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consideration of Rape, and Linseed for Oyl: but the Indian-Natives get a sweet Oyl out of the Hickery Nutt, which is much of the nature of our English Walnutt; but not so racy, nor the Kernel so plump, and pleasant; and this Oyl they sell for Beads and Trifles of little or no value: which Oyl may be much more improved, and substituted in lieu of Oyl Olives.²⁰¹

Also, Ashe refers to the "Wild Wallnut or Hiquery-Tree, [which] gives the Indians, by boyling its Kernel, a wholesome Oyl, from whom the English frequently supply themselves for their Kitchen uses...."²⁰² Catesby adds that:

Indians seldom plant corn enough to last them the year round, yet in some measure they supply the want by their autumn-collection of black walnuts, hiccory nuts, chinkapins, and acorns, which they lay up for winter store: from these they press wholesome oil, particularly from the acorns of the live oak. The kernels also of these nuts and acorns being beat in a mortar to a paste, serve to thicken and enrich their broths.²⁰³

Catesby further notes that the Indians gather "rasberries, and strawberries, which their woods abound in"; "Phishmons, whorts, and some other fruit and wild berries they also preserve [by drying in the sun] for winter, using them in their soups and other ways." Vandra in 1566 mentions "many grape vines" near Escamacu.²⁰⁴

Hunting seems to have been confined to fall and winter. Until then, most Southeastern Indians "by a law of the people... do not hunt, the game not being in season till after their crops or harvest is gathered in...."²⁰⁵

On the basis of its frequent mention, the most hunted animal must have been the deer. The Edisto provided Laudonnière with two stags in 1565.²⁰⁶ The Escamacu offered Sandford venison in 1666, brought it to the arriving English Colonists in 1670, and brought it to Crafford in 1683.²⁰⁷ The Indians near the English settlements supplied deer for the Colonists from the time it was founded²⁰⁸ until well into the 18th Century. Mathews says "Those who live toward the Indian parts of the settlements have brought by ane Indian in one year 100 sometimes 200 deer."²⁰⁹ Newe says the Indians furnished venison "for trifles."²¹⁰ Wilson mentions that deer are so numerous "that an Indian hunter hath kill'd nine fatt Deere in a day all shott by himself, and all the considerable Planters have an Indian hunter which they hire for less than twenty shillings a year, and one hunter will very well find a Family of thirty people with as much Venison and Fowl, as

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they can well eat."²¹¹ Archdale says "The Indians are great Hunters, and thereby not only serviceable to kill Deer, etc., for to procure Skins for Trade with us, but those that live in Country Plantations procure of them the whole Dear's Flesh, and will bring it many Miles for the Value of about six Pence...."²¹²

Many of the same accounts refer to turkeys, which must have been equally numerous. Carteret at St. Helena wrote that "here is also wild turke which ye Indians brought but is not so pleasant to eat of as ye tame, but very fleshy & farr bigger."²¹³ The turkey's huge size is confirmed by several accounts. Archdale says an Indian would also bring in "a wild Turkey of 40 pounds, for the Value of two Pence Engl. Value" (one-third of the charge for deer).²¹⁴ Lawson mentions turkeys on the Santee River, and he thought some weighed at least that; he says there are large flocks of them.²¹⁵ Ashe also mentions "wild Turkies, often times weighing from twenty, thirty, to forty pound."²¹⁶ The Indian's provision of turkey is also mentioned by other writers.²¹⁷

All accounts concur about the abundance of game and the Indians' willingness to provide it for "trifles."²¹⁸ The most objective evidence of the enormous quantity is the record of animal skins shipped from the Province.²¹⁹ This record also represents, however, the depletion of the supply, particularly when animals began to be killed in increasing quantities only for their skins.²²⁰

Undoubtedly many other animals were hunted by the Indians, but we know specifically of only a few others. Large numbers of bears must have been killed to provide for the frequent applications of bear oil. "Wild Hogs" and "Raccoons" were hunted,²²¹ as well as a few more exotic animals. When the French first entered Port Royal in 1562, several Indians there were roasting a bobcat ("Lucerne").²²² Lawson later found it notable that his Santee Indian guide preferred "polecat" to turkey (here probably meaning bobcat instead of skunk).²²³ Ashe mentions alligators and implies that the Indians ate them; he says that "the young ones are eatable" after having said the "Scally Back is impenetrable..., but under the Belly...an Arrow finds an easie Passage to destroy it...."²²⁴ In addition probably everything edible that was mentioned by Hilton, Sandford, Ashe, and others was almost certainly being eaten.²²⁵

The bow and arrow is frequently referred to, but inadequately described. Ashe gives the most information: "...their Weapons the Bow and Arrow, made of a Read, pointed with sharp Stones, or Fish Bones...."²²⁶ The Port Royal Indians carry bows in Le Moyne's illustration, but only one has a quiver.²²⁷ The bows

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appear to be about four feet long. The quiver is worn diagonally across the back with the top at the right shoulder. Its length of about three feet establishes an approximate length for the arrows.

