow together to form broad harbors with many islands between them.

The islands which front the Atlantic Ocean are essentially beaches. Their broad strands are often several hundred feet wide, but slope so gradually that an average high tide of five or six feet covers them. Piled up just beyond the high water mark are dunes averaging about six feet high, but a small number are considerably higher. The dunes generally provide protection for thickets which grow beyond them and for small game which

Land and Water

inhabits the thickets.

Behind these barrier islands are marshes from several hundred feet to several miles across. Broad marshes also line the mouths of most rivers. In most of the marshes are hammocks with clusters of cedar trees and palmetto.

Across the flat expanses of coastal marsh are back beaches which mark a late Pleistocene shoreline. These are the real beginning of the Sea Islands, which are renowned for their rich soil. These islands had great savannahs, some a thousand acres or more,¹⁵⁹ and also climax forests of live oaks and other hardwoods with some pine. Both the savannahs and the pine probably were the result of frequent burn overs from fires set to drive out game¹⁶⁰ or fires set by lightning. This full range of vegetation supported a full assortment of game. Springs were common.

Most of the coastal rivers are estuaries. Many others, however, provide pure water despite its somewhat dubious appearance, the black or brown color being caused by suspended particles of vegetation which have washed out of adjacent swamps.

The three rivers which extend farthest inland are the Combahee, Edisto, and Cooper. All have great cypress swamps along their upper courses.¹⁶¹ The Santee and the Savannah, with far stronger currents, had cypress swamps nearer to their mouths, but damming has greatly reduced their flow and canals have diverted it so that salt water has been able to penetrate and destroy many of the former game areas.

The soil of the Lower Coast is uniformly sandy. The barrier islands usually have too little top soil to repay planting. The Sea Islands have powdery grey soil (podsol), rich, but easily exhausted, "appearing ten times more Barren than it proves to be...."¹⁶² On the mainland the soil is of a similar type, particularly in the former savannahs and pinelands.

The larger rivers cut through thick clay deposits. Other deposits of clay occur in areas which were once lagoons. Phosphatic marl was also exposed by many waterways, particularly along the Cooper, and limestone occurs along the Santee, but little other rock occurs on the surface within the entire area.¹⁶³

This fairly complex environment is thus divided into six basically dissimilar ecosystems: ocean, barrier islands, tidal flats, swamps, fields, and forests. As will be shown, each of these systems provided different resources which were utilized by the Indians.

Resources and Utilization

Climate The climate of the area has not altered significantly in the past few centuries: in 1671 Maurice Mathews wrote that "Ice here was last winter in our water pales but noe thicker then a shilling"; in 1680, he remarked that "Some years wee have a little Snow, I have seen it but twice in the Ten years."¹⁶⁴

The mildness of the climate is because of the low latitude, the low altitude, the closeness of the Gulf Stream, the moderating influence of numerous waterways, and some protection from cold weather that is provided by the Appalachian Mountains. The average annual temperature on the coast is 68°. During the winter, the temperature averages about ten degrees warmer than in the Mountains; and during the summer, it averages four or five degrees cooler than the Piedmont. This greater evenness in temperature is because the coastal waters warm the air in winter and cool it in summer. The overall variance of the temperature ranges in summer is about thirteen degrees and in winter is about sixteen degrees, again because of the water's moderating influence.¹⁶⁵

The growing season averages about two-hundred-eighty days. Freezing temperatures are usually limited to the period between November 20 and March 10. Freezing temperatures occur on about ten days during this time. In the summer, the temperature rises above ninety degrees an average of thirty days.

The average rainfall is forty-eight to fifty-three inches. In winter the monthly rate is three or three-and-one-half inches; in summer six to eight inches. In October and November, during "Indian Summer," the rainfall slackens to two inches.

About every fifteen years a severe drought occurs, and less severe ones occur every seven or eight years. Merás in 1567 reported drought of eight months.¹⁶⁶ Humidity varies greatly, but is nearly always above 50 percent except during the winter. Surface winds average six to ten miles per hour, greatly easing the effects of the humidity.

