This document has been checked for information on Native American burials. No images considered to be culturally insensitive, including images and drawings of burials, Ancestors, funerary objects, and other NAGPRA material were found.

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LATE PREHISTORIC AND EARLY HISTORIC CHIEFDOMS IN THE SOUTHEASTERN UNITED STATES

CHESTER BURTON DEPRATTER

Athens

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by

CHESTER BURTON DEPRATTER

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CHESTER BURTON DEPRATTER

Approved:

Charles Hudson Date June 2, 1983

Major Professor

Stephen A. Kowalewski Date April 1, 1983

Chairman, Reading Committee

Approved:

_____

Graduate Dean

_____

Date

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The concept behind this dissertation began as a term paper in a Southeastern Indians course taught by Charles Hudson in 1976. Since that time, the ideas and insights presented here have developed slowly as time and energy stolen from other projects allowed. Along the way, there have been a number of people who have contributed to the present work.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the Southeastern United States was occupied by numerous chiefdoms, many of which had existed since the tenth century A.D. European explorers, missionaries, and colonists visited many of these chiefdoms between 1513 and 1570. Disease, social disruption, and warfare resulting from this contact led to dissolution of most of the southeastern chiefdoms by 1600 or earlier, although societies such as the Powhatan, Natchez, and Caddo who occupied areas peripheral to sixteenth century contacts survived into the seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries.

These southeastern chiefdoms are not well understood, perhaps because they fall into that realm between prehistory and history. Neither archaeologists, ethnohistorians, nor historians have previously attempted to use available documents to reconstruct these chiefdoms, although the later eighteenth and nineteenth century tribal level societies occupying the same region have been the subject of intensive study. Admittedly, certain aspects of the southeastern chiefdoms have been described, but that work has generally served only as supplementary information used by archaeologists to interpret site data.

The purpose of this volume, then, is to provide a reconstruction of the social, cultural, and economic organization of the Indians of

the Southeastern United States at the time Europeans first encountered and described them. Because no chiefdom was exhaustively described in European accounts, this reconstruction will be based on information drawn from across the Southeast. Most southeastern societies observed by Europeans in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries were chiefdoms, although there was some variability in their form and content as would be expected. Recognition and examination of this variability will be an important part of this volume.

Once the chiefdoms of the historic period are identified and described, the next step will be to investigate more fully those chiefdoms that existed prior to European contact--the late prehistoric Mississippian cultures. The term "Mississippian" conjures up different visions for different people. Although most authorities would agree that societies classified as Mississippian share such characteristics as mound construction, status distinctions in burials, and a dependence on agriculture for a large part of their subsistence, there are other traits used to define Mississippian that have less universal distributions (Willey 1966; Griffin 1967; B. Smith 1978). Some authors, for example, include shell-tempered ceramics as a defining characteristic, whereas others minimize its importance.

Archaeologists working in and around the Mississippi River Valley regard that area as the heartland of "real" Mississippian, while in their view other areas come to possess Mississippian attributes only through actual movement of people from the Mississippi Valley (Willey 1966). Others would admit that some societies outside the Valley do indeed appear to be similar to real Mississippian sites, but these

non-valley sites are considered no better than poor relations. Often these marginal Mississippian societies are not even recognized as such unless the issue is forced.

Archaeologists face dilemmas that they do not always acknowledge. They work with seemingly "hard" physical remains from human activity in the past, but their goal is to reconstruct cultural and social entities that are not only extinct but that are represented by incomplete data relating to their existence. Thus, archaeologists are left with the task of trying to fit together numerous and sometimes conflicting bits of information in such a way that the results approximate a reasonable whole. While it is true that certain aspects of social systems can be reconstructed through archaeological investigations, there are some behaviors that cannot even be approached, despite Binford's (1962) argument to the contrary.

