

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF
ST. CATHERINES ISLAND
1. NATURAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY

DAVID HURST THOMAS, GRANT D. JONES, ROGER S. DURHAM
AND CLARK SPENCER LARSEN

VOLUME 55 : PART 2
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THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

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1. NATURAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY

DAVID HURST THOMAS

*Chairman and Associate Curator, Department of Anthropology
The American Museum of Natural History*

GRANT D. JONES

*Chairman and Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology
Hamilton College*

ROGER S. DURHAM

*Curator, Robert Toombs House
Department of Natural Resources
Georgia State Parks and Historic Sites Division*

CLARK SPENCER LARSEN

*Department of Anthropology
University of Michigan*

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ABSTRACT

This volume, the first in a series, considers the natural and cultural background to anthropological research being conducted on St. Catherines Island, Georgia. The Island is one of a complex series of barrier islands, of various origins. The extant vegetation is an interesting mixture of natural succession, periodically disrupted by recent historical processes. Archaeologists have worked on St. Catherines Island discontinuously since 1896, when C. B. Moore conducted excavations in several prehistoric burial mounds. The University of Georgia then conducted a program of burial mound and midden excavations in 1969-1970, and the American Museum of Natural History began intensive archaeological investigations

on St. Catherines Island in 1974. The ethnohistory of the Guale Indians is discussed in detail, suggesting that they were essentially a riverine people with strong internal trade contacts. Guale political organization was that of the classic Creek chiefdom. Each chiefdom maintained two principal towns, and may have been organized according to dual political organization. This interpretation contrasts sharply with the traditional view of the Guale, who are often characterized as isolated, scattered, shifting cultivators. The volume concludes with a historical outline of St. Catherines Island from the early Spanish mission period up to present times.

INTRODUCTION

In 1972, the American Museum of Natural History entered into an agreement with the Edward John Noble Foundation with the purpose of encouraging and facilitating scientific research on St. Catherines Island, Georgia. The resulting St. Catherines Island Research Program has enabled nearly 100 scientists and advanced students to conduct research on various aspects of the natural and cultural history of the Island. These wide-ranging studies have dealt with the vegetation, geology, avifauna, mammals, insect fauna, reptiles, amphibians, mollusks and other invertebrates.

The American Museum began anthropological research on St. Catherines Island in the fall of 1974 when David Hurst Thomas, then Assistant Curator of North American Archaeology, traveled to St. Catherines Island to assess the anthropological and archaeological potential. As of this writing (December 1977), archaeological field crews from the American Museum have spent more than 2000 person-days excavating the prehistoric and historic sites which are to be found throughout the Island.

The initial objective of the archaeological research was to explore the early complex, which dates well back into the Refuge phase (*ca.* 1500 B.C.). This fieldwork commenced in

the fall of 1974, and was completed in May 1977. In November 1977, crews from the American Museum of Natural History began an intensive study of the prehistoric cultural ecology of St. Catherines Island. Future research objectives remain undefined.

Because of the diverse and continuing nature of the anthropological research on the Island, we have decided to publish the findings in a series entitled "The Anthropology of St. Catherines Island." The present monograph constitutes the first in the series, and attempts to provide the framework for future monographs. All anthropological fieldwork requires a certain background and this volume describes the relevant natural and cultural setting of St. Catherines Island.

Chapter 1 includes a brief sketch of the natural history of St. Catherines and was prepared by Thomas. Much of these data are abstracted from surveys made by colleagues in various disciplines at the American Museum of Natural History. The attempt is to provide a swift overview of the flora and fauna of modern St. Catherines Island. Several figures illustrate the more important biotic communities.

Chapter 2, written by Larsen and Thomas, discusses the previous archaeological research conducted on the Island. Although archaeolo-

gists have worked on St. Catherines Island for the past 80 years, relatively little of their research has been published. This chapter synthesizes the state of archaeological knowledge prior to involvement by the American Museum of Natural History.

Chapter 3, written by Jones, discusses the ethnohistory of the Guale Indians during the Spanish mission period. Jones suggests that the Guale Indians were essentially a riverine people with strong internal trade contacts. Their political organization was that of the classic Creek chiefdom and each chiefdom appears to have two principal towns, suggesting the presence of fundamental duality in political organization. This contrasts sharply with the traditional view of the Guale, who are generally characterized as isolated, scattered and shifting cultivators. Jones's chapter differs in tone from the others because he presents the results of firsthand, original research. For this reason it has been necessary to include detailed documentation for Chapter 3. Jones has also prepared a brief appendix discussing the ethnohistorical resources and methods used to prepare Chapter 3. Not only does this ethnohistory offer new insights into the sociopolitical and ecological status of the Guale, but it also provides a model for future testing against the archaeological record of St. Catherines Island.

Chapter 4, prepared by Durham and Thomas, summarizes the history of St. Catherines Island from 1684 to the present. Several historical photographs are presented that document the various historical structures and vividly illustrate the changing nature of the St. Catherines landscape over the past century.

Taken together, these diverse studies provide a necessary background for the investigations to be published as future volumes of "The Anthropology of St. Catherines Island."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors join in thanking the Edward John Noble Foundation for the generous support of anthropology on St. Catherines Island and for financing this volume. We also thank Mr. and Mrs. Frank Y. Larkin for their unflag-

ging encouragement. Their deep and abiding interest in all facets of research has literally made St. Catherines Island a scientific paradise for all scholars who have had the good fortune to work there. Mrs. Larkin also kindly provided several photographs of the Island.

We also extend a special thanks to Mr. John Toby Woods, Jr. for his assistance along the way. Mr. Woods has made our visits to the Island both pleasant and scientifically profitable. His knowledge of the recent history of St. Catherines Island is truly encyclopedic. We acknowledge the help of Mr. Woods, and his father, Mr. John Toby Woods, Sr., in preparing Chapter 4 of the present monograph.

We thank Mr. Royce Hayes for his critical reading of Chapter 1, and also for his help in preparing the figures presented in that chapter. Mr. Dennis O'Brien prepared all the artwork, and Ms. Susan Bierwirth took the photographs which appear as figures 2, 3, 5-13, 21, 24, 26, 28, 32-35 and 39. Mr. Richard Gubitosa conducted the mapping project which verified the location of the antebellum fields shown in figure 4. We also acknowledge the assistance of Ms. Ann Marie Lunsford and Ms. Jane Epstein, who helped prepare the finished manuscript.

Jones thanks the staff of the P.K. Longe Library of the University of Florida for their generous and knowledgeable assistance. Drs. Charles H. Fairbanks, Jerald Milanich and Robert Kautz provided valuable insights at various stages of the ethnohistorical research, but they are in no way responsible for the conclusions presented here. Chapter 3 was written while Jones was carrying out research on Maya ethnohistory, thus there was no access to library facilities during the actual writing.

Durham thanks several people for their assistance in tracking down the history of St. Catherines Island, especially Mr. Lynn Holman, Mrs. Jackie Cannon, Mr. Mike Gillen, Miss Jo Ann Jones, Dr. William P. Kellam, Mr. Greg Parker, Mr. and Mrs. William H. Rosier, Mr. John M. Sheftall, Judge John Underwood and Mr. Robert M. Willingham, Jr. In compiling Chapter 4, Durham drew heavily on the collections of the University of Georgia Library in Athens, the Georgia Historical Soci-

ety in Savannah, the Mary Willis Library in Washington, Georgia, the National Archives in Washington, D.C., the Midway Museum in Midway, Georgia and the Department of Natu-

ral Resources of the State of Georgia. We also acknowledge the University of Georgia Library for permission to publish figures 22, 23, 25, 27, and 29.

CHAPTER 1. THE NATURAL HISTORY OF ST. CATHERINES ISLAND

DAVID HURST THOMAS

FORMATION OF ST. CATHERINES ISLAND

St. Catherines Island is a 14,000 acre tract (excluding salt marsh), situated approximately 4 miles east of the Georgia mainland (fig. 1), and is near the midpoint of the Sea Island chain of the Atlantic Coastal Plain Province (Thornbury, 1965). The Sea Islands—also commonly called the Golden Isles—consist of a complex series of barrier islands of various origins. Many of the forested islands are remnants of ancient barrier islands formed during a period of higher sea level (Hoyt, Weimer and Henry, 1968), whereas others have separated from the larger islands by later erosion (Teal and Teal, 1964). Some of the smaller islands have been formed by ballast dumped from ships (Emery et al., 1968).

Part of St. Catherines Island was formed during the Silver Bluff submergence of the late Pleistocene, some 40,000 to 25,000 years ago (Hoyt, 1968). That was the time of maximum glaciation throughout the Americas and Europe, and the sea levels were lowered as much as 100 m. below the present level. During Silver Bluff times, the Georgia coast must have been about 70 to 80 miles eastward of its present location (Hoyt, 1974, p. 13). During this time, large dune ridges formed along the beaches adjacent to the shorelines. Presumably, the older and larger of these dunes were stabilized by beach grasses and other shoreline vegetation.

The glaciers began melting about 18,000 years ago, and the sea level rose accordingly. By approximately 5000 B.P., sea level along the Georgia coast was only about 2 to 4 m. below present levels (Milliman and Emery, 1968). Hoyt (1967, 1968, 1974, p. 14) has argued that dune formation, followed by subsequent flooding of rising seas is the most reason-

able explanation for the formation of the barrier islands. That is, as the seas rose, the larger and better stabilized dunes survived. The area to the landward of the dunes was flooded and formed a lagoon; subsequent sedimentation converted the dune to the present salt marsh.

Roughly one-third of St. Catherines Island—the northern and central portion—was formed during the Silver Bluff submergence of the Pleistocene. This Pleistocene remnant is characterized by a distinct soil horizon that contains significant accumulations of organic matter (Byrd et al., 1961).

The rest of St. Catherines Island dates from the Holocene period. The seaward portions of the Island were formed within the last 4000 to 5000 years, as a result of tidal marsh formation and beach ridge formation on the seaward edge of the tidal marshes. Sea levels have apparently risen somewhat during this period, causing landward migration of the Holocene Beach ridges. The processes of shoreline formation are discussed in detail by DePratter and Howard (1977). In some cases the Holocene segments overlay the Pleistocene (Silver Bluff) terraces. The Holocene segments recently formed are characterized by very weak soil development.

VEGETATION

The extant vegetation of St. Catherines Island is an interesting amalgam resulting from a combination of natural and cultural factors.¹

¹This section draws heavily on a preliminary survey commissioned by the American Museum of Natural History with Jack McCormick & Associates of Devon, Pennsylvania. The complete report by Horace A. Somes, Jr. and Thomas R. Ashbaugh is on file with the Deputy Director for Research, the American Museum of Natural History



FIG. 1. Map showing location of St. Catherines Island.



FIG. 2. North Beach of St. Catherines Island showing rapid erosion of cutbank.

The most profound changes occurred during the antebellum period, when St. Catherines Island was a highly productive plantation specializing in Sea Island cotton and rice. Prior to 1860, nearly one-half of the Island was clear-cut for agricultural fields. These fields were generally bordered with windrows of virgin hardwood forest, and ditches were excavated to outline the field boundaries. Occasionally, isolated live oaks ("slave trees") were left standing to provide shade for the plantation workers (fig. 3). Although intensive agriculture ceased in 1860, the antebellum fields are still readily located because of their boundary ditches and their distinctive vegetation. As part of the preliminary reconnaissance work on St. Catherines Island, the American Museum of Natural History commissioned cartographer Richard Gubitosa to map the locations of the antebellum fields and their boundaries (fig. 4). The names have been taken from a map, *ca.* 1890, of the Island currently in the possession of John Toby Woods.

The Island vegetation has also been influenced by management practices within the past century. Logging, grazing, and burning have occurred from time to time, and a feral hog population, introduced in the 1930s, has kept the understory relatively sparse. The removal of these domestics in 1975 will doubtless change the character of the understory in the next decade.

The vegetation of St. Catherines Island can be categorized into several major physiognomic types (following Somes and Ashbaugh, *n.d.*): tidal marsh (7328 acres), meadow (378 acres), forest (5537 acres), upland grassland (8032 acres), scrub (245) and savanna (399 acres). These major vegetation types will be discussed in turn.

TIDAL MARSH: Large reaches of the eastern and western margins of the Island are bordered by tidal marshes (fig. 5). Low-water cordgrass (*Spartina alterniflora*) is the predominant marsh vegetation, and it occurs in pure stands except near the upper elevations of the marsh. The



FIG. 3. South End pasture. The large live oaks are "slave trees," left standing for shade when the pasture was initially cleared.

banks of the tidal creeks are bounded by tall stands of cordgrass, often growing 5 feet or taller. Other characteristic tidal marsh species includes salt hay (*Spartina patens*), perennial saltwort (*Salicornia virginica*), beachwort (*Batis maritima*), sea oxeye (*Borrchia frutescens*), and spike grass (*Distichlis spicata*).

MEADOW: Meadows occupy nontidal areas in which the water table reaches the soil surface for most of the year (fig. 6). Somes and Ashbaugh (n.d.) defined five meadow types: rush, saw grass, cattail, pond grass, and broomsedge.

Roughly three-quarters of the meadowlands are of the rush type, dominated in places by black rush (*Juncus roemerianus*), soft rush (*Juncus effesus*), spikerush (*Eleocharis quadrangulata*) and bulrush (*Scirpus* sp.). The rushes are concentrated along the upper margins and heads of the tidal marshes, occasionally near low-water stands of cordgrass, and near upland ponds.

Saw grass (*Cladium jamaicense*) meadows

occur in low swales near the tidal marshes, and broomsedge (*Andropogon virginicus*) meadows exist in four upland depressions on the northern and central portions of the Island (fig. 7). Cattail (*Typha glauca*) marsh occupies 12 acres near ponds in the South Beach area. The heavily grazed pond grass meadows consist of soft rush Bermuda grass (*Cynodon dactylon*).

FOREST: The forest covers almost 40 percent of St. Catherines Island. The forest composition is largely the result of historical disturbance such as agriculture, fire, grazing, or mechanical management. At present, roughly one-third of the forest is a mixed pine-oak type. Stands of slash pine are common, with scattered individuals of laurel oak and live oak (fig. 8). The pine-oak forest develops on formerly cultivated sites and, in general, antedates pure pine stands. Recently fallowed fields usually lack substantial undergrowth (fig. 9), but in less disturbed areas, the undergrowth consists of saw palmetto, buckthorn, waxmyrtle, yaupon, and sparkleberry.

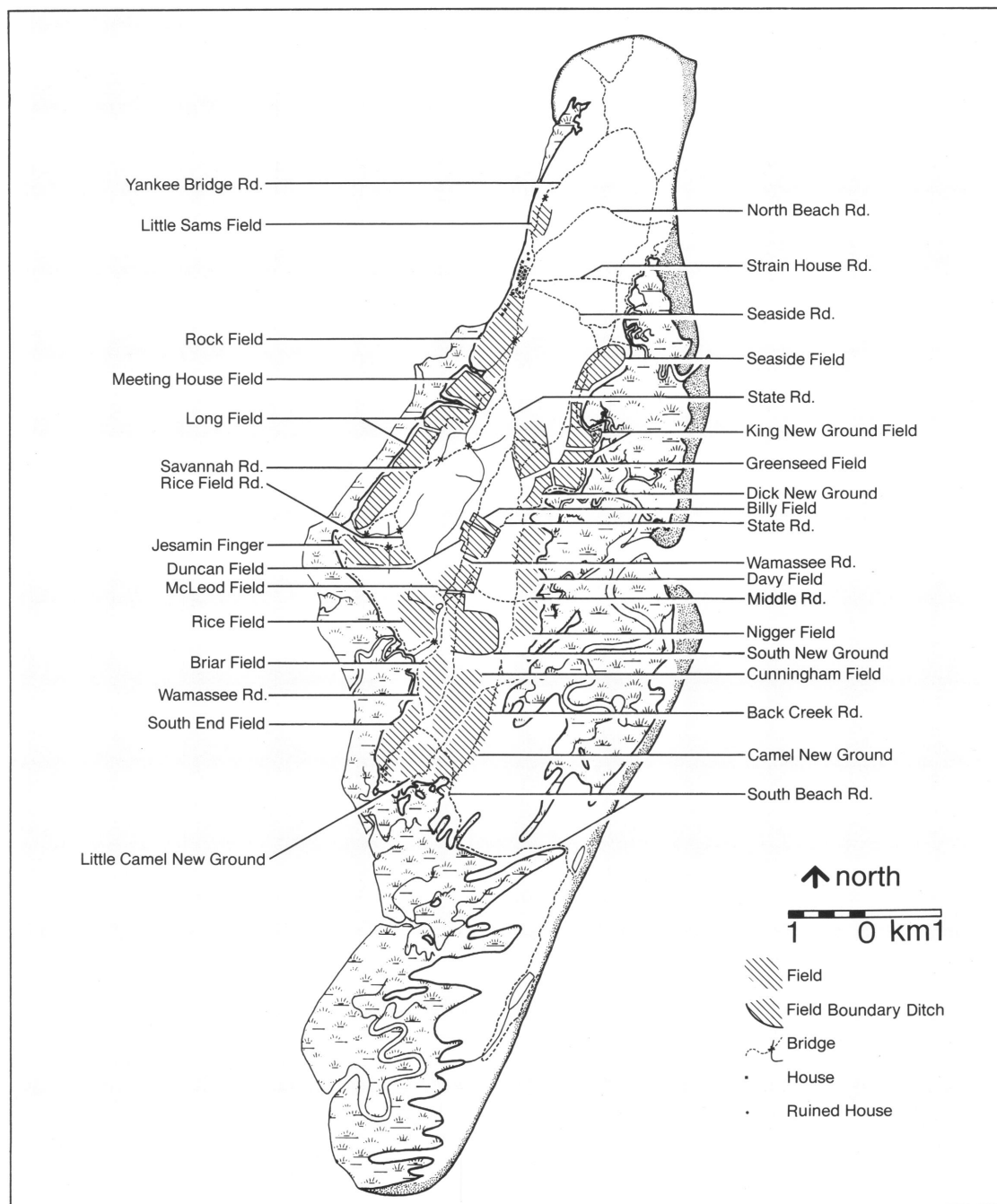


FIG. 4. Antebellum fields and roads on St. Catherines Island.

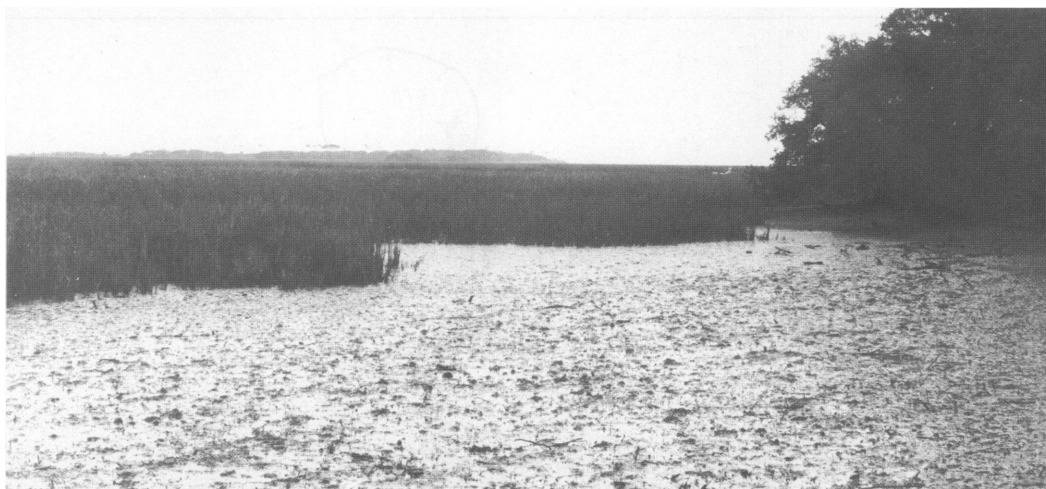


FIG. 5. Marshland comprised of low-water cordgrass (*Spartina alterniflora*), view looking north near Wamassee Creek.



FIG. 6. Rush meadow located near South End Settlement. *Spartina* dominates the center of the meadowland, fringed by tall stands of pure black rush (*Juncus roemerianus*). The forest is mainly oak and waxmyrtle.

Where disturbance has been less severe, live oak and laurel oak come to dominate in the mixed pine-oak association. The least disturbed areas on the Island host oak forests, usually dominated by live oak (fig. 10). Spanish moss and resurrection fern are abundant amidst the oaks and red bay, as are scattered individuals of (*Persea borbonia*), carriage palm, laurel oak, hickory (*Carya glabra*), and paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*).

UPLAND GRASSLAND: The upland grasslands

occur in areas not subjected to regular tidal inundation, such as beaches, foredunes, forest clearings, and recently cultivated fields; Bermuda grass comprises over 70 percent of the upland grasses. The older fields support stands of spangle grass, orange broomsedge (*Andropogon virginicus*), thoroughwort (*Eupatorium serotinum*), and dogfennel (*Eupatorium capillifolium*).

Stands of sea oats (*Uniola paniculata*) occur in the dunes behind the ocean-front beaches



FIG. 7. Inland freshwater pond near Wamassee Road. Tall plume grass (*Erianthus giganteus*), can be seen in the background, along with bull rush (*Scirpus*) and mixed rush vegetation (*Juncus* sp.).



FIG. 8. Mixed pine-oak forest, looking northwest near bridge on Engineer's Road. This stand is characterized by both longleaf and slash pine, live oak and occasional cedars.



FIG. 9. Pure stand of longleaf pine in a tract on the eastern edge of the Island known locally as "Lover's Lane." Growing in a former (unnamed) field, the pines are approximately 90-100 years old. Such dense stands of longleaf pine are atypical on the Georgia Coast.

(fig. 11), commonly associated with seaside pennywort (*Hygrocotyle bonariensis*), sandspur (*Cenchrus tribuloides*) and beachtea (*Croton punctatus*).

SCRUB: Scrublands consist largely of wax-myrtle (*Myrica cerifera*) mixed with buckthorn (*Bumelia tenax*), yaupon (*Ilex vomitoria*), winged sumac (*Rhus copallina*), Hercules-club

(*Zanthoxylum clava-herculis*), saw palmetto (*Serenoa repens*), century-plant (*Agave decipiens*), cabbage palm (*Sabal palmetto*), and marshelder (*Iva frutescens*). Occasional individuals of live oak (*Quercus virginiana*) are also found in these locations (fig. 12).

SAVANNA: Man-made savannas consist of grasslands with scattered trees. The largest sa-

vanna, on the northern end of the Island (fig. 13), was created in the 1950s to establish a grazing area for cattle and has been maintained by purposely set fires and bulldozing. The major grass species include Bermuda, spangle grass (*Uniola laxa*) and purple broomsedge. Slash pine (*Pinus elliotii*), longleaf pine (*Pinus palustris*), live oak and laurel oak (*Quercus laurifolia*) are the major trees growing on the savanna. A more limited live oak savanna occurs sporadically throughout the Island.

EXTANT FAUNA

Anderson (n.d., p. 3) described the native mammalian population as a "rather depauperate

fauna in comparison with the mainland" and he recorded the following nondomesticated species:

Short-tailed shrew (*Blarina brevicauda*)
 Eastern mole (*Scalopus aquaticus*)
 Small bats (probably either *Pipistrellus subflavus* or *Myotis austroriparis*)
 Marsh rabbit (*Sylvilagus palustris*)
 Gray squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*)
 Rice rat (*Oryzomys palustris*)
 Cotton mouse (*Peromyscus gossypinus*)
 Black rat (*Rattus rattus*)
 Norway rat (*Rattus norvegicus*)
 House mouse (*Mus musculus*)
 Pygmy sperm whale (*Kogia breviceps*)
 Atlantic bottle-nosed dolphin (*Tursiops truncatus*)



FIG. 10. Mature oak hardwood forest, looking south from Wamassee Creek. Large hickories occur in this area, and isolated pines occur in this type of mature forest.



FIG. 11. Sea oats (*Uniola paniculata*) grassland on partly stabilized dunes behind the ocean-front at South Beach. Understory includes assorted grasses and seaside spurge.

Black bear (*Ursus americanus*)
Raccoon (*Procyon lotor*)
Mink (*Mustela vison*)
River otter (*Lutra canadensis*)
White-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*)

In addition, several domesticates frequent St. Catherines Island: horses, cattle, hogs, and dogs, cats, and a skunk kept as pets.

Zweifel and Cole (n.d.) have prepared a preliminary checklist of the reptiles and amphibians found on St. Catherines Island. They listed three species of venomous snakes: diamondback rattlesnake (*Crotalus adamanteus*), canebrake rattlesnake (*Crotalus horridus atricaudatus*), and cottonmouth (*Agkistrodon p. piscivorus*). Poisonous snakes are not common,

but several have been encountered during archaeological survey near South Beach. Zweifel and Cole (n.d., p. iv) also listed 12 species of nonvenomous snakes. Three species of turtles have been observed: loggerhead (*Caretta caretta*), chicken turtle (*Deirochelys reticularia*), and mud turtle (*Kinosternon subrubrum*). Alligators (*Alligator mississippiensis*) are not uncommon and they have been noted near the

inland ponds and also the tidal inlets. In addition, Zweifel and Cole (n.d.) listed four species of salamanders, eight species of frogs and six species of lizards.

Lanyon and Short (n.d.) have prepared an annotated checklist of 197 species of birds, which include the bald eagle, peregrine falcon, osprey, brown pelican, turkey, and a great variety of ducks and hawks. Feinberg and Old



FIG. 12. Typical oak forest scrub near Greenseed Field. Saw palmetto dominates the understory amidst a mixed oak forest canopy.



FIG. 13. Pasture on the northern end of the Island, as it appeared in November, 1977. Mary's Mound is nearby. The overstory is comprised of longleaf pine and live oak. This tract was heavily timbered in the early 1940s, then bulldozed and seeded with Bermuda grass in the 1950s to create permanent pasture. The undergrowth is changing rapidly since the removal of the cattle and hogs in 1976. Left undisturbed, this open area would soon be covered with a dense longleaf pine forest, similar to that of figure 9.

(n.d.) have inventories of rich molluscan and other invertebrate fauna; important economic

species include oysters, clams, conch, shrimp, crabs, and mussels.

CHAPTER 2. THE PREHISTORY OF ST. CATHERINES ISLAND

CLARK SPENCER LARSEN AND DAVID HURST THOMAS

In this chapter we summarize what is known about the prehistory of St. Catherines Island prior to the involvement of the American Museum of Natural History. Everything considered, a great deal of earth has been moved over the past century in the attempt to define the prehistory of St. Catherines Island. As is generally the case, one cannot fully understand the nature of the archaeology without also understanding the nature of the archaeologists who did the work. Because much of these investiga-

tions remain unpublished, we will attempt to describe the prior work as completely as is feasible.

The initial recorded archaeological investigation on St. Catherines Island was conducted by Charles Colcock Jones, Jr. (1831-1893), the eldest son of the well-known Rev. C. C. Jones of Midway, Georgia (see Myers, 1972, p. 1568 for a biographic sketch of C. C. Jones, Jr.). Jones was born in Savannah and spent his childhood in Liberty County. Quite early in

life, Jones developed an intense interest in the local archaeology and began collecting relics well before attending college at Princeton and Harvard. Jones returned to Savannah to serve in the Chatham Artillery during the Civil War, then moved his legal practice to New York City in 1866. Jones returned to Montrose, Georgia, in 1877.

Most of the Jones archaeological collection appears to have been amassed before he went to college; in a letter, Jones mentioned that his investigations led him to open over 100 prehistoric mounds on the Georgia coast.¹ The Jones collection has also been discussed in several of Jones's writings (1859, 1873, 1883), and in a short article describing a wooden canoe he discovered in the Savannah River (Jones, 1871-1872).

While practicing law in New York City, Jones became aware of the fledgling American Museum of Natural History, which he described as "already [in 1877] a most valuable thesaurus, seems destined to become, of its kind, the chief glory of these people." Despite what he described as "liberal offers from England," Jones offered two-thirds of his collections to the American Museum of Natural History, including those specimens he described in 1873.

The Jones collection was accessioned by the American Museum of Natural History in 1877. Of the several thousand artifacts, only one is definitely from St. Catherines Island. This specimen is a green quartzite (?) polished celt, weighing 882 grams (see fig. 14). In a sense, this celt is the first scientifically collected artifact from St. Catherines Island.

The next archaeologist to visit St. Catherines Island was Clarence Bloomfield Moore (1852-1936). The son of a wealthy Philadelphia socialite, Moore received his B.A. degree from Harvard in 1873. Then, at the age of 24, Moore traveled across South America, over the Andes and down the Amazon. The death of his father left Moore a wealthy man, and he spent several years traveling throughout Europe participating in exotic African safaries. In 1892,

Moore became bored with his life and turned to archaeology as a full-time career.

Moore began his excavations on the sand mounds of the St. Johns River in Florida in 1892, and established a pattern which he followed for over a quarter century. Aboard his own boat, Moore traveled throughout the Southwest, exploring hundreds of burial and temple mounds. He was assisted in his studies by Dr. Milo G. Miller who functioned variously as secretary, co-worker, physical anthropologist, physician, and friend.

During the fall and winter of 1896-1897, Moore concentrated his efforts on the burial mounds of the Georgia coast. During the five-month campaign, Moore "demolished" [his word] more than 50 such mounds, seven of them on St. Catherines Island. His findings

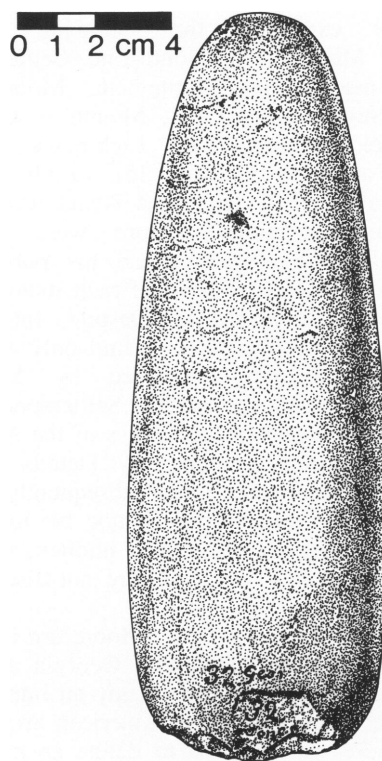


FIG. 14. Green quartzite celt collected by C. C. Jones, Jr. from unknown site on St. Catherines Island (AMNH 2/32).

¹Jones to the American Museum of Natural History, March 5, 1877.

were published by the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences in 1897. Although Moore's field methods can be criticized from the modern perspective, his techniques were wholly acceptable to his contemporaries. Moreover, his prompt publications serve as a model even for today's archaeologists. Moore took careful field notes during excavation, and with the help of Dr. Miller, the human skeletal remains were identified and described in the field. Examination of the original field notes (now deposited at the Museum of the American Indian in New York City) indicates that Moore published these notes almost verbatim in his descriptive volume. The mound fill was described as to morphology, coloration, and content. Burial descriptions included orientation, type (extended, flexed, bundle, cremation), general age (adult or subadult), sex, grave goods, and obvious pathologies.