The Indians' hunting tactics included "firing the Cane Swamps, which drives out the Game, then taking their Particular Stands, [the Sewee] kill great Quantities of both Bear, Deer, Turkies, and what wild Creatures the Parts afford."²²⁸

Game was cooked by several methods. The Port Royal bobcat was "a turning on a spit."²²⁹ Catesby says that:

Besides roasting and boiling, they barbacue most of the flesh of the larger animals, such as buffalos [which then were in small numbers in the Southeast], bears and deer: this is performed very gradually over a slow clear fire, upon a large wood gridiron, raised two feet above the fire. By this method of curing venison, it will keep good five or six weeks; and by its being divested of the bone, and cut into portable pieces, is adapted to their use, for the more easy conveyance of it from their hunting quarters to their habitations.²³⁰

The variety of food types indicates that all the major ecosystems were being utilized. Although no village is known to have existed on a barrier island before the Kiawah occupied one in c. 1682, these islands were probably visited for hunting since the ones fronting St. Helena Island are referred to as "hunting islands."²³¹ However, Lawson says the game on the islands north of Charleston was "very lean."²³² Shellfish were probably more often gathered there because Lawson also mentions a "great Store of Oysters, Conks, and Clanns, a large Sort of Cockles. These Parts being very well furnished with Shell-Fish...." Fishing was likely done from the beach as well as from canoes in the ocean. The tidal marshes behind the islands probably furnished most of the oysters and some small game. Farther inland, the swamps seem to have furnished roots and mussels. Most of the game, though, was undoubtedly hunted in fields and forests on the mainland since these are the more common habitat of deer and turkey. The inland areas also provided most of the nuts and berries gathered. Thus, every ecosystem was used to advantage seasonally, without an exclusive reliance on or overexploitation of any one of them. This quantity and diversity of food supplies made famine and malnutrition almost unknown. As long as the human population remained stable, the area provided amply for its support.

Clothing

Planting, hunting, fishing, and gathering seem to have been of about equal importance, with planting and fishing being more important in the summer and with hunting and gathering more important in the winter. No one of these four methods of supplying food seems to have provided as much as half of their total subsistence, as was common in most other areas of North America.²³³ Planting was done primarily when nuts were unavailable and game was out of season; otherwise, the Indians viewed it as offering no particular advantage and as being basically unnecessary.

Clothing In what seems to be the only surviving representation of Lower Coastal Indians, they are not wearing clothes. Some of them, for at least part of the year, must have worn no clothing, as was customary among the Cherokee, some Indians of Florida, and the Indians of the Northwest Coast.²³⁴

Before missionaries, their main problem was presumably mosquitoes and other biting insects,²³⁵ but these they probably warded off with bear oil. William Byrd says that a Virginia tribe claimed bear oil kept mosquitoes away, and he assures the reader that it had "no strong smell."²³⁶ Archdale mentions the Carolina Indians' "Oyling their Skins," and Ashe adds that they used bear oil daily to "keep their Hair clear and preserved from Vermine" and, according to him, to make it grow--"it usually extending in length to their middles."²³⁷ The Spanish missionaries must have gotten clothes on everyone almost immediately because there is no later mention of nudity. As late as 1725, though, a missionary was still dissatisfied; speaking probably of the Etiwan, Ludlam says "they will not emselves nor let their children learn to wear decent apparel...."

Ashe says "...their Cloathing [consists of] Skins of the Bear or Deer, the Skin drest after their Country Fashion."²³⁸ Carteret says the Sewee men were "clad with deare skins," and "their women [were] clad in their mosse roabs..."; the chief's three daughters all had "new roabs of new mosse which they are neuer beholding to ye Taylor to trim up...."²³⁹

Ashe wrote that "The Indians have also a way of dressing their Skins rather softer, though not so durable as ours in England." Laudonniere mentions that King Stalame presented Capt. Albert with "chamoys skinnes."²⁴⁰ In 1670 the Sewee "offered the...arriving English colonists deare skins some raw some drest to trade...."²⁴¹ Catesby says that in the Southeast:

The method of dressing their skins is by soaking them in deer's brains, tempered with water, scraping them with an oyster-shell till they become soft and pliable.

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Maiz, when young, and beat to a pulp, will effect the same as the brains; then they cure them with smook, which is performed by digging a hole in the earth, arching it over with hoop-sticks, over which the skin is laid, and under that is kindled a slow fire, which is continued till it is smoaked enough.²⁴²

Leather may have been used for shoes, but Newe says specifically that "...the horses here like the Indian and many of the English do travail without shoes."²⁴³ Le Moyne's illustration shows them barefoot.²⁴⁴

Ashe continues with a statement that "their Hair...[was] tied various ways, sometimes oyl'd and painted, stuck through with Feathers for Ornament or Gallantry...." The Port Royal Indians in Le Moyne's 1565 illustration have their hair pulled up on top of their heads and somehow tied like the Florida fashion, which seems to have included shaving the back of the neck.²⁴⁵ Hewatt says "To appearance the men have no beards, nor hair on their head, except a round tuft on its crown; but this defect is not natural, as many people are given to believe, but the effect of art, it being customary among them to tear out such hair by the root."²⁴⁶ Sandford says an Edisto Indian "caused himself to be shaven on the Crowne after ye manner of the Port Royall Indians, a fashion wch I guesse they have taken from the Spanish Fryers, Thereby to ingratiate themselves wch that Nation...." This seems, as Sandford suggests, a more recent fashion, but it may refer to the earlier practice. It incidently implies a cultural distinction between the St. Helena and the Edisto Indians, but probably not a major one.²⁴⁹