Consider, for instance, the cultural and social import of a pipe possessed by Black Elk, and Oglala Sioux holy man (Neihardt 1961:2-3):

> So I know that it is a good thing I am going to do [relate his life history]; and because no good thing can be done by any man alone, I will first make an offering and send a voice to the Spirit of the World, that it may help me to be true. See, I fill this sacred pipe with the bark of the red willow; but before we smoke it, you must see how it is made and what it means. These four ribbons hanging here on the stem are the four quarters of the universe. The black one is for the west where the thunder beings live to send us rain; the white one for the north, whence comes the great white cleansing wind; the red one for the east, whence springs the light and where the morning star lives to give men wisdom; the yellow for the south, whence come the summer and the power to grow.
>
> But these four spirits are only one Spirit after all, and this eagle feather here is for that One, which is like a father, and also it is for the thoughts of men that should rise high as eagles do. Is not the sky a father and the earth a mother, and are not all living things with feet or wings or roots their children? And this

> hide upon the mouthpiece here, which should be bison hide is for the earth, from whence we came and at whole breast we suck as babies all our lives, along with all the animals and birds and trees and grasses. And because it means all this, and more than any man can understand, the pipe is holy.

Black Elk then goes on to tell how people first obtained pipes, but that is not of major concern to us here.

The point to be made concerns Black Elk's pipe. If that pipe were to be recovered through archaeological excavations, the archaeologist would have only the bowl of the pipe to work with, whether it was carved from stone or made from clay. Perhaps it would have been found in Black Elk's grave in association with other goods that would indicate that Black Elk was an important man, perhaps even that he was a holy man. But what could or would be done with the pipe? If it were made of stone, it might be studied microscopically or subjected to various forms of analysis in order to determine the geological source from which the stone had originally come. If of clay, the origin and relative abundance of any grog inclusions or the temperature at which it had been fired might be determined by some enterprising graduate student. Analysis of carbonized contents of the bowl might allow identification of red willow ashes. Perhaps putting all of this information together, the conclusion that this was no ordinary pipe, but a "Ceremonial" pipe, would probebly be reached, and that would be the end of the matter. And then, on to the analysis of the next grave lot.

But what of the "meaning" of the pipe, and the symbolism related to it? What of the relationship between color and direction? What of the importance of bison skin? What about the relationship between smoking of the pipe and communication with the supernatural world? What of the relationship between the eagle feather and the Great Spirit?

None of these would or could be addressed by the archaeologist finding the pipe in the absence of a thorough knowledge of ethnohistoric accounts such as that provided by Black Elk. Even with that knowledge, identification of the unique nature of Black Elk's pipe would still be quite difficult, but ethnohistorical knowledge could certainly provide clues to the types of perishable data that might once have been present.

Archeologists working in the Southeast have looked at Mississippian societies much as they might look at Black Elk's pipe. How many mounds does a particular site have? What do the burials in the mound and village look like and how do they differ? Is the pottery shell-tempered? Are the projectile points small and triangular? Is the settlement pattern hierarchical? Are the figures depicted on copper plates "eagle warriors" or "hawk dancers"? What is that evidence for agriculture?

In asking these kinds of questions, archaeologists have backed themselves into a corner. Mounds are not found in all areas of the Southeast, nor are shell-tempered pottery, agriculture, or small triangular projectile points. How similar then were societies in the late prehistoric Southeast? What are the important differences and similarities?

Faced with these difficulties, archaeologists have turned to a number of different approaches in their attempts to understand Mississippian societies. The analysis of burials has proven to be one of the more profitable directions of the past couple of decades. We now are able to identify status differences in burial assemblages, and in some cases we are able to identify 8 or 9 different status levels

among burials based upon burial placement, associations, and construction features (Brown 1971; Peebles 1971; Hatch 1976). But what do we know of the various offices or functions represented by these individuals with varying status? The same problem is true for our analyses of Mississippian settlement systems. We look at settlement hierarchy and find that there are many small sites and fewer large sites, with the spacing between sites varying in direct proportion to their relative sizes (B. Smith 1978). In most cases the spacing of sites is explained on the basis of the distribution of desirable agricultural soils, but could there also be other more subtle factors involved in spacing such as defense, the problem of building settlements in disputed territory, or the need to occupy and control sacred or ceremonial areas away from major communities?