Moore excavated the following burial mounds: Mound near South-End Settlement, Mound near Middle Settlement, Mound in King's New Ground Field, Mound in Greenseed Field, Mound near Lighthouse, Low Mounds at North-End (fig. 15). In all, about 120 burials on St. Catherines Island were exposed and described. Moore was, unfortunately, no cartographer, and his published descriptions of the locations of each mound are imprecise and unusable. Despite intensive search, we have been able to find only one of the seven mounds excavated by Moore. Moore's "Mound near Middle Settlement" has since been re-excavated by crews of the American Museum of Natural History. Details of the excavation will be described subsequently. The remaining six mounds could not be located. Moore also tested several shell middens on St. Catherines Island, but they were not discussed in detail.

The excavations by C. B. Moore are important contributions not only to Georgia coastal archaeology, but they also occupy an important role in the history of North American archaeology. Moore was the first to define an explicit goal, conduct archaeological fieldwork to answer these specific questions, then publish his findings in a clear, concise manner.

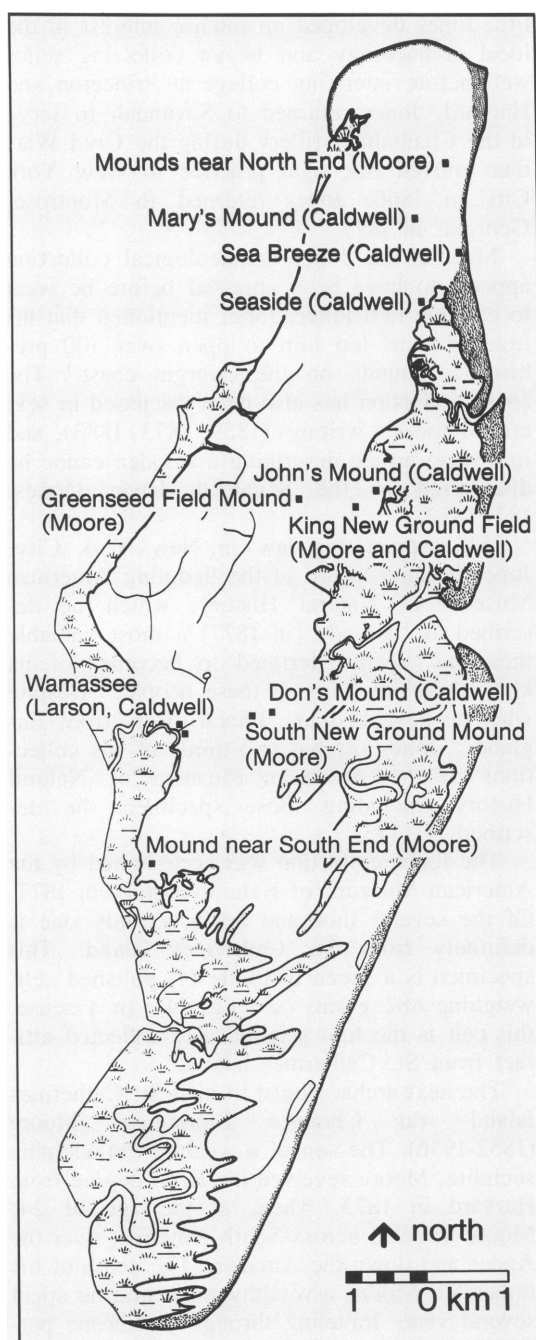


FIG. 15. Archaeological sites on St. Catherines Island tested prior to 1972.

We know of no archaeology conducted on St. Catherines Island from the time of Moore until 1959, when Lewis H. Larson (archaeologist affiliated with the Georgia Historical Commission) visited the Island at least once. Although the results of Larson's investigations are unavailable to us, we do know that he examined an eroding Savannah II Period shell midden on North Beach (Larson, 1969, p. 22). Larson also apparently conducted limited test excavations near the alleged site of the Spanish mission at Wamassee Creek (John Toby Woods, personal commun.).

Joseph R. Caldwell of the University of Georgia worked on St. Catherines Island from 1969 through 1971. Supported by the Edward John Noble Foundation, Caldwell and his associates excavated both burial mounds and shell middens. Particularly enlightening was the excavation of John's Mound, which resulted in the definition of a new cultural period, known as the *St. Catherines Phase* (Caldwell, 1971). John's Mound was almost totally excavated and another St. Catherines phase site, Mary's Mound, was also tested (see fig. 15). Caldwell tested one other burial mound, a Refuge-Deptford phase site (Seaside Mound I). In all, the University of Georgia excavated about 75 human burials. Caldwell also tested several shell middens along the eastern and western banks of the Island, a Wilmington-Savannah II phase site in the Seaside Tract, several middens in King New Ground Field and middens at Wamassee Creek which dated from both Altamaha and Deptford III phases.

Caldwell's unfortunate death in 1973 brought a halt to the further analysis and publication of these very important excavations. Only one summary statement of the chronology has appeared (Caldwell, 1971), although several unpublished manuscripts relating to archaeological investigations of St. Catherines Island remain on file at the University of Georgia.²

²The Department of Anthropology at the University of Georgia has generously agreed to return all archaeological materials from St. Catherines Island. In 1975, personnel of the American Museum of Natural History supervised the removal and storage of the St. Catherines artifacts and field

The most significant aspect of Caldwell's research was the excavation and radiocarbon dating of several sites. Caldwell's cultural chronology for the Georgia coast is presented in figure 16; two additional periods (the Deptford III and St. Catherines phases) were defined as a result of his investigations on St. Catherines Island. The Deptford III period is characterized by pottery containing clay (or sherd) tempering, and a "spider web" variety of check stamping. Thus Deptford III is the transition period between the Deptford II and Wilmington phases.

The ceramics of the St. Catherines period are a refinement of the earlier, clay-tempered Wilmington type. In addition, the St. Catherines period is characterized by a new variety of ceramics called St. Catherines Net Marked. Figure 16 represents a framework for Georgia coastal archaeology, and much of this chronology stems directly from Caldwell's research on St. Catherines Island. Table 1 presents the most recent synthesis of northern Coastal chronology, as modified by DePratter (1977).

In sum, two major periods of archaeological research are evident on St. Catherines Island. The initial efforts were C. B. Moore's investigations in the mid-1890s. Although Moore excavated a great deal of information regarding aboriginal cultural treatment of the dead, this research was conducted without the benefit of even a rudimentary cultural chronology and, as a result, Moore's work is merely a synchronic synthesis of prehistoric patterns. Caldwell's research in 1969-1971 reflected the need to establish operational categories of cultural chronology. Although much remains to be learned of the Georgia coastal chronology, Caldwell's research has undoubtedly placed such future research on firm temporal ground.

A number of sites investigated by Moore and Caldwell have been reinvestigated by archaeological crews from the American Museum of Natural History. The results of this additional fieldwork and re-analysis will be presented in future volumes of this series.

notes from Athens to the Archaeology Laboratory on the Island.

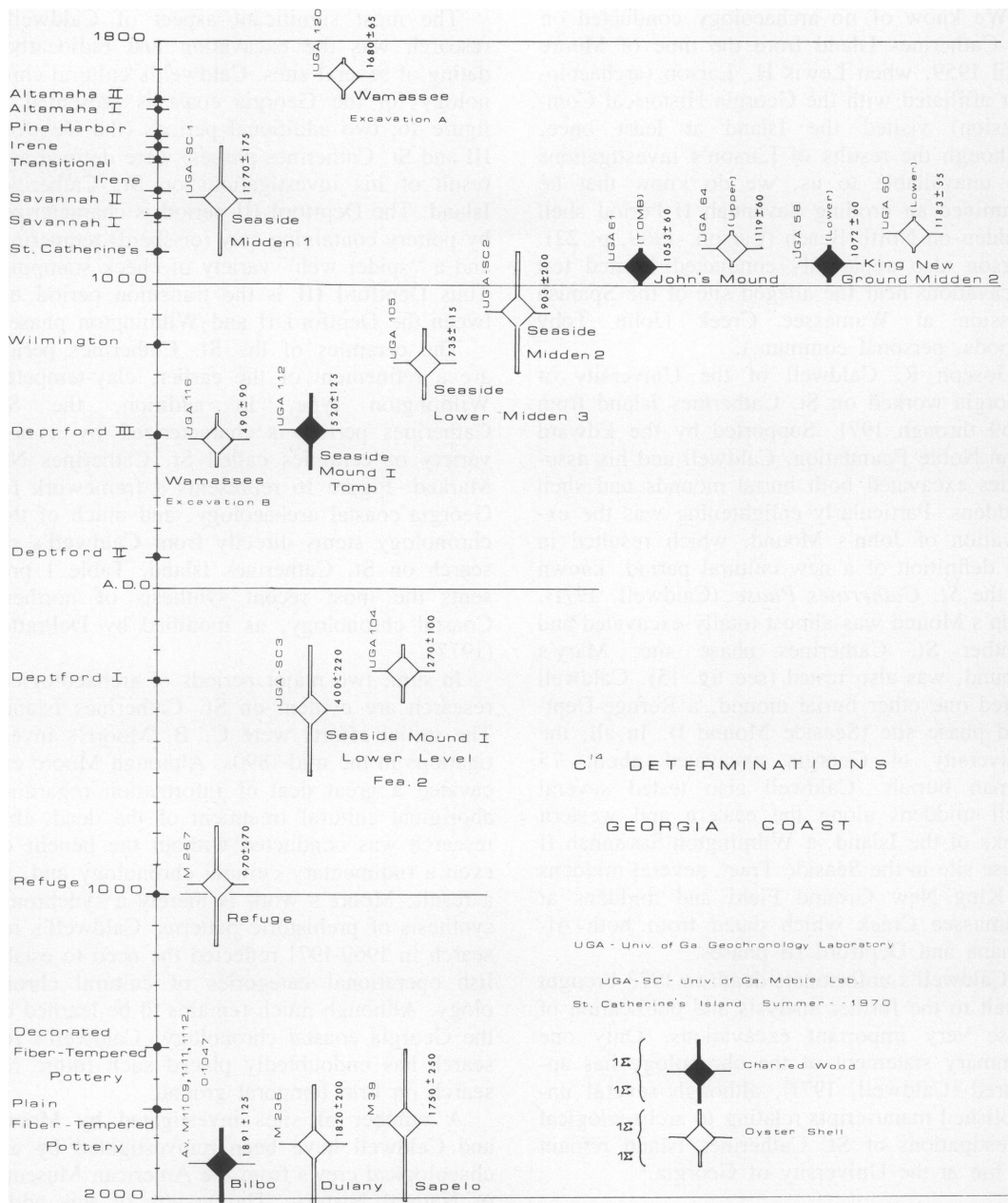


FIG. 16. Caldwell's chronology of the Georgia coast (after Caldwell, 1971).

TABLE 1
Archaeological Sequence for the Northern Georgia Coast
 (after DePratter, 1977)

Archaeological Phase	Pottery Types	Approximate Dates ^a
Historic	Numerous Types	Datable Within Maximum of 25 years of Manufacture
Altamaha	Altamaha Line Block Altamaha Incised Altamaha Plain Altamaha Check Stamped Altamaha Red Filmed	A.D. 1550-1700
Irene	Irene Complicated Stamped Irene Incised Irene Plain Irene Burnished Plain	A.D. 1300-1550
Savannah II	Savannah Check Stamped Savannah Cord Marked Savannah Complicated Stamped Savannah Plain Savannah Burnished Plain	A.D. 1200-1300
Savannah I	Savannah Check Stamped Savannah Cord Marked Savannah Plain Savannah Burnished Plain	A.D. 1150-1200
St. Catherines	St. Catherines Fine Cord Marked St. Catherines Net Marked St. Catherines Plain	A.D. 1000-1150
Wilmington	Wilmington Heavy Cord Marked Wilmington Plain	A.D. 600-1000
Deptford III	Deptford III Check Stamped Deptford III Complicated Stamped Deptford III Cord Marked Deptford III Plain	A.D. 500-600
Deptford II	Deptford Bold Check Stamped Deptford Complicated Stamped Deptford Cord Marked Deptford Plain Refuge Simple Stamped	A.D. 100-500
Deptford I	Deptford Check Stamped Deptford Linear Check Stamped Deptford Plain Deptford Dentate Stamped Refuge Simple Stamped	400 B.C.-A.D. 100
Oemler	Oemler Check Stamped Oemler Complicated Stamped Refuge Simple Stamped Refuge Plain	700-400 B.C.

TABLE 1 — (Continued)

Archaeological Phase	Pottery Types	Approximate Dates ^a
Refuge	Refuge Simple Stamped Refuge Plain Refuge Punctated Refuge Incised	1100-700 B.C.
St. Simons II	St. Simons Punctated St. Simons Incised St. Simons Plain	1700-1100 B.C.
St. Simons I	St. Simons Plain	2200-1700 B.C.

^aDates are in uncorrected radiocarbon years.

CHAPTER 3. THE ETHNOHISTORY OF THE GUALE COAST THROUGH 1684

GRANT D. JONES

INTRODUCTION

The Guale¹ Indians of the southeastern coast were among the first indigenous peoples met by European explorers on the North American continent north of Mexico. Having been briefly contacted by the Spanish in 1526, they were subjected to intrusions by the French in 1562-1563 and, beginning in 1566, to a long and intensive period of Spanish colonization that lasted until 1684. By that date the gradual withdrawal of the Spanish beyond Guale and the accompanying expansion of the Carolina colony had led to the relocation and reorganization of the Guale population, whose numbers by then had been vastly reduced.

Despite the fact that there exists a considerable body of documentation for this period, there has yet to be an intensive ethnohistorical analysis of these materials. While this chapter owes a major debt to the previous efforts of anthropologists (Swanton, 1922, 1946; Larson, n.d., 1969) and historians (Lanning, 1935; Geiger, 1937), it will hopefully represent another step toward filling the major gaps in the reconstruction of Guale life.²

The area inhabited by the Guale Indians dur-

ing this period extended from approximately the lower Satilla River in southern Georgia to a point at least as far up the Atlantic coast as the North Edisto River in South Carolina (see fig. 17). The Guale settlements were found primarily along the banks of the freshwater rivers, sometimes above the tidal water line, and near the banks of the tidal creeks and rivers that formed the islands near the river delta areas and separated the offshore barrier islands from the mainland. It appears that the coastal islands were much less heavily populated than the mainland until missionary efforts and the pressures of English-supported attacks from inland Indian groups gradually shifted much of the remaining Guale population to island locations during the seventeenth century.

The Guale region was characterized by great environmental diversity and richness. The inhabitants hunted, fished, collected shellfish, gathered wild plant products, and engaged in

General de las Indias (AGI) numbers are used as they appear in the Stetson Collection:

BS, Buckingham Smith papers (microfilm)

JBL, Joseph Byrne Lockey papers

JTC, Jeanette Thurber Connor papers (microfilm)

NC, North Carolina State Archives, Spanish Collection (microfilm)

SC, Stetson Collection of photostats from the AGI

WL, Woodbury Lowery, Florida Manuscripts (microfilm, Library of Congress)

¹Pronounced walley.

²The following notes will contain several abbreviations for sources consulted at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; the old Archivo

horticultural activities. Larson (1969) in his study of environment and subsistence adaptations throughout the coastal Southeast, nevertheless maintained that the environmental potential of the region for cultural and social development was seriously limited. Whereas Larson argued that poor land resources limited horticultural production to the extent that only a highly dispersed, seasonally mobile population could survive, my own interpretation of the evidence suggests a somewhat different picture. Guale horticulture, I suggest, was sufficiently productive, in combination with other subsistence and productive activities, to account for the presence of permanent towns, a chiefdom level of social organization, temporary federations of chiefdoms under centralized leadership, and long distance trade networks. The chiefdoms were characterized by dual features of political organization and an emphasis on matrilineal succession.

The Guale chiefdom thus seems to have been an efficiently organized system that made possible the distribution of the varied resources and products of the territory that it occupied. The evidence upon which this model is based is not, however, as firm as one might like. I hasten to point out that this interpretation must remain tentative and subject to revision. I have not made any attempt to integrate these findings with the archaeological evidence, as this will be the objective of future studies on St. Catherines Island (see discussions in Larson, n.d., 1953; Wallace, 1975). I also believe that difficulties inherent in the documentary record first deserve an independent reanalysis. The presentation of data in this chapter is highly selective, as I wish to establish a general model of Guale society that would generate a general discussion of methodological issues and empirical problems among archaeologists and ethnohistorians jointly. Thus, this chapter is but an introduction to a set of complex problems which require further study and reevaluation. Further work may well prove that my conclusions are faulty, but hopefully, they will have stimulated a basis for thought and argument.

ST. CATHERINES ISLAND IN THE CONTEXT OF GUALE ETHNOHISTORY

This study began as an investigation of the

ethnohistory of St. Catherines Island. However, two important factors soon made it apparent that these goals should be redefined. Because the Island's ethnohistory is of little anthropological value when viewed in isolation, it seemed more valuable to view the Guale coast as a whole and to attempt to understand the role of St. Catherines within a temporal and spatial framework. Second, it was necessary for practical purposes to limit this chapter to the Spanish colonial period. Since St. Catherines Island was never again a site of significant Guale settlement after its virtual abandonment by 1683 or 1684, this seemed to provide a logical point to terminate this study.

While apparently not important as a place of settlement during the earliest phase of European contact, the Island was probably the site of an important Guale town by 1576. In 1587 the Island became the principal northern Spanish outpost on the Atlantic coast and remained so until 1683. As such, St. Catherines was a key element in the history of Spanish Florida and in the ultimate fate of the Guale Indians. The Island's Indian leadership played a major role in a rebellion that broke out in 1576, and it was indirectly involved in the major Guale revolt of 1597. The Guale Indians themselves had been named by the Spanish for the chiefdom that had located one of its principal towns on this Island; the Island's mission eventually became known as Santa Catalina de Guale. For most of the seventeenth century the mission of Santa Catalina represented the northernmost extension of effective Spanish cultural influence. Even during this late phase of conquest, no settlement was ever in isolation and the spirit of rebellion among neighboring coastal groups, including those who lived on this Island, lived on until a final uprising on the eve of removal (Barcía, 1951, p. 312). Guale resistance, in fact, remained alive among the mixed population of interior Yamassees for nearly 40 more years.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE GUALE COAST

EARLY SPANISH CONTACTS

In 1521 Lucas Vásquez de Ayllon sailed with two ships from Hispañola to the coast

of South Carolina in search of Indian slaves (Martyr, n.d., pp. 250-251; Oviedo, 1959, L. XXXVII, proemio, pp. 323-324). The Spanish craftily invited the coastal inhabitants on board and took them away. One of these ships sank before reaching Hispañola, but on board the other was a remarkable captive, baptized Francisco de Chicora, whom Ayllon later took to Spain. Francisco later related a great deal of information concerning his people, much of which was preserved in the writings of the contemporary historian Martyr (n.d., pp. 250-256).

Although it is a great temptation to apply these early ethnographic observations to the Guale coast, I prefer to follow in Swanton's conservative footsteps and omit them from this discussion (Swanton, 1922, pp. 38, 41). In one of his best reasoned and best documented passages concerning the coastal groups, Swanton argued that Francisco probably came from a Siouan group near Winyah Bay or the Pee Dee River, but that he may have had considerable knowledge of the peoples around Port Royal. In contrast to the colonial historian Herrera, who believed that the names of two "countries" first visited by Ayllon, Chicora, and Duhare, were corruptions of Orista and Guale, respectively (Herrera, 1601, Dec. 3, L. VIII, C. viii, p. 309), Swanton (1922, p. 47) believed "that both were in Siouan territory." Since all Martyr's comments on the 1521 voyage concern these two regions, I chose to ignore them for now. At the same time it should be noted that Ayllon's first list of provinces to be discovered on a second voyage, drawn up with Francisco's aid, contained several known places or chiefdoms in the area around Port Royal and inland from there (1922, p. 37)³

That Ayllon actually did come into direct contact with the Guale coast on his colonizing voyage in 1526 can be established with some probability. It is unfortunate, however, that the ethnographic data resulting from this trip was considerably less detailed than that of the 1521 voyage (see Oviedo, 1959, L. XXXVII, C. iii, pp. 327-328).

³See discussion in Lowery, 1911a, p. 452, in which he quotes from an attempt by James Mooney to establish these locations.

In 1526 with a fleet of six vessels and a tender, loaded with 500 men and women, including African slaves and Dominican friars, Ayllon landed at about 33°40' on a river which he named the Jordan (Oviedo, 1959, L. XXXVII, C. i, p. 325). Although some modern scholars believe this river was the Pee Dee (Bennett in Laudonnière, 1975, p. 218), Swanton's (1922, p. 35) identification as the Santee River is the more probable. From the Jordan River he sailed 40 to 45 leagues along the coast toward the southwest (Oviedo, 1959, L. XXXVII, C. i, p. 325, 327), which would have brought him to the Port Royal area. The river that Ayllon found here was probably either the Savannah or the Broad. Oviedo (1959, L. XXXVII, C. iii, p. 327) apparently believed it to be the latter, as he noted that the territory discovered here included "the land of Gualdape, and also from the Rio of Santa Elena below to the west". It is thus likely that Ayllon was in the area between the Ogeechee River and the North Edisto River. Ayllon sickened and died there, and the ill-fated colony was soon deserted (see discussion in Lowery 1911a, pp. 160-169, 447-452).

Ayllon's colony was remembered by the people of the major inland town of Cofitachequi, reached by DeSoto's expedition in 1540. Cofitachequi may have been at Silver Bluff on the Savannah River, about 25 miles from Augusta (Lowery, 1911a, p. 448; Hudson, 1976, p. 110), or farther north on the headwaters of the Santee River in South Carolina (Ross, 1930, pp. 273-274, fn. 14; Hudson, 1976, p. 110). If a northern location was favored, it would be more likely that Cofitachequi was on the headwaters of the Edisto River. The inhabitants of the town showed the Spaniards a "dirk and beads" that had been brought there from Ayllon's colony, two days distant (Elvas, 1907, p. 174). These items were apparently brought up the river by Indian traders for it is unlikely that the estimated 30 leagues from Cofitachequi to the sea (Lowery, 1911a, p. 448) could be walked in two days. In fact, Garcilaso de la Vega reported that De Soto's "mariners" believed that "the swollen river which passed through Cofachiqui was the same which on the coast was called the Santa Elena" (Varner and Varner, 1951, p. 329).

This evidence suggests that Ayllon's 1526 colony was probably situated near Santa Elena Sound or Port Royal Sound. The land of Gualdape and the people were probably within the boundaries of the Guale coast (see Swanton, 1922, pp. 38-41 for a similar argument).

THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS

On April 30, 1562, Jean Ribaut arrived near the St. John's River intending to create a colony of French Huguenots (see Lorant, 1946, pp. 33-49; Ribaut, 1964; Laudonnière, 1975). He sailed up the coast, naming the rivers that he discovered along the way,⁴ and decided to settle on an island in Port Royal, which they named Charlesfort. The location of the small fort which they built has been definitely established as Parris Island (Salley, 1964), the same island on which the Spanish later built the fort and town of Santa Elena. Here the French were generously assisted with food and other aid by groups of Indians around Port Royal and as far south as the Ogeechee River. These groups, which included chiefdoms known as Guale (Oade, Ouade), Orista (Audusta), and Escamacu (Maccou), were probably the same as those described by Ayllon's party. This colony was abandoned in 1563, but the ethnographic information recorded by René Laudonnière (1975, pp. 23-47), who stayed on after Ribaut left the colony to its own devices, is among the most valuable of the entire history of the Guale coast.

Laudonnière himself took a second colony to Florida in 1564, this time settling at Fort Caroline, near the present Mayport on the St. John's River in Timucuan territory. Late that year he once again established relations with the chief Orista, who provided him with gifts, including a shallop-load of maize and beans, and offered him "land and as much corn as I wanted, if I would settle in his territory" (Lorant, 1946, p. 62). Although two or three individuals were left behind from the 1567 colony, and French expeditionary forces were later found occasionally seeking refuge among the Guale, this is apparently the last significant

recorded French account of the Guale Indians. The fate of the Fort Caroline settlement was sealed in two tragic massacres ordered by the Spanish *adelentado* Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in September and October 1565.

SPANISH COLONIZATION

Before Menéndez had established a large Spanish colony at San Agustín in September 1565, Philip II of Spain ordered the governor of Cuba to destroy what remained of Charlesfort at Port Royal and to remove all French markers along the coast. Hernando Manrique de Rojas carried out the governor's orders in 1564, and he left a brief record of his contact with the towns called Guale and Usta (Orista) (Wenhold, 1959). He may have found the town of Guale along the Bear River (on the inner side of Ossabaw Island) and Orista somewhere near St. Helena Sound.

After Port Royal had been secured for the Spanish, Menéndez sent Captain Juan Pardo inland from Parris Island, by then called Santa Elena, to explore and conquer the inland (Ketcham, 1954). The first of his expeditions was made in 1565, but he set out again the following year. One of the accounts of the 1566 expedition provides a useful early guide to the Guale settlements along the rivers entering Port Royal Sound.⁵

In April 1566 Menéndez went up the Guale coast to reconnoiter the new Spanish holdings (Barcía, 1951, pp. 112-119; Barrientos, 1965, pp. 96-134). Like Manrique de Rojas, he found the towns of Guale and Orista, and he actually met their chiefs (*micos*) and boldly went about establishing his authority among them. Although writers have sometimes claimed that the Guale *mico* was on St. Catherines Island, it is more likely that his principal town was on the inland side of Ossabaw Island, or perhaps of Skidaway Island (cf. Lanning, 1935, p. 13). At the town of Guale, Menéndez established the first Spanish garrison on the Guale coast.

With support of King Philip II, Menéndez had secured three Jesuit missionaries for Flor-

⁴For two attempts to identify these rivers see Lowery, 1911a, pp. 394-399 and Bennett's notes in Laudonnière, 1975, pp. 218-219.

⁵Account written by Joan de Vandra of the villages and what kind of land is in each one through which Captain Juan Pardo passed in the provinces of Florida (Ketcham, 1954, pp. 78-82).

ida as early as 1566; but it was not until 1568 that the first two of these went to the Guale coast (Barcía, 1951, pp. 148-153). One missionary, Juan Rogel, was sent to the garrison town of Santa Elena. Here he ministered to the Spaniards and missionized unsuccessfully among the Oristas. The other Jesuits also found their efforts unrewarding,⁶ and they abandoned the Indian missions in 1570. During 1569-1570 a major epidemic swept through Guale territory, apparently introduced at Santa Elena (Barcía, 1951, p. 153).⁷ In addition, the Spanish met their first armed resistance on the Guale coast from the chiefdoms of Orista and Escamacu. The few extant Jesuit records of this period are among the most important, but also among the most difficult to interpret, of all ethnohistorical documents for the Guale Coast.

The first of the Franciscan missionaries arrived in Florida in 1573, and by 1575 the "*cacique*" of Guale and his wife had been baptized (Geiger, 1937, p. 39). While the Franciscan conversion efforts appeared to meet with initial success, some of the later rebelliousness of the Guale population was a direct response to their activities. These efforts sometimes went well beyond the sacred sphere into direct meddling in the secular affairs of the Guale. It is also certain, however, that the Guale suffered from frequent military harrassments and demands for food tribute from San Agustín and Santa Elena during this period.⁸

The first of the major rebellions broke out at the end of 1576. It was apparently centered near the town of Guale, although it soon spread to the towns around Santa Elena, including Orista, Escamacu, and Cosapoy. The town and fort of Santa Elena were attacked, and the Spanish lost many lives there and along the

inland waterway to the south.⁹ Although the immediate cause of the rebellion was the execution of several Indians near Guale, including the brother of a *cacique*,¹⁰ problems had been brewing for some time. The Jesuit Juan Rogel had complained in 1570 that the Spanish at Santa Elena had commanded the neighboring Indians to provide canoe-loads of maize to the settlers of the town.¹¹ On the eve of the outbreak there were complaints by the Spanish settlers of food shortages at Santa Elena,¹² and it seems that the outbreak at Orista began after officials from Santa Elena demanded food supplies.¹³

The rebellion did not end quickly. The Indians continued to terrorize Santa Elena,¹⁴ and toward the end of 1577 they captured a French vessel, killed 200 of its 280 passengers, and took the rest prisoners.¹⁵ In 1579 the Spanish retaliated by burning more than 19 towns, killing a number of Indians, and burning a large quantity of stored maize. This was apparently done throughout the Guale coast, as the destruction covered 45 leagues.¹⁶ It is hardly surprising that in 1580, following these extreme retaliations, the rebellion intensified. Some 2000 Indians, it was claimed, were now besieging the fort.¹⁷ Despite efforts to rebuild Santa Elena, Indian attacks continued through at least

⁹Diego de Velasco to Crown, January 20, 1577 (Connor, 1930, II, pp. 2-3); Cristobal de Eraso to Crown, January 22, 1577 (WL II); Información sobre el levantamiento de los Yndios de la Florida y perdida del Fuerte de Santa Elena, January 19, 1577 (WL II).

¹⁰Velasco to Crown, January 20, 1577 (Connor, 1930, II, pp. 4-5).

¹¹Juan Rogel to Menéndez de Aviles, December 9, 1570 (Lawson, 1955, pp. 407-414).

¹²Testimony of Francisco Ruiz to Crown, 1576 (WL II).

¹³Pareces of a junta organized by Cristobal de Eraso, Captain General of the Royal Armada, January 13-20, 1577 (WL II).

¹⁴Pedro Menéndez Marqués to Crown, June 15, 1578 (Connor, 1930, II, pp. 78-87).

¹⁵Inigo Ruiz de Castresana to Crown, December 12, 1577 (Connor, 1930, II, pp. 26-29).

¹⁶Menéndez Marqués to Crown, April 2, 1579 (Connor, 1930, II, pp. 224-227); Antonio Martínez Carvajal to Crown, November 3, 1579 (Connor, 1930, II, pp. 248-251); Menéndez Marqués to Crown, January 3, 1580 (WL III).

¹⁷Gutierrez de Miranda to Crown, October 14, 1580 (WL III, SC 54-5-16/26); Menéndez Marqués to Crown, October 15, 1580 (WL III).

⁶One of these, Brother Domingo Agustín Baez, is said to have translated the catechism into the native language. However, he died within a few months after his arrival (Barcía, 1951, pp. 149-150). This early linguistic effort has not been discovered.

⁷See also Francisco Villareal to Francisco Borgia, March 5, 1570 (Zubillaga, 1946, p. 418) and Antonio Sedeño to Borgia, March 6, 1570 (1946, p. 423).

⁸In 1595 Fray Andrés de San Miguel learned from an old soldier in San Agustín that an armed brigantine often went by night on surprise attacks on Guale villages (García, 1902, p. 204).

1582,¹⁸ and the coast was struck with yet another epidemic.¹⁹

As early as 1579 Governor Pedro Menéndez Marqués had despaired of the obvious lack of success of the Franciscan missionary effort: "May it please our Lord that they may some time become good and Christian, for at present there is no discussing that. They say flatly that they do not wish to become so, especially the adult men and women, who say that their fathers and ancestors had that religion; that they must preserve it; that if the young people wish to become Christian, they may; that they will not give up their faith. But if we come to ask them for their children in order to teach them the doctrine, they will not give them. . . ."²⁰

Nevertheless, a new set of Franciscan friars left undaunted for Florida in 1584 to join the cause of spiritual and physical conquest. This mission failed in the midst of scandal within Franciscan ranks (Geiger, 1937, pp. 46-51, 55), and in 1587 yet another group arrived. None of the latter, however, took the risk of working on the Guale coast. In 1586 the garrison from Santa Elena had been withdrawn (Lanning, 1935, p. 64), and the coast was regarded as a lost cause.