Paint was commonly used. Ashe refers to their "painting their Faces with different Figures of a red or sanguine Colour, whether for Beauty or to render themselves formidable to their Enemies I could not learn."²⁴⁸ For the feast of Toya among the Port Royal Tribes, those "chosen to celebrate" were "painted and trimmed with rich feathers of diverse colours."²⁴⁹ The Etiwan men also wore paint for their October ceremonies.²⁵⁰ Hewatt says "Their colour is brown, and their skin shines, being varnished with bears fat and paint."²⁵¹

Besides paint and feathers, both men and women wore beads. The men of Port Royal had beads "at there eares and necke," and the Sewee chief's daughters had "plenty of beads of diuers Colours about their necks."²⁵² The colored beads were probably trade goods, but were likely being used after the native fashion.

Shelter The simplest Indian structures provided protection only from the sun; when Ribaut's men went ashore at Port

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Royal, the Indians made an "arbour to defend us in that place from the parching heate of the Sunne."²⁵³ Other simple constructions seem to have been put up for temporary protection against rain; when Sandford returned from the Edisto village to his ship about four miles away, he was followed by "a great troope of Indians" who instead of returning to their village for the night "lay in boothes of their own immediate ereccon on the beach."²⁵⁴

Le Moyne shows several houses at Port Royal.²⁵⁵ Each is round in plan with a domed roof. Only one entrance is shown and seems to have been the only opening because some houses are shown with no entrance. The size of these dwellings cannot be judged because of the varying scale of the illustration, but they were probably large enough to house an extended family of approximately twenty people (as will be proposed in the next section). Inside these dwellings, animal "skins serve the Indians for... Bedding...."²⁵⁶

The shading of Le Moyne's illustration indicates that the roof was layered with concentrically arranged thatch, probably of palmetto. The walls are depicted plain and thus were probably of wattle and daub. The framework must have been tied together, probably with bark rope; Audusta and Maccou supplied the French with "cordage,"²⁵⁷ which was "made of the strong bark of trees." No detailed description of an individual dwelling has survived, but house construction was likely much the same as for their state houses, which are elaborately described.

The larger tribes and possibly the smaller ones as well had huge structures in which the entire community could gather. In 1566 the Edisto chief "took the Adelantado to a very large house, and seated him on his seat...."²⁵⁸ The Sewee chief took Carteret to what he calls a "Hutt Pallace."²⁵⁹ Hilton describes the state house of the Escamacu as "a fair house builded in the shape of a Dove-house, round, two hundred foot at least...", probably meaning two hundred feet around or about sixty-five feet in diameter. He says it is "compleatly covered with Palmeta-leaves" (further increasing the likelihood that palmetto was also used to thatch dwellings). He added that the state house had a "wal-plate being twelve foot high, or thereabouts, & within lodging rooms and forms; two pillars at the entrance of a high Seat above all the rest...."²⁶⁰

Sandford's description of the Edisto's later state house on Edisto Island adds significant detail about the interior of it and about the one described by Hilton because after seeing the Escamacu state house, Sandford says it was "as to the form of build in every respect like that of Edistowe...":

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Being entered the Towne wee were conducted into a large house of a Circular forme (their generall house of State) right against the entrance way a high seate of sufficient breadth for half a dozen persons on which sate the Cassique himselfe (vouchsafeing mee that favour) wth. his wife on his right hand.... Round the house from each side the throne quite to the Entrance were lower benches filled with the whole rabble of men Women and children in the center of this house is kept a constant fire mounted on a great heape of Ashes and surrounded with little lowe foormes....261

This sounds much like the "Rotunda" of the Creeks. Bartram describes it as circular with a "door opening towards the square" (as will be described in the next section), "two rows of seats, sofas, or cabins" around the outside wall, and a central fire, in this case a "great central pillar, or column, surrounded by the spiral fire, which gives light to the house" rather than a fire atop a mound of ash, but both seem to have been "eternal." Bartram mentions two major differences, though: "...women were not allowed to step within the pale of the Rotunda, and it is death for any to enter it"; the Edisto state house was an arena for everyone. Also, the Creeks' "Rotunda, or great Hot or Town House is the Council House in cold seasons"; while "their Summer Council House is a spacious open loft or pavilion."²⁶² Sandford must have nearly roasted with a fire inside the Edisto state house in June of 1666.

Settlement Patterns The summer and winter settlement patterns were entirely different. Rogel describes the Edisto's seasonal variations, which seem to have applied for other Coastal Tribes. This important passage brings together several fragments which have already been quoted:

At this season [summer] they were congregated together, but when the acorns ripened, they left me quite alone [in the village of Orista], all going to the forests, each one to his own quarter, and only met together for certain festivals, which ocured every two months, and this not always in the same spot, but now in one place, now in another....

