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woman occupying the position of head chief were not unknown, and seem to have been recalled with pleasure by the tribe. [footnote: "Examples given by William Bartram in his MSS. in the Pennsylvania Historical Society."]³²⁰

About women chiefs, Bartram had said, "I neither knew nor heard of any instance of the females bearing rule, or presiding either in council or the field; but according to report, the Cherokees and Creeks can boast of their Semiramis, Zenobia, and Cleopatra."³²¹ Women chiefs may have had more difficulties in dealing with Europeans than with their own people (as the Queen of Cofitachiqui with De Soto), but early in the Contact Period their authority was evidently sometimes equal with that of men.³²²

That heredity was sometimes bypassed is indicated by two Englishmen's being made chieftans. Stephen Bull was "chosen cassica of Ettowan" about 20 January 1671/2.³²³ Maurice Mathews was chosen "Cassica" by a tribe about 20 June 1672.³²⁴

Ethics Le Jau said his Indian neighbors were "a good sort of people & that would be better if they were not Spoiled by our badd examples," while Hunt said his were "a headstrong, idle, stupid people, who seemed incapable of understanding the Christian religion...."³²⁵ Le Jau, incidentally, was well liked by his parishioners, and Hunt was not. Rogel, a man hard to please, says the Edisto are neither "cruel, nor thieves, dealing among themselves with great justice, truth, and gentleness...."³²⁶

Justice probably stemmed in part from the Indian's desire to be well thought of; his opinion of himself depended largely on how others regarded him. When Audusta and Maccou wanted their men to work, they told them that if each did not "worke with all his might, [he] should be esteemed as unprofitable, and as one that had no good part in him, which the savages feare above all things."³²⁷ Participation in war was entirely voluntary, but few refused because "by such ignominious conduct he loses his reputation, and forfeits the hope of distinction and preferment....they are extremely cautious and watchful against doing any action for which they may incur public censure and disgrace."³²⁸

The lack of a police force, then, was made up partly by the value placed on public opinion, especially in a small society where almost every action was noted. The fear of revenge was probably also very much in everyone's mind. Hewatt says that:

The American savages almost universally claim the right of private revenge. It is considered by them as a point of honour to avenge the injuries done to friends,

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particularly the death of a relation. Scalp for scalp, blood for blood, and death for death, can only satisfy the surviving friends of the injured party. The same law of retaliation was established among the ancient Jews and Romans. But should the wise and aged men of weight and influence among Indians interpose, on account of some favourable circumstances on the side of the aggressor perhaps satisfaction may be made by way of compensation. In this case, some present made to the party aggrieved serves to gratify their passion of revenge, by the loss the aggressor sustains, and the acquisition of property the injured receives. Should the injured friends refuse this kind of satisfaction, which they are entirely at liberty to do, then the murderer, however high his rank may be, must be delivered up to torture and death, to prevent the quarrel spreading wider through the nation.³²⁹

While Le Jau said "I admire the sense they have of Justice" (probably the Etiwan specifically), he took strong exception to "their perpetual murdering one another which some of them cannot to this day cannot conceive to be evil. Some of them to whom the Devil has formerly appeared, as they coldly declared to myself, say that evil spirit never incites them to any thing more than hatred, revenge, and murder of those that offend them."³³⁰

As Hewatt notes "satisfaction" had to be made to keep others from joining a "quarrel" and turning it into a war. Archdale was referring to this custom when he wrote in 1707 that:

It is Pity they should be farther thin'd with Civil Quarrels, being their Service is in all Respects so necessary: And indeed I my self their late Governour, prevented the Ruin and Destruction of two small Nations. The Manner of it was thus;

Two Indians in drinking Rum quarelled, and the one of these presently kill'd the other; his Wife being by, immediately, with a Knife, smote off his Testicles, so as they hung only by a Skin: He was pursued by my Order, I happening to be then that way, being about 16 Miles from Town, and was taken in a Swamp, and immediately sent to Custody into Charles Town; and the Nation to whom the slain Indian belonged unto, was acquainted with it, whose King, etc., came to the Governour, and desired Justice on that Indian; some of the Indian's Friends would have bought him off, as is usual; But nothing but his Life would satisfie