Not until 1595 did the Franciscans again attempt to missionize the Guale coast, and none were stationed north of St. Catherines Island, which at that time was without a garrison. At first their work appeared to be going well (Geiger, 1937, p. 67), but in 1597 another rebellion broke out that would stifle all further attempts to subdue and Christianize the Guale coast for several more years.

In 1597 there were six Franciscans on the Guale coast (see list in Geiger, 1937, p. 87). Several native leaders from this area had come to San Agustín in July of that year to render obedience to the new governor, Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo, who presented them all with gifts.²¹ This occasion has led historians to re-

gard the sudden outbreak against the friars in September of that year as an unexpected apostasy during a time of growing amity between Spanish and Indians. The immediate cause of the revolt has been identified as one priest's treatment of an heir to the position of head *mico* of the chiefdom that encompassed the towns of Guale and Tolomato. The missionary had reprimanded this individual, known as Don Juanillo, for practicing polygyny, and he had accordingly attempted to deprive him of his rights to inherit the position of *mico* (Lanning, 1935, pp. 82-83; Geiger, 1937, p. 88).²²

Writing from a church historian's perspective, Geiger (1937, pp. 88-89) argued that, "The Indian revolt of Guale was a desperate attempt to wipe out the Christian culture that had just taken root. Christian morality faced a hand-to-hand conflict with inveterate pagan custom. The attempt of the friars to replace simultaneous polygamy by Christian monogamy was to be accompanied by the shedding of blood. . . . If the heir to the caciquedom was to go on in open defiance of a fundamental Christian law, he would nullify to a great extent whatever efforts the missionaries made on behalf of Christianity."

There is reason to believe, however, that the hostility went far deeper. In fact, Christianity had not taken root at all. The 1597 revolt was the climax of 27 years of constant rebellion against heavy-handed Spanish control. It was not apostasy, for the vision of an established "Christian culture" was illusory. The continuing state of rebellion might be partially accounted for by opposition to the continued collection of food tributes.²³ However, there is evidence that the Guale had even more reason

cosas que se han dado a los indios por mandado de Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo. . . . July 28, 1597 (WL III).

²²Only the former was consistently cited in a later investigation into the outbreak, but it appears that the Spanish authorities may have put words into the witnesses' mouths in order to discredit the Franciscans and to underplay San Agustín's culpability. See Información sobre el martirio de los misioneros franciscanos de la Florida, July 1598 (López, 1933, pp. 13-23).

²³Méndez de Canzo to Crown, February 23, 1598 (WL IV). After the rebellion the tribute was reduced from one *arroba* of maize for each married male per year to a nominal six ears.

¹⁸Gabriel de Luxan to Crown, January 1582 (SC 54-2-23); Menéndez Marqués to Crown, July 19, 1582 (SC54-5-16/32, WL III).

¹⁹Juan Cebadilla to Crown, January 22, 1582 (SC 54-5-14/10).

²⁰Menéndez Marqués to Crown, April 2, 1579 (Connor, 1930, II, pp. 224-227).

²¹Testimonio de la ropa, harina, herramientas, y otras

than that to resist Spanish influence. This is indicated in the report of Andrés de San Miguel, who spent several days at Asao, a principal Guale town on the Altamaha River, in 1595 (García, 1902). San Miguel was one of a party of shipwrecked Spaniards, and he was impressed by the hospitality which they were given by the Asao *mico*. Later in San Agustín an old sailor told him that soldiers from the *presidio* frequently attacked the Guale villages by surprise at night, burning the inhabitants in their houses:

And with these assaults they had everyone in great fear, restrained and oppressed. And [he said] that the reason the Indians of Asao had received us so well and had given us so much was because of the governor's having sent a soldier along the coast up to Santa Elena to see if there were any lost people on it; and that [while] passing by these pueblos the Indians killed him. And the image or human figure that was in the *jacal* [the community building] was the figure of this Spaniard, made in contempt of him, and put there by the Indians. And fearing that the governor would castigate them for this crime, burning them for certain, it appeared to them that this was a good opportunity for them to appease the governor by receiving us well and entertaining us . . . (García, 1902, p. 205).

The image referred to had earlier appeared to San Miguel to be an idol, but now he fully understood the high degree of hostility that existed at Asao. San Miguel recognized that this general state of affairs led directly to Asao's involvement in the 1597 rebellion (García, 1902, p. 199).

Both Oré (1936) and Geiger (1937, pp. 87-115) contain detailed reports of this rebellion and its immediate aftermath. The rebels killed all but one of the missionaries at their posts. The surviving missionary was taken to a town that was apparently some distance up the Altamaha River, where he was tortured and humiliated until his release was secured by the Spanish in June 1598.

The rebellion, while it involved all three of the southern chiefdoms of Guale, was aided by interior people known as Salchiches, who were apparently centered at the town of Tulufina. In 1601 the *mico* of the southern chiefdom of Asao-Talaxe led a remarkable attack on the

fugitive rebel leaders, who were seeking refuge with the Salchiches. This attack, under Spanish sponsorship, represented the fruits of a pro-Spanish federation of virtually the entire Guale coast. This federation was undoubtedly a response to a vicious program of reprisals by the Spanish that began by the burning of major Guale towns and their food stores in late 1598.²⁴

The events of the 1597 rebellion and its harsh suppression by the Spanish give us much documented evidence from which Guale social and political organization at that time can be partially reconstructed. The same is also true of the ensuing years of peace, during which the missions were gradually reestablished along the coast (see Ross, 1926; Geiger, 1937, pp. 163-205). Governor Méndez de Canzo first paid a peace-making visit to the Guale coast in 1603, accompanied by the first missionary to set foot there since 1597.²⁵ In 1604 the new governor, Pedro de Ibarra, visited the towns of Asao, Espogache, and Guale, exhorting them to practice Christianity but bringing them no missionaries.²⁶ Both of these *visitas* are valuable sources of Guale political organization during the early years of the new period of peace.

Late in 1605 four new Franciscans were sent to the Guale coast, including one to the town of Guale and one to Talaxe, next to Asao on the Altamaha River. A few months later the Bishop of Cuba and Florida, Juan de las Cabezas de Altamirano, visited Florida and journeyed up the Guale coast. He baptized and confirmed the seemingly repentant Guale *caciques* and their wives and emphasized the

²⁴Sobre la muerte de Don Juanillo indio de Guale y sus vasallos, November 27, 1601 (WL IV, JTC II); Méndez de Canzo to Crown, February 12, 1598 (WL III); Auto y pregón del gobernador de la Florida, Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo sobre la libertad de los Yndios, January 31, 1600 (WL IV).

²⁵Visit made by Governor Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo in the provinces of San Pedro and Guale, April 15, 1603 (WL III).

²⁶Relación del viage que hizo el Señor Pedro de Ibarra Gobernador y Capitan General de la Florida, a visitar los pueblos indios de las prvincias de San Pedro y Guale, November-December 1604 (Serrano y Sans, 1912, pp. 164-193).

functions of the Church and the State in the establishment of peace in the wilderness (see Geiger, 1937, pp. 194-199, 205). Thus was initiated what the optimistic Franciscan historian, Maynard Geiger, called the "Golden Age" of Florida history. Geiger's optimism, as Matter has argued in detail, was premature, for the next 50 to 80 years were actually a period of slow and steady decline for the Guale coastal settlements (Matter, 1972).

Beginning in 1609 the Guale population was gradually urged by the missionaries onto the barrier islands. The first of the new mission settlements was at the convent of Santa Buenaventura on Jekyll Island, known variously as Guadalquini, Boadalquini, and Ovadalquini (Geiger, 1937, p. 236). About 1613 a new convent was established at Satuache, 10 leagues north of St. Catherines, but by 1675 the population of this town had been moved to St. Catherines Island, the site of the Santa Catalina mission.²⁷ A new convent was introduced on Sapelo Island (San Jose de Sápala) when Satuache was established; this Island had been uninhabited when San Miguel was there in 1595. In 1675 the mission of Santo Domingo de Asao was almost certainly on St. Simons Island,²⁸ but I have not discovered when it was moved to that location from the Altamaha River.

During the 1600s the Guale coast was characterized by the gradual abandonment of the mainland towns and by remarkable population decline. In 1675 only six settlements north of Cumberland Island were reported, and all of these were on the islands.²⁹ In 1680 only four

remained, and there were by then only four missionaries for the entire Indian population of La Florida.³⁰ The depopulation was due to several factors, including continuing epidemics,³¹ forced labor programs at San Agustín,³² increasing attacks from enemy Indians sent against the coastal missions by the English settlers at Georgetown (Charleston),³³ and a large number of defections of Guale inhabitants to the interior.³⁴

go de Asao (30); San Simon; Ocotonico, on St. Simons Island (120); and Guadalquini (40).

³⁰In 1677 Antonio Arguelles visited Santa Catalina, San José de Sápala, Santo Domingo de Asao and Guadalquini. His report implies that the island towns were composites of several former towns, as for instance Satuache and Santa Catalina. Visita of Antonio Arguelles to Guale, November 29, 1677 to January 10, 1678 (SC, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 156).

³¹The coast suffered epidemics in 1649-1650 (letter of Benito Ruiz de Salazar, June 14, 1650, WL VII; memorial of Fr. Pedro Moreno Ponce de Leon, September 7, 1651, WL VII); in 1657 (Religious of Guale to Crown, November 11, 1657, WL VII, NC 2-47); and in 1659 (Alonso de Aranguiz y Cotes to Crown, November 1, 1659, SC 58-2-2/4). The 1659 epidemic was measles and was said to have killed more than 10,000 Indians throughout the provinces of Florida.

³²Ramirez to Crown, January 15, 1619 (noted in Florida Ethnohistorical Survey Index, but original document was not found in SC); Andres Rodríguez de Villegas to Crown, December 27, 1630 (SC 54-5-10/30, denying that labor was forced); Royal Officials of Florida to Crown, March 18, 1647 (WL VII, SC 54-5-14/105); Crown to Governor of Florida, February 26, 1660 (SC 54-5-10/87, WL VIII). See also Geiger, 1935, p. 214; Alonso de Aranguiz y Cotes to Crown, November 15, 1661 (WL VIII); Religious of Guale to Crown, November 8, 1657 (WL VII, NC 2-42); Memorial of Gabriel de Junas, Franciscan produrador, May 29, 1664 (Stetson 54-5-18/63).

³³Aranguiz y Cotes to Crown, September 8, 1662 (SC 54-5-10/94, WL VIII); Request of Juan Francisco de los Santos, May 25, 1673 (WL VIII); Pablo de Hita Salazar to Crown, May 14, 1680 (Serrano y Sanz, 1912, pp. 216-219). See summary of the later episodes in Lanning, 1935, pp. 215-218.

³⁴This probably began at least as early as 1597, and in the summer of 1608 there was news of a pagan uprising against Christian Guales; the latter probably stimulated the island reductions, but this problem has yet to be studied (Pedro de Ibarra to Crown, letters dated August 22, 1608 and January 16, 1609, SC 54-5-9/96, 98). It is probable that such defectors contributed to the growth of the

²⁷Geiger, 1937, p. 248; Memoria de las Poblaciones principales, Yglesias, y Doctrinas que hay en . . . las Provincias de Florida, 1659 (WL VIII, BS I, pp. 121-123); Report of Pedro de Arcos on the places and people of the provinces of Mocama and Guale, July 15, 1675 (BS I.2.93, pp. 591, 593). Satuache had apparently become attached to the mission of Santa Catalina. See also Wenhold, 1936, p. 10; Lanning, 1935, p. 203.

²⁸Report of Pedro de Arcos on the places and people of the provinces of Mocama and Guale, July 15, 1675 (BS I.2.93, pp. 591, 593).

²⁹Report of Pedro de Arcos on the places and people of the provinces of Mocama and Guale, July 15, 1675 (BS I.2.93, pp. 591, 593). These were Santa Catalina; Satuache (140 inhabitants); San Joseph de Sápala (50); Santo Domin-

Under unclear circumstances, some Gualeans were moved closer to San Agustín as early as 1660. Tolomato was apparently the first of these, and it may have been moved shortly after the 1597 rebellion; in 1660 it was three leagues north of San Agustín and comprised 30 adult males who complained of forced labor conditions.³⁵ In 1678 this settlement was known as Nuestra Señora de Tolomato.³⁶ Arguelles visited Santa María Island (Amelia Island) in 1678, already called Santa María de Yemasis, suggesting that Gualeans were also moving there at that early date.³⁷

As enemy attacks from the Carolina settlement increased, a plan to move the rest of the Guale coastal population required in 1683 that the few remaining people at San Felipe (Cumberland Island), Guadalupe, Asao (Tupichiasao in Barcía), San Simon, Sápala, and Santa Catalina would move nearer San Agustín (Lanning, 1935, p. 218; Barcía, 1951, p. 312.). The communities rebelled, and "In order to avoid this removal, many of the Indians took to the woods; some crossed to the province of St. George, or Carolina . . ." (Barcía, 1951, p. 312). St. Catherine's Island, according to a map made in 1683, was abandoned by the middle of that year.³⁸

In 1689 the Bishop of Cuba prepared a census of Florida, which included the few families who had moved closer to San Agustín. The doctrines of Tolomato now had 25 families; San Juan del Puerto, 25 (Talbot Island); and Santa Cruz de Obadalquini, 60 (on the coast near Tolomato). St. Marys Island now had three settlements: Santa Catalina, 30 families;

San Felipe, 20; and Asao, 25. In 1696³⁹ Jonathan Dickinson, the shipwrecked Quaker, visited both Santa Cruz and San Juan, which were the last coastal Indian settlements before he reached the Carolina settlement (Dickinson, 1945, pp. 87-89). This then, was the end of the Golden Age of Guale.

LANGUAGE AND "TRIBAL" AREA

Swanton long ago (1922, pp. 14-25) presented excellent evidence for the linguistic unity of the entire Guale coastal area as defined here. The language spoken in the area was almost certainly Muskogean, which suggests that the Guale shared some of the cultural characteristics of inland Creek peoples. In fact, the principal affinities of the Guale seem to have been with the interior Muskogean groups to the west and the northwest. There is less evidence of continuous contact with the Timucua to their immediate south or with the Siouan-speaking groups along the northeastern coast beyond Charleston harbor. Drawing a boundary of cultural or "tribal" affiliation toward the interior is difficult and well beyond the scope of this chapter. Suffice it to say that the interior boundary was neither fixed nor inflexible, and that the Guale were in close contact with related peoples.

There is nothing significant that I can add to Swanton's linguistic discussion except to note that the Jesuit Juan Rogel wrote in 1568 that the language of the Guale coast "is the most universal that I have heard in all of La Florida: because a soldier who tells me about it has said that going 200 leagues inland he understood and they understood him very well in that language."⁴⁰

Throughout his writing Swanton (1922, p. 80) made a careful distinction between the Cusabo and the Guale proper. The latter lived south of the Savannah River. The Cusabo comprised two groups, one around Beaufort, and a northern group, who apparently spoke the same language, around Charleston harbor (1922, pp. 16-17). In distinguishing the Cusabo in this manner, Swanton followed what was primarily

Yamasees, who, I believe, were related to the interior Salchiches.

³⁵Crown to governor of Florida, February 26, 1660 (SC 54-5-10/87, WL VIII).

³⁶Visita of Antonio Arguelles to Guale, November 29, 1677 to January 10, 1678 (SC, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 156).

³⁷Visita of Antonia Arguelles to Guale, November 29, 1677 to January 10, 1678 (SC, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 156).

³⁸Juan Márquez Cabrera to Crown, June 28, 1653 (NC 5-28).

³⁹Bishop of Cuba to Crown, September 28, 1689 (SC 54-3-2/9).

⁴⁰Rogel to Borgia, July 25, 1568 (Zubillaga 1946, p. 325; see another translation in Vargas Ugarte, 1935, p. 85).

an eighteenth century English usage. By the late seventeenth century the area north of the Savannah River was coming under English control, and contact among Indian groups within the expanding Carolina settlement was increasing. From Swanton's discussion, which characteristically ignored the facts of chronology, I gather that the Carolina settlers considered all the coastal and riverine Indians from Charleston to Port Royal as a single people, whom they called Cusabo, just as the equally diverse Yamasees were known by a single term.

While there may have been a Cusabo people in the eighteenth century, I do not find this classification useful for the earlier periods. Swanton is correct in noting that the Beaufort area Indians had always had friendly ties with those of the Charleston Harbor area, but during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries their ties with the area to their south was far stronger. While recognizing that these southern ties could have been as much an artifact of the region under Spanish control as were the northern ties later influenced by the English, I would have to argue that the "Cusabo" as defined by Swanton do not appear to have existed before the beginning of the eighteenth century, and they probably did not appear as a group before the late seventeenth century. The Spanish always referred to the region up to Edisto Island as the *lengua de Guale*. They used the term Cusabo only to identify a town (Cosapoy) of some 400 people 15 to 20 leagues from Santa Elena.⁴¹ This town may well be the same place as Cozao, visited by Juan Pardo in 1566,⁴² and it may have been on the Coosawhatchie River near Hampton, Georgia.

The Guale coast as defined here is a region of cultural, linguistic, and adaptational uniformity. In addition, on at least one occasion it achieved political unity, when in 1601 the *mico* of the southern town of Asao led the united

chiefdoms of Guale against the fugitive perpetrators of the 1597 rebellion.⁴³ Whether or not that federation was a function of the Spanish presence, the Guale coast as a whole was certainly a practical political reality at that time.

SETTLEMENT AND SUBSISTENCE

There is no doubt that subsistence techniques and the environmental setting of the Guale coast were major factors in the location of communities, the organization of social and political life, and, of course, the organization of economic activity. While one cannot perfectly reconstruct any single sphere of Guale life, the rest of this chapter attempts to present a systematic framework for understanding the particular characteristics of the Guale chiefdoms as adaptations to a coastal-riverine environment within a context of Spanish colonial influence on the one hand, and an extensive economic and political network on the other. I emphasize once again that the model presented here is tentative and exploratory, due to the serious limitations of the data and the need for still further research and more detailed analysis.

ENVIRONMENT, SUBSISTENCE POTENTIAL, AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Larson identified three major adaptive sectors for the southeastern coastal plain during the later prehistoric and early contact period. One of these, the South Florida Sector (Larson, 1969, pp. 59-72), does not concern us here. The Coastal Sector, consisting of Strand, Lagoon and Marsh, and Delta sections, and the Pine Barrens Sectors (1969, pp. 13-58, 73-117) are of importance to the Guale coast.

Within the Coastal Sector Larson concluded that habitation sites, both archaeological and ethnohistorical, were almost entirely located in the Lagoon and Marsh Section. Neither the Strand nor the Delta Section offered resources "that would attract a large or stable aboriginal population" (Larson, 1969, p. 36). The Lagoon and Marsh Section, on the other hand, "with its diversity of ecology, with its variety and abundance of resources, was potentially and actually an area of aboriginal importance. The Coastal Sector populations resided almost exclusively within this section, and concentrated

⁴¹Carvajal to Crown, November 3, 1579 (Connor, 1930, II, pp. 246-251); Menéndez Marqués to Crown, January 3, 1580 (WL III).

⁴²Account written by Joan de Vandra of the villages and what kind of land is in each one through which Captain Juan Pardo passed in the provinces of Florida (Ketcham, 1954, p. 78).

⁴³Sobre la muerte de Don Juanillo indio de Guale y sus vasallos, November 27, 1601 (WL IV, JTC II).

almost entirely upon its resources.” Extensive salt marshes, in particular, characterize the Guale coast. These “are drained by an elaborate network of tidal rivers and creeks that vary considerably in depth and width” (1969, pp. 24-25). Areas of high ground adjacent to these marshes tend to be covered with freshwater swamps, creating a pattern of “relatively small and isolated ‘islands’” with no “extensive area of elevated and drained land.” Within this ecologically diverse section is found a great variety of botanical and faunal resources, among which the most important for the coastal aboriginal populations were the magnolia forests of the high ground, the molluscs and fish of the aquatic range, a wide variety of wild birds, and the white-tailed deer (1969, pp. 27-33).

In contrast to the Coastal Sector, the interior Pine Barrens Sector, with its spectacular longleaf pine forests, offered little to Mississippian period settlers and was probably “not occupied by any except small, scattered, and probably seasonal groups of fishermen exploiting the floodplain” (Larson, 1969, p. 111). However, Larson suggested that there may have been “attempts to settle on the river floodplains during periods when population pressures in other sectors combined with long periods of drought in the interior made floods on the coastal plain rare”. Only in such circumstances could such a population have been supported, as nonaquatic faunal resources were scarce, and in normal climatic periods the narrow natural river levees were subject to unpredictable flooding (1969, pp. 90-91, 99) and were thus inappropriate for horticultural purposes. The predominant leached sandy soils of the sector made the forest area equally undesirable for agriculture. Therefore, both the longleaf pine forest and the floodplains were unoccupied by permanent populations during the Mississippian period.

Ethnohistorical evidence appears to confirm Larson’s model of population distribution with only a slight modification. First, there appear to have been Guale settlements beyond the salt water line along the banks of major rivers. Second, it is quite certain that during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there were communities known as Salchiches living within the Pine Barrens Sector. How numerous

these were or what conditions caused their settlement in that region are not yet known. I agree entirely with Larson that virtually all the Guale settlements fell within the Coastal Sector, however.

Among the conclusions drawn by Larson concerning evidence for Guale coastal subsistence and population distribution are the following: In contrast to the intensive alluvial bottomland cultivation of the interior river valley areas beyond the Pine Barrens, the Guale were forced to practice shifting cultivation on “small and scattered areas of soil suitable for tillage” (1969, p. 307). Fields were cultivated by widely separated and isolated “families” and were abandoned after a few seasons. The resultant pattern of settlement was highly dispersed and mobile. Sufficient maize for the entire year was not grown, and acorns and hickory nuts collected in the fall contributed significantly to the diet (1969, pp. 316, 317, 320-321). These domesticated and wild plant products probably provided the bulk of subsistence needs. Evidence from the Pine Harbor site, McIntosh County, Georgia, indicated that at least some small family units established separate winter season camps where, for the most part, oysters were eaten in great quantity; deer were hunted in lesser quantity and were divided among families. Stored maize, beans, and hickory nuts contributed significantly to the winter diet. A second spring (May and early June) collecting period for blackberries, blueberries, and other plants probably helped tide over the population while the fields were being replanted. These seasonal factors, shortages of horticultural produce, and local variation in resource availability required high mobility, scattered settlements, and year-round small exploitive units.

The Pine Barrens Sector, Larson concluded, was a major barrier to cultural contact between coastal groups and the interior, although he noted that the Savannah and Altamaha rivers provided access routes for trading parties going in both directions. He apparently regarded these trade contacts (which exchanged coastal whelk shells, sea turtle shell, shark teeth, sting ray spines, and cassina for inland stone for tools, copper, mica, and pottery vessels) as insignifi-

cant to Guale cultural development, for he drew the following important conclusion: "The Southeast during the Mississippi Period is not a homogeneous cultural unit. The Coastal and the South Florida Sectors constitute discrete adaptations that are significantly different from those found in the interior areas of the Southeast, and it is necessary to reject any consideration of aboriginal culture on the Coastal Plain that treats it only as a marginal expression of cultural development in the interior" (1969, p. 324). It seems that Larson is warning against facile comparisons with the interior peoples, either archaeological or ethnohistorical, that do not take into consideration the basic adaptational differences between the two areas. This is a responsible methodological position, but on the empirical level I believe that it has led to an overstatement of the isolation of Guale from the interior, the unproductivity of Guale horticulture, and the scattered quality of Guale settlements.

My own reading of the evidence, which follows, relies on documents which both pre-date and post-date the early Jesuit records upon which his discussion heavily rests (Larson, 1969, pp. 293-297). As will become apparent, I do not believe that the Jesuit evidence can be taken at face value.

HORTICULTURE: It is a well-known fact that maize, beans, and varieties of squash were grown on the Guale coast. How much was grown and how and where it was grown is a more difficult problem to assess, as some of the evidence is contradictory. It seems best to review the evidence chronologically.

Ayllón's 1526 colonizing party had little contact with the Guale Indians during their ill-fated winter on the coast. They saw some large unoccupied communal houses and other structures, but it would appear that they visited no settlements (Oviedo, 1959, L. XXXVII, C. i, p. 326). They mentioned no horticulture, but only the fact that the Indians dried blackberries to eat like raisins during the winter. Despite a wealth of fish some of the Spaniards died due to a "lack of bread" and to illnesses that prevented them from fishing (1959, L. XXXVII, C. iii, p. 328). This report, which could imply a seasonal occupation of the coastal settle-

ments, is puzzling, for it does not fit the descriptions left by the French, who colonized Port Royal in 1562.

Ribaut's party reached Port Royal in mid-May 1562 (Lorant, 1946, p. 118). During the ensuing winter the settlers, who had not planted crops, asked the neighboring Indians (apparently those of Escamacu) for food. "The neighbors gave them part of everything they had, except the seed grain they needed for sowing their fields. They told the Frenchmen further that because of this they would have to go into the woods themselves to live on acorns and roots until the time of harvest should come" (Laudonnière, 1975, p. 42). According to Lorant's timetable (1946, p. 118), this would have been about January, after they had attended a large feast sponsored by the "king" Orista (see Laudonnière, 1975, pp. 39-41). Their generous donors then sent them to the south to ask for more from king Covecxis, "a man of might and renown who lived in the southern part of this land, where there was an abundance in all seasons and a great supply of corn, flour, and beans. They said that by his sole assistance they could live a very long time, but that before going to that land it would be wise to get permission from a man named Oade, a brother of Covecxis, who in corn, flour, and beans was no less rich or generous and who would be glad to see them" (1975, p. 42). The towns of Oade (Guale) and Covecxis were probably located along the inland tidal river between the Savannah and Ogeechee rivers (see later discussion). They found Guale to be a chief of impressive means, and he filled their boat with maize and beans and promised to supply their needs in the future (1975, p. 44).

Later that winter they accepted Guale's offer, but this time Guale had to send for maize and beans from his "brother" Covecxis. The latter sent enough to fill their "small boat". On the next day Guale took them to his own maize fields and "told them that they should not be in want as long as the corn lasted." This last comment is puzzling, for maize was ordinarily stored in granaries. The new crop had possibly just been planted, and only Covecxis still had maize in storage. In any event, in 1562-1563

maize and beans were being stored through the winter months, and the distribution of cultivated foodstuffs was under centralized control.

When Menéndez de Aviles visited the old chief Guale's town in April 1566, he found Guale and the Port Royal Orista chiefdom at war, and the Guale region short of food due to an eight-month drought. When he went on to visit Orista "many women arrived carrying maize, boiled and roasted fish, oysters, and quantities of acorns" (Barcia, pp. 113, 116, 118). The maize and "local produce" at Orista were also in short supply, however, due to the drought. On his return to Guale Menéndez offered his now famous prayer for rain, which immediately ended the drought and earned him some friends and subjects for the time being. It is likely that they were waiting for the rains to plant the spring crop, and it is quite remarkable under the conditions that Orista had any spare maize at all.

The Jesuits, who were at Orista and the Guale area in 1569 and 1570, are one of the few sources that relate Guale horticultural practices to both environment and settlement patterns. Larson synthesized these materials well (Larson, 1969, pp. 293-297). A first document quoted from Father Antonio Sedeño, who was stationed in Guale.⁴⁴ Sedeño reported that "the people there work and plant and thus have something to eat" (Zubillaga, 1946, p. 416), but he complained that the villages were small (ranging from fewer than 40 inhabitants to as many as 30 adult males) and isolated from each other by marshes. The women ground the maize. The coast, he reported, had been struck by an epidemic, which had caused great loss of life. The deaths of those few who requested baptism were blamed on the Jesuits (1946, p. 418). Sedeño made it clear that the mission effort was going badly, and that the priests were not welcome. Sedeño wrote again from Guale on March 6, 1570,⁴⁵ repeating his report about the epidemic and the blame the Jesuits had received. He complained, almost bitterly, about the undesirability of the terrain ("the most miserable thing ever discovered"), specifying that

⁴⁴Francisco Villareal to Borgia, March 5, 1570 (Zubillaga, 1946, pp. 413-421).

⁴⁵Sedeño to Borgia, March 6, 1570 (Zubillaga, 1946, pp. 421-429).

On [the coast] no fruit other than palmettos and wild nuts are found, which are so wretched that there is hardly anyone who takes advantage of them. The animals found are deer, bears, and lions. It is full of large pine forests and unproductive forests; and this is the cause . . . that the few Indians that there are are so scattered; for as they have nothing with which to fell the forests for their plantings, they go where they can find a little land without woods to sow their maize; and as the land is so miserable, they move with their *ranchos* from time to time in search of other lands which can bear fruit (Zubillaga, 1946, p. 424).

In this letter Sedeño's estimate of the size of the largest settlement noticeably declined to 20 male adults and he claimed that some of the 30 or 80 *caciques* ruled as few as four or five of these tiny, scattered settlements over a distance of 15 leagues.

Larson (1969, pp. 296, 297) logically has interpreted this last letter as evidence of a shifting cultivation pattern in which the households are forced to move frequently in search of fallow land. He argued that they were able to fell the forests, and that the clear plots were man-made, not natural. The most reasonable explanation for the extent of their scattered distribution, he suggested, was the soil variability of the region.

At the end of 1570 Father Rogel, who had been working at Santa Elena and Orista, wrote to Menéndez de Aviles from Havana, having recently given up his mission post in despair.⁴⁶ He reported that when the acorn season at Orista came, "all of them left me alone and went to those forests, each one to his own part, and they did not come together except at certain feasts which they made every two months and this not at any one place, but one time here and another time in another place, etc." (Lawson, 1955, p. 408). In the spring Rogel tried to convince "all the vassals of that chief" (Orista) to come together to plant maize on a good piece of land "so they would have food for all the year." He managed to convince some 20

⁴⁶The transcription of this letter, published in Zubillaga (1946), was not available to me while I was writing this chapter. I have relied on a translation of it (Lawson, 1955, pp. 407-414), which I have compared with Larson's translated extracts (1969, pp. 294-295). Rogel's letter was partially paraphrased in Barcia (1951, pp. 150-153).

households to settle near him, tempting them with eight spades. However, all but two of the households moved elsewhere to plant their maize. Rogel blamed the scattering movement of the cultivators on the poor quality of the soil, which caused them to "spread out and shift so regularly" (Larson, 1969, p. 294; Lawson, 1955, p. 413; cf. Lowery, 1911b, p. 350). He offered this explanation despite the fact that he had chosen good land for the mission site. Finally, even the two remaining households left him, refusing to accept his religious teachings. It is clear from his letter that his efforts were received with as much hostility as were those of Sedeño at Guale (Lawson, 1955, p. 410).

At the end of June the lieutenant governor at Santa Elena, "compelled by necessity," went to a regional feast at Escamacu and "commanded" the chiefs who were present (Escamacu, Orista, and Ahoya) to deliver caneloads of maize to Santa Elena. Seeing himself caught between worldly reality and moral righteousness, Rogel decided to save his skin by leaving his post and returning to Santa Elena before the soldiers arrived to collect the tribute. When the time came, the Indians refused to deliver the maize. Rogel offered to Orista to stay on with him, but "He did not tear my cassock importuning me to go with him" (Lawson 1955, p. 411). Given Rogel's fears of the Indians' reaction to the tribute demand, I think that we may assume that this was not the first time that such demands had been made.