Nevertheless I perservered, thinking to persuade them in the spring, at the time of planting maize, to put in sufficient to last them so that the subject of one cacique could remain in the same place for the whole year.... I...proposed that they should sow it at the place where we were....there were twenty houses already built there....after having promised me many times to

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come and plant, the inhabitants of these twenty houses scattered themselves in twelve or thirteen different villages, some twenty leagues [eighty miles], some ten [forty], some six [twenty-four], and some four [sixteen]. Only two families remained.

...for nine out of the twelve months they wander about without any fixed abode. Even then, if they only went together, there would be some hope [for conversion].... But each one takes his own road.

...they have been accustomed to this kind of life for thousands of years, and it would almost kill them to tear them rudely from it...if they were willing the nature of the soil would not permit it, as it is poor and barren and easily wears out; and they themselves say that it is for this reason that they live so scattered and wander so much.²⁶³

In the summer, then, the Edisto lived in a town with a state house and twenty smaller structures which housed families.²⁶⁴ From this we can roughly estimate the size of each family if we assume that the two hundred Indians with Audusta and Maccou represent the adult male population of both villages about equally; that provides a figure of one hundred Edisto men, which in turn yields a total Edisto population of about four hundred.²⁶⁵ This suggests that each dwelling housed about twenty people, or an extended family rather than a nuclear one. Regardless of the specific numbers, this conclusion seems certain because the Edisto were the largest tribe of the Port Royal Region, and yet they had few dwellings.

In the winter, most extended families separated and moved inland from sixteen to eighty miles. Since Rogel says "the inhabitants of these twenty houses scattered themselves in twelve or thirteen different villages" (emphasis added) and "only two families remained," the majority of these inland settlements probably consisted of a single extended family, although several must have had two or more.

Laudonnière also mentions the Indians' moving inland in winter to live on nuts and roots.²⁶⁶ This seems to be the situation Hewatt described: "...for although Indians lived much dispersed, yet they united under one chief, and formed different towns, all the lands around which they claimed as their property. The boundaries of their hunting grounds being carefully fixed, each tribe was tenacious of its possessions...."²⁶⁷

Nearly all of the summer towns were ten to twenty miles inland, probably because the soil was better there than near the

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sandy coast and better than farther inland, which largely consisted of pine barrens. The occasionally severe weather of the coast was also undoubtedly a factor.

The choice of a specific site for a town seems primarily to have been determined by defensive needs. Coçapoy in 1580 was "very well fortified and in the midst of a swamp." Edisto in 1666 was in the middle of Edisto Island. Escamacu in 1569 was "an island...surrounded by rivers..." as was Hoya. Springs are fairly common throughout the Coast, but most places where one did not exist could still have been settled "by the easie sinking of wells every where."²⁶⁸

Sandford provides the best description of a town plan, again for the Edisto on Edisto Island in 1666:

The Towne is scituate on the side or rather in the skirts of a faire forrest in wch. at severall distances are diverse fields of Maiz with many little houses straglingly amongst them for the habitations of the particular families. On the East side and part of the South It hath a large prospect over meadows very spacious and delightful, before the Doore of their Statehouse is a spacious walke rowed wth trees on both sides tall & full branched, not much unlike to Elms wch serves for the Exercise and recreation of the men who by Couples runn after a marble ball & roled out alternately by themselves with six foote staves in their hands wch. they tosse after the bowle in their race and according to the laying of their staves wine or loose the bedds they contend for an Exercise approvable enough in the winter but some what too violent (mee thought) for that season and noone time of the day from this walke is another lesse aside from the round house for the children to sport in.²⁶⁹

Sandford at St. Helena also "Found as to the forme of build in every respect like that of Eddistowe with a plaine place before the great round-house for their bowling recreation att th' end of wch. stood a faire wooden Crosse of the Spaniards erecon."²⁷⁰ Both these plans, then, have much in common with the Creek plan that is described by Bartram, but there are also important differences. First, the most important similarities are the state house or rotunda, as already mentioned, and the gaming ground in front of it. The most important difference is that the Creeks lived adjacent to their rotunda and their houses were also adjacent to one another "with considerable regularity in streets or ranges, as indicated on the plan" (which shows rectilinear block patterns); the Edisto lived "in" (emphasis added) "a faire forrest" which was nearby with their fields

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carved out of it.²⁷¹

Bartram goes into considerable detail about "Chunky-Yards of the Creeks, so called by the traders...." In the larger towns, they were huge squares two to three hundred yards across and sometimes the playing surface was two or three feet below grade. The earth from this excavation was piled along the sides for spectators to sit on. At one end was a circular mound nine or ten feet high and large enough for the rotunda, and at the opposite end was a large square mound of about equal height for the four summer council houses. These houses were long, rectangular structures, one on each side of the mound and all facing inward. No such earthworks are mentioned or known for the Lower Coast with the possible exception of the mound surviving at Frogmore. No summer ceremonial houses are mentioned either, but instead the Edisto (at least in 1666) used their state house all year round. The Edisto's ceremonial ground for the Feast of Toya in 1562 was "a great circuit of ground with open prospect and round in figure"; Laudonnière's phrase that the Indians and French "put themselves on the way to go frõ the kings house to the place of Toya" implies that it was some distance away, rather than adjacent to the state house.²⁷²