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that Nation, so he was ordered to be shot by the Kinsman of the murdered Indian. Before he went to Execution, the Indian King to whom he belonged, told him, that since he was to die, he would have him to die like a Man: and farther he said, I have often forwarn'd you of Rum, and now you must lose your Life for not taking my Council; I hope it will be a warning to others. When he came to the Tree, he desired not to be tyed to it, but to stand loose, for, said he, I will not budge or stir when he shoots me; so he was shot in the Head, and immediately died. Now the Manner of the Indians in such Cases, is to War one Nation against the other to revenge any Blood-shed; and being ordered Satisfaction this way, no War ensued.³³¹

The Coastal Indians possessed a strong sense of responsibility for one another's well being: "...what little they have lasts makes it common so yt: one shall not have plenty and the rest want"; "...their eatables are in Common..."; "...while they have plenty of provisions, they allow none to suffer through want: if they are successful in hunting, all their unfortunante or distressed friends share with them the common blessings of life."³³² Even those who could no longer contribute economically, the aged, were cherished.³³³

War The frequency of war has been shown in the section on intertribal relations. In every known instance, wars were with tribes outside the Lower Coast. Archdale's account makes it clear, though, that a war was possible between any two tribes.³³⁴

Hewatt outlines the events leading to and concluding a war:

The great concerns relating to war or peace, are canvassed in assemblies of deputies from all the different towns. When injuries are committed, and Indians of one tribe happen to be killed by those of another, then such a meeting is commonly called. If no person appears on the side of the aggressors, the injured nation deputes one of their warriors to go to them, and, in the name of the whole tribe, to demand satisfaction: if this is refused, and they think themselves able to undertake a war against the aggressors, then a number of warriors, commonly the relations of the deceased, take the field for revenge, and look upon it as a point of honour never to leave it till they have killed the same number of the enemy that had been slain of their kinsmen. Having accomplished this, they return home with their scalps, and by some token let their enemy know that

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they are satisfied. But when the nation to whom the aggressors belong, happen to be disposed to peace, they search for the murderers, and they are, by the general judgment of the nation, capitally punished, to prevent involving others in their quarrel; which act of justice is performed often by the aggressor's nearest relations. The criminal never knows of his condemnation until the moment the sentence is to be put in execution, which often happens while he is dancing the war dance in the midst of his neighbours, and bragging of the same exploit for which he is condemned to die.³³⁵

Although this is called warfare, it is more of a police action.³³⁶ No Coastal Tribe is known to have attempted to annihilate another tribe or to reduce another tribe to servitude.

The Indians' basic tactics were concealment and surprise. They practiced war in the same-manner that they hunted game (with similarly limited objectives). Oré gives the best account of their tactics in his relation of the Escamacu War (1576-1579).³³⁷ He says the Escamacu attacked the Spanish troops quartered among them "at dawn" and murdered them all. Martin supplements his account in mentioning that the combined forces of the Provinces of Orista and Guale beseiged the Spanish who were holding up inside Fort San Felipe "and began to shoot many arrows at those within....This may have lasted about two hours or more, and because the Indians' arrows gave out, they fled."³³⁸ Oré continues that the Indians afterwards spent the night in the vicinity and when a scouting party of Spaniards tried to approach the fort, about a mile away they came on "a great number fires; also a number of Indians dancing, by which they understood that the fort was encompassed."

When a Spanish patrol later went out to secure the island Fort San Felipe was on, "the Indians, who were in ambush, sent one of their men forward to skirmish with the soldiers; then the rest came out and there killed them. They also came near the fort so that for forty-five days they advanced twice a day to assault it." Flores in 1578 mentioned that the Indians were "always approaching" Fort San Marcos, which had replaced San Felipe.

When the Spanish were forced from San Felipe, the Indians burned it instead of occupying it. They also passed up an opportunity to use a fort the French built later that year. They thus seem to have preferred flexibility of movement to a fixed position even when one was available to them. Although Indian forts were not uncommon in the Southeast, it is likely that the

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Coastal towns were originally not "fortified" in a European sense, even though that word is used in describing Coçapoy in 1579. Since Mathews' c. 1685 map shows a "Sewee Indian Fort" on the Wando, these more northern tribes may have literally had forts, but this particular example may even have been built by the English. All of the Coastal tribes' movements seem to argue against forts, particularly their winter divisions into extended families. The Coast must have been safer in the 16th Century than in the 17th, when attacks by the Westo and by tribes loyal to the Spanish or French possibly made fortified positions necessary for the first time.