The fact that the Jesuits presented a picture of Guale horticulture and settlement patterns that is unique for over a century of Guale coastal history demands special explanation. I strongly suspect that the Guale inhabitants were scattering in order to avoid contact with the missionaries, whom they refused to listen to or accept. Significant factors in their resistance would have been the practice of forced tribute payment in maize to the Santa Elena garrison and the epidemic of 1569-1570, which was blamed on the priests. Sedeño's letter read as if they were intentionally exaggerating the "misery" of the land and the recalcitrance of the pagans, perhaps in order to procure a transfer. Rogel's letter is clearly an apology for his abandonment of the mission, placing the blame for his failure on the intransigent natives and the policies of the secular authorities. While it

is apparent that the Guale practiced shifting cultivation, the Jesuit portrait of a highly mobile, dispersed population with insufficient maize to last the year and a weakly developed political system does not conform with the earlier French reports or with subsequent documentation. The Jesuit documents, therefore, should be treated with considerable caution. While further evidence suggests a pattern of shifting horticultural plots and households, these appear to have been close to a central area which served as a local political and ceremonial center. Thus correct in certain elements, the Jesuit reports were exaggerated and misleading.

Food shortages continued to plague the Santa Elena garrison, and the tributes against the local Indian population were continued. As indicated earlier, these tributes had been a major factor in the rebellion of 1576. On the eve of the outbreak tribute was demanded at Orista at a regional feast (at which several chiefs were present) held during the month of December.⁴⁷ About the same time rebels from the area around the town of Guale went toward Santa Elena along the inland waterway and "killed them all [the soldiers] in the villages, which [were] designated for the quartering of the soldiers when there was a lack of food in the supplies. They were wont to do this better than in Spain, and with a very great will."⁴⁸ During the winter of 1597 Governor Menéndez Marqués burned 19 of the rebel villages, and "Great was the harm I did them in their food stores, for I burned a great quantity of maize and other supplies. . . ."⁴⁹ From this episode it is clear that the Guale were able to produce enough maize to last at least through the winter months. There was probably a sufficient surplus to feed the garrison, implying that they produced enough to last for the entire year.

When San Miguel visited Asao in 1595, he and his group were fed *tortas* of parched maize, *tortas* of acorn flour, a drink of parched

⁴⁷Pareces of a junta organized by Cristobal de Eraso, Captain General of the Royal Armada, January 13-20, 1577 (WL II).

⁴⁸Velasco to Crown, January 20, 1577 (Connor, 1930, II, p. 5).

⁴⁹Menéndez Marqués to Crown, April 2, 1579 (Connor, 1930, II, p. 225).

maize, and a flour of parched maize.⁵⁰ This was in April, when maize supplies might have been running low, but even when the Spanish refused to eat the acorn *tortas*, there was sufficient maize for their trip to San Agustín (García 1902, pp. 3, 189, 192, 197).

During October and November 1598, Governor Méndez de Canzo punished the principal towns that participated in the 1597 rebellion by burning their buildings, their foodstores, and even their maize fields (Oré, 1936, p. 95; Geiger, 1937, p. 103.).⁵¹ In subsequent years as well, the Spanish sought out and destroyed their maize fields and forced the Guale inland, thus cutting them off from shellfish supplies and causing several years of famine (Oré, 1936, p. 95; Barcía, 1951, p. 183). I am almost certain that at least some of the Guale sought refuge during this period in the Pine Barrens Sector.

In 1663 Hilton wrote that in the Orista area the soil was quite good except in the pine barrens, but he echoed the Jesuit reports in noting that "The Indians plant in the worst land, because they cannot cut down the timber in the best. . . ." But he added, "and yet they have plenty of Corn, Pumpions, Water Mellons, Muskmellons: although the land be overgrown with weeds through their laziness, yet they have two or three crops of Corn a year, as the Indians inform us" (Hilton, 1911, p. 44).⁵²

⁵⁰San Miguel did note that they made "very little" of the corn bread, which was in loaves "a little smaller than *comales*, and two fingers thick," and that they ate mostly maize *atole* and acorn *tortas*.

⁵¹Food stores were burned at Asao, Talaxe, Sápala, and Ospó; at the latter place they specified burning their "garritas de mayz surreserbar cossa del pueblo." Testimony regarding the Guale speaking Indians and the voyage that Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo made, January 12, 1598 (WL III).

⁵²Bishop Calderón may have been referring to either the Timucua or the Guale when he wrote that "During January they burn the grass and weeds from the fields preparatory to cultivation, surrounding them all at one time with fire so that the deer, wild ducks, and rabbits, fleeing from it fall into their hands. . . . In April they commence to sow, and as the man goes along opening the trench, the woman follows sowing. All in common cultivate and sow the lands of the *caciques*" (Wenhold, 1936, p. 13).

Shortly after Hilton, in 1666, Sandford (1911, p. 91) visited both Orista and Parris Island, where an Indian village (Santa Elena) was now located. He described the chief town of Orista, apparently on Edisto Island: "The Towne is scituate on the side or rather in the skirts of a faire forrest, in which at several distances are diverse feilds of maiz with many little houses straglingly amongst them for the habitations of the particular families." Although this description seems at first glance to be similar to those of the Jesuits, he seems clearly to be describing maize plots and houses that were in the general vicinity of the center of the town. I suggest that we refer to this pattern of settlement as the *dispersed town*. The dispersed town of Orista was surrounded by a large "meadow" on two sides and by a forest broken up by marshes. The maize and house plots were apparently on high patches of the forest. Probably the Jesuit Rogel had been simply exaggerating when he wrote that the Indians left him to make their maize fields at distances of 4 to 20 leagues from one another. Since towns such as Orista were ceremonial and food storage centers, the pattern which Sandford described at this late date (implying a movement of maize plots and homesteads around a nucleus) is a far more reasonable adaptational solution to shifting cultivation than the extreme dispersal described by the Jesuits.

On Parris Island, Sandford (1911, p. 100) found the town of Santa Elena near the shore and all around it "for a great space are severall fields of Maiz of a very large growth." He did not mention that there were houses scattered among them, but one would expect this to be the case, as he pointed out other similarities with Orista.

A similar dispersed town is described on St. Catherines Island in 1670 (Mathew, 1911, p. 114) and, after its abandonment, in 1696. In 1696 the same pattern was found on San Juan island near San Agustín (Dickinson, 1945, p. 92). I agree with Larson (n.d., p. 19) that Guale mission settlements were factors in population concentration, and that we should therefore be wary of the data on St. Catherines and San Juan islands. Orista, however, had not been under effective Spanish control for more

than 90 years. Thus it seems that the pattern of settlement found there in 1666 was essentially the same as that found by the French in 1562-1563. The fact that Guale was able to take the French to maize fields near the town strongly suggests such a pattern. Apparently both Guale and Covecxis had control over the central granary as well, suggesting again that horticultural production and distribution were centralized.

OTHER SOURCES OF SUBSISTENCE: It has already been noted that the Guale ate acorns, which they ground, probably leached (see Larson, 1969, p. 281), and prepared in the form of large round, flat cakes. The acorns were gathered in the fall, but there is no reason to assume, as Rogel reported, that this activity required a seasonal dispersal of the dwellings of the population. Oviedo, cited earlier, said that blackberries were dried for winter use. Hilton (1911, p. 45) reported that in the Orista area in 1663 was made a "good bread" from a root that grew in the marshes. Around Charleston Bay in 1670 "root cakes" were also eaten, as were hickory nuts (Carteret, 1911, p. 116). Larson (1969, pp. 284-287) discussed possible identifications of roots eaten in south Florida, but I am not aware of discussions of edible roots for the Guale coast.

Oysters were apparently an important item in the Guale diet, although references to them are not frequent (see Sandford, 1911, p. 89; Oré, 1936, p. 95; Barcía, 1951, p. 116.). Some of the important towns lay upstream beyond the oyster beds, yet there is no documentary evidence that they spent seasonal periods downstream or along the inland waterways to exploit the oysters. Sandford's account of finding oyster beds and middens along a stream on the North Edisto River, located near maize fields, would indicate that the beds could be exploited without seasonal shifts in residence (Sandford, 1911, pp. 89). San Miguel's party gorged on oysters on Sapelo Island and on the mainland shore in 1595, but he did not mention any use of oysters at the upstream Asao towns in April, the beginning of the planting period (García, 1902, p. 189).

There are very few references to fish consumption, due, I suppose, to its probable uni-

versality (but see Oré, 1936, p. 95; Barcía, 1951, pp. 115-117). San Miguel stressed that the Asao were excellent fishermen, and that the upstream freshwater fish were larger and preferable to those caught nearer the mouth of the river (García, 1902, p. 194).

Hunting is frequently mentioned, both directly and indirectly. Archers were first encountered by Ayllon's party (Oviedo, 1599, L. XXXVII, C. ii, p. 326). Deer are the most frequently mentioned game (Laudonnière, 1975, p. 27; Wenhold, 1959, p. 59), and deerskin was extensively used for clothing and in barter. Wolves (Wenhold, 1959, p. 59) and bears (Laudonnière, 1975, p. 26) were also hunted. There is some scant evidence that hunting increased during the winter months. This seasonality is first mentioned by the Jesuit Rogel in an early, enthusiastic letter about Guale: "There are very good laborers. They cultivate the soil and plant and harvest maize in its season. And during the winter, when the soil cannot be cultivated, they devote themselves to hunting deer and wild turkeys, of which there are so many there that they never come back emptyhanded."⁵³ Rogel did not say that the hunters actually changed residence during the winter, and I have not found any earlier documents that indicate a seasonal residential pattern based either on winter hunting or winter oyster collecting. The location of Guale settlements along rivers and tidal creeks seems to have actually been a strategic measure to be near shellfish, hunting grounds, and horticultural lands without having to change residence seasonally.

In December 1696, Jonathan Dickinson's party passed two canoeloads of "Carolina Indians" along the Guale coast; these were on a hunting trip for the winter season. One of them, at St. Catherines Island, contained "a man his wife and children having his dogs and other implements to lie out the winter season" (Dickinson, 1945, p. 92). Further along, at Hilton Head, they passed four Indians in a canoe laden with skins which they were taking to a merchant in Carolina. I doubt that these

⁵³Rogel to Borgia, November 10, 1568 (Zubillaga, 1946, p. 332, Vargas Ugarte, 1935, p. 87).

are indications of a traditional winter residential pattern. The Guale coast was by then depopulated, and these hunters were exploiting the very lands on which Guale settlements had been located. It is most likely that all three canoes were involved in the Carolina colony's growing commerce in skins and furs.

Europeans introduced domesticated fowl to the Guale coast (Oré, 1936, p. 36; Dickinson, 1945, pp. 88-89), and these were apparently widely adopted. The same may have been true of pigs. San Miguel found wild pigs on deserted Sapelo Island in 1595, which could indicate that the islands were actually hunting preserves, and that the pigs had joined the natural fauna. In 1696 Dickinson found "plenty of hogs and fowls and large crops of corn" on San Juan Island, indicating that the pigs were also domesticated.

While it seems possible that domesticated animals effected a reduction in winter hunting activity and thus a change in a hypothetical pattern of winter residential mobility, there is no reported pattern of mobility for even earliest periods of Guale history. While the absence of evidence does not assure us that the pattern did not exist, there is ample evidence that at least the principal towns were occupied during the winter. While small hunting parties undoubtedly went out for short periods, the faunal resources of the Coastal Sector were sufficiently diverse, rich, and compact that residential mobility was probably not necessary.

SETTLEMENT LOCATION AND SOCIOECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION: It has been suggested that the typical settlement pattern of the Guale coast was the dispersed town: a small central area surrounded by a forest-marsh area in which there were scattered shifting horticultural plots and associated houses. Unlike the larger, compact towns of the interior, the town center itself seems to have been small, and the bulk of the population was probably distributed among individual farm plots. Unfortunately, population figures are almost entirely lacking for the sixteenth century, and there is no way of estimating the size of these towns or

of their outlying dependencies. It was said that in 1579 the northern town of Cosapoy had about 400 inhabitants, but this could have referred to a central compact area only, or to a larger region of several settlements.⁵⁴ The scattered late seventeenth-century censuses, which indicate a very small population for Guale towns, were taken after severe population losses due to disease, migration, and other factors, and are not even an approximate guide to aboriginal town population.⁵⁵ The first European epidemic was probably introduced by Ayllon in the Beaufort area in 1526, for DeSoto's party learned of the ravages of a pestilence at Cofitachequi when they arrived there in 1540 (Elvas, 1907, p. 173).

Not long ago J. Eric S. Thompson (1968) made Maya scholars aware of the immense changes that European-introduced diseases had upon pre-Contact southern lowland Maya culture. Likewise, one cannot overstress the impact of population loss on the Guale coast. Epidemics began to devastate the coastal population before the French cast anchor at Port Royal in 1562 and continued to do so through the end of the seventeenth century. For this reason alone it is nearly impossible to appreciate the size and appearance of aboriginal Guale towns.

It is also difficult to estimate the number of Guale towns, even for well-documented periods. The early Jesuit estimates are highly unreliable. Later lists of towns fail to distinguish between town centers and their surrounding dependencies. There is also confusion in these lists between the names of settlements and the persons who had titles of authority, some of whom lived in the principal town centers.

The map (fig. 17) indicates approximate locations for 24 documented settlements, but this is only a small proportion of the total number of known place names. In 1597 the area south of the Savannah River was divided into three chiefdoms (Guale-Tolomato, Asao-Talaxe, and

⁵⁴Carvajal to Crown, November 3, 1579 (Connor, 1930, II, p. 249).

⁵⁵See, for example, Report of Pedro de Arcos on the places and people of the provinces of Mocama and Guale, July 15, 1675 (BS I.2.93. pp. 591, 593).

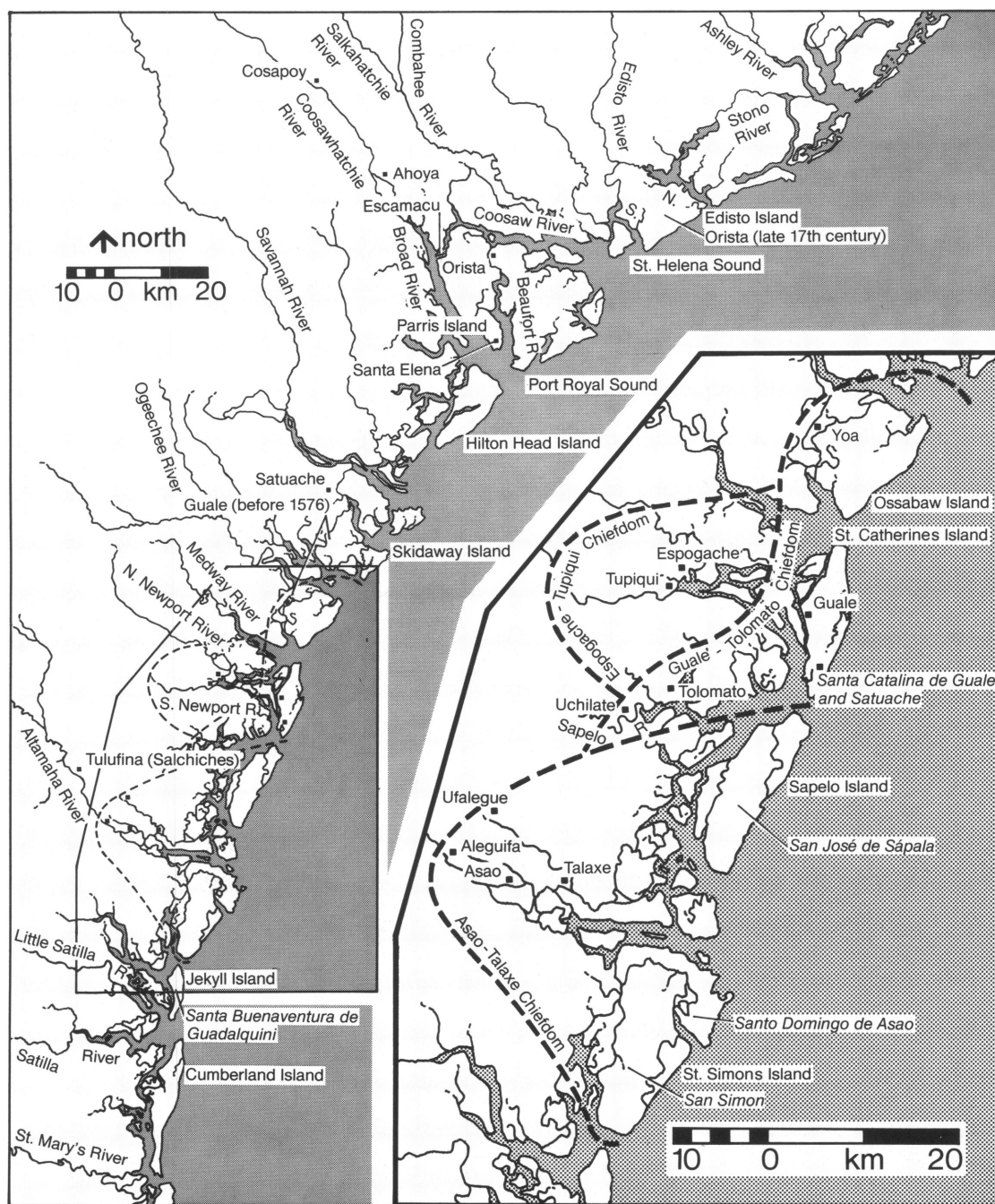


FIG. 17. Approximate locations of Spanish period towns and settlements along the Guale Coast. Dashed line denotes approximate boundaries of southern chiefdoms.

Espogache-Tupiqui) each of which had two principal towns and a number of subsidiary settlements or villages. Some of the latter were several kilometers from the principal town, perhaps even in a distinct ecological setting. Such, for instance, was the case of Sápala, located on Doboy Sound some 12 km. from the principal upstream Altamaha towns of Asao and Talaxe. A similar case was the village of Yoa, on the Ossabaw Island inland waterway about 20 km. north of the principal town of Guale on St. Catherines Island.

Some of these secondary settlements, such as Ospó, opposite Sapelo Island, were probably "secondary towns," since they had large community buildings like all of the principal towns. Most of the secondary settlements, however, are unidentified as to location or to the presence or absence of such architectural features.

RESOURCE DISTRIBUTION AND CHIEFDOMS: Approximate boundaries of the three southern chiefdoms are shown on figure 17. Since nothing is known of the secondary towns of the Port Royal chiefdoms, such approximations cannot be made for that area. Even with this limited information, however, it may be seen that there is great regional ecological diversity both within chiefdom territories and between those territories. Asao-Talaxe, for example, stretched from some distance up the Altamaha River (beyond the tidal waters) all the way to the mouths of the tidal rivers in Doboy Sound. Guale-Tolomato combined similar regional diversity, encompassing the Sapelo River and the inner shoreline of St. Catherines Island. Espogache-Tupiqui was wedged behind Guale-Tolomato territory, most likely due to its strong upstream affiliations with the Salchiches who lived along interior rivers and streams. The sixteenth-century chiefdoms of the Port Royal area each seem to have exploited particular subregions; Orista was located primarily along the coastal tidal rivers; Escamacu was centered at the mouth of the rivers that flowed into the Broad River; and Ahoya was along a river some distance inland. Thus, the distribution of the Port Royal chiefdoms seems to stress the variability of resources between the regions exploited by each chiefdom, while the southern coastal chiefdoms demonstrate, in addition, a

high degree of intrachiefdom resource variability.

The documentary sources demonstrate some of the great variety in Guale diet, and we may assume that Guale settlements were distributed so that availability of food resources and horticultural lands was maximized. This pattern of distribution is already strongly suggested, but further research is needed in order to specify the particular advantages of individual locations for horticulture, plant gathering, fishing, shellfish collecting, and hunting. Such analysis calls for close collaboration between the archaeologist, the ethnohistorian, and other specialists.

The implications of resource distribution and settlement location are of critical importance for an understanding of the economic functions of chiefdom political organization, for it is apparent that the chiefs (*micos*) were collectors and redistributors of at least the horticultural products. The French sources, which describe intrachiefdom feasts and the authority of chiefs to distribute food (Laudonnière, 1975, p. 39-42, 46), are the first indication of these economic aspects of chiefdom organization. That the Spanish continue to make similar reports, adding the fact that there were also interchiefdom feasts,⁵⁶ indicates that such practices continued to be of importance, at least until the 1597 rebellion.⁵⁷ As late as 1601 the *mico* of Asao, who had just led a successful raiding party composed of men from the entire Guale coast, presented his followers "much money and pearls, dressed antelope skin blankets, and hatchets and other items."⁵⁸ While this last example does not involve food items, it indicates that the overall economic powers of the *mico* were great indeed. If secondary items such as these could be distributed by the chief, it is likely that he would have served as a food redistributor as well.

⁵⁶Pareces of a junta organized by Cristobal de Eraso, captain general of the Royal Armada, January 13-20, 1577 (WL II).

⁵⁷San Miguel's experience at Asao indicated that that young *mico* was fully in charge of food distribution to the Spanish in 1595 (García, 1902, p. 197).

⁵⁸Sobre la muerte de Don Juanillo indio de Guale y sus vasallos, November 27, 1601 (WL IV, JTC II).

TRADE AND RESOURCE DISTRIBUTION: If the political hierarchy served such economic distributive functions within the Guale coastal area, perhaps it would have been involved in long-distance trade as well. It was pointed out earlier that Larson had identified archaeological contact by trade across the Pine Barrens Sector. This contact "was undoubtedly in the form of trading parties moving inland from the coast or similar groups traveling to the coast from interior towns. Coastal resources that moved inland included: large whelk shells, sea turtle shell, shark teeth, sting ray spines, and cassina. These were given in return for tools, copper, mica, and pottery vessels. Food must also have crossed the sector, but it has not been identified archaeologically" (Larson, 1969, pp. 323-324). Of these items few can be determined ethnohistorically. Pottery vessels are documented for the Guale (García, 1902, p. 196), but their origins are not specified.⁵⁹ The whelk shells were probably those *caracoles* identified by a Jesuit as being used as money in 1570; shells were also distributed by the *mico* of Asao in 1601.⁶⁰ These shells may thus have been a trade item of considerable importance. Cassina (*Ilex vomitoria*), used to make a stimulant tea consumed ritually throughout the Southeast, grew only in the coastal areas.

When DeSoto's expedition reached Cofitachequi they found that Spanish items introduced by Ayllon in 1526 had made their way inland. More significantly, the *cacica* of Cofitachequi, seeing that the Spaniards "valued" the string of pearls that she had given to DeSoto, "told the Governor that, if he should order some sepulchres that were in the town to be searched, he would find many; and if he chose to send to those that were in the uninhabited [epidemic-stricken] towns, he might load all his horses with them. They examined those in the town, and found three hundred and

fifty pounds' weight of pearls, and figures of babies and birds made of them." (Elvas, 1907, p. 174) There are many reports of pearls on the oyster-rich Guale coast, and it is likely that the Cofitachequi pearls came from there.⁶¹

The French received gifts of "excellent pearls," two crystal stones, and some silver ore from the Guale *mico* in 1563 (Laudonnière, 1975, p. 46). When questioned, Guale said that the crystal and silver came from the mountains 10 days inland. Such long distance contacts are also indicated by the report that in 1580 Guale Indians of the Guale chiefdom brought the Spanish four French prisoners from "the other side of the mountain ridge, one hundred and twenty leagues from here [Santa Elena]."⁶²

During and after the 1597 rebellion there are reports of close relations between the Guale coastal chiefdoms and interior peoples at Tama. Further research needs to be carried out on these relationships across the Pine Barrens Sector, however, before their significance can be evaluated.

We can conclude from the consistent evidence of trade and other long-distance contacts that the Guale coast was in close and regular contact with interior peoples from the time of the first European contact. Such relations indicate that the Guale coast was open to influence from interior peoples, and that in economic terms there were strong interior coastal interdependencies. Given the local economic roles of the chiefs, it is difficult to avoid the further implication that organizational aspects of long-distance trade and social contact were mediated through the political system of the coastal as well as the interior chiefdoms.

THE APPEARANCE OF A GUALE TOWN

There is, unfortunately, no single good contemporary description of a Guale town. Some of the difficulties in establishing the broader

⁵⁹On the 1566 Pardo expedition "a sandy place of very good clay for cooking pots and tiles and other things that might be necessary" was found at Escamacu, near Santa Elena (Joan de la Vandra report in Ketcham, 1954, p. 78). From this I assume that not all pottery was imported.

⁶⁰Sobre la muerte de Don Juanillo indio de Guale y sus vasallos, November 27, 1601 (WL IV, JTC II).

⁶¹See Wenhold, 1959, p. 58; Laudonnière, 1975, p. 46; and Francisco Real in Zubillaga, 1946, p. 418. Pearls were usually identified as of high quality, although Menéndez de Aviles complained of receiving burned ones from the Oristas (Barcía, 1951, p. 117).

⁶²Menéndez Marqués to Crown, March 25, 1580 (Connor, 1930, II, p. 283).

questions of settlement size and distribution have been discussed already, and a tentative model for the dispersed town was suggested. Additional details are scarce.

In the central area of the principal dispersed towns were located the households of the *mico* or other principal leaders, which included separate houses for their wives. In all probability, close kin of these chiefly individuals also resided in the town center. Towns sometimes contained secondary leaders of the chiefdom as well, and these may have occupied the central area. In this area there was always a large round community building, called a *buhío* by the Spanish, a field for playing chunky, and at least in some cases, a special building for housing or burying the dead. There is no evidence for a distinction found between summer and winter houses among the interior Creeks.

Ayllon's party found deserted community buildings along the coast in 1526. These

are very large, and they are made of very tall and graceful pines; and they leave their branches and leaves on the top and afterwards make a row or line of pines for a wall, and another [row] from the other side, leaving in the middle the width of 15 or 30 feet from one line to the other, and a good 300 feet or more in length. At the top they join the branches, and thus there is no need of a roof or covering, notwithstanding the fact that they cover all of the upper part with very well placed mattings, interweaving them in the spaces or open places among the said pines. Inside, there are other pines, crossed with the facade of the first one, doubling the thickness of the wall. The wall fence is thick and strong, because the timbers are joined. And in such houses there may easily be contained 200 men, living in them as the Indians do, locating their door where it is convenient (Oviedo, 1959, L. XXXVII, C. iii, p. 328).

The later description of such buildings differ from Oviedo's in that they are consistently said to be round. In 1595, San Miguel described the community building at an Asao town as "a large *jacal* [hut], round in shape, made of whole pines which lacked only their branches, poorly stripped of their bark, with their bases in the ground and their tops all bunched together at the top like a pavillion or the ribs of a parasol. 300 men would be able to sleep in it.

Inside all the way around it had a continuous platform bed or cot, ample for many men to rest and sleep" (García, 1902, p. 195). The platform bed was covered with "straw," and as protection against the cold the small door was covered at night with palmetto leaves, and a fire was kept burning all night. At a second Asao town, where the *mico mayor* resided, the *jacal* was even larger. In front of it was a "large, clean plaza." The platform bed of this building was raised more than a *vara* (a *vara* was slightly less than a yard) off the ground. After they had played a chunky game, presumably on the plaza, all of the town or chiefdom's *caciques* and *principales* sat on the platform and ritually drank cassina from vessels kept near the door (1902, p. 196).

Around Santa Elena Sound in 1663, Hilton described an Orista community building as "a fair house builded in the shape of a Dove-house, round, two hundred feet at least, completely covered with Palmeta-leaves, the walplate being twelve foot high, or thereabouts, and within lodging Rooms and forms; two pillars at the entrance of a high Seat above all the rest." (Hilton, 1911, p. 41). At this town was also a European style "sentinel-house," "several other small houses round about," and the remains of a fort. Three years later Robert Sandford visitied what I assume to be the same town and was "conducted into a large house of a Circular form (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 . . . with 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 furrows." (Sandford, 1911, p. 91). Like San Miguel, he described a plaza in front of this building ("a spacious walke rowed with trees on both sides, tall and full branches, not much unlike the Elms. . . .") on which the chunky game was played. Sandford described an identical arrangement at Santa Elena (1911, p. 100).

Similar, but not identical, buildings were

described by Dickinson in 1696 for the resettled Guale north of San Agustín (Dickinson, 1945, pp. 87-89; Swanton, 1922, pp. 92-93). The larger of these buildings was some 81 feet in diameter, constructed so that a 20-foot square central "quadrangle" of posts served to support 32 wallposts which leaned against the central structure, forming a circle. The center of the roof was thus left open. The building was "matted," probably with palmetto leaves. The spaces between the outer wallposts contained the platforms ("cabins"), and the interior square was used for dancing and for a central fire.

I suspect that the buildings seen by Dickinson were actually Timucuan in style, for San Miguel pointed out that the *jacal* at San Pedro, Cumberland Island, had an opening at the top, in contrast to the completely covered Guale structures (García, 1902, p. 199; cf. Swanton, 1946, p. 405). Although the resettled towns were ostensibly Gualean, the Guale population may actually have been an increment to a Timucuan base. A more serious difference is the longhouse-like rectangular building described by Oviedo. Swanton suggested that Oviedo may have been describing a Timucuan town house (Swanton, 1946, p. 406). Whether this was the case, or whether his information was simply garbled, cannot be determined. In any event, it is unlikely that his is an accurate description of a Gualean building. This leaves us with the descriptions of San Miguel, Hilton, and Sandford, which seem to be totally consistent.

Descriptions of other types of buildings are nearly absent from the historical record. Concerning the house where Guale dwelt, Laudonnière (1975, p. 43) described only its lavish interior, "decorated with tapestries of various colored feathers up to the height of a pike. The place where the king slept was covered with white coverlets embroidered with fine workmanship and fringed in scarlet."

San Miguel described the house generally as having "walls . . . of wood timbers, covered with palmetto, in the making of which . . . they are expert. All of the houses are small, as they have little to keep in them. They make

them only for their shelter. For this reason the houses of the *caciques* are also small. [The principal cacique's house] had three or four small rooms." San Miguel emphasized that this *mico* of Asao lived little better than the rest of the population, a situation seemingly due to the effects of changes influencing the Guale coast since Laudonnière's description of 32 years before. I suspect that these small structures were round pavilions built on the same principle as the large buildings. They may have been similar to the "wigwams" covered with palmettos which Dickinson found along Hilton Head shore and which the Indians who accompanied him from San Juan Island built as shelter against the cold (Dickinson, 1945, pp. 94-96).

Oviedo described, in addition to the questionable rectangular community buildings, "certain mosques or temples" where there were

many bones of the deceased, those of children and infants separated from those of the adults; and these are as ossuaries or burying places of the common people, for those of the principal men are kept apart in a chapel or temple separated from the other community, and also on small islands. And those houses or temples have walls of lime and stone (the lime being made of sea oyster shells); and these are as much as an *estado* and a half high "about 3 meter"; and above this *estado* and a half is made of the wood of pines, which are plentiful (Oviedo, 1959, L. XXXVII, C. iii, p. 328).

Swanton (1946, p. 406) believed that these were "public houses with walls of lime cement or tabby". As far as I am aware, this combination of architectural features is unique for the Guale area, leading us either to question the reliability of the report or, perhaps, even the proposed location of Ayllon's settlement.