The Lower Coastal pattern of extended families living separately from one another for most of the year and of living somewhat apart from one another even in the summer is probably the reason Ferguson in 1682 says "Nor dwell they in Towns, but in stragglng Plantations; often removing for the better conveniency of Hunting...."²⁷³ Similarly, an anonymous Virginian wrote in 1689 that "In the rest of ye plantations they the Indians have Towns, except in Carolina."²⁷⁴ Whether or not the summer settlements should be called towns, for convenience, they were usually so designated or they were called villages. They were more social centers than towns, though, for most, if not all, of the year.

Medicine Many accounts mention Indians living to an advanced age: "The Natives are very healthful; we saw many very Aged amongst them"; "...hunting, for that's their general Exercise, and a great part of their Maintenance; and which also so propagates their Health, that some of them live to see their Third, and Fourth; nay their Fifth Generation"; "the Air of so serene and excellent a temper, that the Indian Natives prolong their days to the Extremity of Old Age."²⁷⁵ Although numerous factors were involved, certainly one was medicine.

Monardes was so impressed by the medicines being discovered in the Western Hemisphere that he wrote a book entitled Joyful News from the New Found World.²⁷⁶ In it he has a full chapter

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"On the Tree that is Brought from the Florida, which is Called Sassafras":

The Tree groweth in some partes of the Florida, and doeth not grow in others, for that it is in the port of saint Elen [St. Helena or Port Royal], and in the porte of sainte Mathewe [San Mateo, the St. Johns in Florida], and it is not in any other partes, but when the Soldiours did waxe sicke, in places where this Tree was not, either thei carried them to bee healed to the saied places, or thei did sende them the Trees, or their rootes chiefly, and therewith did heale them. The beste of the Tree is the Roote, and after the Bowes, and after the Tree, and the beste of all is the Rindes.... The name of this Tree as the Indians dooeth name it, is called Pauame, and the Frenche menne doeth call it Sassafras.

The use of the Roote, or of the woodde of this Tree the whiche we have treated of here, is by the waie of Seethyng, and in this forme the Indians did shewe it to the Frenche menne, and thei unto us, and as the Indians hath neither weight nor measure, thei have not kepte in those partes any order in the makyng of the water of this wood, for that thei doe no more in those partes, then to put a pece of woodde, or the roote at their discretion made peeces, in the water as thei dooe thinke beste. And thei doe Seeth it after their maner, without consumyng more quantitie, then when thei dooe see that the Seethyng is sufficient, so that all thei whiche hath come from those partes, are verie variable in their maner of Seethyng, whiche is of no small confusion to them that shall use it....

Monardes says the drink should be prepared until it assumes "a good coulour," and he cautions that an improper dose can be harmful, that different dosages are called for by different seasons, and that the dosage should vary depending upon an individual's constitution. In summary, he declares that sassafras is particularly useful to reduce fevers and as a digestive aid, to restore appetite, to cure headaches, to stop "the runnyng whiche doth come from the head to the breast" in a head cold, to help stones to pass, to help lameness, to relieve toothache, to cure the pox and gout, as a laxative, to help conception, to put flesh on bones, and as a temporary immunization against contagious disease.

A test of the real wood is that it turns urine blue. The recommended preparation, which was probably copied from the

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Indians, is as follows: take a half ounce (preferably of the root with its bark), cut into pieces as small as possible, add three "pottels" of water and steep twelve hours, boil away two-thirds of the liquid, cool, and strain. The grounds can be reused to produce a weaker solution, boiled down only to one half. A half-pint of the concentrated solution should be taken every morning and the less concentrated solution should be taken all during the day. He instructs patients to keep warm and suggests that sweating is helpful in the morning, providing it is wiped away; he further advises patients to "flie from all things whiche maye offende you."

Hilton says the Edisto brought for trade "a sort of sweet-wood."²⁷⁷ This probably was sassafras. Ashe adds that "The Sassafrass is a Medicinal Tree, whose Bark and Leaves yield a pleasing Smell: It profits in all Diseases of the Blood, and Liver, particularly in all Venereal and Scorbutick Distempers."²⁷⁸

Monardes also has a chapter "Of the Beades, Which Bee Called of Sainct Elen." This plant, which was especially common at Port Royal, is probably the American potato bean.²⁷⁹ Monardes wrote that

From the Florida they doe bring certain rounde Rootes which are called the Beades of Sainct Elen. And they have this name by reason that they bee in a place of that Countrie so called, they are greate large Rootes, devided into severall peeces, and cuttinges, every peece by hymselfe, they remaine rounde as Beades, the whiche beyng bored in the middest, they do make of theym Beades for to praie upon, which the Souldiers doe hang around their neckes, for a thing of great estimation. They drie them, and they are as harde as a bone, in the outwarde parte they are blacke, and within white, and the Rinde is joyned in suche sorte, that the Rinde and the harte is made all one, the whiche are wrought after they are drie, and this Roote beeyng tasted, hath a sweete smell, with a good taste. And it seemeth by the taste that it is a kinde of Spice, it is like to Galange, they are of the thickenesse of a mans Thumbe, sumwhat lesse, the Plante hath no great stalke; the Bowes doe sprede by the grounde, and doe cast out the leaves broad and greate, and verie green.