No specific instances of torture are known for Coastal Tribes, but the practice seems to have been universal among Southeastern Tribes, as it was among European nations of the period.³³⁹ Mutilation is mentioned: When the Escamacu killed all but one of the Spaniards among them at the outbreak of the Escamacu War, they sent "to the caciques of Guale twenty heads of dead men as gifts." In 1598 the Escamacu and Kiawah took only scalps on their raid against Guale.

The weaponry of Indian warfare consisted primarily of the bow and arrow. "Nor did the musket give those strangers [Europeans] to the woods such an advantage over the bow and arrow in the hands of Indians, as some people may be apt to imagine. The savage, quick-sighted, and accustomed to perpetual watchfulness, springs from his den behind a bush, and surprises his enemy with the pointed arrow before he is aware of danger."³⁴⁰ Against 16th Century matchlocks, the Indians' weaponry had particular advantage since these early guns were useless when their fuses were not lit.³⁴¹ Also an Indian could shoot several arrows in the time that was necessary for reloading a musket, even during the 18th Century. For range and accuracy and for its ability to fire multiple projectiles, a gun was, of course, preferable.

References to bows and arrows are common, and every tribe must have used them predominately.³⁴² Spears may also have been used; the Edisto's use of six foot staves in playing chunky was probably intended to improve their spear handling.³⁴³

Slavery does not seem to have been a cause of war on the Coast before a European market existed. In war, captives were usually killed, but some European prisoners are known to have been spared. The Escamacu in 1577 presented the Guale with three Spaniards who were captured after the initial massacre of the Escamacu War. A few of the shipwrecked French who were attacked in 1577 were divided "among the caciques of Guale and Escamacu"; one was traded or given to tribes west of the Appa-

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lachian Mountains.³⁴⁴ Some Englishmen captured by the Stono in 1663 were divided between the Edisto and Escamacu. Prisoners were probably utilized as slaves during their detention, but there were several significant differences between this kind of captivity and the slavery enforced by Europeans. Manumission was usual, instead of exceptional, and it came with marriage, adoption, exchange, or the death of an owner. In addition, children of captives are not known to have been considered slaves throughout North America except for some instances on the Northwest Coast.³⁴⁵

Religion "Their Religion chiefly consists in the Adoration of the Sun and Moon: At the Appearance of the New Moon I have observed them with open extended Arms then folded, with inclined Bodies, to make their Adorations with much Ardency and Passion."³⁴⁶ The Indians at Port Royal are also said to have worshiped "the new Moon."³⁴⁷ Bartram explains that the Creeks

have no notion or ception of any God but the Great Spirit on high, the giver and taker away of the breath of life: which is as much as to say that eternal Supreme Being who created and governs the universe. The worship none else.

They pay a kind of homage to the sun, moon, and planets, as the mediators or ministers of the Great Spirit, in dispensing his attributes for their comfort and well being in this life.³⁴⁸

This seems to fit well with Ferguson's statement that they "are somewhat Superstitious, without Idolatry...."³⁴⁹ Bartram also wrote that the Creeks

worship no idols, either of their own formation or the production of nature.

They assemble and feast at the appearance of the new moon, when they seem to be in great mirth and gladness, but, I believe, make no offering to that planet.

They seem to do homage to the sun, as a symbol of the power and beneficence of the Great Spirit, or as his minister.³⁵⁰

The perpetual fire of their state house probably symbolized the Supreme Being because Hewatt says "They look on fire as sacred, and pay the author of it a kind of worship."³⁵¹

Along the same lines, Varnod says, probably of the Kussoe,

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that "They entertain a Notion of a Supreme being to whom they offer their first offerings...",³⁵² and Orr says specifically that the "Cussoes" "have pretty good Notions a Deity who made them; but they appear not at all concerned to serve Him."³⁵³

Rogel refers to a more personified force. Among the Edisto, he:

commenced to tell them that to become sons of God, they must become enemies of the Demon, for he is evil and loves all evil things, but God is good and loves all good things. When I began to speak thus, they became greatly displeased, and so bitter was the hatred that they conceived against me, that they refused to see or hear me any more, and told those who were with me that they were much offended, and disbelieved every word I said, since I had spoken evil of the Demon, for the Demon was so good that there was nothing better than he.³⁵⁴