In 1597 one of the priests captured by the Guale did, however, see a structure with burial functions. This building was at Tulufina, actually a Salchiches village, probably some distance up the Altamaha River: "they tried to make me serve in cleaning the house of the demon, for such we call it. They, however, call it a tomb. There they place food and drink for the dead which the dead are supposed to find at the morning meal. The Indians believe that the dead eat this food" (Father Avila's

relation, in Oré, 1936, p. 91). Although Avila's report as a whole suggests the importance of a special priest-controlled cult of the dead with associated structures, from the scant evidence it is impossible to draw any conclusions concerning the appearance of Guale burial structures. Wallace (1975, pp. 125, 126) attempted to find similarities among archaeological features of the mortuary at the Irene Mound site, the possible Couper Field mortuary on St. Simon's Island and the features documented by Oviedo and Father Avila. There is absolutely no basis for his contention that the Irene mortuary and the ossuary described by Oviedo had a "similar ground plan," and he correctly observes that the building materials were different. While it is possible that the Irene mortuary and Couper Field represent the type of mortuary mentioned by Avila, the latter's description mentions no architectural features whatsoever.

The ethnohistorical evidence thus provides only a partial description of a Guale town. There is no doubt that there was a town center with a large round community building, a chunky field, and some residential structures. The regular presence of some form of mortuary structure is likely. The town center was surrounded by dispersed households practicing shifting horticulture. Intergroup and intragroup economic exchanges and redistributive systems, in a context of considerable resource variability contributed toward a dependable food supply that probably required little regular seasonal residential mobility. The social system through which such strategies were possibly channeled is the subject to which we now turn.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND MATRILINEAL INHERITANCE

The little that may be reconstructed of Guale political and social organization is based on incomplete knowledge of the activities and succession of native political leaders. Almost nothing is known of details of household organizational patterns, or of such institutions as matrilineal descent groups. While the latter almost certainly were of central organizational

importance, we can only speculate as to their form and function.

Guale chiefdoms consisted of several settlements which were differentiated in terms of their importance. Each chiefdom, as I discuss later for the period 1586-1606, seems to have had two principal towns, several secondary towns and lesser settlements. The principal towns were distinguished by the fact that the principal leaders lived in their town centers and that councils of leaders from the entire chiefdom were held in their community buildings. During most periods each chiefdom had a principal leader, known as the *mico*, or as the Spanish sometimes called him, the *mico mayor*. On some occasions, reports distinguish between the leaders resident in the two principal towns as *mico mayor* and *mico*, respectively, indicating a hierarchical relationship.⁶³ On most other occasions, the *mico* is specified as being accompanied by the *cacique* of the second principal town, suggesting the same hierarchical relationship between partner and leaders.⁶⁴ The term *cacique*, of course, had been imported to the Guale coast from the Caribbean. Like the term *mico*, it was applied to other regions of Florida as well. *Mico*, however, was apparently an indigenous Creek term.

In addition to the two principal leaders, Spanish accounts repeatedly list a number of *caciques* "subject" to the *micos*; most of these seem to be associated with particular secondary towns or other settlements, but on some occasions the Spanish may have confused the title of an individual as being the name of a nonexistent community. The term *principal* is also applied to these secondary leaders. Frequently mentioned is the position of *mandador*, an individual who usually accompanied a *mico* or principal *cacique*; Geiger (1937, p. 78) thus considered this position as the "lieutenant of a *cacique*." Less frequently mentioned is the

⁶³Such was the case, for example, in 1604, when the *mico mayor* of Espogache and the *mico* of Tupiqui met with Governor Ibarra (Ibarra relación in Serrano y Sanz, 1912, p. 183, fn. 30).

⁶⁴As was the case at Asao in 1604, when the *mico* of Asao was accompanied most closely by his brother and the *cacique* of Talaxe (Ibarra relación in Serrano y Sanz, 1912, p. 177).

title of *aliagita*,⁶⁵ and that of *tunaque*,⁶⁶ whose significance is unclear. A *mico* or principal *cacique* was not infrequently accompanied at meetings with Spanish officials by his "heir" (*heredero*), who was sometimes specified as being his matrilineal descendant or his brother.

While the evidence is uneven and inconsistent, it seems that matrilineal succession of political positions was generally followed. I suspect that recorded exceptions to this rule could be due to Spanish error, but there is insufficient evidence to adequately evaluate the variations. The evidence for matrilineality is complex, and I can only briefly summarize it here. Evidence of the importance of matrilineal inheritance and association remains strong through the seventeenth century, indicating that by and large, Spanish meddling in principles of succession was minimal.⁶⁷

The evidence suggests that a position of authority could be inherited by a younger brother,⁶⁸ a sister's son,⁶⁹ or, in later years, by a

sister's daughter.⁷⁰ While the earlier records do not report female leaders, "*micas*" and *cacicas* are not infrequent by the late seventeenth century.⁷¹ The change of emphasis could be due to a number of factors, such as increasing influence from Timucua (where female leaders were common), repeated epidemics, and the nonparticipation of male leaders in the late missions. Nevertheless, apparently women *always* had played an important role as manipulators of political control and succession. Francisco of Tolomato was called as a witness during the inquiry into the 1597 rebellion and testified that "his mother is the principal kinswoman of *caciques*," a compelling statement of the role of women as integrators of kinship-based chiefdoms.⁷² In 1595, the first party to visit San Miguel and his shipwrecked companions was led by the mother of the *mico* of Asao (García, 1902, p. 189).⁷³

There is highly inconsistent evidence for residential patterns among the Guale. Although one might expect the residential system to reflect principles of matrilineal descent, the documentary record also has cases of strong paternal influence and patrilocal residence. Matrilineal kin are frequently widely scattered, perhaps re-

⁶⁵As at Asao in 1604 (Ibarra relación in Serrano y Sanz, 1912, p. 177).

⁶⁶Visita of Antonio de Arguelles to Sápala, December 24, 1699 (SC, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 155). This odd usage may have had a Timucuan influence.

⁶⁷Governor Menéndez Marqués complained in 1593 that "In those provinces there is a custom among the Indians, [that when] any cacique or special Indian dies, his nephew, son of his elder sister, inherits his property or estate. And the sons are left abandoned, of which many of those who are Christians complain much, saying then that they do not wish to endure such a barbarous law, not being successors to their fathers as with the Spanish. . . ." The governor wished for the Council of the Indies to approve an official change in the custom so that sons could inherit from their fathers, but the request was officially refused (Menéndez Marqués to Royal Council of the Indies, August 24, 1593, SC 25-2/15, Royal Council of the Indies to Menéndez Marqués, October 2, 1593, SC 86-5-19).

⁶⁸In 1600 the brother of the *mico mayor* of Espogache was his heir (Testimonio de la obediencia de los caciques de Guale, May 18, 1600, JTC II). In 1566 Orista and his leaders adopted Menéndez de Avila "as their elder brother, so that he might defend them against their enemies" (Barcía, 1951, p. 117). From 1562 to at least 1566 Guale and his brother controlled the territory south of the Savannah River, a pattern probably not unusual.

⁶⁹The 1576-1577 revolt was precipitated in part by the murder of a Christian Guale *cacique* by his nephew (Oré,

1936, p. 33). See also fn. 66. Nephews often accompanied their *mico* uncles.

⁷⁰This kinship relation is not specified, but it is highly probable. See reference to the *heredero* of Tupiqui (Ibarra relación in Serrano y Sanz, 1912, p. 183). At Santa Catalina de Guale in 1677 the position of *cacica* of Satuache was renounced by an elder sister in favor of her younger sister, suggesting that the former had inherited the position matrilineally (Arguelles visita, December 21, 1677, SC, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 155). In 1677 at San Juan del Puerto, then perhaps a mixed Guale-Timucua settlement, the aged *cacica principal* turned over her position to her niece (Arguelles visita, January 8, 1678).

⁷¹Several, for instance, are mentioned in the Arguelles visita (SC, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 155).

⁷²Informacion sobre el martirio . . . (López, 1933, p. 18).

⁷³At Cosapoy in 1579 the Spanish captured "a son of the *cacique*, his *mujer*, a sister, and his mother" (Menéndez Marqués to Crown, January 3, 1580, WL II). There are sufficient cases of close father-son relationships to lead one to despair of ever making total sense out of either residence or inheritance.

flecting the dispersion of matrilineal descent groups. While further analysis should certainly be carried out, the paucity of ethnographic evidence on the details of kinship and residence will probably always force us to cast a wary eye on any attempted models.

There are frequent references to the practice of polygyny, but this seems to have been limited to the important leaders (García, 1902, p. 194; Oré, 1936, pp. 74, 84, 101-103; Zubillaga, 1946, p. 418; Barcía, 1951, p. 182). Sororal polygyny was reportedly practiced (Oré, 1936, pp. 101, 102), and the wives were kept in separate houses. The Franciscans were vehemently opposed to this practice, and there is little doubt that their active opposition was one factor in the 1597 rebellion.⁷⁴

Various references have been made to the functions of the chiefs as redistributive agents and to some of the activities and characteristics which distinguished them from others.⁷⁵ To these observations should be added the importance that the Guale seem to have placed on leadership council meetings and on the ritual unity of the leaders of a chiefdom. San Miguel was especially struck by this, and he went to great pains to emphasize that the chunkey game and the ritual cassina drinking were participated in only by the various "*caciques* and *principales*" (García, 1902, pp. 195-197). Leadership councils welcomed Europeans from the time of Ribaut to the end of the seventeenth century, and it was seldom that a *mico* or *cacique* went without other leaders of his own or allied chiefdoms to visit the Spanish authorities at San Agustín. While individual *micos* occasionally wielded considerable influence, it appears that they required broad support from other leaders.

There are several references to ritual

⁷⁴In addition to references in Oré and Barcía just cited, see *Información sobre el martirio* . . . (López, 1933, p. 18, fn. 26).

⁷⁵Not mentioned in the text are statements concerning requirements that a chief's fields had to be worked by the people (Wenhold, 1936, p. 13; Arguelles visita to Sápala, December 24, 1677, SC, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 155). While such practices very likely characterized the Guale, I suspect that the two references just cited refer to the Timucua.

specialists, whom the Europeans regarded as priests (Oré, 1936, pp. 91-92; Zubillaga, 1946, p. 331; Laudonnière, 1975, p. 41). Given the nature of these sources, however (missionaries and their supporters), these reports should be treated with caution.

THE CHIEFDOMS

The following summary of the evidence for chiefdom organization and distribution represents a tentative exploration of a highly complex problem. Proper presentation of data and documentation will require separate treatment, and further analysis could change the model significantly. I consider some of the special methodological procedures and problems in this analysis in the appendix.

Any such analysis must consider the changes wrought through the processes of history. A crude set of stages, to be followed here, would distinguish three periods. The first of these, 1526-1586, encompasses the years from Ayllon's colony to the abandonment of Santa Elena by the Spanish. The events of this period focus on the northern Guale chiefdoms, due to the Spanish presence in that area. The second period, 1587-1606, represents the organizational forces leading up to and resulting from the 1597 rebellion, including the brief establishment of the Franciscan missions. The third period, 1607-1684, represents the creation of the Island missions and the gradual depopulation of the Guale coast. This period is especially poorly understood, and I treat it lightly here.

PERIOD I: 1526-1586: Our actual knowledge of this period begins with the arrival of the French colony in 1562. For at least the next 20 years Guale affairs centered around the Port Royal area, first around Charlesfort on Parris Island, and later around Santa Elena on the same Island. During these years there were three principal known chiefdoms, extending from approximately St. Catherine's Sound to Santa Elena Sound. On occasions these three chiefdoms were organized into a fragile federation. In 1566, the federation was in a state of collapse, but vigorous Spanish exploitation led to its revival by the time of the 1576 rebellion. At least one of the three chiefdoms shows indications of dual political organization.

1. THE CHIEFDOM OF GUALE-COVECXIS (CANSIN) AND GUALE-TOLOMATO: An analysis of the French sources (Laudonnière, 1975, pp. 43, 45; LeMoyne de Morgues, 1591), Manrique de Rojas' 1564 report (Wenhold, 1959, p. 49), and the account of Menéndez de Aviles' 1566 trip up the Guale coast lead me to believe that the *mico* of Guale had his principal town either along the inland waterway of Skidaway Island (the French descriptions favor this location) or on Ossabaw Island along the Bear River (favored by the Spanish descriptions).⁷⁶ It is conceivable that the town had moved south during this period to the Ossabaw Island location. Covecxis (or Cansin, as recorded by the Spanish), Guale's brother, controlled a second principal town about three leagues south of Guale.

By 1575 the old *mico* at Guale had died, and nothing more is heard of Covecxis. In that year the *mico* of the chiefdom was a "very old and feeble" man residing at Tolomato, but his son-in-law "was the chief of Guale and the next in importance in all that Province. Due to his rank and valor he was the actual ruler."⁷⁷ It is possible that the town of Guale had by then moved south to St. Catherines Island, for Tolomato was quite far south on the Sapelo River. The partnership between the principal towns of Tolomato and Guale was to continue through the 1597 rebellion. The possibility of this move is reinforced by a report of the 1576 rebellion at Guale, which was said to be 20 leagues south of Santa Elena, placing it on St. Catherines Island.⁷⁸ It may be reasonably assumed that the southward movement was due to avoidance of the Spanish at Santa Elena. It is apparent that Guale-Tolomato played a major

role in the 1576 outbreak.⁷⁹ Other communities perhaps under the control of this chiefdom during this period were Asopo (Ossabaw Island) and Tupiqui (Newport River), but nothing is known of the other settlements of this group.

2. THE CHIEFDOM OF ESCAMACU-AHOYA: The principal town of Escamacu was located almost without doubt on the small island at the point where Whale Creek joins Broad River, and Ahoya was said to be centered on an island further inland from Escamacu, perhaps up the Broad River.⁸⁰ Because of its location, Escamacu was frequently stripped of foodstuffs by Santa Elena soldiers.⁸¹ The grounds on which I place Escamacu and Ahoya in a single chiefdom are admittedly weak, and it might be argued that these two and Orista (see below) might better be considered as a small sub-federation of independent chiefdoms. They all on occasion celebrated joint feasts at Escamacu.⁸² Guale and Escamacu were closely allied during the 1576-1577 rebellion, and the latter paid respects to Guale by taking 20 heads of Spanish victims to the Guale *caciques* (Oré, 1936, p. 35).

3. THE CHIEFDOM OF ORISTA: The principal town of Orista was probably located on Beaufort River, north of Parris Island near Coosaw River (see, for example, Barcía, 1951, p. 113). The principal Orista settlements remained in this general area for some time, although by the late seventeenth century the principal town appears to have moved to Edisto Island (Sandford, 1911, p. 87). In 1562 the French were told that Orista was allied with four other "kings" (Laudonnière, 1975, p. 39). One of these, Mayou, has not been identified. Another was Ahoya. The third, Touppa, was said to be very close to Orista, and was likely within the Orista chiefdom. Stalame, finally, was 15 leagues

⁷⁶Swanton greatly confused this situation in insisting that Guale was on St. Catherines Island at this time (1922, pp. 50-51). His error seems to have been that of adding an extra river to Ribaut's and Laudonnière's lists, thus giving the rivers Grande and Dulce separate identifications, whereas they were both the Savannah.

⁷⁷Jaime Martínez, Brief account of the martyrdom of the fathers and brothers of the Society of Jesus, slain by the Jacán Indians of Florida, October 24, 1610 (Vargas Ugarte, 1935, p. 137).

⁷⁸Velasco to Crown, January 20, 1577 (Connor, 1930, II, pp. 4-5).

⁷⁹Oré, in fact, attributed the outbreak to events leading from the murder of a Christian Guale *cacique* by his pagan nephew, whom the Spanish hanged (Oré, 1936, p. 33).

⁸⁰Joan de Vandra account (Ketcham, 1954, p. 78, fn. 9).

⁸¹Rogel to Borgia, July 1568 (Vargas Ugarte, 1935, p. 85); cf. Rogel to Menéndez de Aviles, December 9, 1570 (Lawson, 1955, p. 410).

⁸²Rogel to Menéndez de Aviles, December 9, 1570 (Lawson, 1955, p. 410).

north of Charlesfort by river, suggesting a location on the Salkahatchie or the Coosawhatchie River. Neither Touppa, Stalame, or Mayou appear in the later Spanish literature. Orista was also closely allied with Escamacu (1975, p. 44).

During this period Orista seems to have been the most important of the Port Royal chiefdoms, although this appearance may be due to its proximity to French and Spanish settlements on Parris Island. In 1566 Orista and Guale were at war with one another, and Menéndez de Aviles apparently viewed his peacemaking efforts between these two groups as of major importance (Barcía, 1951, pp. 113-117). Orista was deeply involved in the 1576 rebellion, and its hostilities continued for some time thereafter.⁸³ In fact, the intensity of Orista's hostilities, and the degree to which it cooperated in an organized and widespread rebellion between 1576 and 1580, make the portrait of Orista painted by the Jesuit Rogel seem all the more questionable. The same may be observed of the Jesuit descriptions for the Guale group to the south. During this period there is strong evidence of a tightly knit, organized rebellion with strong leadership. The Jesuit model of dispersed, acephalous organization would be hard put to justify these activities.

Also involved in this rebellion was Cosapoy, identified in 1564 as being located beyond Ahoya and Ahoyabe.⁸⁴ In 1579 it was similarly located fifteen or twenty leagues from Parris Island,⁸⁵ making a location on the Coosawhatchie River, somewhat below Hampton, likely. Cosapoy is probably the origin of the later name Cusabo, which was applied by the Carolina settlers to all the groups between Port Royal and Charleston Harbor. Possibly, it was not in continuous close alliance with the other Guale groups, although as late as

1601 the *cacique* of Cosapoy participated in Asao's attack on the fugitives from the 1597 rebellion.⁸⁶

The significance of the distribution of the chiefdoms for the efficient utilization of food resources, horticultural lands, and interior trade routes was discussed earlier. These functions appear especially true of these chiefdoms around Port Royal, which frequently participated in joint ceremonies and feasts. No less striking is the ability of these widely distributed groups to unite for effective warfare against external enemies. The interchiefdom alliances or federations were obviously multifunctional. Changing conditions could weaken or destroy alliances, however; such was the case in 1566, when Orista and Guale were at war during a period of intense drought and dwindling food reserves. The widespread drought appears to have threatened any economically distributive basis of alliance, as no collective or cooperative economic response under such disaster conditions was appropriate. In later times Spanish threats to their joint economic welfare stimulated the strongly militant, positive realliance of the entire region in the 1576 rebellion.

PERIOD II: 1587-1606. By 1587, after the abandonment of Santa Elena by the Spanish, the Port Royal area chiefdoms had succeeded in freeing themselves from effective Spanish control. The Guale-Tolomato chiefdom, by then definitely centered on St. Catherines Island and the Sapelo Sound area, was to remain the principal northern outpost of Spanish interests for nearly a century. During this second period renewed Franciscan missionary efforts brought into prominence three clearly delineated chiefdoms in this southern sector. The southernmost of these, Asao-Talaxe, bordered on the northern Timucuan settlements and apparently played a major role in controlling the Altamaha communications route to the interior. Guale-Tolomato was in a central position just to the north of Asao-Talaxe. Espogache-Tupiqui was along the rivers inland from St. Catherines Island. All three of these groups, perhaps because of increasingly punitive Spanish activities, maintained strong contacts with interior peoples, the Salchiches, who seem to have

⁸³Pareces of a junta organized by Cristobal de Eraso, captain general of the Royal Armada, January 13-20, 1577 (WL II), Carvajal to Crown, November 3, 1579 (Connor, 1930, II, p. 249).

⁸⁴Joan de Vandra account (Ketcham, 1954, p. 78, fn. 9).

⁸⁵Carvajal to Crown, November 3, 1579 (Connor, 1930, II, p. 249); Menéndez Marqués to Crown, January 3, 1580 (WL III).

⁸⁶Sobre la muerte de Don Juanillo (WL IV, JTC II).

lived along rivers in the Pine Barrens Sector.

Our knowledge of this period is generally far richer than that of Period I. There is little doubt of the presence of two principal towns in each chiefdom, along with some form of dual political leadership. The presence of at least temporary federations is clear. Information about these groups rests largely on Spanish perceptions of their military-political organization, so it is not surprising that these aspects are stressed to the detriment of descriptions of economic and ceremonial activities. Despite a wealth of processual data, interpretation is extremely difficult, and proper documentation would require a separate article.

1. THE CHIEFDOM OF GUALE-TOLOMATO: The exact location of the town of Guale, which was definitely on St. Catherines Island during this period, cannot be established given the documents of which I am aware. I suspect, from an early reference, that it was along the inland waterway (see Oré, 1936, p. 36), but later references are ambiguous.⁸⁷ The later mission of Santa Catalina de Guale was apparently on the southern tip of the island, but this was probably not the location of the original town (Dunlop, 1929, p. 131; Floyd, 1937, p. 15; Dickinson, 1945, p. 92). Tolomato, however, was almost certainly on the Sapelo River, an undetermined distance upstream (Ross, 1926, p. 178, fn. 20).⁸⁸

Table 2 summarizes a considerable amount of information concerning the relationships between these two primary towns and other towns along the coast. Those believed to be secondary towns or settlements of the Guale-Tolomato chiefdom are in regular type. Principal towns outside this chiefdom are in capital letters, and secondary towns outside this chiefdom are in italics. The years listed refer to dates for which there is strong evidence that the town or settlement in question was under the leadership of a

TABLE 2
Settlement Relationships, Guale-Tolomato Chiefdom

	*Guale	*Tolomato
Ahopo	1604	
Aluste	1604, 1606	1597
*ASAO		1597
Atinehe		1597
Chatufa	1606	
<i>Chacalagayte</i>		1597
Culapala	1604, 1606	
<i>Fulo (Yfulo)</i>		1597
Ocolegue	1606	
Ospo		1597, 1598
Otax	1604, 1606	
Otopalo	1604	
Sufalete		1597
Talapo	1606	1597
*TULUFINA		1597
*TUQUI		1597
*Uchilate		1598
*Ufalegue		1597
Unapalla	1604, 1606	
Yfunisiqu		1601
*Yoa	1604	1597

principal leader, either at Guale or Tolomato.⁸⁹ Those tentatively located on the map are marked with an asterisk. All names were treated as if they were settlements, although it is quite possible that some refer to individual leaders or titles; there is no means of controlling information at this level.

A first glance at this table suggests that

⁸⁷Ibarra relación (Serrano y Sanz, 1912, p. 186).

⁸⁸Ross here is citing Méndez de Canzo's report of January 12, 1598 (WL III). See also Alonso de las Alas to Crown, January 12, 1600 (WL IV). Floyd's analysis of these locations (1937, pp. 37-38) and others is not a dependable guide. It seems to me possible that Tolomato is the Sutherland Bluff site, 3 m. south of the settlement of Shellman Bluff (Larson, 1953, pp. 21-22).

⁸⁹The principal sources from which this information was drawn (as well as that for other chiefdoms in this section) include Barcía, 1951, pp. 181-183; Testimonio de la Ropa . . . July 28, 1597 (WL III); Méndez de Canzo to Crown, February 23, 1598 (WL II); testinyo de Ropaje Razynes y otras Cosas que se a dado y Repartido entre los Indios por de Go Mendez de Canco . . . , September 1597 (SC 54 5-16); Información sobre el martirio . . . (López, 1933, pp. 13-23); Las Alas to Crown, January 12, 1600, (WL IV); Testimony of Méndez de Canzo, May 18, 1600 (JTC II); Statement by Méndez de Canzo, March 12, 1601 (JBL); Sobre la muerte de Don Juanillo (WL IV, JTC II); Oré, 1936, pp. 66-99; Ibarra relación (Serrano y Sanz, 1912, pp. 164-193); Relación de la visita de las provincias de la Florida hecha por el obispo de Cuba al Rey (SC 54-5-20, summarized in Geiger, 1937, pp. 195-205).

Guale and Tolomato were actually separate chiefdoms, as there is incomplete overlap in the settlements under their respective influences. A close examination of the relationships between the two principal towns suggests, however, a long and close relationship between them, beginning, as already noted, during Period I. At that time the actual leadership of the Guale-Tolomato chiefdom was held by the cacique of Guale, as the *mico* at Tolomato was said to be old and feeble. The younger man was said to be the *mico*'s son-in-law.⁹⁰ The latter may have been a pagan who was shortly after reported to have killed his Christian uncle, a Guale *cacique* (Oré, 1936, p. 33). The origins of the 1597 rebellion were also probably involved in an inheritance dispute involving the two towns. The "cacique of the island of Guale" had died, and one Don Juanillo claimed to be his heir (Barcía, 1951, p. 181).⁹¹ It soon became apparent that this was actually the position of the *mico mayor* of the chiefdom, and it was widely reported that the position be given to an older man, Don Francisco. Juanillo himself began the rebellion, having assumed the position of *mico* despite the priest's interference. It is interesting that Francisco nevertheless participated in the rebellion as well. During the uprising itself, the leadership was stationed at Tolomato, and the *cacique* at Guale played a passive role.

Due to either military strategy or rules of inheritance and residence, it thus appears that the two principal towns alternated as seats of the principal *mico* of the chiefdom. In any event, Tolomato's mainland location was a key factor in the success of the 1597 rebellion, for its leadership was quickly able to establish a temporary federation that included principal towns (Asao and Tupiqui) of the two other chiefdoms as well as inland Salchiches towns. The vicious Spanish reprisals of 1598-1600 left the Tolomato leadership as fugitives in Sal-

chiches territory, and in 1601 a new federation was formed by the *mico* of Asao to do away with the remnants of the rebellious Tolomato leadership.

Tolomato was apparently not reestablished after the 1597 rebellion, and its name appears only as a small settlement near San Agustín many years later.⁹² It is possible that the remnants of its population were moved there to carry out forced labor. Guale became, in turn, the seat of a series of three *micos* who resided in that town between 1601 and 1606. None of the secondary towns seems to have been of significant importance during this period. The pattern of two principal towns, which had been characteristic of this chiefdom since the first reports in 1562, had ceased to exist.

2. THE CHIEFDOM OF ASAO-TALAXE: There is no doubt that Asao and Talaxe were on the lower Altamaha River or one of its branches. From San Miguel's account it seems that Talaxe was the farther downstream. Both were said to be above the tidal waters (García, 1902, pp. 189-193).

Although Asao was involved in the 1597 rebellion, the chiefdom did not come into prominence until the 1601 attack on the Tolomato fugitives, who were hiding at the inland settlement of Yfasinique, probably a Salchiches town. The settlements on table 3 which were associated with Asao in 1601 represent the members of the large following which the *mico* of Asao collected for that attack as well as some others which he had claimed were also "subject" to him. While the list is probably inflated by some names of insignificant settlements or individuals, it nonetheless includes representatives of the other two southern chiefdoms, interior groups (Salchiches and Tama), and even Cosapoy, which was far distant to the north. This federation, although it was short-lived, represents a remarkably widespread system of rapid communication, efficient organization, and effective leadership. It is likely that the ruthless destruction of Guale crops after the 1597 rebellion was effective in the formation of this federation, although it is

⁹⁰See fn. 77.

⁹¹Barcía wrote that Juanillo was the old *cacique*'s eldest son, but I doubt this. Lanning (1935, p. 83) says that Juanillo was a Timucuan from Cumberland Island but does not cite his source. I do not at the time of writing have access to Torquemada's *Monarchia Indiana*, a source which perhaps clarifies the situation.

⁹²Crown to governor of Florida, February 26, 1660 (SC 54-5-10/87).

TABLE 3
Settlement Relationships, Asao-Talaxe Chiefdom

	*Asao	*Talaxe
Alaje		1606
*Aleguifa	1601	
Aluque	1604	
Atinehe	1601	
Casamuha	1601	
Chacalagayte	1601	1606
*COSAPOY	1601	
*ESPOGACHE	1601	
<i>Espogue</i>	1601	
Fasque		1606
Fulo (Yfulo)	1601, 1604	1606
*GUALE	1601	
Hegua	1601	
Lascangue	1604	
Luque		1606
Oache	1601	
Oculegue	1601, 1604	
Olatapotaque	1601	
*Orista	1604	
Oscangue	1604	1606
Ospo	1601	
Potoque	1601	
<i>Sapala</i>	1601	
<i>Talapo</i>	1601, 1604	
TAMA ^a	1601	
Tamufa	1601	
Topotoque	1601	
*TULUFINA ^b	1601, 1604	
Tuneque	1604	
*Ufalague	1604	
Vehihuche	1601	
Ynafasque	1604	
*Yoa	1601	

^aLarson estimated that Tama was located above the fall line near Macon or Milledgeville, Georgia (1969, p. 109).

^bIn 1601 Salchiches was listed as a separate town, but it is highly probable that it was the same settlement as Tulufina.

not clear why it should have been the *mico* of Asao who headed organizational efforts and made peace representations to the Spanish.

Although throughout this period the *mico* of Asao (Don Domingo) was the dominant figure of the chiefdom, the towns of Talaxe and Asao maintained a constantly strong relationship. San Miguel was entertained by the Asao *mico* at both towns and found the principal leaders

gathered at the *mico*'s town of residence, probably Asao (García, 1902, pp. 194-196). Between 1603 and 1606, the Spanish met Don Domingo at both towns; he was sometimes personally accompanied by the *cacique* of Talaxe. A Franciscan mission was established at Talaxe, and in 1606 that town seems to have been Domingo's principal residence. He still must have held considerable influence elsewhere, for that year leaders, meeting at the town of Guale, considered themselves to be "subjects" of Don Domingo of Talaxe.

An example of Domingo's widespread influence may be gleaned from a complaint made to Governor Ibarra at a 1604 meeting with *caciques* at the town of Guale. One of these, Aluste, claimed that three of his "vassals," the *caciques* of Ufalegue, Talapo, and Orista, had fled from him to be with the *mico* of Asao. Ibarra later found this to be true, learning that the *cacique* of Orista was the heir of the *cacique* of Aluste, and that the other two were his "subjects." They agreed to return only if the *cacique* of Aluste would treat them better. If this Orista was, indeed, that Orista located near Port Royal, then the extent of Domingo's influence had remained impressively broad.

In later years, Asao and Talaxe seem to have been combined into a single mission town on St. Simons Island, known both as Santo Domingo de Talaxe and Santo Domingo de Asao.⁹³

3. THE CHIEFDOM OF ESPOGACHE-TUPIQUI: This was the smallest of these three chiefdoms, yet its organizational outlines were the same as those of the other two. Like Asao-Talaxe, the two principal towns of the chiefdom were near each other along the lower reaches of a coastal river, and one of the towns remained politically dominant for some years. The towns were probably located along the North or South Newport rivers. Tupiqui was reported as being

⁹³The convent of St. Dominic, Asao, was in existence in 1610 (Geiger, 1937, p. 234). Whether it was on the island by then is not clear. Santo Domingo de Talaxe is mentioned in 1659 (Memoria de las Poblaciones principales, Yglesias, y Doctrinas que hay en . . . las Provincias de la Florida . . . , 1659, WL VIII). It is definitely located on the island in a 1675 report (Arcos report in BS I.2.93, pp. 591, 593).

two leagues inland from St. Catherines Island (see partial discussion of sources in Ross, 1924, p. 178, fn. 19).

Tupiqui's leadership was reportedly deeply involved in the planning and initial execution of the 1597 rebellion, in which it cooperated with Juanillo of Tolomato and with the interior Salchiches. Because these events seemed to have been masterminded at Tolomato, they are not reflected in table 4. Between 1600 and 1604 the *mico mayor* of Espogache was the principal leader of the chiefdom, but he was almost always accompanied in councils with the Spanish by the *mico* of Tupiqui. Espogache's heir was said to be his brother. In 1604, he was accompanied by his nephew, the *mico* of Tupiqui, the latter's female heir. Whether the two *micos* were closely related, however, is not clear. Meetings were usually held with the Spanish at Tupiqui, but this could have been due to its possibly greater accessibility.