Nearly every other year either a major tropical storm or a hurricane occurs. Hurricanes occur on the average of every third or fourth year, but catastrophic ones happen less frequently. Winds have been recorded up to one-hundred-forty miles per hour. Before adequate warning existed, a hurricane which struck south of Savannah in 1893 drowned more than a thousand people.¹⁶⁷ The destructiveness and unpredictability of hurricanes probably discouraged Indians from living on the coast during the fall.

Food

Food During the summer, when the Indians were near the coast, they ate corn, peas, and beans along with fish and shellfish. During the fall and winter, when they moved inland, they ate game, nuts, and roots.

Corn was the most important crop. It is mentioned as being grown by the Edisto (1562, 1565, 1663, 1666), Escamacu (1566, 1666, 1683), Hoya (1566), Bohicket (from the location, 1666), and Sewee (1670), or all along the coast and all during the contact period. It seems safe to conclude that every Coastal Tribe planted it. That it was planted in great quantity is evident from the amounts shared with the French, Spanish, and English and from numerous references to large fields of it. Most of these fields are mentioned near villages, particularly at Edisto and St. Helena, but others seem to have been off to themselves.¹⁶⁸ Hilton in 1663 wrote that "The Indians plant in the worst Land because they cannot cut down the Timber in the best, and yet have plenty of Corn...although the Land be overgrown with weeds through their lasiness, yet they have two or three crops of Corn a year, as the Indians themselves inform us."¹⁶⁹

Adair mentions Indians who were still living among settlers about the middle of the 18th Century, and says "We called them 'Parched-corn-Indians,' because they chiefly use it for bread, are civilized, and live mostly by planting."¹⁷⁰ Catesby probably is referring to the same Indians about the same time when he says "The only grain they cultivate is Maiz.... In summer they feed much on vegetables, particularly Maiz before it is ripe and while tender, they roast it in the fire...."¹⁷¹

The second most important crop was probably pulse, which is mentioned more frequently than any crop besides corn. The Edisto supplied the French with "beanes" in 1565. Mathews wrote that on first coming to Carolina "Wee found the Indians had plantations of Indian Corn and variety of pulses."¹⁷² Crafford wrote that the St. Helena had "plenty of Corn; and Pease...."¹⁷³ Grimbball in 1686 had planted "Indian pays 3 sorts." Catesby also refers to "various kinds of pulse."¹⁷⁴

In addition to corn and pulse, the Coastal Tribes planted other vegetables. Hilton mentions that the Edisto had "Pompions, Water-Mellons, Musk-mellons...."¹⁷⁵ Dennis mentions "pumkins" and "water Millions" among the Etiwan.¹⁷⁶ Catesby gives "pomkins" and "melons," and adds gourds and squash, as well as several vegetables and fruits that were introduced during the contact period.¹⁷⁷

Rogel was convinced that "...the soil...is poor and barren and easily wears out; and they themselves say that it is for

Resources and Utilization

this reason that they live so scattered and wander so much."¹⁷⁸ The principal reason, though, for the refusal of the Indians to live a more sedentary life is probably the abundance of other acceptable food sources (game, fish, shellfish, and wild plants). In addition, occasionally severe droughts probably discouraged reliance on agriculture, and storms and hurricanes probably discouraged year-round residence on the coast. The Coastal Tribes could have subsisted primarily on agriculture, as many other North American tribes did, but they chose an easier existence and refused to give it up for as long as they could keep it. Rogel's offer of enough seed to enable them to live in one place was rejected. While the Coastal Indians carefully reserved seed for planting, they did little to provide a surplus.¹⁷⁹

The work of planting was shared by everyone. Rogel "found each Indian...assisting in the tillage of the fields..." and Le Jau wrote that even the chief "labours and fares with the rest."¹⁸⁰ Women probably worked with men in the fields as much as their other responsibilities would allow.¹⁸¹