Rogel adds that the Guale missionaries experienced the same reaction when they preached against the demon.³⁵⁵ As already mentioned, Le Jau found much the same thing among Indians near Goose Creek, probably the Etiwan: "Some of them to whom the Devil has formerly appeared, as they coldly declared to myself, say that evil spirit never incites them to any thing more than hatred, revenge, and murder of those that offend them."³⁵⁶ Such a deity who seems to have been anthropomorphised and to have personally involved himself with mortals must be similar to what Hewatt referred to: "They believe that superior beings interfere in, and direct, human affairs and invoke all spirits, both good and evil, in hazardous undertakings."

As mentioned in the section on medicine, physicians also had priestly functions. Laudonnière confirms the dual role and describes their secret intercession on behalf of the tribe with Toya, probably the evil spirit.³⁵⁷ This intercession rather than direct communication by the people themselves implies a well-developed priestly cast. The dual function of priests are also mentioned by Hewatt: "Each tribe have their conjurers and magicians, on whose prophetic declarations they place much confidence, in all matters relating to health, hunting, and war. They are fond of prying into future events, and therefore pay particular regard to signs, omens, and dreams."³⁵⁸

These statements about the formal aspects of religion are sufficient to indicate that there were basic similarities with other Southeastern belief systems. The few deities were little worshiped; instead innumerable rituals were performed to produce

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specific beneficial effects, probably by correcting some imbalance presumed to have occurred in any otherwise orderly world of unseen forces.³⁵⁹ Each explanation for a natural phenomenon was interrelated in a way that was rational within the context of other beliefs. All forces were personified and were considered capable of being placated. Man was thus thought to have the potential for controlling all of the factors which influenced his existence. Clearly, such a belief system pervaded most aspects of their daily lives, as in pre-literate societies generally.

The two sections which follow, on burial and ceremony, also reflect beliefs which were widespread in the Southeast.

Burial Hasell in 1720 says the Etiwan "had an imperfect notion of two states after death, a good and a bad," although he revised his statement in 1725 to "a Blind Notion."³⁶⁰ Bartram says:

All the Indians whom I have been amongst, are so confirmed in the doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul, that they would certainly judge any man to be out of his reason that should doubt of it; they also believe that every creature has a spirit or soul that exists in future state.

They believe in rewards and punishments in a future state....³⁶¹

Belief in an afterlife is implicit in their grave offerings. The one definite example of an offering is in connection with what was almost certainly an Etiwan burial. When Dennis was among Indians near Goose Creek in 1711, he saw three small, painted chests near their houses. The chests were raised off the ground on four corner-posts and were thatched. A Captain Davis accompanying him explained that the chests contained human bones which had been dug up, scraped, and stored for preservation. He said the Indians carried the bones with them when they moved "till forc'd by their Enemies to bury them...." He mentioned also that "they allways put some of the best Food they have (as Water Millions pumkins & c for em...)." ³⁶² Le Jau gives other information about burials and indicates that it is specifically about the "Ittiwan: when any of them dies they anoint him all over with Oyl, either of Bear or Ikkerry nuts for they have no other, thats' a constant practice and the Women's employment."³⁶³

Another burial account by Warwick in 1694 probably describes the practice of a nearby tribe because it also mentions palmetto:

When any one dyes the Relations take the body

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and Wrap it in a Sheet of Canes & dig an hole in the Ground about two foot Deep and Sett the body upright on his feet, so wrapt about with Canes, & ram in Earth about his leggs. next they take Cabbage leaves (as they call them) which seemes to be the Palmeta, very like the Tallipot leafe, and Wind these leaves about the body, from the bottom to the top, and tyè them very Close, at the top that no Water can gett in, when the body hath Stood a Certain time in this position, which length of time is known to be Sufficient to have Cleansed all the flesh from the bones, they take it down and take off all the leaves and Canes, from about the bones, wch. they find to be very White and Cleane, then they put the bones into a Basket and Carry them to a kind of Shed built for the purpose, and there Sett down the Baskett with the Stones, in it, next to the Relation before deceased & when the place is filled, so that they have no more romme, they bring a large Earthen pott, and make a fire about it, and Cast in the bones of their Relations, which, when burnt and the pott cold, they bind a Deer-Skinn over the top of the pott and bury it in the Ground.