In 1606 the *cacique* of Tupiqui and his wife were said to be Salchiches. In fact, contacts between this chiefdom and the Salchiches had been strong since 1597, and in 1600 Espogache had taken the Tulufina *cacique*, Ytochuco, with him to San Agustín in order to surrender. It is possible that this individual had become the Tupiqui *cacique* in 1606. The general subject of Salchiches identity, location, and influence on late sixteenth century-Guale affairs requires serious study.

CONCLUSIONS, PERIOD II. The organizational outlines of these three chiefdoms suggest the consistent presence of two principal towns in each chiefdom, and that between these political power was hierarchically arranged. The time depth available for Guale-Tolomato suggests a shift of control between the two towns upon the death of a *mico* and the assumption of power by his heir. This question is by no means resolved here, as so little is known about residence patterns and the details of political succession. Nor have I explored the important comparative implications of these very early examples of dual political organization for the general study of such patterns in other South-eastern societies.

We have seen that under circumstances of external control that threatened basic food sup-

plies, an influential *mico* was capable of effecting an efficient military federation. It was also pointed out earlier in this chapter that the *mico mayor* in question (Domingo of Asao) distributed valuables in return for these services. Certain economic functions thus characterized every level of political organization.

PERIOD III: 1607-1684: While the Franciscans saw this period as a "Golden Age" of missionary activity, from the Guale point of view it was a period of tragic decline. The basic features of this period were summarized earlier, and I shall make only a few additional observations here.

The series of events which caused a reduction of the population of the Guale coast to a few island mission towns during the seventeenth century were also responsible for a rapid decline in the scale of political organization. The remnants of several towns found themselves living in the same town and meeting in the same *buhío*, and the regional economic and military roles of the *mico* disappeared altogether.⁹⁴ Many able-bodied adult men were taken as semi-slaves to San Agustín. The most dynamic, resistant leaders fled inland to join rebel groups of guerrilla fighters or farther north to settle near the Carolina colony.

Much needs to be written about this period, as it is an important chapter in the history of ruthless exploitation of native American groups by colonial powers. It is also of interest for the evidence that it provides concerning the dynamic response taken by the victims against their exploiters. The real history of the seventeenth-century Guale is actually not to be found on the Island missions but rather in the interior pine forests to which they fled and regrouped. This movement was part of that wider consolidation which led to the Yamasee revolt of 1715, the last major expression of coastal southeastern rebellion against the European presence. Very little is known of this aspect of the last

⁹⁴The most informative single report on the political organization of the Guale mission towns during this period was that made by Arguelles in 1677-1678 (SC, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 155); see Pearson, 1968 for an analysis of this visita.

TABLE 4
Settlement Relationships,
Espogache-Tupiqui Chiefdom

	*Espogache	*Tupiqui
Espogue	1604, 1606	
Fasquiche	1606	
Fuel	1604	
Sápala	1604, 1606	
Sotegua	1604	
TAMA	1604	
Tapala	1604	
*TULUFINA	1600, 1604, 1606	1606
Utine	1604	

period of Guale ethnohistory, as it is, by far, the most difficult kind of history to research.

On several occasions I have cited English references to the continuing viability of non-mission Guale groups around Port Royal into the 1660s. The research for this chapter slighted the resources left by the Carolina colonists, who, although as ruthless as the Spanish, seem to have been generally a more observant group. Further research should focus on the Carolina documents for the northern Guale area.

CONCLUSIONS: COMPARATIVE IMPLICATIONS

From an anthropological point of view, it is essential that comparisons be drawn between coastal Guale sociopolitical organization and that of the interior Creeks and other interior Southeastern groups. The Guale appear to be the best known of the Muskogean groups during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and there can be little doubt of their organizational comparability with the later known interior groups. Larson (1969, p. 324) recognized the comparative challenge in an earlier paper (Larson, n.d.), but his reliance on the Jesuit view of the sixteenth century-Guale later led him to consider the Guale as an isolated, distinctive adaptation. While it is significant that the Guale were adapted to special environmental conditions, I have argued that these conditions neither created isolation nor impeded the development of a complex level of sociocultural integration.

It is because of this complex social and cultural development, and because of the strong interior trade ties with inland peoples that the comparative question is of such importance. Despite their environmental and adaptive differences, the Guale and the interior groups shared such basic features as chiefdoms, military federations, matrilineality, and dual aspects of political organization.⁹⁵ Given the preliminary nature of the present findings, it is perhaps premature to explore these comparative aspects at this time. However, it is of considerable theoretical importance that such an exploration eventually be attempted, for the Guale case seems to demonstrate that more than one set of adaptive conditions may well combine to create highly similar features. It further challenges the anthropologist to see the external contacts of seemingly isolated peoples as more than simple trade routes, for there is the strong suggestion here that the connections may have been the central nerves of a far more complex system of interregional integration.

The Guale are yet another in a growing list of anthropological case studies that demonstrate how biased we have become by our reliance on the perspective of the colonial historian or the modern historian whose primary concerns are with the institutions of the colonial society. This reliance leads us to see the indigenous, exploited peoples through the world view of the culture that masterminded their ultimate cultural destruction—a world view that usually regarded them as inferior people with an inferior culture. The ethnohistorian's central responsibility is to overcome this bias, an immensely difficult task which ultimately requires an understanding of the conqueror, of the conquered, and of the dynamic interworkings of the colonial society. One means of working toward this understanding is to analyze the events in which the conqueror and the conquered jointly participated. Such event analysis, which is the cornerstone

⁹⁵Larson suggested the tantalizing possibility that Guale political organization may have been similar to the dual organization of peace and war functionaries of the interior Creeks (n.d. pp. 10-11). I have avoided the further temptation to suggest that the two principal towns in each chiefdom were war and peace towns, respectively.

of any good ethnographer's methodology, allows us to perceive the workings of a society somewhat independently of the original reporter's interpretive bias.

The events that characterized the Guale coast during the early colonial period seem to demonstrate that Guale society was far more

complex, and Guale culture far more resistant, than earlier writers had recognized. While no claim is made that this interpretation is correct in every respect, the methodological issues which it raises are of central concern if we are to make any sense out of either the written or the archaeological record.

CHAPTER 4. THE HISTORY OF ST. CATHERINES ISLAND AFTER 1684

ROGER S. DURHAM AND DAVID HURST THOMAS

SPANISH-BRITISH CONFLICTS

When the English established the settlement at Charles Town in South Carolina in 1670, the territory from that point to San Agustín in Florida became a region of conflict and contention between England and Spain. This area, regarded as the "debatable land," was the scene of a conflict between the two countries until 1763. This conflict was to have considerable effect upon the development of coastal Georgia (Bolton and Ross, 1925).

The decline of Spanish missions on the islands of coastal Georgia was a result of this conflict. In 1670 the English and Spanish agreed, through the Treaty of Madrid, that Britain might forever hold the areas in America and the West Indies that were already regarded to be in her possession. The British inferred that actual possession meant ownership, but the Spanish interpreted this as drawing the line of the southern boundary of English lands at Port Royal in Carolina (Coleman, 1976, p. 5).

The Spanish intended to settle the problem of interpretation by sending an expedition to attack and destroy Charles Town. Although the expedition succeeded in destroying Port Royal, it was disrupted by storms and forced to retreat before even threatening Charles Town. The only tangible result of this episode was the establishment of a Spanish garrison on St. Catherines Island in 1673 and the beginning of a stone fort at San Agustín, Florida (Coleman, 1976, pp. 6-8).

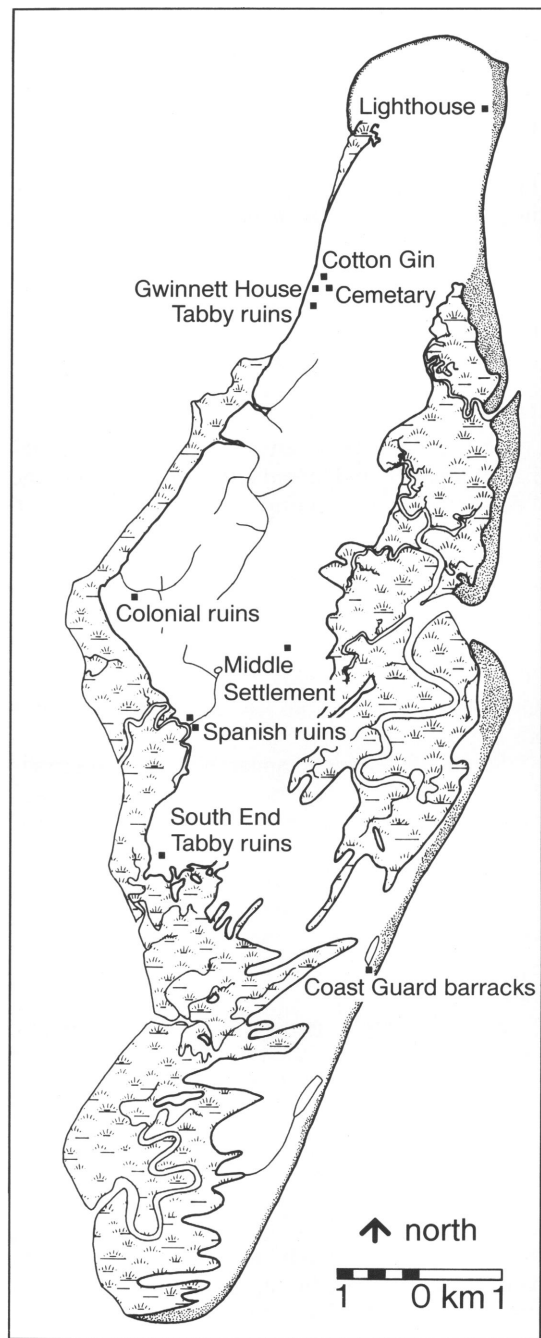
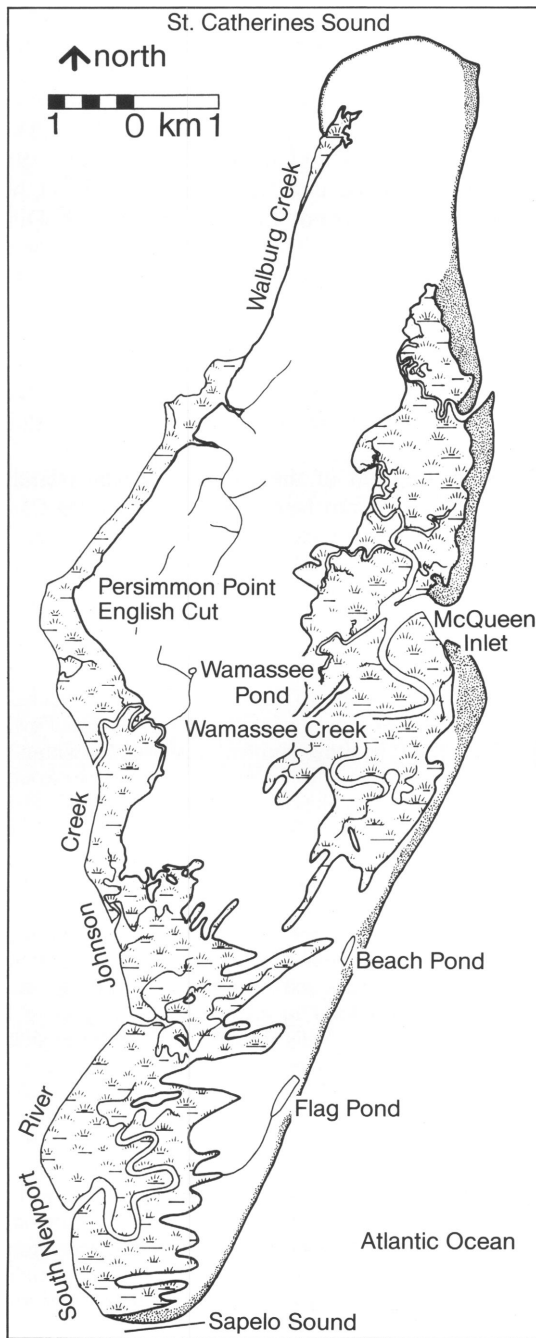
In 1680 a turning point was reached and events began to make their impact felt. The

English began a steady push down the coast and across the interior toward the Mississippi. In no time, Georgia became a disputed area which England, Spain, and France were trying to conquer and maintain.

But mere physical possession of land was not the objective. The area was rich in deer and beaver, and the advantages of establishing fur trade with the Indians were obvious. By 1680 the Yuchi, Creek, and Cherokee Indians had become allied with English interests after refusing Spanish entreaties to move closer to San Agustín, and freely attacked Spanish missions along the Guale coast. The Spanish commanders did not feel that they had a sufficient number of troops to fully garrison their outposts in Guale and began a gradual withdrawal (Coleman, 1976, p. 5).

The Carolinians, who became the vanguard of the English push down the Georgia coast, thrust southward supported by 300 Yamassee Indians. They attacked the Spanish *presidio* and mission on St. Catherines Island and forced the Spaniards to withdraw to their mission on Sapelo Island (Bolton and Ross, 1925, p. 16; Jenkins, 1926, p. 30). The Spaniards were further harried by raids from French and English pirates which continued through the next few years.

In 1686 the Spanish withdrew farther southward, past the St. Mary's River. Although formal war had not been declared between England and Spain, the English had cleared the Georgia coast of Spanish missions, *presidios* and influence. Captain Dunlop from Carolina,



who visited St. Catherines Island in 1687, saw the ruins of a great settlement which he was "informed the Spanish had deserted for fear of the English about three years agoe . . ." (Dunlop, 1929, p. 131).

By 1702 the Spanish had withdrawn even farther south behind the St. John's River, due in part to raids upon their missions in the Apalachicola and Chattahoochee area led by Englishman Dr. Henry Woodward. Although Spanish forces and authority extended no further north than the St. John's River in Florida, they continued to claim the old Guale territory and held hopes of reoccupying it (Coleman, 1976, p. 5).

The fighting between the English and Spanish continued and eventually spread from the "debatable lands" along the Georgia coast to the Georgia interior, Florida, and the Gulf coast. Although the Guale coast was left relatively undisturbed by the spread of this conflict, the war continued for many years until it was finally ended by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 (Coulter, 1947, p. 90). The war, known as Queen Anne's War in America, lasted almost an entire century.

Some Englishmen, apparently still interpreting the Treaty of Madrid to mean that possession meant ownership, were hopeful of colonizing the lands of old Guale which had been freed from the Spanish. This idea was greatly supported by the Carolinians, who desired a buffer colony between them and the Spanish in Florida and the Indians in the interior.

Several people proposed various ideas for colonizing the new area, but only one came close to reality, and it had an impact on the eventual settlement of Georgia. This was proposed by Scottish Baronet Sir Robert Montgomery (Coleman, 1976, p. 8). He submitted a proposal to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina that he be allowed to settle a colony between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers. The colony would, he argued, prevent Spanish invasions of Carolina and produce goods for English markets. The Lords Proprietors accordingly granted Montgomery a strip of land directly west of the Savannah River, extending south to the Altamaha River.

Montgomery had grand ideas of the colony

he hoped to found. He wished to rebuild a veritable Garden of Eden which he called the Margravate of Azilia, and he immediately set about gathering advertisers and promoters of his project (Jones, 1883, vol. 1, p. 70). The first step of his plan was to colonize St. Catherines Island and to further his project he published an account in 1717 entitled "A Discourse Concerning The design'd Establishment of a New Colony To The South of Carolina In The Most Delightful Country of The Universe." This discourse was included in a book he published in 1720 entitled "A Description of the Golden Islands with an Account of the Undertaking now on foot for Making a Settlement there."

A description of the Georgia coastal islands written by Colonel John Barnwell, a South Carolinian in England assisting Sir Robert Montgomery, painted an alluring picture of the pleasures, beauties and advantages of living there. He wrote:

They have plenty of Harbors, are finely watered, abound with Plenty of wild Deer, Fish and Fowl; have high, healthy, fruitful Land and lie within a day's rowing of the English Habitations in South Carolina . . . They took the name of the Golden Islands from the Spaniards, who made many fruitful Expeditions into these parts of Florida in search of Gold, and Silver Mines, excited by a View of the prodigious Quantities which their Countrymen brought out of Peru about that time. . . . As to convenient pasture, pleasant situation, profitable fishing and fowling, they surpass anything of that kind in all Carolina. They have a number of Sand-Hills, or Downs, on the sea side, and the way between these Sand-Hills and the Sea, is so plain and smooth it is a very great pleasure to travel upon it. Here and there run small creeks of the Sea replenished with a great Quantity of several sorts of Fish, which are easily taken, and great flocks of wild fowl. There are very good harbors among these Islands. They are almost clear of wood and by their Distance from the Continent, secured against Insult of the Indians. You may stock them with Cattle from the Main Land of Carolina, and then they have an inexhaustible Source of Provision, better than ten times the Quantity of Land on the Main, the Stock being kept entire, secure from Beasts of Prey and without Possibility of Mixture (quoted in Jenkins, 1926, pp. 30-31).

Since the Golden Islands were the most accessible and a large portion of their surfaces needed little preparation for the plough, they were to be sold off and developed first. A stone fort was planned for St. Catherines Island to protect this first settlement of Montgomery's grand plan (Jenkins, 1926, p. 31).

But despite all their efforts at publicity, the colony of Azilia failed due to a lack of sufficient funds and potential settlers. The idea of the Margravate of Azilia was eventually dropped, but Sir Robert Montgomery's fundamental ideas were later applied to the actual settlement of Georgia.

After the failure of Montgomery's plan, St. Catherines and the other coastal islands seem to have been uninhabited for the next 25 years.

MARY MUSGROVE

About 1700, while the Spanish were withdrawing from the "debatable lands" along the Georgia coast, a child was born in the interior of Georgia who would eventually leave her mark upon Georgia and especially the island of St. Catherines. At Coweta Town, near present-day Columbus, Georgia, a Creek Indian woman gave birth to a baby girl who had been fathered by a white man. The child was the niece of old emperor Brim, a Creek Indian leader, and was given the Indian name of Coosaponakesee. As a small girl, her father sent her off to Ponpon, South Carolina, where she was baptized, named Mary, educated and instructed in the ways of Christianity. She remained in South Carolina until the Yamasee War of 1715 broke out. During this time a Creek raiding party, led by Mary's uncle Chichilli, crossed into South Carolina, and Mary returned with them. She soon returned to the customs and dress of the Creek (Jenkins, 1926, p. 36).

While still a young woman, Mary met and married John Musgrove (Musgrave), Jr., the son of a white trader. They settled in South Carolina and lived there for seven years until June of 1732 when, at the request of the Creek Indians and with the consent of Governor Johnson of South Carolina, they were allowed to establish a small trading post at Yamacraw, on a high bluff of the Savannah River (Jenkins, 1926, p. 36; Cate, 1930, p. 39). It was here

that Mary Musgrove and her husband were living when General Oglethorpe arrived in February of 1733 to found his new colony.

Oglethorpe must have been overjoyed to find someone among the Indians who could speak (and understand) English, had knowledge of the Indian ways, and could serve as an interpreter. Mary Musgrove became of great importance to the infant colony, as her influence with the Indians and friendship for the white colonists helped to promote the settlement of the colony. She helped arrange the treaty made in May of 1733 between the colonists and the Indians in which the Indians ceded to the Trustees of Georgia the territory between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers, from the ocean to the headwaters. The only exceptions to this grant were the islands of Ossabaw, St. Catherines and Sapelo along the coast, and a small tract of land near Savannah, to be used as an encampment for the Indians when they came to town (Jenkins, 1926, p. 37).

During this time, St. Catherines Island had apparently been reoccupied by Indians. Traveling from St. Simons Island to Savannah in 1743, Edward Kimber (1745) stopped briefly on St. Catherines: "which is an Island reserved to the *Indians* by Treaty. We found about eight or ten families upon it, who had several plantations of corn. It seems to be a most fruitful soil, and to have larger tracts of open land than any I have observed, and to abound in all kinds of game, on which the good *Indians* regaled us, and for greens, boiled us the tops of China-Briars, which eat almost as well as Asparagus. When we departed, they gave us a young Bear which they had just kill'd, which prov'd fine eating."

John Musgrove died in 1735, and Mary Musgrove married Captain Jacob Matthews the following year. At General Oglethorpe's request Mary established a trading post at Mount Venture, where the Oconee and Ocmulgee rivers form the Altamaha. In this way Mary helped to bring the southern Indians under General Oglethorpe's influence (Coulter, 1927; Cate, 1930, p. 39).

While Oglethorpe was trying to establish, strengthen, and protect his infant colony, he was constantly pushing south along the coast and in the interior. Since Ossabaw, St.

Catherines and Sapelo islands were Indian possessions, they were not bothered. But Oglethorpe went on to establish another settlement on St. Simons Island and even put a small force of men on Jekyll Island (Coleman, 1976, p. 50), which was unmistakably beyond the accepted southern boundary of the Altamaha River.

The Spanish continued to resist and react to events of Europe, in America and on the high seas. This resulted in the War of Jenkins's Ear in October of 1739 (see Coleman, 1976, pp. 63-73 for a summary). Open conflict then ensued along the southern Georgia coast between the English colonists and the Spanish in Florida. Mary (Musgrove) Matthews helped rally Indian support for the English.

In the spring of 1740, Oglethorpe mounted an ill-fated offensive against San Agustín. The Spanish then invaded the southern Georgia coast, but Oglethorpe managed to turn them back. Georgia was never seriously threatened by the Spanish again, but Oglethorpe attempted one more assault on San Agustín, which once again failed.

The War of Jenkins's Ear grew into other far away conflicts, and was not ended until 1748 in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The Georgia-Florida border struggle was not totally settled even then, and not until 1763, in a treaty ending yet another war, were these questions finally resolved.

While Mary (Musgrove) Matthews was aiding General Oglethorpe in the struggle with the Spanish, she encountered Thomas Bosomworth, another personality who would become a figure in St. Catherines history. Bosomworth had come to Savannah in late 1741 to work as a clerk for William Stephens. During the War of Jenkins's Ear he served as a volunteer in the expeditions against St. Augustine where he was commended to Oglethorpe. After this, he returned to England to obtain his orders for the ministry and returned to Georgia as an Anglican minister in December 1742. He was commissioned to perform all the religious and ecclesiastical offices in the colony as well as serving as chaplain to Oglethorpe's soldiers.

During this time Jacob and Mary (Musgrove) Matthews returned to Savannah from the

Mount Venture trading post on the Altamaha due to Jacob's ill health. In that summer of 1742 Jacob died, and it was learned that Spanish Indians had attacked and looted their trading post at Mount Venture in their absence. Mary remained in Savannah to help Oglethorpe and keep the Indians controlled (Coleman, 1976, pp. 83-84).

In December 1742, Rev. Bosomworth returned to Savannah and made the acquaintance of the recently widowed Mrs. Matthews, possibly through General Oglethorpe. Oglethorpe had given her a diamond ring and £200 and promised more. He left Georgia in July 1743, never to return, but he continued his efforts to effect a proper compensation for Mary's past services to the colony.

A year later in July 1744, Rev. Bosomworth married Mary (Musgrove) Matthews and gave up the ministry. In the next year they both went to England, where Bosomworth served for a period of time in the army with Oglethorpe, who was fighting against the Pretender, Charles Edward (Jenkins, 1926, p. 38). The following year, the Bosomworths returned to Georgia, to the Mount Venture trading post where they continued in the Indian trade for the next few years. During this time, Mary began to make a transformation, as it seemed that the Trustees of the colony had forsaken her claims for compensation and she felt that she had been wronged. Rev. Bosomworth hoped to convince the Trustees to grant her the lands that had been reserved to the Indians for hunting grounds by the Treaty of 1739, in compensation for her services.

Bosomworth began to promote his wife's position among the Creek Indians by explaining her claims upon the colony. On December 14, 1747 Bosomworth met with a delegation of over 100 Creek Indians who were visiting at Frederica. The Indians were all chiefs, or "kings" of various scattered tribes and towns, and one of them, an old gentleman named Malatche, was Mary's uncle. Malatche was highly respected by the others and held considerable influence. Rev. Bosomworth suggested to Malatche that he have himself coronated by the others as the leader of the Creek Nation with full power to transact all affairs of the Creek

Indian Confederation. In a royal ceremony witnessed by Lt. Col. Alexander Heron, a paper was drawn up which proclaimed Malatche Opiya Meco to be the rightful, natural prince and emperor of the Creek Nation. The next step was for Rev. Bosomworth to prevail upon Malatche to execute a deed and sell to him the Indian lands reserved by the Treaty of 1739.

On August 2, 1748, the assembled estates of the Creek Indians granted Hussoope or Ossabaw, Cowleygee or St. Catherines and Sapelo islands and the tract of land near Savannah to "Our beloved man Thomas Bosomworth and our sister Mary, his wife" to belong to "their heirs and assigns, as long as the sun shall shine, or the waters run in the rivers, forever". In return Rev. Bosomworth paid "ten pieces of Stroud, twelve pieces of duffles, two hundred weight of powder, two hundred weight of lead, twenty guns, twelve pair of pistols and one hundred weight of vermillion" (Jenkins, 1926, p. 38). Documents to support this transaction were carried to England by Abraham Bosomworth, Thomas' brother, in an attempt to secure Royal approval.

Shortly after this, Rev. Bosomworth and Mary established their residence on St. Catherines Island. Bosomworth stocked the Island with cattle which he purchased from Carolina planters, obtaining credit to a considerable amount. This was due in part by the discontinuance of Mary's salary from the Trustees for her services in keeping the Indians under English influence. Oglethorpe's successor in Georgia, Major William Horton, had allowed Mary's salary to continue, but when Lt. Col. Alexander Heron replaced Major Horton he refused to allow it. The Bosomworths still continued to push the claims for compensation as an Indian interpreter and for loans she had advanced as well as losses sustained in keeping Indian affairs.

Apparently Rev. Bosomworth had financial difficulties, and he devised a method of obtaining a fortune through Mary's compensation claims. He encouraged Mary into the pretense of being the sister of Malatche, and thus having descended from the line of an Indian king, possessed Indian royalty that was superior to that of the Trustees and even the King of En-

gland. Accordingly, Mary took the title of an independent Creek empress, disavowing all former allegiance to the King other than treaties entered into formally as one sovereign to another.

A meeting of all the Creeks was summoned and Mary spoke to the assembly, setting forth her claims and the justice of them, as well as pointing out the injury the Indians had suffered by the loss of their territories. The Indians were enraged at these indignities as pointed out by Mary, and they pledged to stand by her. Thus began the famous march upon Savannah.

On July 21, 1749, the Bosomworths and Malatche came to Savannah amid the rumor that Mary was to be sent to England in irons. It was stated that they had come to meet Abraham Bosomworth upon his return from England to see the results of the petition for lands. If the petitions were not favorably acted upon, the Creeks warned that no more Whites would be allowed to settle above the tidewater. On August 7 and 9, about 200 Indians arrived outside of Savannah, firing their guns as they approached down the river. The people of Savannah were thoroughly alarmed, since the militia could only muster about 175 men able to bear arms.

The following day the Indians were met by the militia and disarmed before being allowed to enter the city, which they did with Rev. Bosomworth in his canonical robes, his Indian Queen at his side, followed by the Indian kings and chiefs according to their ranks. The Indians remained in Savannah and the surrounding countryside until August 19. Mary continued to press her claims for compensation, and the large supportive cast added weight to her demands. After many days and nights of confusion and terror on the part of the city residents, Mary Musgrove was finally arrested, and after a number of conferences, the distribution of presents, and much tribulation on the part of the city authorities, the Indians were induced to depart, leaving the Bosomworths in jail. A short time later, having confessed their errors and asking the pardon of authorities, they were freed and allowed to leave.

There had been much uneasiness in Savannah due to the Indian outburst. Some feared

that the town might be burned and a real Indian war begun. However, only two of the Lower Creek towns were represented by the Indians supporting Mary Bosomworth, as she lacked favor among the Upper Creeks.

In spite of all that occurred, Mary's demands, appeals and apologies did not move the authorities and no actions were taken to satisfy her claims. Mary then set out upon a tour of the Creek Nation, concentrating mostly upon the Lower Creeks, in order to obtain further signatures to her grant of the islands and the Yamacraw area. At Coweta Town in August 1750, she secured the signatures of seven chiefs to the deed for the lands in question.

The authorities in Savannah did what they could in order to dissuade the Indians from backing the Bosomworths. In May 1751, Patrick Graham was sent into the Creek Nation to secure a grant of the reserved lands from the Indians to the colony. Graham finally managed to purchase the three islands and the Yamacraw tract after 26 chiefs of the Upper Creek Nation agreed to the sale and collected the goods given in exchange. Graham failed to secure the agreement of the Lower Creek Nation, but they did offer to lease the desired territory, as Malatche and the other chiefs of the Lower Creeks denied that they had ever deeded the property to the Bosomworths.

The Bosomworths continued their efforts and again petitioned for royal approval of Mary's claims. They even traveled to England in 1754 in order to press their claims personally before the Board of Trade, but this resolved nothing. While the Bosomworths were in England, they sold, on October 14, 1754 to Mr. Isaac Levy, a prominent London merchant, a one-half interest in Ossabaw, St. Catherines and Sapelo Islands for £1,000, in addition to an interest in other Indian lands and the expected profits to be derived from them. Mr. Levy spent a considerable sum of money in developing the possibilities of the islands and traveled from England to visit each of them himself. This was all done in good faith on Rev. Bosomworth's part, but was to cause Britain some embarrassment later on.

On December 15-18, 1755, a conference was held between representatives of the Crown and the chiefs of the Upper and Lower Creek Na-

tions with a hope of clarifying the situation regarding the three islands and the Yamacraw tract. At this conference the Indians agreed that the property in question did belong to Rev. Bosomworth, to which he had the right to dispose of in any way he thought proper.

By 1757, the British finally began to take some steps to appease Rev. Bosomworth and his wife. They recognized Mary's right to monetary compensation for her valuable assistance and unselfish personal sacrifices for the colony, but they apparently balked at paying any compensation from their own funds. It was hoped that they could purchase two of the islands from Bosomworth for £2,100 and then recoup their expense by auctioning the property off at public sale. This was agreeable to the Bosomworths and a treaty was drawn up to that effect. However, an act of Assembly was passed to prevent the purchase. Rev. Bosomworth seemed to have forgotten that he had sold a half interest in the islands to Mr. Levy. Bosomworth petitioned the Crown to rectify the situation, which they did not do.

In 1758, the Crown obtained a grant from the Indians for the three islands of Ossabaw, St. Catherines and Sapelo. This finally settled the question of any Indian claims to the land, and the Crown agreed that the islands of Ossabaw and Sapelo should be purchased from Bosomworth and resold, and that the Bosomworths should be granted the Island of St. Catherines.

White (1854, p. 22) noted that "twenty-five years ago, the mansion in which the Bosomworths resided was still standing. It was singular in its construction and appearance, being wattled with hickory twigs, and plastered within and without with mortar, made of sand and lime, and surrounded by spacious piazzas." In his recent analysis of early Georgia architecture, Frederick Nichols (1976, p. 23) suggested that "the wealth of the Bosomworths and [White's 1854] description indicates that their house was large, probably of two rooms on either side of a center hall and with dormers. It was on a more pretentious scale than the first houses at Midway."