The Indians doe use the Hearbe beaten betweene twoo stones when they pretende to washe them selves, rubbyng all their bodye with it: for they say that it doeth knit their Fleshe together, and it doth comforte them with his good smell. And this they doe for the

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moste parte every daie, for the greate profite that they find in it.

In griefes of the Stomacke, the Indians doe use it, in takyng the Pouder of it....

In the griefe of the Stone of the Kidneis or Raines, the Pouder of this Roote doth make a knowen effect....In griefes of the Urine of them that can not pisse well, taking the Pouder, it doth profite and expell it.

Barcia says these nodules were "called 'Beades of Santa Elena;' because of the great abundance of them in the marsh regions of Cape Santa Elena and in the province of Orista and its environs." He also mentions that "The Spanish learned about this plant from the Indians, and they made use of it the same way"; "the Indians used the herb to rub their entire bodies when they bathed."280

Mathews provides substantial material about the medical skills of Indians:

I am little skilled in the phisicall nature of vegetables but I have by my interest, with some charge upon the Indians, gained a knowledge of severall of their secrets in the use of roots, bark, and leaves of some trees. I have seen admirable cures by simples and spare dyet in a short time performed by Indians in veneriall and scurbutick distempers. I have also known speedy assistance given unto women in labor, I mean English and Indian women, by our Nighbor Indians by giving them decocted in water certain roots. Some Indians pretend they know a root of excellent vertue to cause and expedit conception in women. I know not how true it is but their young women, who are not willing to bear the burden of their pleasure, are exceeding fearfull of toutching the root when shown to them. I have known Indian men buy philters at very dear rates one of another when their Mistresses have not been readily kind or unsteadfastly loving.

The Indians when they are seek comonly send for a doctor (as they call it) who comes and makes incantations over them by tunes and dancing and then suck the affected part, takes fee and departs, but in veneriall, scurbutick, and properly feminin distempers, sores also, and imposthums they apply themselves to any among them who are notted for their skill in simples, who are but

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very few, and doe only communicat their Secrets of this nature to some of their owne children or kindred, or otherwise sell the knowledge of them at ane dear rate. I never heard of any secret of this nature they had but I either bought or otherwise discovered it.²⁸¹

Ashe borrows from this account by Mathews and probably got the rest of his information from him in person.²⁸² Of medical men he says "those skill'd in this Faculty are held in great Veneration and Esteem," and they also were priests. In addition to the reference to sassafras already given, he records several other examples of their expertise and of the medicinal knowledge most Indians probably possessed:

...the Wild Walnut or Hiquery-Tree, gives the Indians, by boyling its Kernel, a wholesome Oyl.... It's commended for a good Remedy in Dolors, and Gripes of the Belly; whilst new it has a pleasant Taste; but after six Moneths, it decays and grows acid....²⁸³

They have three sorts of the Rattle-Snake Root which I have seen; the Comous, or Hairy, the Smooth, the Nodous, or Knotted Root: All which are lactiferous, or yielding a Milkie Juice; and if I do not very much in my Observations err, the Leaves of all these Roots of a Heart had the exact Resemblance: They are all Sovereign against the Mortal Bites of that Snake, too frequent in the West Indies: In all Pestilential Distempers, as Plague, Small Pox, and Malignant Fevers, it's a Noble Specifick; when stung, they eat the Root, applying it to the Venemous Wound or they boyl the Roots in Water; which drunk, fortifies and corroborates the Heart, exciteing strong and generous Sweats: by which endangered Nature is relieved, and the Poyson carried off, and expelled.²⁸⁴

To conclude, there grows in Carolina the famous Cassiny, whose admirable and incomparable Vertues are highly applauded and extolled by French and Spanish Writers: It is the Leaves of a certain Tree, which boyl'd in Water (as we do Thea) wonderfully enliven and invigorate the Heart, with genuine easie Sweats and Transpirations, preserving the Mind free and serene, keeping the Body brisk, active, and lively, not for an hour, or two but for as many days, as those Authors report, without any other Nourishment or Subsistance, which, if true, is really admirable; they also add, that none amongst the Indians, but their great Men and Captains, who have been famous for their great Exploits of War and Noble Actions, are admitted to the use of this noble Bevaridge.