These burials are both similar to the practice of the Santee, but this tribe did not initially bury the corpse, even partly, in order for the flesh to decompose.³⁶⁴ The body was left exposed and afterwards, the bones were stored in a wooden container. Eventually, some graves were constructed on top of mounds. Basically, though, the Santee procedure was simply more elaborate. Somewhat the same practices were employed by most Muskhogean tribes and by at least some Iroquoian groups. The custom of cleaning bones and of preserving them above ground as long as possible occurred over much of the Eastern United States, but with marked variation in the details of preparation.³⁶⁵

Ceremony The most important ceremony, as elsewhere in the Southeast, was the busk or green corn rites. Le Jau probably refers to the Etiwan when he mentions "a kind of Offering of first fruits when their Corn is ripe."³⁶⁶ Varnod is probably writing about the Kussoe when he says "They entertain a Notion of a Supreme being to whom they offer their first offering...."³⁶⁷ Hewatt also mentions a ceremony "at the time of harvest...."³⁶⁸ This purification ritual annually provided an opportunity for a new beginning through the reintroduction of fire and the use of the black drink.³⁶⁹

On the Lower Coast, corn probably ripened first at mid-summer. Rogel says they planted in the spring; Hilton says "they have two or three crops of Corn a year"; and Ashe confirms

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at least "Two plentiful Harvests...."³⁷⁰ The first harvest, then, was probably in late June or early July. When the Escamacu War broke out on 17 June 1576, Gomes says "Cacique Oristan and other caciques...were in [the midst of] a certain feast they hold."³⁷¹ He also says it was at "a pueblo of Indians they call Oristan," but Martinez, who was in a better position to know, says it was at Escamacu.³⁷² In 1570 Rogel had also mentioned that "at the end of June," "a festival at Escamacu" was attended by "three or four caciques, among them Escamacu, Orista, and Hoya...."³⁷³ From the time of year, these references are all probably to the busk ceremony.

Later in the summer, another major feast was held. The time can be fixed approximately because it was after the Indians had harvested their crops, but before they had moved inland in the fall. Laudonnière described it in detail: In a large round ceremonial area near the Edisto chief's house, men, women, and children gathered to celebrate in honor of the god Toya (who may have been the evil spirit mentioned under "Religion" since he appeared in person to the priests). The participants "chosen to celebrate the feast" were painted and feathered for the occasion. They danced in the round area to the lead of three priests called Iawas, who afterwards ran into the woods for three days to ask favors of Toya. In their absence, the women cried and angrily cut the arms of young girls. Everyone fasted. When the priests returned, they danced joyously in the presence of men who were too old to participate. When this dance was over and the three-day fast had ended, everyone ate ravenously.³⁷⁴

Laudonnière concluded with "They have also many other ceremonies which I will not here rehearse for feare of molesting the reader with a matter of so small importance." Some of the other ceremonies are known from other sources. Rogel has been quoted as saying that in the fall the Indians separated into small groups "and only met together for certain festivals, which occurred every two months, and this not always in the same spot, but now in one place, now in another." He mentions attending a "general meeting of most of the subjects of Orista on the Rio Dulze" (probably the Savannah). This may have been the feast of Toya since it was here that he spoke against the devil and his remarks caused him to be rejected.³⁷⁵

Rogel's statement that there were ceremonies every two months seems to be accurate from these references to a busk ceremony in mid- or late June, from the reference to the Toya feast, which was probably in August or September, and also from the other specific references by Le Jau to ceremonies which were held during October and during January.