The house was probably near Persimmon Point, the westernmost extension of St. Catherines Island. John Toby Woods, Jr., the

present caretaker of the Island, has taken us to a spot near the Point which he believes to be the location of the Bosomworth (Musgrove) house. The remains of a colonial brick fireplace are evident, along with what seem to be the outlines of a fairly large structure. Other man-made features are evident nearby, including large pits which could have served as basements or perhaps trash pits. Whether this is the Musgrove house remains uncertain, although excavation could no doubt shed some light on the problem.

The Bosomworths submitted another claim for more than £5,000 for past services and this was endorsed by the military authorities at Frederica. On July 24, 1759, word of a royal disallowance of these claims arrived.

When the Crown had advertised the islands of Ossabaw and Sapelo for sale, Mr. Levy stepped in, advertized his claim against the islands and wrote Governor Ellis in Georgia to postpone the sale, which was done. Mr. Levy petitioned the King for recompense in lieu of his claim. This was referred to several committees and Mr. Levy was instructed to gather pertinent documents as evidence, as he had registered his purchases of Indian lands on record, but had lost his chance to recover his losses from the Bosomworths.

On April 19, 1760, an agreement was reached between the Bosomworths and Governor Ellis which stated that in lieu of the articles dated 1759, Ellis had been advised by the council to go ahead and pay the Bosomworths £2,100 for services Mary had rendered; since they had inhabited and improved the Island of St. Catherines, it was to be granted to them if they relinquished all further claims against the Crown. On June 13, 1760, the Island of St. Catherines was transferred to Mary Bosomworth, and it was agreed that she should receive £100 a year for 16 years and £450 for goods which she had expended in the service of the colony. The islands of Ossabaw and Sapelo were then sold at auction and the proceeds used toward the payment of the £2,050 which it had been agreed that Mary was entitled to. The following day they conveyed the deed to Governor Ellis in Savannah.

Levy continued to present his claims upon the Crown for redress, even initiating a suit

against the Bosomworths. Lawyers declined to pursue it, since it was decided that at the time of Levy's purchase of half interest in the Bosomworth properties, the property was not considered as part of the colony and thus he had no basis to sue through Royal channels. This matter dragged on for many years between Levy and the Crown, even extending into the period of time that Button Gwinnett was on St. Catherines. Eventually, Levy requested property in the West Indies in exchange for that which he had lost in Georgia and the matter was settled.

The Bosomworths remained on St. Catherines Island, stocking it with horses, hogs, cattle and constructing a plantation boat for access. The exact year of Mary (Musgrove) Bosomworth's death is unknown, as is the exact location of her grave. Writing in 1784, Capt. Hugh McCall noted that Thomas Bosomworth "took possession of, and resided on St. Catherines Island, where Mary died sometime after, and he married his chambermaid. Finally, the remains of this trio were deposited in the same graveyard on this island, for which they had so long contended" (McCall, 1811-1816, p. 165). When White prepared his Georgia history, he noted only that "tradition designates the spot where the Bosomworths were buried" (White, 1854, p. 22).

According to Mr. Woods, this tradition indicates that the Bosomworths were buried in an Indian-style mound on the northern end of St. Catherines Island. This suggestion receives some support from archaeologist C.B. Moore, who visited the Island in 1896. While excavating on the north end, Moore notes that one burial mound "was a somewhat larger one which, being a valued land mark, we did not touch" (Moore 1897, p. 89). Moore's "valued land mark" could well have been the feature known locally as Mary's Mound, located in the northern savannah in an area which has been cleared for pasture (see fig. 13). A University of Georgia crew tested Mary's Mound in 1970 and in his unpublished field notes, Joseph Caldwell concluded "that the mound is too old to have been built in honor of Mary Musgrove. Pottery from the central pit indicates that construction began in the St. Catherines Period, dating around 1100 A.D. It is possible,

however, that Mary Musgrove was buried here later. We did not do enough digging to say definitely that she was not. Moreover, even if her grave should never be found, it is still possible that it was plowed away years ago when the mound was under cultivation."

At this writing, the American Museum of Natural History is continuing excavations at Mary's Mound. Nothing to date has been discovered that would confirm this site as the burial place of Mary Musgrove or Thomas Bosomworth.

For some reason, Thomas Bosomworth placed an advertisement in the October 3, 1765 issue of the "Georgia Gazette" in Savannah. It read: "To be Leased for Number of Years. The Valuable island of St. Catherine [*sic*], with stock and cattle and the use of the Timber. For particulars inquire of the Rev. Mr. Bosomworth on the said island, or of Gray Elliott." This advertisement was to bring another notable personality to St. Catherine's Island.

BUTTON GWINNETT

For a man who left such an indelible mark on Georgia, Button Gwinnett was a man of mystery. Many portions of his life remain clouded and unclear to us today. He came from England to Savannah sometime before September 1765, and worked as a merchant for a short time in Savannah, before inquiring after Rev. Bosomworth's advertisement regarding St. Catherine's Island (for biographical information on Gwinnett, see Jenkins, 1926; Chandler, 1904-1916; McIlvaine, 1971).

Gwinnett sold his business interests in Savannah, and purchased, entirely on credit, the Island of St. Catherine's. He obligated himself by bond to pay £500 within five months (Candler, 1904-1916, vol. R, p. 237) and another bond was given for £3000 to secure the payment of an annuity to Rev. Bosomworth of £187 10 Shillings in quarterly payments during his lifetime. (Candler, 1904-1916, vol. Y, p. 116). Still another bond was given, to the amount of £1000, for the payment of "growing interest" at 8% on £1000 during Rev. Bosomworth's life, and the principal within three years after his death, but Gwinnett was to have

the option of paying both the principal and interest on due notice (Candler, 1904-1916, vol. R, p. 13). On these terms, considered equal to a total payment of £3000, the Island was actually leased to Gwinnett for a period of 500 years at a yearly rental fee of one penny (Candler, 1904-1916, vol. 1, pp. 36-40).

In addition to this, Gwinnett paid £1000 to Rev. Bosomworth for all the stock on the Islands, the horses and "hogs to be taken as they run," and the cattle to be rounded up and tallied the following July. Included in the transaction was a 20-foot boat with all its equipment for transportation to and from the mainland and to carry produce to the markets. Gwinnett christened it the "Beggar's Benison" (Van Story, 1956, p. 25). There was a house, numerous outbuildings, some gardens, orchards, the use of pastures, not to mention the privileges of timber, fishing, and hunting.

Thus, Gwinnett became a planter and gentleman farmer; but one reason he may have decided to take up residence at St. Catherine's was the thriving seaport of Sunbury, about 12 miles inland. Sunbury had been established in June 1758, on a high bluff along the Medway River, just above where the river turns through the wide expanse of St. Catherine's Sound.

A vast network of plantations, which grew large amounts of rice, corn and indigo, were prospering in the area, and the local planters of St. John's Parish needed more convenient commercial outlets for the products of their work. In just five years, Sunbury had become an official port of entry, and by the coming of the Revolution, one-third of the entire wealth of Georgia was centered in St. John's Parish (McIlvaine, 1971, pp. 13-14). Thus, when Gwinnett arrived on St. Catherine's Island, the area was just beginning to prosper under the growing influence of Sunbury. The Island of St. Catherine's offered Gwinnett the opportunity as a planter, and the convenient locality of Sunbury, Georgia's newest port city, provided ready access to world markets. St. Catherine's also hosted great stands of timber, high fertile ground suitable for growing corn and indigo, and open pastures for grazing.

In the first year after Gwinnett moved to St.

Catherines Island, he struggled to put the Island on a productive basis but was not without obstacles to overcome. For one thing, the management of the Island under the Bosomworths had been slack and inefficient (Jenkins, 1926, p. 45). They had cleared and planted only a small portion of the land, basically for personal use. The Island had traditionally been one of the Indians' hunting and fishing grounds, and was considered by many as all but public property. Gwinnett was plagued by poachers and trespassers who killed and carried off his cows and pigs, fished the creeks around the Island and took oysters from the numerous beds. In September 1766, he published a notice which said: "All persons are hereby prohibited from hunting and shooting upon the Island of St. Catherine" (Georgia Gazette, Sept. 3, 1766, p. 64). He even offered a reward of £20 for the conviction of trespassers or information leading to their capture.

In order to further protect his holdings on the Island, Gwinnett petitioned the Council to grant him possession of the numerous "hammocks" which lay scattered along the channels behind St. Catherines so that they would not fall into the possession of those who might be unfriendly to him.

Gwinnett was greatly interested in shipping and wanted to obtain additional pine land. The Council of the Colony had decreed that land would be granted to those who met specific conditions of improvement. Under these conditions, Gwinnett petitioned for land on the Sapelo River, and in St. Philip Parish (Candler, 1904-1916, vol. IX, p. 699). These were granted, but he had some difficulty in fulfilling the conditions of these grants. In all, Gwinnett was granted 3750 acres of land in addition to St. Catherines. If he had been able to manage and maintain these holdings, he would have been among the largest landowners in the colony (Jenkins, 1926, pp. 47-48).

In 1767, having become a qualified elector of the Province through his ownership of more than 50 acres of land, Gwinnett was appointed as a Justice of the Peace for St. John's Parish and St. Andrew's Parish. This continued for the next several years. In 1768, he was appointed

as Commissioner for regulating the pilotage for the bar of St. Catherines and Medway River, and the Savannah Bar and all inlets north of St. Catherines. He served as a member of the Commons House of Assembly in Savannah, and was on the Commission of the Peace of the Colony (McIlvaine, 1971, pp. 24-25).

Gwinnett had great plans and the potential of becoming a productive planter, but the weight of accumulated debts prevented him from ever realizing his goals. His debts eventually became an overwhelming burden to him. He needed good able-bodied men to work the fields, operate the sawmills and handle his shipping, so he purchased a large number of Blacks, probably all on credit or with borrowed funds. Merchants in Liverpool, Bristol, St. Croix, and Pensacola attempted to settle their accounts with Gwinnett, but to no avail. They finally placed their claims in the hands of attorneys in Savannah.

Gwinnett was deeply embarrassed that all his financial matters had not worked out as he had hoped. In order to meet some of these pressing obligations, he borrowed money from Noble Jones in Savannah and took a mortgage on six slaves. A short time later he had to sell almost a dozen slaves to Mr. James Read of Savannah.

These measures apparently were not enough to satisfy all of his creditors. About 1770, Gwinnett began placing mortgages on St. Catherines in addition to that already held by Rev. Bosomworth. Claims against Gwinnett were placed in the hands of the provost marshal, who proceeded to levy and sell designated pieces of personal property in order to satisfy those of Gwinnett's creditors who demanded immediate payments.

Gwinnett's financial situation finally came to a climax in February 1773. His creditors were gathered together under the leadership of Alexander Rose of Charleston and Robert Porteus of Beaufort. They bought Gwinnett's interests in St. Catherines for £5250 and used the proceeds to pay off his debts.

Beyond this date, Gwinnett's relationship to the actual ownership of the Island is unclear. He apparently made some arrangement with the



FIG. 20. The tabby house which was allegedly built by Button Gwinnett and then utilized by Waldburg. Tunis G. Campbell also used the house as his government office. This photograph was taken in March 1925 (source: Jenkins, 1926).

new owners, as he continued to make the Island his home and it remained so until his death (Jenkins, 1926, p. 50).

With his financial situation somewhat stabilized, Gwinnett took steps to put operations on St. Catherines back on a productive footing. He borrowed once again, about £7182 from John Neufoille of Beaufort, S.C., which was to be repaid in three months. However, the time of payment was extended, and the full debt was not paid off until after Gwinnett's death.

During the years that Gwinnett was struggling with his financial problems, revolution was brewing in many of the colonies. Despite his monetary problems, Gwinnett had become known throughout St. John's Parish and in Savannah due to his dedicated public service. By 1773, events in Boston and other parts of New England had captured the public eye. In Georgia, the youngest of the 13 colonies, there was a faint rumble of discontent, especially in the spring of 1774 when the British Parliament passed what became known to Americans as the "Intolerable Acts." Meetings were held in Savannah to discuss what position Georgia should take.

A congress of delegates from the colonies had been called to meet in Philadelphia, but Georgia did not send a delegate. The people of St. John's Parish were so enraged by this that they threatened to secede from Georgia and join South Carolina (McIlvaine, 1971, pp. 25-27). When a second Continental Congress was called in 1776 the people of St. John's Parish did not wait for Georgia to act, they elected their own delegates to attend. Their delegates were both local citizens, Dr. Lyman Hall and Button Gwinnett.

On July 4, 1776, the American Colonies declared their independence from Great Britain and Gwinnett signed that famed document, along with George Walton and Lyman Hall, the other Georgia delegates. Once this was finished, Gwinnett rushed back to Georgia, for he knew that there could be no safety on St. Catherines Island during a war with Britain (Jenkins, 1926, p. 96).

In Georgia at this time, the American forces were attempting to mount an offensive into British Florida. This attempt and several similar attempts were staged out of Sunbury, but none ever succeeded. It is possible that lookouts of



FIG. 21. View of the restored Gwinnett home, as it appeared in November 1977. It is not certain whether the large cedar tree by the smoke house to the left is the same sapling evident in figure 20.

some sort were posted at points on St. Catherines to scan the horizon for any sign of hostile vessels.

Gwinnett arrived in Georgia just as preparations were under way to mount an offensive into Florida, and to fortify the coast. The day before Gwinnett arrived in Savannah on his return from Philadelphia, the Council of Safety decided that all the cattle on the offshore islands should be removed to the mainland or destroyed. The commissaries of several battalions were directed to supply their men with meat from the islands, and the owners were notified to have all cattle off the islands by November 1 or the cattle would be destroyed (Candler, 1904-1916, vol. I, p. 193). Gwinnett arrived just in time to dispose of his livestock and move his family to Savannah to be out of immediate danger.

The cattle and personal property were removed from the islands because of a fear that British forces might land there during the winter and subsist on the abundance of livestock and goods. Then, the British would be ready for sustained marching and battle in the following spring. By removing all foodstuffs from the

islands, it would be impractical for the British to attempt such a move.

Gwinnett's real ambition at this time was to command troops rather than any political involvement, and a battalion of colonial forces just being formed at that time was where he wished to command. However, he was to be foiled in this desire. He had helped to draft the first constitution of the state and in 1777, before the constitution could be put into effect, Archibald Bulloch, president of Georgia, died, and Gwinnett was appointed to succeed him as Governor of the State.

It was while he was discharging his official duties, that a quarrel with Brig. Gen. Lachlan McIntosh resulted. This was partially due to Gwinnett's insistence on handling military affairs, and to another ill-fated expedition to Florida which floundered. The investigation to lay proper blame for the failure of the expedition resulted in the clash between Gwinnett and McIntosh. The two settled their dispute near Savannah on May 16, 1777 with a duel. Both men were wounded but Gwinnett's wound became infected and he died several days later.

What became of Gwinnett's remains after

this has been the subject of much controversy, even today. Evidence has come to light which suggests he was buried in the Colonial Cemetery in Savannah (Williams, 1966). Others think that his body may have been returned to St. Catherines Island for burial, or to the cemetery in Sunbury. The executor of his will paid Rev. Mr. Foley £9 for expenses incident to Gwinnett's funeral, which would indicate that Rev. Foley had been put through some unusual expense in conducting the funeral, such as a trip to St. Catherines or Sunbury (McIlvaine, 1971, pp. 40-41). It cannot be said at this time whether the location of Gwinnett's grave will ever be documented.

We do know that Gwinnett's will left one-half of his estate to his wife and daughter and the remainder to Rev. Thomas Bosomworth and his heirs, to whom Gwinnett was still under heavy financial obligation. Thus St. Catherines once again became the home of Rev. Bosomworth.

REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Throughout the early years of the Revolution, the Georgia coast was left relatively undisturbed by the British, but they were not blind to the importance of the southernmost colony. Georgia, being the youngest colony as well, continued to have strong British sentiment, and the British hoped they could overcome the American forces there and re-establish a loyal colonial government again as an example to the other colonies. A drive against Savannah was planned by a British force to sail from New York. As a diversion, another British force from Florida was to attack Sunbury in a combined army and navy assault (Moore, 1865, pp. 107-109; McIlvaine, 1971, p. 40).

This assault on Sunbury occurred in November 1778. A naval force led by Lt. Col. Fuser sailed from San Agustín, and an army force led by Lt. Col. Prevost left Florida marching overland. The army force was halted by American troops at Midway Church. After Col. Prevost determined that the naval force had not arrived on time, and in the face of apparent enemy

reinforcements, he withdrew his force, destroying homes and provisions as he went (White, 1778; Moore, 1865, pp. 107-109).

The naval force, delayed by storms, arrived after the army had withdrawn. The British ships sailed into Sapelo Sound and anchored behind Colonels Island to unload troops, then proceeded into St. Catherines Sound to lay siege to Sunbury from the river. It proved to be an abortive attempt, and the naval force retrieved its troops and withdrew (McCall, 1816, pp. 30-31; McIlvaine, 1971, pp. 42-43). It is conceivable that some British landed at St. Catherines during this time to replenish stores of fresh water from the wells.

In the fall of 1779, French and American forces laid siege to Savannah, and French warships sailed along the coast. British forces abandoned Sunbury and joined their forces at Savannah, where they were able to hold out until the French and Americans gave up the siege. But events elsewhere made it impractical for the British to try and hold Georgia past 1782 when Yorktown fell, and in July 1782 the British evacuated the colony.

ANTEBELLUM PERIOD

With the end of the Revolution and Independence won, the time came to rebuild and return to the pursuits of peace. Apparently the possession of St. Catherines Island was open to question by this time, as Rev. Bosomworth had yielded the property. The Island changed hands many times during this postwar period and tracking down the proper owners and deeds of this time is difficult. Sunbury's struggle to rebuild could account for the number of property exchanges and transactions.

A court ordered on February 17, 1786 that the Island be divided up, one-half going to John McQueen and one-fourth each to Henry Putnam and Nathan Brownson. On September 4, 1790, Henry Putnam deeded his quarter of the Island to Thomas Bourke (Burke). On February 14, 1796, Bourke obtained the northern half of the Island from the Commissioners of Reverted Estates. Alexander Rose, who had been one of the purchasers of the Island when

Gwinnett sold his interests, had sold this property to Anthony White, but the mortgage was foreclosed and apparently the property was confiscated during the Revolution (Liberty Co. Deeds: Book B, p. 440, Book B, Pt. II, p. 438, Book D, p. 114).

On July 1, 1797, Owen Owens and David Johnson were deeded an undivided half interest in a tract of undesignated land on St. Catherines from re-confiscated estates (Liberty Co. Deeds, Book D, pp. 87, 117). This tract was probably on the southern half of the Island.

On November 26, 1799, Ardanus Burke (Bourke) deeded one-fourth of the north end of St. Catherines to Thomas Bourke (Burke). Thomas Bourke is shown as possessing title to the northern half of the Island in 1796, so perhaps he sold one-fourth to Ardanus Burke (Bourke) in the intervening period. Whether or not there was any blood relation between the two Bourke-Burke's is unknown at this point. In 1809 Thomas Bourke, residing in Savannah, became the War Department agent for fortifications in Georgia.

Thomas Bourke conveyed some of his holdings on the Island to a John Morel and others who are not named, and on July 9, 1800, the executor of Bourke's estate conveyed the northern half of St. Catherines Island to Mr. Jacob Waldburger [*sic*: Waldburg?]. There were apparently some conflicting claims. In March 1802, Mr. Owen Owens, who had acquired a portion of the Island in 1797, laid a claim against a portion of Waldburg(er)'s holdings through Senator John Milledge, the executor of the Waldburg(er) estate (Liberty Co. Deeds, Book D, p. 120; Liberty Co. Administration of Estates). By early 1800, the major portion of the Island was owned by Waldburg(er) (the north end) and Owen (the south end).

The next 50 years of St. Catherines' history remain clouded to us today. This was basically because of growing prosperity across the country, and there were no wars or major incidents which directly affected the Island. However, there were two important developments which would continue to dictate the development of the Island for many years to come.

Almost from the founding of Georgia, rice production and rice exports had been one of the major cash crops grown in the coastal area. However, more efficient ways of producing rice in different areas and climates caused a slump in the low county rice production which could not compete with the newer methods.

Cotton had already been grown in Georgia, but not on a large scale. The soil of the coastal area had been found especially suitable for cotton, and cultivation of a particular long-staple cotton which had been imported from the West Indies after the Revolution was pursued with particular success. This cotton became known worldwide as "sea island cotton" with the development of the cotton gin which made mass production of this cotton feasible. Thus, the cotton industry grew at a tremendous rate all across Georgia and the south.

Vast plantations of sea island cotton were established along the Georgia coast to meet a growing demand. Much of the land on St. Catherines, including even many of the small hammocks, was cleared off and cotton fields laid out.

All available land, in fact, was utilized to produce cotton. Today many of the boundaries of these fields are still visible on St. Catherines (see fig. 4).

Waldburg continued to operate the plantation on St. Catherines north end, utilizing the tabby house generally considered to have been Gwinnett's home (figs. 20 and 21). A regular complex of shop buildings, stables, barns and slave quarters grew in the area using many of the old tabby buildings from Gwinnett's operations (figs. 23-34).

The south end of the Island was also given over to cotton production. Another complex of buildings, slave quarters, etc., was established and a large "mansion" built, which overlooked the marsh near the intracoastal waterway. At some point Waldburg obtained the southern half of the Island, probably from David Johnson or his family, since his deed of 1812 for the south end was the last one to be found of this period (Liberty Co. Deeds, Book G. p. 192).

Waldburg also built a cotton gin and installed a large steam engine to run the various



FIG. 22. Freedman working a cotton field somewhere on St. Catherines Island. This photograph was taken by J. N. Wilson sometime in the late 1870s (courtesy University of Georgia Library).

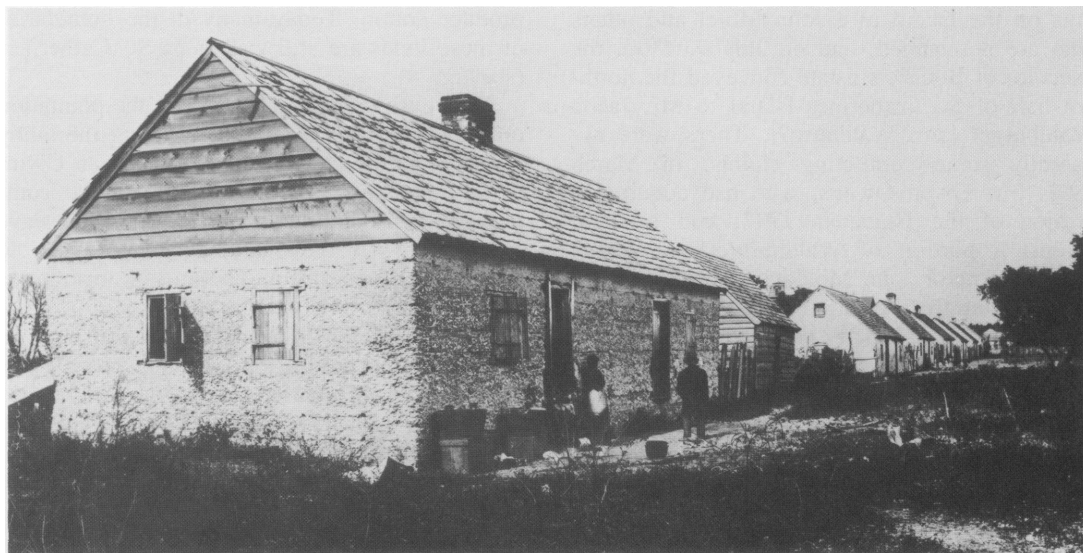


FIG. 23. Residents of St. Catherines Island standing in front of the tabby cabins at North End Settlement. This picture was taken by J. N. Wilson sometime during the late 1870s. The cupola and gable of the Victorian Raders house is barely visible between the roofs of the center tabby structures; also see figures 36-38 (courtesy of University of Georgia Library).

machinery used for timbering and packing cotton for shipment (Holmes, 1976, pp. 79-80). The ruins of the cotton gin are still evident on the northern end of the Island (fig. 34). Although we do not know the exact date of this construction, it can be estimated from information in the recently published reminiscences of James ("Dr. Bullie") Holmes, grandfather of Oliver Wendell Holmes. James Holmes later reported a visit to St. Catherines Island with a distinguished group of mainland planters and the purpose of the trip was to inspect Waldburg's new cotton gin (Holmes, 1976, p. 144). Holmes said that he was "but a boy at the time," and also remarked that Waldburg still owned only the northern end of the Island. This would seem to pinpoint the date of the Holmes visit—and hence the construction of the cotton gin—as sometime between 1810 and 1812.

Cotton production thus brought St. Catherines to the most productive point in its history. This economic situation remained relatively stable until the Civil War brought about vast changes in the coastal region and the country.

THE CIVIL WAR

The Waldburg Plantation on St. Catherines Island grew and prospered through the first 60 years of the nineteenth century and large amounts of cotton was produced there. However, by 1860 the national situation had reached crisis proportions, as the country was divided over issues such as slavery and states rights. These issues had been discussed, argued and compromised since the formation of the country. The controversy and misunderstandings would plunge the country into a vast internal Civil War.

In November of 1860, Abraham Lincoln was elected President, and in protest, the Southern states began to withdraw from the Union to form their own Confederacy. On January 19, 1861, Georgia closed ranks with her neighbors and seceded from the Union, joining the infant southern nation. On April 12, 1861, the Southern forces at Charleston, South Carolina, bombarded Fort Sumter in the harbor, which was still held by United States troops. The controversy and compromises had flared into open



FIG. 24. Same view as in figure 23, taken in November 1977. The cabins were restored as guest cottages in 1929-1930 (see fig. 31). The Rauers house was dismantled in 1929 and the wood reused to build the modern boathouse, among other things. The large cabin nearest the camera presently serves as kitchen and Biology Laboratory.



FIG. 25. Residents of St. Catherines Island in front of north end tabby. Note the placement of the trees and particularly the wooden boxes. Wilson had moved his camera to the north; the cabin nearest the camera is the third building along the row in figure 23 (courtesy University of Georgia Library).

conflict far more serious than any past incident.

With the commencement of hostilities, Georgia was faced with defending its exposed coastal region. There had been no open conflict in the area since the Revolution, almost a hundred years before, and very few fixed defenses remained, except at Savannah. The South was virtually without a naval force of its own for defense, but the North possessed some semblance of a navy and had the capability of building one.

Through the early months of the war the coastal region of Georgia was left relatively undisturbed. The Confederate authorities conceived of a line of defense along the coast which entailed the construction of earthwork batteries, armed with 8-inch cannons at every ship channel entrance from Tybee to Fernandina. This was partially to appease the coastal planters who greatly feared the incursion of enemy vessels sent to annoy and disturb these outlying areas (Jones, 1874, p. 97; also see Jones, 1878).

This plan of coastal defense was begun by utilizing slave labor from local plantations to build the earthworks. On the north point of St. Catherines in late August 1861 a small battery was constructed and two 8-inch cannons mounted to cover the entrance to St. Catherines Sound (Jones, 1874, p. 97). A force of 91 officers and men were garrisoned there to man the guns and lookout posts (Davis, 1893, p. 286). A similar battery was constructed on the north point of Blackbeard Island to cover Sapelo Sound at the south end of St. Catherines Island. This battery mounted five heavy guns and was manned by 122 officers and men (Davis, 1893, p. 286). The dates of construction and the units to which these soldiers belonged to have not yet been determined.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war, President Lincoln declared his intention to blockade the coastline of the Southern States. This idea was ridiculed by many, but Lincoln followed through with his intention. In May of 1861 the steamer *Union* arrived off of Savannah

to blockade that port. By the end of 1861, the war was coming closer to Georgia's coast (Myers, 1972, p. 694).

On November 7, 1861 a large fleet of U.S. warships, which had arrived off Port Royal Sound, S.C., began bombarding the Confederate forts guarding the sound while transports unloaded troops. By the day's end the Confederate forces on Hilton Head Island, S.C., had suffered a resounding defeat. The Confederate authorities quickly recognized that this defeat was due in part to the fact that their men on Hilton Head had easily been cut off from any support from the mainland. They also realized that this disaster in South Carolina could easily be repeated at any of the offshore islands they had fortified and garrisoned, because the powerful U.S. Navy fleet seemed able to sail wherever they wished.

This revelation was not lost on them. Before many days had passed, orders were issued to the Confederate forces to abandon all the offshore islands and to remove all supplies and

guns to points on the mainland which could be more adequately defended and supported. Sometime between November 9, 1861 and February 18, 1862 the battery on St. Catherines Island was abandoned and its guns removed to Savannah (Davis, 1893, p. 321).

Since the Island could not be defended, Waldburg shut down all production at his plantation and left, removing furniture, valuables and what stores he could save. Many of his servants, slaves and field hands were left on the Island to make do as best they could, since the Federals would not harm them (Woods, 1897, ser. I, vol. 13, pp. 19-20). Exactly where Waldburg went, and when he actually left the Island are not known, but his wife is listed in the Savannah City Directory for 1866, indicating that perhaps they fled to Savannah from the Island.

A Black population is known to have remained on St. Catherines Island for much of the war. At the end of May 1862 Commander S.W. Godon, U.S.N., sailed from St. Simons



FIG. 26. Same view as in figure 25, taken in November 1977. The large cedar in the center of the picture obscures the tabby ruins of an unrestored antebellum cabin.

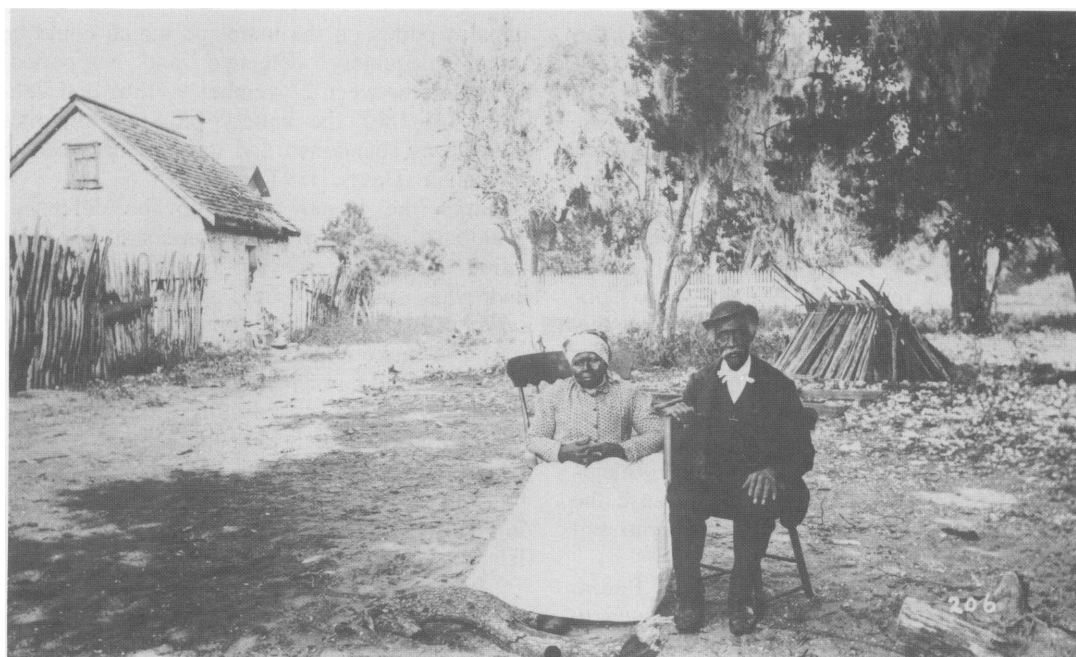


FIG. 27. Minister and wife in the late 1870s. This photograph was taken in front of the farthest cabin in figure 23; the placement is pinpointed by the position of the Victorian gable, the picket fence and the small wooden lean-to. A portion of the Gwinnett house is also visible beyond the tabby cabin (courtesy University of Georgia Library).

on board the USS *Madgie* for an inspection of the blockading forces along the Georgia coast, north from St. Simons. Commander Godon wrote:

We continued through the creek the entire length of the island to St. Catherines Sound and anchored in a creek for the night at the north end of St. Catherines Island alongside of the plantation of Waldburg, the owner of the entire island, I believe. Here we found a few very old blacks left to take care of the place. Much of the cotton had been unpicked and the crop lost; most of the furniture had been removed with the corn etc.; a very fine engine is there, however, and the condition of the place indicates considerable care. The owner had left many weeks before and had not returned even to visit it

Half way St. Catherines Island I landed again at a second plantation of Waldburg's. Here also we found a few very old blacks, men and women, left to take care of the place, or, more properly speaking to take care and provide for themselves, as they are useless to their masters and hardly

able to work for a livelihood (quoted in Woods, 1897, ser. I, vol. 12, pp. 727-728, 756-757).