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At my being there I made Enquiry after it; but the Ignorance of the Planter did not inform me.²⁸⁵

Catesby gives additional information about cassine (Ilex vomitoria Ait.), and he notes that "in South Carolina, it is called Cassena; in Virginia and North Carolina it is known by the name of Yapon...." He wrote that:

As I have (Vol. II. p. 57.) figured and described the Casena, I shall here only observe, that this medicinal shrub, so universally esteem'd by the Indians of North America, is produced but in a small part of the continent, confined by northern and western limits, viz North to lat. 37, and West to the distance of about fifty miles from the Ocean: yet the Indian inhabitants of the North and West are supplied with it by the maritime Indians in exchange for other commodities. By the sour faces the Indians make in drinking this salubrious licquor, it seems as little agreeable to an Indian as to an European palate, and consequently that the pains and expences they are at in procuring it from remote distances, does not proceed from luxury (as tea with us from China) but from its virtue, and the benefit they receive of it.²⁸⁶

While the accounts for the Lower Coast are too vague to give us more than a general idea of the Indians' medical knowledge, they do indicate an extensive knowledge of the properties of plants. Lawson, while referring to the Sewee, mentions that:

you may find among them Practioners that have extraordinary Skill and Success in removing these morbific Qualities which afflict them, not often going above one hundred Yards from their Abode for their Remedies, some of their Chiefest Physicians commonly carrying their Compliment of Drugs continually about them, which are Roots, Barks, Berries, Nuts & c., that are strung upon a Thread. So like a Pomander [collection of aromatic substances to ward off disease] the Physician wears them about his Neck. An Indian hath been often found to heal an Englishman of a Malady for the Value of a Match-Coat, which the ablest of our English Pretenders in America, after repeated Applications, have deserted the Patient as incurable....²⁸⁷

Hewatt draws upon his background as a minister to suggest the psychological benefits of ceremony:

When taken sick they are particularly prone to superstition, and their physicians administer their simple

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and secret cures with a variety of strange ceremonies and magic arts, which fill the patient with courage and confidence, and are sometimes attended with happy effects."²⁸⁸

Travel and Trade The extent of travel has been noted in the chapter on Intertribal Relations. A few notes on trade are also included there. Within the Coast itself there was probably relatively little trade inasmuch as each area had so similar an ecology that all resources were fairly evenly distributed. The tribes often went among one another because of inter-marriage²⁸⁹ and they gathered together for ceremonial occasions,²⁹⁰ but their trade was largely with tribes outside the area.

Most of the trade seems to have been with inland tribes. The Sewee were exchanging salt and fish in return for metal (presumably copper) from tribes which came down the Santee in canoes. European captives were traded inland by the Sewee and the Indians of Santa Elena. This trade seems to have developed because of the more extended navigability of the Savannah and Santee Rivers, the only water routes providing access deep into the Piedmont.

The mode of travel seems to have been nearly as much by canoe as on foot. Travel by canoe was probably especially common on the coast because numerous waterways "crumble the Continent into Islands...."²⁹¹

Canoes are frequently mentioned. Ribaut calls them "trough botes," indicating that they resembled animal troughs and thus surely were hollowed-out logs or the familiar dugout that was common in all of the Southeast.²⁹² Rojas encountered two Indians in a canoe on the south side of St. Helena Sound, indicating that some of the canoes were relatively small.²⁹³ Hilton mentions an Edisto "canoa with nine or ten Indians in her"; it must have been at least twenty-five or thirty feet long, rather too long for two men to handle, so there were probably two or more sizes of canoes.²⁹⁴

One size had to be quite large to be taken into ocean waters, as the Indians of Port Royal were "accustomed" to doing.²⁹⁵ The Sewee also had canoes of "the best sort and biggest size," ones long enough and with sides high enough not to be capsized by most waves. Lawson says these had "Mat-Sails," but since this is the only reference to sails on the Lower Coast, they may not have been aboriginal.²⁹⁶ The Sewee's canoes must have done well enough initially, but were not all seaworthy enough to survive a "Tempest." Lawson also mentions "small Craft" and says the Sewee "are excellent Artists in maning these small Canoes." Again this

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is evidence of at least two distinct sizes.

Catesby says "Their canoes are made of pine or tulip trees, which (before they had the use of English tools) they burned hollow, scraping and chipping them with oyster-shells and stone hatchets."²⁹⁷ The same process of alternately burning and scraping seems to have been used all over the Southeast.²⁹⁸

Inland trails were necessary to cross conveniently from one river system to another and to travel upstream when rivers rose and their currents became too swift to paddle against, even along the shores. Trails between waterways were necessary for hunting. On the coast, trails were needed between ceremonial centers and scattered dwellings and to connect both with landings on major waterways. The entire area was thus probably criss-crossed with paths even though we know of relatively few.

Most 17th and early 18th Century roads may have been widened trails, but without specific mention of them as trails, that assumption is questionable.²⁹⁹ Coastal trails are specifically mentioned at Port Royal and Edisto. Merás says that when the Spanish first landed at Santa Elena, the Indians welcomed Menéndez de Avilés and then "many ran off, some by one trail, others by another: this was to notify the pueblo, the caciques and captains, that they should come to see the Adelantado...."³⁰⁰ The Edisto in 1666 had paths from the center of Edisto Island to both the North and South Edisto Rivers.