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A feast during October of 1712 involved three men who led forty or so others in a dance, but these were young men and were supposed to represent three brothers. Despite the date and number three, there may have been no connection with Toya, but it is possible that by this time the feast of Toya had been given a new interpretation on the basis of European suggestions. The three men were painted and specially dressed, and they danced in a winding line to the music of rattles and a song of only four notes, constantly repeated. The ceremony began at a small square hut which was raised on posts and was elaborately decorated. Le Jau suspected that the hut represented Noah's ark and that the three brothers represented his sons; an Indian informant told him that this seemed to be the same story being celebrated.³⁷⁶ However, since Mathews in 1671 described the Coastal Indians as "generally...Spanish," they were already much indoctrinated, having had more than a century of exposure to Jesuits and Franciscans.³⁷⁷ Le Jau adds significantly that "they have forgot most of their traditions since the Establishment of this Colony, they keep their Festivals and can tell but little of the reasons: their Old Men are dead...."³⁷⁸

A festival in January of 1710 lasted three days. Men danced together while the women fasted apart during the day and then danced at night. One Indian informant said the reason for the separation was to remind them that man had been created first and woman from one of his ribs.³⁷⁹ This explanation may also have been elicited, though, because Le Jau, like Adair, was intrigued by the possibility that he had found a lost tribe of Israel. He and Varnod also sent reports of circumcision back to the headquarters of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,³⁸⁰ but if the practice existed, it also is probably further evidence of the Spanish missionary effort.

No ceremonies are known for early and late spring, but their second most important one may have been in early spring because this is when the Creeks assembled for a major purification rite. This ceremony usually took place at the beginning of April or when wild berries, such as the mulberry, were ripening. At a time specifically determined by the moon (as on the Coast), men, women, and children danced all night and in the morning the men drank a strong emetic, which in this case is said to have been "pasa" or "button snake root."³⁸¹ While there is no specific mention of an emetic being used on the coast, since cassina grew there and was traded inland, it must surely have been used locally for this purpose.³⁸² Hewitt says it was used by the Creeks during their most important festival, the "Poskita or Busk, which signifies 'to fast' [and] was held when the corn was large enough for roasting ears, generally in July or August, and at a certain time of the moon." Between early spring and harvest,

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the sixth annual ceremony may have also involved purification, as all the others probably did to some degree.

Since these ceremonies were all timed by the phases of the moon, their dates were variable and possibly some revision was periodically required to select a new moon which coincided with the ripening corn. Occasionally, then, there may have been five or seven ceremonies a year, but a major one bringing together all members of one tribe or several tribes in all probability took place about every two months.

Aside from these major ceremonial occasions, Bartram says "They have no appointed time to assemble and worship the Great Spirit, but they frequently in word and actions address themselves to God in thanksgiving and adoration, as when escaping from some imminent danger and calamity..."³⁸³ Varnod sent the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

a form of prayer used by one of the Indian Kings before the taking of his Chocolate in the morning which deserves to be printed in gold letters "Thou Chief King of all things, let this thy day be a prosperous one to me, & favor me with the continuance of my being, for I thank thee who regardest me."³⁸⁴

The ceremony for welcoming strangers seems to have been the same throughout the Coast. Sandford described the Edisto's "Ceremonyes of Welcome and freindshipp (by skroaking our shoulders with their palms and sucking in their breath the whilst)." ³⁸⁵ Carteret says the Sewee "stroked vs on ye shoulders with their hands..." and he adds "I could not imagine that ye sauages would so well deport themselves who coming in according to their age & all to sallute the strangers, stroaking of them." ³⁸⁶ This seems to be what Merás describes when the Edisto were still at Port Royal. Menéndes de Avilés, like Sandford, was seated at the chief's special place and was approached by Indians who in turn "took his hands," while the chief "caressed him very much and wept for joy" because he had brought back two Edisto captives from Guale. ³⁸⁷

Merás added that "then they began to sing and dance..., and the festivities and demonstrations lasted until about midnight, when they withdrew." Dancing thus was done at other times than during religious festivals and war.

Alliances were concluded with formal exchanges. King Stalame gave Capt. Albert "his bow and arrowes, which is a signe and confirmation of an alliance between them. He presented him with chamoyes skinnes."³⁸⁸ Tobacco must have figured in such

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ceremonies, but its use is not specified.³⁸⁹

A note by Laudonnière foreshadows the decline of Indian ceremony; some Indians of Port Royal who were aboard his ship

made us understand that they were accustomed to wash their face and stay untill the sunne were set before they did eate, which is a ceremonie common to all the Indians of Newe France. Neuerthelesse in the end they were constrained to forget their superstitions, and to apply themselves to our nature, which was somewhat strange to them at first.³⁹⁰

Family Family structure is known only through inference. In the section on "Settlement Patterns," Rogel's statements about the Edisto suggest that each dwelling housed an extended family, the pattern for nearly the whole of the Eastern United States.³⁹¹ Rogel also says each Edisto man had "only one wife."³⁹² In the section on politics, the position of women was noted as equaling that of the men, particularly since an equal number of females as males were captains among the Kussoe and since women held the highest tribal positions among the Ashepoo and Escamacu. The status of women and the presence of monogamy make matrilineal descent almost certain and matrilocal residence as well.³⁹³ This implies a great deal about kinship;³⁹⁴ however, there is little to confirm the implications in the primary source material.