The blockade had effectively served its purpose by slowly strangling the southern economy and preventing necessary war goods from reaching Southern ports. The war's end was to be the beginning of one of the strangest events in St. Catherines history, for it brought Tunis G. Campbell to the Island.

TUNIS CAMPBELL

Of the many personalities that have been associated with the Island of St. Catherines, perhaps the most captivating and enigmatic was Tunis G. Campbell. His stay on the Island was relatively short and his story is all the more fascinating because most historians have ignored it.

Tunis G. Campbell was born in New Jersey on April 1, 1812. He was one of a family of four sisters and five brothers and received some

education in a school on Long Island where he was the only black pupil. From 1841 to 1846 he was an active lecturer for Black children in New York City, Brooklyn, and Jersey City. In the 1850s he aided fugitive slaves and worked with the "underground railroad." The outbreak of the Civil War found him in New York City where he was working in a bakery after having been rejected by the army. He was determined to have some part in the war and wrote to President Lincoln concerning his plight. Campbell proposed a plan to establish an agency that would relieve the government of the major share of the burden of dealing with the Black populace in the areas of the South where federal authority had been re-established. A short time later, Campbell received a "commission" from the War Department ordering him to report to General Rufus Saxton at Hilton Head Island, South Carolina (Fancher, 1971, pp. 123-124).

General Saxton had been at Hilton Head since its fall in November 1861. Federal troops had occupied the Beaufort area a short time

later and a number of large plantations had come under Federal control. There were large numbers of Blacks still on the plantations and it was General Saxton's plan to put them to work operating these places and to establish civil government among them. He encouraged them to acquire agricultural skills and other industrial pursuits in order to promote their well being.

At Hilton Head, Campbell had been influenced by the sermons of the Rev. Mansfield French, who promised the "contrabands" not only freedom but massive reparations as well (Fancher, 1971, pp. 124-125). But Campbell began to wonder if Blacks and Whites could ever live together side by side. He had seen what resulted when three Federal regiments went berserk, terrorized St. Helena Island, killed the livestock, robbed and beat the Black men and attempted to rape the Black women. He had seen enough racism in the North and the South to confirm his beliefs in separatism.

When General Sherman's army swept across Georgia in the late fall of 1864 and reached Savannah that winter, the wheels began to turn



FIG. 28. Same view as in figure 27, taken in November 1977. The white structure at the far right is the unrestored antebellum barn.



FIG. 29. Row of tabby cabins on north end of St. Catherines Island. This photograph was taken in the late 1870s directly across the road from figure 23. The square structures at the left were used for grinding corn (courtesy University of Georgia Library).

which would give Tunis Campbell his chance to try out his theories. On January 16, 1865 Sherman issued Special Field Order No. 15, which set apart the Sea Islands from Charleston to the St. John's River in Florida and the abandoned rice plantations up the rivers for 30 miles to be a reservation for the Blacks. No White refugees were to be settled there and the Blacks were to have "the sole and exclusive management of affairs" subject only to the military authorities and the laws of Congress. The Blacks were to be given "possessory title" to as much as 40 acres, but this did not give free simple ownership and was intended only as a temporary measure. The mass influx of freedmen had posed such a problem to Sherman that he merely wished to "get them off his hands" (Fancher, 1971, p. 127; Durham, 1976).

Special Field Order No. 15 brought Tunis Campbell to the spotlight. When Charleston fell in February 1865, Campbell requested that he be transferred from the Beaufort-Hilton Head area to the Sea Islands of Georgia in order to begin the same work there that he had pursued

at Beaufort. Soon after Sherman's Field Order, Congress passed an act setting up the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands. Campbell's friend, General Saxton, was placed in charge.

Saxton appointed Campbell as an agent in this organization and assigned him to certain Sea Islands in Georgia and the coastal strip extending 30 miles inland. Campbell did not see his appointment to the Freedmens Bureau as a low position. Rather than a mere bureau agent, he stated that he "came down as the governor of the islands of St. Catherines, Sapelo, and Ossabaw, and other islands," and that his authority extended to the mainland "as far as I could reach anywhere within thirty miles" (Durham, 1976). In addition to all this authority, he was the religious missionary to the provinces of all Georgia and Florida for the Zion Methodist Episcopal Church.

According to Campbell's version of his credentials, he was ordered "to organize and establish governments" over his island kingdom and to protect the freedmen on the mainland

within the 30-mile limit. Campbell immediately began referring to himself as "Governor" although to some people he was often called the "Tycoon." Campbell appointed his son, Tunis

Jr., as the Lt. Governor and set up a cabinet. He composed a constitution, a copy of which he sent to the President for his comment. He organized an instrument of fundamental law



FIG. 30. North End Settlement, as it appeared in about 1893; approximately the same view as figure 29 (courtesy of Mrs. Frank Y. Larkin).



FIG. 31. North End Settlement, as it appeared in about 1929 during the rebuilding of the antebellum tabbies (courtesy of Mr. John Toby Woods).



FIG. 32. North End Settlement as it appears in November 1977. The cabin nearest to the camera presently serves as the Archaeology Laboratory.



FIG. 33. Unrestored antebellum barn, presently used to store scientific equipment. This barn is clearly evident in the late 1870s photograph (fig. 29).

which provided for a Senate of eight and a House of 20, as well as for a court with a chief justice, who, during Campbell's reign of two years, was a Black from the African Congo. Campbell reserved the right to override both the House and Senate for himself. Much of his government existed only on paper, but Campbell himself was much in evidence. The headquarters of his "kingdom" was St. Catherines Island and what government existed was located there as well. The other islands and the mainland were merely outlying dependencies. The headquarters for Campbell's government was in the old home once owned by Button Gwinnett (figs. 20, 21).

One of the first acts of the legislature was to pass a law which forbade any White person to set foot on any of the islands. In order to enforce such laws and decrees, and to preserve order, Campbell raised an army of 275 men which existed, as he said, "on my muster roll." Noted the *Macon Telegraph*: "Campbell, that first class buccaneer and filibuster had taken over the governorship to St. Catherines

asserting his authority as the rightful successor of the ancient queen of St. Catherines in the days of Tomochichi" (*Macon Telegraph and Messenger*, July 4, 1873).

Since Campbell was familiar with the form and language of official papers, his proclamations began appearing everywhere. However, he was not to express himself merely through his showmanship. He believed in educating his subjects and established two schools on St. Catherines, hiring his wife, his son Tunis, Jr., and his adopted son, Edward E. Howard, as teachers. In 1866 there were 250 pupils in his schools, which he claimed were educated at his own expense. His work in education won him the vice-presidency of the Educational Convention of Freedmen, in Georgia, held in May 1866.

Despite Campbell's idealism, he took advantage of his position and exploited the 625 freedmen on St. Catherines Island. When the land was distributed, he reserved most of the best parcels for himself and his family, and left the rest of the freedmen a scant 400 acres of



FIG. 34. Ruins of the cotton gin constructed by Waldburg in 1810-1812.

the Island (Fancher, 1971, p. 130). Campbell apparently missed no opportunity to make some extra money. He even directed men to cut wood which he sold to passing steamers, pocketing most of the money himself. In a short time, most of the freedmen on the Island were in want, managing to survive only on U.S. government rations brought in and on the meager sums of money they could save through the sale of their crops.

Campbell's greed may have led to his downfall in Liberty County. Sherman's Field Order No. 15, which had set up the Black state on the Georgia coast, had been overruled by Congress, and within two years St. Catherines Island was sold by the Waldburgs to Northern investors. When the new owner attempted to land and take possession of the Island, Campbell turned him back by force of arms. The new owner promptly applied to the Federal Government for troops to assist him in taking possession of his property. Eventually, this request was honored, and a large detachment of Federal troops commanded by General Collins landed on the Island and forced Campbell to relinquish his hold.

During this time bands of freedmen had been roaming the mainland areas preying on the weaker residents and escaping to the sanctuary of the offshore islands. Stories persist even to this day that this removal of the Blacks from St. Catherines Island was accomplished with a good deal of bloodshed and that many Blacks were killed. To date, no primary sources have come to light concerning this. Campbell later wrote: "The schools which I had established on the islands were broken up and the people driven off" (Fancher, 1971, p. 130).

Shortly thereafter, Campbell established himself at Belleville Plantation in McIntosh County. Campbell was then elected as a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention and, shortly after, elected as State Senator. He ultimately moved to Washington, D.C., and on to Boston, where he died in 1891.

RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

Another gap in the Island's history appears after Tunis Campbell had been driven from St.

Catherines in 1867. The particular transfers of property of that period of time are not entirely clear. It seems that either the Northern investors who are recorded as purchasing the Island in 1866, or the Waldburg family, sold the property to a Rodriguez family sometime shortly after or during the Reconstruction period (McIlvaine, 1971, p. 26).

During this postwar period the Island was apparently put back into production of sea island cotton, although the cotton industry never regained the vast commercial importance it once had. Sometime during the 1875 period the Island was visited by a Savannah photographer, Mr. J. N. Wilson, who photographed many of the Blacks who resided and worked there. His photos of the tabby slave cabins near the north end house and of Blacks toiling in the cotton fields still survive.

A small cemetery from the Reconstruction period still exists about 100 m. northeast of the alleged Gwinnett home, and the descendants of at least one of these individuals still reside on the mainland. At least 10 graves were originally present, but only five can be located today (fig. 35). The tombstones, all of Georgia marble, read as follows:

CAPT. JOHN F. WINCHESTER

Died

Oct. 21st 1867

Aged

48 yrs. 2 mos. & 1 day

DINAH BOWEN

Died

Jan. 26, 1882

Aged 44 years

A good member of
the church

and died in the Faith

SARAH YOUNG

Died

Nov. 28, 1882

Aged 18 Years

A member of the
Baptist Church

RICHARD SHEAD

BORN 1852

DIED MAR. 5, 1913

HOW BLEST THE RIGHTEOUS
WHEN HE DIES

SACRED
to the memory of
REV. GEORGE WARING
BORN

Nov. 22, 1817

Died

Oct. 1, 1887.

He be came a Minister of the
Gospel of Christ in the
Year 1878, he liveth up to the
faith to his death.

Blessed are the dead which
die in the Lord, from henceforth
you saith the spirit that they
shall rest from their labors
and their work do follow them.
Thou will show me the path of
life in thy Presence is fulness of
Joy at thy Right hand there are
pleasures for evermore.

According to John Toby Woods, Sr., Capt. Winchester was White, and the remainder of the graves were for Island Blacks.

The Shead grave is surrounded by a fence of wood and hogwire. A broken stemmed glass lies near the headstone, and three conch shells were found near the footstone. The modern Gullah of St. Simons Island still place broken glass, pottery, and household items on graves; some say that the objects are broken deliberately to symbolize the fragility of life. Other Gullahs explain that the objects are broken simply to prevent the valuables from being stolen (Fancher, 1971, pp. 55-56; also see Combes, 1974, p. 56). Similarly, a broken Pearlware plate was found near the head of a *ca.* 1800 slave grave near Middle Settlement on St. Catherines Island (Thomas, South and Larsen, 1977, pp. 406-407). Thus the practice of adding surface grave goods seems to have persisted for nearly two centuries among Black populations of the Georgia coast.

On January 26, 1876, Mrs. Anna Rodriguez sold the Island to Jacob Rauers of Savannah (McIlvaine, 1971, p. 26; Jenkins, 1926, p. 32). Rauers built a large house on the north end of the Island near Gwinnett's old house and the house that was apparently occupied by the Waldburgs (figs. 36-38). While under the ownership of the Rauers, St. Catherines Island became one of the finest country estates and



FIG. 35. Reconstruction period graves at North End Settlement.

private game preserves in the nation (McIlvaine, 1971, p. 27). Many distinguished people visited the Island as the Rauers' guests, among them Admiral Schley, who was an honored guest there shortly after the Spanish-American War.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In 1898 a hurricane struck the coast causing a great deal of property damage and loss of life. On St. Catherines the large "mansion" on the southwest end of the Island was destroyed, leaving only the foundation blocks and chimneys to mark its location.



FIG. 36. Rauers house as it appeared in about 1893; Gwinnett house also evident (courtesy Mrs. Frank Y. Larkin).



FIG. 37. Aerial photograph of the North End Settlement, probably taken in the early 1920s (courtesy Mrs. Frank Y. Larkin).



FIG. 38. South side of the Rauhers house, as it appeared in the early 1920s (courtesy Mrs. Frank Y. Larkin).

From the turn of the century to about 1920 another gap appears in the Island's history. Although it remained in the possession of the Rauhers family, nothing to date has been uncovered concerning the activities there during World War I, when submarine warfare was first presenting the menace it would later become.

At the end of World War I, the world situation stabilized somewhat, and sometime during this time a Capt. Umbler married into the Rauhers family. Apparently Capt. Umbler's rank was more a maritime designation than a military title. Umbler began operating an oyster business on the Island which was located in the area around the old south end house complex. He rebuilt a house there utilizing the foundation blocks and one of the chimneys of the old "mansion" which had stood there before.

A lively community grew up in the area, as many of the Blacks who resided there worked for Capt. Umbler. Oysters were farmed, harvested, steamed, packed and shipped to markets all up and down the coast from this little complex on the south end. A store was built there and a church established in one of the old tabby slave cabins (fig. 39). Many Blacks from neighboring Harris Neck on the mainland would row over to the South End each Sunday to attend services at the church, and the Island Blacks likewise seldom attended church on the mainland. Capt. Umbler continued his oyster business until the late 1920s.

In late 1924 the State of Georgia was experiencing some difficulty with a strain of cattle ticks which were spreading disease among the cattle herds in the state. The Rauhers family



FIG. 39. Tabby house at South End Settlement. The building was used as an African Baptist Church until 1930.

found it nearly impossible to comply with the state law requiring cattle to be dipped in disinfectants to protect them from these ticks, because most of the herd on the Island were semi-wild. These wild cattle were mostly descended from stock that had been brought to the Island as early as the Waldburgs residence. In order to combat the menace of the cattle tick, the State employed a large force of men and dogs to round up the cattle on the Island and butcher them. By mid-1925 all of the wild cattle on the Island had been exterminated (Jenkins, 1926, p. 35).

Charles Jenkins visited St. Catherines Island in March, 1925 while carrying out research on Button Gwinnett. He described the North End settlement in some detail (Jenkins, 1926, pp. 42-43):

The present landing on St. Catharines [*sic*] leads up over a wharf and under a dome of giant oaks draped with moss. A few hundred feet to the right, facing the west and overlooking the bay, is

what has been the owner's home. It is a modest but comfortable dwelling built of tabby, a mixture of lime, sand, and shells, as are all the other houses and buildings near by. Through the middle runs a wide hall with rooms opening off from it on either side. The walls are of considerable thickness; a porch is across the front. At the rear toward the north is a square building which was the smoke house, and to the south is the outdoor kitchen, not too far away from the rear entrance.

To the southeast of the mansion were the slave quarters, a regular village consisting of three rows of double cabins, seven in each row, the two rows to the east facing a wide open common. Many of these are in ruins, and some have almost completely disappeared. At each end of the common are the ruins of square buildings which were used by the Negro women in which to grind their corn. The church was destroyed some years ago, so that one of the double cabins has had a steeple added and been converted into a chapel. Two of the cabins are occupied by colored folks who have been on the Island for at least four generations, this being as far back as they had knowl-

edge. Northeastwardly from the rear of the mansion house, and in a general way balancing the slave quarters, are the large barns and ruins of the cotton gin. It is not known if this dwelling was the home of Button Gwinnett, but it was undoubtedly the location of his home.

Jenkins' photograph of the unrestored Gwinnett house is reproduced in figure 20.

Around this same time a resident of Colonnels Island, John Toby Woods, began purchasing fish from the Blacks who were residing on the Island. Woods was familiar with the local waterways and in no time became acquainted with those on the Island. Woods moved into the Umbler's house in 1929.

Also, in 1929, the Rauers family sold St. Catherines to a triumvirate of investors from New York. These three men, Coffin, Wilson, and Keys, had plans to develop their own private vacation retreat on the Island. Shortly after the transaction, they hired Woods to operate a tug boat from Savannah to bring down the necessary supplies, material, and personnel to the Island.

Between 1929 and 1931 extensive renovations and construction were carried on at the Island's north end. The house built by the Rauers, which stood near Gwinnett's old home, was torn down and some of its lumber used in constructing the dock and boat house, which is still in use today. Gwinnett's old house was remodeled and enlarged, preserving as many of the original fixtures as possible, while adding a large game room, kitchen, pantry, and servants' quarters on the back. The old rows of tabby slave cabins were in ruins by this time and reconstructed copies were built as guest houses. Another large house was built just south of the guest cabins near the boat house and dock which was to be the Wilson residence.

However, by 1931 the national situation began to have its impact on the Island as the depression descended on the country. Funds ran out before all the construction on the Island was completed and Wilson and Coffin sold their interests to Keys, who had invested the largest amount of the three. Keys was in the hotel business in New York and was a stock investor as well.

After Keys purchased the Island, he encour-

aged the many Blacks residing there to leave. Thus, many Black families who were descended from slaves who had lived there for many years left the Island, some perhaps, for the first and last time.

By 1937, Keys could no longer afford to maintain the Island due to the national economic situation and the estate reverted back to the Rauers family, although even they could not afford to maintain the Island.

With the country in the grips of an economic depression, the Rauers paid Woods a small salary as caretaker and he was allowed to live on the Island at no cost with all the privileges of land utilization. Woods fished, trapped furs, and raised his own hogs and cattle there during this time. The Rauers had to sell off some of the timber in order to meet their tax obligations on the land.

By 1940, the world situation was fast reaching a crisis proportion, as German armed forces quickly overran Europe and American relations with the Japanese soured. The German submarines were beginning their devastating attacks against shipping on the high seas, but this time they were far more advanced and effective than their counterparts of the 1914-1918 period. In late 1941, some German submarines began to turn up on the eastern coast of the United States and there were reports that some had even stopped coastal shrimp boats and refueled their tanks with diesel fuel which was forcibly confiscated from the shrimpers.

By the time the United States had entered the war in December 1941, Army guards had been stationed at various points on St. Catherines Island to watch for enemy activity along the coast and prevent attempted landings on the open beaches by enemy agents or saboteurs from German submarines. A short time later the National Guardsmen were assigned to these duties on the Island as well.

By February 1942, with America's entry into the war, German submarine activity along the coast increased rapidly. This was evidenced by an increasing amount of debris and litter which washed up on the beaches of St. Catherines from torpedoed ships. Large oil slicks from sunken freighters frequently fouled the shoreline and on one occasion, large balls of

crude rubber were washed ashore from a freighter which had been transporting the rubber from South America. Often the glow of burning and sinking vessels could be seen on the eastern horizon at night evoking memories of the British raiding along the coast during the Revolution and War of 1812.

This increased submarine activity was countered, among other measures, by the establishment of a blimp station at Brunswick and the placing of two-way radios aboard the coastal shrimp boats. These radios enabled the shrimpers to communicate any submarine sightings to the proper authorities and to deter the Germans from attempting to confiscate their fuel.

On St. Catherines Island the lookout force from the National Guard joined with the Coast Guard to form a mounted beach patrol. Since this unit was to patrol the beaches on horseback, horses had to be procured. The government obtained these mounts from the western states and forwarded 16 horses to St. Catherines Island. However, these horses had come from wild herds and had not been ridden before nor broken to a saddle. Thus, the men had to break their own mounts before getting down to the business at hand, giving rise to many hilarious scenes. Many of the men from the northeastern part of the country had never ridden a horse before, but they were fortunate to have a few experienced horsemen from the west. After many bumps, bruises, and a few cracked bones, the 16 horses were broken. This force was augmented by the addition of seven attack dogs.

The men lived in two of the reconstructed slave cabins just south of the present-day dock, and a barracks was constructed behind the sand dunes on the south end of the Island. A watch tower was also built on the north point of the Island to keep a close watch over the entrance to St. Catherines Sound. The unit maintained contact with the mainland by radio. A few jeeps were utilized to keep up communications with the various posts on the Island, although the bulk of the patrolling was done on horseback.

In 1943 Edward John Noble, a New York businessman, was visiting friends in Liberty County who owned Maxwellton Plantation, on

adjacent Colonels Island. Across the wide expanse of marshes, St. Catherines Island could easily be seen stretching along the horizon. This was Noble's first sight of the Island and he learned of the Rauer's difficulty in meeting the financial obligations the Island imposed on them. Negotiations were initiated and Noble purchased the Island from the Rauers.

After the war's end in September 1945, Noble reserved the Island for his own personal use and began a cattle business there, since it was ideally suited to raising herds of Black Angus. He also held business conventions there and entertained many guests at his private resort. Woods continued working as the caretaker of the Island and he and his family kept their residence there.

Noble died in 1958, but the Island remained in his estate. In 1960 John Toby Woods retired as the Island's caretaker, a position he had held for 31 years. In November 1969, John Toby Woods, Jr., assumed the responsibilities as caretaker. Woods, Sr., now retired, maintains active ties with the Island and those who still work there.

Noble's cattle business was continued for a short time following his death. The Island remained in his estate until 1968, when control passed to the Edward John Noble Foundation.

Contemporary St. Catherines Island is a place of quiet and solitude, sparsely populated by visiting scientists, occasional visitors, and a small watchful staff. The continuities are striking. The Woods family has overseen the logistics on St. Catherines Island for over 50 years; John Toby Woods, Sr. first became associated with the Island in 1925, and served as caretaker until 1961, when the duties were transferred to his son, John Toby Woods, Jr. A third Woods, John Toby III, now spends his summers working with the caretaker staff of St. Catherines Island.

Continuity can also be seen in the structure of the Noble Foundation itself. Mrs. June Noble Larkin, E. J. Noble's daughter, is the Chairman of the Board and a Trustee of the Noble Foundation. Mr. Frank Y. Larkin, her husband, also serves as a Trustee of the Noble Foundation. The Larkins were instrumental in inaugurating the program of on-going scientific

research and conservation which began almost a decade ago.

The Noble Foundation has entered into a cooperative agreement with the New York Zoological Society in which parts of the Island have been established as a Survival Center. A dozen large pastures on the central portion of the Island contain such exotic and endangered animals as the gemsbok, greater sable, and adax.

The Noble Foundation also sponsors a variety of scientific projects under the direction of the American Museum of Natural History.

Hardly a week goes by without the arrival of a contingent of scientists intent upon studying their chosen specialty, be it the behavior of racoons, the dynamic processes of beach growth and attrition, the traditional behavior of birds, or the investigation of the Island's rich prehistoric heritage.

In a way, modern St. Catherines Island is itself an endangered species, a vestige of the unspoiled Southern coastline, protected by the foresight and planning of the Noble Foundation.

APPENDIX: NOTES ON ETHNOHISTORICAL RESOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

GRANT D. JONES

The original research upon which Chapter 3 is based was intended solely as an investigation into the resources available for potential ethnohistorical research on St. Catherines Island. However, the search generated sufficient data for an initial summary of Guale ethnohistory. Further research, which would require more intensive analysis of primary sources, should be carried out before a more detailed study is written. There are sufficient materials available for a more detailed presentation, but the interpretational problems are considerable.

Maynard Geiger, the Franciscan historian, wrote an excellent survey of the sources available for the history of Spanish Florida through 1618, although he was not concerned with the period before 1573 (Geiger, 1937, pp. 269-294; cf. Geiger, 1940). John Tate Lanning's bibliographic notes on the Spanish missions are less carefully prepared, but they cover a longer period (Lanning, 1935, pp. 237-291). These two sources, along with Lowery's (1911a, 1911b) earlier pioneering work, should be consulted by anyone who would attempt further research on Guale ethnohistory. Since the publication of these early studies there have been a number of significant studies relating to Spanish Florida social and political history, but little of this work contributes to Guale ethnohistory (see, for example, Chatelain, 1941; Quattlebaum, 1956; Keegan and Sanz, 1957; Arnade, 1959; Gan-

non, 1965; Pearson, 1968, 1974; Matter, 1972; Lyon, 1973). One must also add Zubillaga's important publication of the correspondence of Florida Jesuit missionaries between 1566 and 1572 (cf. Vargas Ugarte, 1935; Zubillaga, 1946) and his synthesis of their activities (1941). Sturtevant (1958) has also provided a useful guide to relevant ethnohistorical sources.

Any serious study of early Southeastern ethnohistory must utilize the resources of the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. The core of the primary sources held in this comprehensive, well calendared, and well-catalogued collection is the Stetson Collection of photostats reproduced from the Archive of the Indies in Seville, Spain, during the 1920s. In addition, the library is gradually adding to its collection newly microfilmed materials from the Spanish archives. It also houses copies of archival materials held in other United States collections and of transcripts of documents made by various historians of Spanish Florida. While these materials were seldom collected with the ethnohistorian's interests in mind, they are nevertheless of great value to ethnohistorical research. In consulting the original documentation, one soon discovers that even the best historians, such as Geiger (1937), have overlooked material of interest to the anthropologist. This fact was appreciated several years ago by anthropologists at the Uni-

versity of Florida, who embarked on a comprehensive index of ethnohistorical materials in the P.K. Yonge Library (see Fairbanks and Fleener, 1964). The index housed in that library is of considerable value for locating materials, although it is not complete.

Chapter 3, due to time limitations, was not able to take full advantage of the primary resources. Many documents and transcripts were consulted, but there is much more to be done. Where published transcripts were available, I consulted these in place of copies of originals. I often relied on English translations of documents, although such translations represent a small proportion of the available published sources. I relied entirely upon translations of the French sources.

The "ethnohistoriographic" problems inherent in a study of the Guale are immense. Such problems of source reliability and interpretation are seldom adequately confronted in anthropological writings, and a proper evaluation of the situation for the Guale would require a separate essay. However, in order to provide some idea of their magnitude, and to warn against naive acceptance of any source of any interpretation (my own not excluded), I mention some of these difficulties here:

POOR ETHNOGRAPHY: The Guale coast was a last frontier of a borderland Spanish colony (Bolton, 1921), and its aboriginal inhabitants were of little importance to the Spanish crown. The natural and human resources of the region did not stimulate colonial dreams and investment, and the Spanish population of the coast was limited to a few scattered soldiers and missionaries. It is ironic that the best single ethnographic document for the Guale coast was written by a Spanish lay brother in Mexico, who had spent a few days with the Guale Indians after being shipwrecked as a very young man (García, 1902);¹ yet more than a century of Franciscan missionary activities (which were admittedly sporadic) left only a few scattered ethnographic references. If the whereabouts of

the Franciscan archives for Florida are ever determined, this picture may brighten considerably. It is also ironic that the brief early French incursion of 1562-1563 produced nearly as much ethnographic detail as did over a century of Spanish colonial rule (Lorant, 1946; Ribaut, 1964; Laudonnière, 1975). It may be safely said that the Spanish colonial system provided not a single known writer of Guale ethnography as such. Our information for this period comes from the interpretation of various events that affected the Guale and in which the Guale were involved, but not from direct, descriptive ethnographic data.

Sometimes the reliability of seemingly excellent ethnographic data must eventually be seriously evaluated and questioned. This is true of the fascinating early Jesuit reports. Such evaluation may be made only in the total ethnographic and ethnohistorical context. Such care may be fully exercised only after one has established deep familiarity with a large body of data, an expertise which I do not claim.

TIME AND SOCIAL CHANGE: It is difficult to evaluate the nature and degree of the effects of European colonialism on Guale life. The experience of frequent epidemics, missionary activities, harsh and repressive Spanish control measures, enforced labor and tribute payments, and colonial political manipulation at the local level brought about major changes in every aspect of Guale existence. These effects deserve special treatment, as Larson has recognized (n.d., pp. 18-28). It is essential to recognize that just as one document may be understood only in the wider documentary context, an item of information must be interpreted in the historical context of social change and colonial rule. I find it especially necessary to deal with the reconstruction of Guale sociopolitical organization from a diachronic perspective, and I attempt to treat other materials with some awareness of problems of social and cultural change. At the same time, it is remarkable to discover how conservative were certain aspects of Guale culture.

LOCATIONAL ANALYSIS AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF SETTLEMENTS: The map (fig. 17) accompanying Chapter 3 is the result of tedious, frustrating attempts to locate settlements

¹Fray Andrés de san Miguel, the author of this account, published his memories in 1629, while he was working in New Spain as a lay-brother of considerable repute of the Order of María Santísima del Carmen (García, 1902, XIX).

even approximately. Only a few major settlements are located in the documents, and the map necessarily omits the vast majority of smaller Guale settlements. Spanish descriptions are usually vague, and distances and latitudes are seldom accurately calculated.² Early maps are of little value in locating settlements. While I discovered that locations established by earlier writers were often incorrect,³ this knowledge did not, unfortunately, always lead to positive identifications. Compounding these problems are the inconsistencies in spellings of Guale places and names, the occasional relocation of towns, and the consistent, unresolved confusion over whether a particular name refers to a place, a person, or a title.

Due to spatial limitations, the procedures followed in arriving at the model of chiefdom organization that is presented here must be greatly oversimplified. Insofar as the materials allowed, I reconstructed a chronological history of the nature of the external association of each named settlement, assuming that no community existed as an isolate in social space and time. Materials pertinent to intracommunity social or-

ganization were, of course, noted; but the nature of the data forced me to stress the discovery of matters of intercommunity social relations. By means of this inductive procedure it was possible to "map" intercommunity alliances and thus to discover regularities in inter-group social interactions. The goal of such a procedure was to construct a model based on "extended case studies" of interaction among local settlements and among regional groupings of settlements.⁴

Ideally, these procedures should be presented in detail for each settlement, but the complexity of the documentation and analysis only allows a brief summary of the findings here. It is interesting that in certain respects the model developed here is similar to Lanning's (1935, pp. 11-15) "common sense" model of Guale political organization. There is a certain comfort to be derived from the fact that one has attempted, however, to provide a more detailed, more revealing reading of the same data through the application of stricter procedures of analysis.

²Experience taught me that the best straight line estimate of the Spanish league as used in the Florida documents is about 4 km.

³Not being a student of Muskogean languages, I tended simply to adopt the most commonly used Spanish spelling or to follow Swanton's usage. Transcriptions also vary in their recording of place names, causing still further problems when the original document could not be consulted.

⁴I followed a similar procedure, presented in detail with considerably more satisfactory data, in a study of lowland Maya intervillage alliances (Jones, 1977).

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