In addition to parching or roasting green corn, "The Indians in Carolina parch the ripe Corn, then pound it to a Powder, putting it in a Leathern Bag. When they use it, they take a little quantity of the Powder in the Palms of their Hands, mixing it with Water, and sup it off: with this they will travel several days."¹⁸²

Except on ceremonial occasions when the black drink was consumed, their drink seems to have been exclusively water. At the Sewee chief's house, Carteret received "watter to drink for they use no other Lickquor as I can Learne in this Countrey...."¹⁸³ Ashe also gives "their Drink [as] Water...."¹⁸⁴ They evidently sometimes dug wells to obtain it.¹⁸⁵

All year, but particularly during the growing season, the Coastal Tribes relied on fishing and gathering for food. That they fished in the ocean is indicated by a reference to three Indians of Port Royal who in 1566 guided the Spanish into the harbor: "they were skillful pilots, being accustomed to going there fishing in their canoes."¹⁸⁶ In c. 1575, Fontenada wrote that these same Indians, like others in the Southeast, "are great anglers and at no time lack fresh fish."¹⁸⁷ There are at least half-a-dozen references to the Indians' supplying fish for the English colonists.¹⁸⁸ Mathews elaborates: "In all parts of the rivers and creeks wee never want fish of several sorts which we and our Indians doe catch with netts, hooks, weirs, and by shooting them with arrowes. The fish wee have are Sturgeon, Bass, drum, Mullet, plaice, Trouts, Jacks, Cattfish."¹⁸⁹ Catesby

Food

says "Fish of all kinds are a great part of the food of those who inhabit near the sea." He adds that fish was sometimes cured like the flesh of mammals.¹⁹⁰ Fish also was "boiled and roasted."¹⁹¹

Shellfish were gathered and also roasted. The Edisto in April 1566 "built a great fire and brought a quantity of shellfish, and the Adelantado [Menéndez de Avilés] and his men took supper." Soon afterwards in the same account, oysters are mentioned as a food item and, later, a gift of "pearles, of which there are many in that country, although they are of little value because they are burned" (surely from being roasted in the oysters).¹⁹² Sandford in 1666 noted that the Lower Coast "abounds besides with Oyster bankes and such heapes of shells as wch. noe time cann consume...."¹⁹³ Ferguson exaggerates still more: "...Cockles, Mussles they have; and Banks, nay Mountains of Oysters (and some with Pearl) that seem to barocade the Cricks. Besides prodigious Prawns, and Shrimps in the brackish, & Salt Waters, but Crawfish in the freshes; which are various Entertainments, both to the Native, and fortunate Planter."¹⁹⁴

Also during the growing season, some wild plants were gathered. Hilton in 1663 mentioned "...great Marshes, but most as far as we saw little worth except for a Root, that grows in them the Indians make good Bread of."¹⁹⁵ These may be the "root cakes" that Carteret had among the Sewee in 1670. He said that to make them the women brought "their potts to boyle a kind of thickening which they pound & make food of, & as they order it being dryed makes a pretty sort of bread...."¹⁹⁶

Rogel, writing in 1570 about the Port Royal Indians, said that "At this season [summer] they were congregated together, but when the acorns ripened, they left me quite alone, all going to the forests...."¹⁹⁷ Laudonnière was referring to the same Indians in 1562, and he said that when they had run out of vegetables except for planting seed, "...it was needefull for them to retire themselves into the woods, to live of mast [nuts] and rootes untill the time of harvest...."¹⁹⁸

The types of nuts were primarily acorns and hickory. Rogel's statement about acorns is supported by Merás, who said in April 1567 that "many Indian women" came to entertain the Spanish bringing with them "many acorns," which had to have been gathered in and left over from the fall.¹⁹⁹ In 1670 the Sewee presented Carteret with "plenty of Hickery nutts, a wall nut in shape, & taste onely differing in ye thickness of the shell & smallness of ye kernell."²⁰⁰ Ferguson provides additional detail:

Now some are thinking to intangle themselves with the