Mathews' statement that "intermarriages...causeth them to visit one Another..." indicates that a taboo almost certainly existed against marriage within an Indian's own lineage and clan.³⁹⁵ These restrictions prohibited the selection of a wife from a substantial portion of each tribe and made intertribal marriages common.

Rogel, who had also lived among the Calusa Indians in the Florida peninsula, contrasted their customs with the Edisto; he "found each Indian...not addicted to the crime against nature, neither incestuous..."³⁹⁶ Varnod wrote that "the Indians in General allow fornication," as was usual throughout the Southeast.³⁹⁷ Lawson gives the most comprehensive summary of the sexual and marital customs of Carolina tribes:

As for the Solemnity of Marriages amongst them, kept with so much Ceremony as divers Authors affirm, it never appear'd amongst those many Nations I have been withal, any otherwise than in the Manner I have mention'd hereafter.

The Girls at 12 or 13 Years of Age, as soon as

Family

Nature prompts them, freely bestow their Maidenheads on some Youth about the same Age, continuing her Favours on whom she most affects, changing her Mate very often, few or none of them being constant to one, till a greater Number of Years has made her capable of managing domestick Affairs, and she hath try'd the Vigour of most of the Nation she belongs to; Multiplicity of Gallants never being a Stain to a Female's Reputation, or the least Hindrance of her Advancement, but the more Whorish, the more Honourable, and they of all most coveted, by those of the first Rank, to make a Wife of. The Flos Virginis, so much coveted by the Europeans, is never valued by these Savages. When a Man and Woman have gone through their Degrees, (there being a certain Graduation amongst them) and are allow'd to be House-Keepers, which is not till they arrive at such an Age, and have past the Ceremonies practis'd by their Nation, almost all Kingdoms differing in the Progress thereof, then it is that the Man makes his Addresses to some one of these thorough-paced Girls, or other, whom he likes best. When she is won, the Parents of both Parties, (with Advice of the King) agree about the Matter, making a Promise of their Daughter, to the Man, that requires her, it often happening that they converse and travel together, for several Moons before the Marriage is publish'd openly; After this, at the least Dislike the Man may turn her away, and take another; or if she disapproves of his Company, a Price is set upon her, and if the Man that seeks to get her, will pay the Fine to her Husband, she becomes free from Him: Likewise some of their War Captains, and great Men, very often will retain 3 or 4 Girls at a time for their own Use, when at the same time, he is so impotent and old, as to be incapable of making Use of one of them; so that he seldom misses of wearing greater Horns than the Game he kills. The Husband is never so enrag'd as to put his Adulteress to Death; if she is caught in the Fact, the Rival becomes Debtor to the cornuted Husband, in a certain Quantity of Trifles valuable amongst them, which he pays as soon as discharg'd, and then all Animosity is laid aside betwixt the Husband, and his Wife's Gallant. The Man proves often so good humour'd as to please his Neighbour and gratify his Wife's Inclinations, by letting her out for a Night or two, to the Embraces of some other, which perhaps she has a greater Liking to, tho' this is not commonly practis'd.

They set apart the youngest and prettiest Faces for trading Girls; these are remarkable by their Hair,

Organization

having a particular Tonsure by which they are known, and distinguish'd from those engag'd to Husbands. They are mercenary, and whoever makes Use of them, first hires them, the greatest Share of the Gain going to the King's Purse, who is the chief Bawd, exercising his Perogative over all the Stews of his Nation, and his own Cabin (very often) being the chiefest Brothel-House. As they grow in Years, the hot Assaults of Love grow cooler; and then they commonly are so staid, as to engage themselves with more Constancy to each other. I have seen several Couples amongst them, that have been so reserv'd, as to live together for many Years, faithful to each other, admitting none to their Beds but such as they own'd for their Wife or Husband: So continuing to their Life's end.³⁹⁸

Education The Coastal Indians evidently learned by doing. Their proficiencies must have been gained more through practice than through instruction.