Inland, there was a path or "northern route" in 1672 between the Ashepoo River and Charleston Harbor. This may have been the path which passed through Spoon Savannah.³⁰¹ No path is known to have led from Charleston Harbor to the mouth of the Santee.³⁰² The path which began at the head of Ashley River and went northwest to the Savannah River must have been entirely separate from the Ashepoo path.³⁰³ Another inland path started at the head of the Cooper River and went east to the Santee River.³⁰⁴

Art The Escamacu in 1569 had "very good clay for pots" nearby. The Sewee in 1670 are mentioned as "bringing their potts to boyle." On the basis of these two references little can be concluded beyond that ceramics were being made that were well enough fired to be exposed to an open flame.

In 1562 Laudonnière noted that the Indians at Port Royal had "little baskets made of Palme leaves...."³⁰⁵ In 1663, again near Port Royal, Hilton saw an "Indian basket" was being used to hold a piece of "Spanish Rusk" (twisted, refried bread).³⁰⁶ In 1682 Ashe wrote the Indians he was acquainted with had "little Baskets of painted Reeds...."³⁰⁷ The baskets of palmetto (palm

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itself not being native) and of reed must have been woven, as elsewhere in the Southeast,³⁰⁸ rather than coiled.

In 1565 Audusta sent Laudonnière "some skinned painted after their manner." These possibly were "black and red Checquers colored."³⁰⁹

ORGANIZATION

Politics The leaders of Coastal Tribes have variously been called kings or queens, caciques (from Latin), cockarouses or warrawansaws (Algonquin), petty princes or reguli (Latin), chief commanders or grandy captains, head men, and chiefs. Although the leaders were often referred to as kings or queens, their power was strictly limited by public opinion and thus by their ability to convince. Laudonnière noted that Audusta (of the Edisto) and Maccou (of the Escamacu) had to talk their followers into helping the French in 1562. Meràs wrote in 1567 that Orista (the same Audusta, chief of the Edisto) could not make peace with Guale without speaking "with his Indians more than half an hour discussing the subject..." (emphasis added).³¹⁰

Mathews points out that "Truly to define the power of these Cassikaes I must say thus; it is noe more (scarce as much) as we owne to ye Topakin in England..."³¹¹ Le Jau wrote that "...their Head Man whom ignorantly we call a King has the power over the rest of them as that of a Father in his family..."³¹² Hewatt explains that "Personal wisdom and courage are the chief sources of distinction among them, and individuals obtain rank and influence in proportion as they excel in these qualifications." He also says "By the first unlucky or unpopular step he forfeits the goodwill and confidence of his countrymen, upon which all his power is founded," and he adds that "...nothing is determined but by the general consent."³¹³ This was entirely different from the authority of the Santee chief, who had the rare and absolute power to condemn anyone to death.³¹⁴

A chief's function was essentially ceremonial, and it included presiding over tribal meetings and receiving visitors. Otherwise, chiefs were expected to act like everyone else. Le Jau has already been quoted that the chief "labours and fares with the rest." This was as among the Creeks, whose chief, Bartram says:

Politics

dresses no better than an ordinary citizen, and his house is in no way distinguished from the rest, otherwise than by being larger, according to his ability or private riches may enable him, for he exacts no sort of tribute. He goes out to hunt with his family, and even goes to the field with his axe and hoe to work every day during the season of labor.³¹⁵

Mathews says some of the Carolina tribes "have 4 or 5 Cassikaes more, or Less." One of the tribes he lists in 1671 is the Kussoe, and four years later when the leaders of this tribe ceded St. Gyles, four caciques signed: "the great casseq;," "the most great cassiqua," "a Cassequa," and "cassq."³¹⁶ The notations imply that all four did not have equal authority. Instead, considering the other similarities with the Creeks, they probably were equivalent to a prime minister, a commander-in-chief or war-chief, and perhaps one or two "judges and conjurers."³¹⁷ In addition, twenty-three "captains" signed the Kussoe cession, about half of whom were female. Since this tribe is unlikely to have numbered more than two or three hundred, about one in eight or twelve persons or about ten percent of its number seem to have held positions of leadership, quite likely as heads of extended families. These captains probably formed a council which possessed much, if not most, of the actual authority; "the casique or cheife of every nation, together with [emphasis added] the assistance of his captaines..." were designated to enforce the 1696 tribute act passed by the Province.³¹⁸ Each head of an extended family or clan presumably enforced all tribal laws as well, thus greatly limiting the need for any separate political authority.³¹⁹

All the Kussoe chiefs were probably men since three of the four have "his" beside his mark; but women were chiefs of other tribes, and the fourth signer could have been a woman. The St. Helena in 1684 and the Ashepoo in 1671-1672 both had female chiefs, and at Edisto in 1666 the chief's wife presided in his stead. This probably indicates that position was based at least in part upon inheritance.

Writing about Muskhogean-speaking people, Brinton describes a situation which seems to fit the Lower Coast in every detail:

The chief of each town was elected for life from a certain gens, but the office was virtually hereditary, as it passed to his nephew on his wife's side unless there were cogent reasons against it. The chief, or miko, as he was called, ruled with the aid of a council, and together they appointed the "war chief," who obtained the post solely on the ground of merit. Instances of a