Dennis says the Etiwan "were wery desirous they children should learn, but they generally leave them to their own wills...."³⁹⁹ Earlier he had offered to teach an Indian King's sons to read and write without charge. The King, probably the leader of the Etiwan, had replied that he would "consider of it."⁴⁰⁰

CONCLUSIONS

The tribes indigenous to the coast between the Santee and the Savannah evidently shared most of the same patterns of existence. While these patterns were not individually unique, their combination is distinctive.

The majority of Southeastern tribes depended for at least half of their subsistence on one method of food production, most frequently on agriculture; hunting and gathering each provided about one fourth of their food, and fishing contributed a small portion of the total supply. On the Lower Coast, however, agriculture, hunting, gathering, and fishing were probably utilized in nearly equal proportions. No one of these methods of food production is likely to have provided more than one third of their total substance.

An almost equally exceptional feature was the status of women. At least two tribes had women chiefs and a third tribe had as many women leaders as men. A fourth tribe had a woman presiding to receive visitors. These four tribes lived in different sections from Port Royal to Charleston Harbor so the custom was widespread, if not universal. Women chiefs were almost unheard of elsewhere in the Southeast. Another feature which separates the Coastal Tribes from most Southeastern tribes was monogamy. In addition, women were allowed inside the houses of state, a practice that was not generally permitted elsewhere.

Language may be a distinguishing feature, but this possibility is based largely on inference. While two languages were almost certainly being spoken within the area and while one seems to have been Siouan, the identity of the other is uncertain. It was probably not a dialect of Muskogean. The unusual presence of the "w" or "gu" sound, the unusual mixture of "l" and "r" sounds, and the presence of some words of known meaning which are without known parallel suggest that a previously unrecognized language may have existed south of Charleston Harbor.

Conclusions

Further evidence may be found that would justify subdividing the Lower Coast into two areas, one for the tribes which probably spoke Siouan and another for the remaining tribes, but the present evidence is not sufficient to make such a division. The presumably Siouan tribes seem to have had more in common with other Coastal Tribes than with any inland tribe. A major difference, for example, between a coastal Siouan tribe such as the Etiwan and an inland Siouan tribe such as the Santee was the authority of their chiefs; one was simply a leader, and the other was a monarch.

Another unusual feature for the Coastal Tribes is their degree of autonomy. Cessions limited to single tribes, wars limited to single tribes, and references almost invariably limited to single tribes all clearly imply autonomy. At least four major ceremonial centers in so small an area indicate that the political and spiritual authority of tribes was unusually circumscribed. While the relationship of each tribe to every other tribe is not known, enough evidence is available to make it clear that the Coastal Tribes did not think of themselves as "Cusabo" or as a single people such as the Cherokee or Choctaw.

For the nearly two centuries of their recorded existence, all of the known locations of these tribes were within the area. Their movements were largely confined to seasonal migrations from the coast to the interior and back to the coast. Basically, their migrations were limited to east-west movements of up to eighty miles. Until some tribes were displaced by Europeans, they are not known to have moved north or south beyond their traditional areas. These tribes may thus have been more stationary than most Southeastern tribes, despite these annual relocations.

The Coastal Tribes shared most Southeastern patterns, as has been shown repeatedly throughout the text. The presence of elements such as the busk ceremony, a domoid house of state, and the limited authority of chiefs place these tribes within a similar religious and political context. However, the similarity should not be emphasized to the point that no significant differences are admitted. For example, although their state houses had basically the same form, they were used for winter and summer, not just during the winter. Although their state houses had an adjacent playing field, the houses of the people were not adjacent, but were scattered in nearby woods. Although the busk ceremony indicated a set of beliefs that were common throughout the Southeast, idols were not worshiped.

More detail of this kind is needed on other tribes of the South Carolina and Georgia coast before more specific compari-

Conclusions

sons can be made and before conclusions can be more definite. Enough information is available, though, to suggest that the tribes of the Lower Coast shared a way of life that was distinctive enough to constitute a separate cultural area.