I do not mean to imply that there has been no work of the sort being suggested here. Wyckoff and Baugh (1980) have recently used Caddo ethnohistorical sources to provide a thorough description of elite social positions in an attempt to facilitate interpretations of Caddo burials. Clay (1976) has examined the distribution of Mississippian defensive structures and tried to interpret the distribution of these communities. Ward (1965) has examined the distribution of major sites in relation to soil types, and Larson (1970) has examined the distribution of major sites relative to major enviornmental zones. Larson (1972) and Gibson (1974) have discussed the causes and functions of southeastern Indain warfare. Brown and Phillips (1978) are at work on a detailed analysis of Spiro shell art, and Hamilton and others (1974) have examined Spiro copper and provided a thorough summary of their conclusions.

The problem with most of these various attempts by archaeologists to comprehend the inner workings of southeastern societies is that they pay only passing attention to the abundant ethnohistorical sources pertaining to southeastern Indians. Archaeologists often discount these sources because they are incomplete or because they contain contradictions or exaggeration of details. In part, this neglect of historical sources stems from the work of John Swanton. Although Swanton's (1911; 1928a, b; 1942; 1946) compilations of ethnohistorical information provide ready reference sources, they do present problems that the critical reader must be aware of before the volumes can be used properly.

At the time that Swanton did most of his work, there was little concern for the study of political organization or with the concept of cultural evolution. Thus, in Swanton's works descriptions of 16th century chiefdoms and 18th century tribal societies are uncritically juxtaposed on the same page or in the same section. Such a mixing of information blurs the dramatic differences between these two vastly different types of societies, and this has in turn led to lack of understanding among archeologists and other anthropologists concerning just how much Indian societies changed following European contact (Fish and Fish 1979).

As a result of Swanton's influence and other factors, there have been only a few serious attempts to use available ethnohistorical sources to interpret southeastern archaeological data. Waring (1968) compared late prehistoric "Southern Cult" or "Southeastern Ceremonial Complex" materials to the Busk ceremonialism known through many 18th and 19th century documents. He found many similarities, but because

of the uncertainty concerning the ritual paraphenalia lumped together as the "Cult" or "Complex," few attempts have been made to follow up on Waring's flawed but insightful beginnings [see, however, Howard (1968), Brown (1976), and Knight (1981)]. Black (1967) and Neitzel (1965) also made extensive use of ethnohistorical sources to identify specific features at the Angel and Fatherland sites, respectively, but neither provides any new insights into how the societies in question may have functioned.

Instead of examining ethnohistorical documents from the Southeast, archaeologists have been more inclined to use information pertaining to chiefdoms located in distant parts of the world in the hope of bringing new understandings to southeastern societies. Polynesia (Hatch 1976), Hawaii (Peebles and Kus 1977), Africa (Hatch 1976), the Maya area (Sperber 1976), and the Society Islands (Steponaitis 1978) have each been viewed as sources for relevant ethnohistorical data. Why this has occurred is not entirely clear to me. Perhaps it is because of unfamiliarity with the southeastern historical sources or the problems with Swanton's compilations referred to earlier. Perhaps it is because few anthropologists since Swanton have taken the time to look at the myriad sources pertaining to the Southeast. Perhaps in the minds of some of us, Polynesians have as much to contribute to the understanding of Mississippian societies as do Caddoans, Calusans, or Powhatans.

An additional problem is that neither cultural anthropologists nor archaeologists have been able to agree upon boundaries for the southeastern region (Swanton 1928a). According to Swanton (1946:1-2) the Southeast includes the area from western Texas to central South

Carolina, and from northern Tennessee to the Gulf Coast. More recently, Hudson (1976) has provided slightly different boundaries for the southeastern culture area. He comes close to Swanton's ethnological boundary, but would exclude central Tennessee and all of Virginia except its western tip.

If there is difficulty in delimiting the southeastern region based on ethnological data, there is even greater difficulty in placing archaeological boundaries for the distribution of Mississippian societies. Sears (1964) notes that Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Tennessee form the core of the region, but he admits that his boundaries vary depending upon the archaeological time period that he is discussing. As was noted earlier, there is no firm agreement on just what "Mississippian" societies looked like, much less on their distribution.

Perhaps a better way to view the Southeast in the late prehistoric and early historic periods would be to look at the distribution of political units within the region (Figs. 1-5) and try to understand what those units were and what relationship existed among them. Although this would be difficult to do at present using archaeological data alone, there is sufficient ethnohistorical information upon which such a formulation could be based. Interior exploration routes such as those of Hernando de Soto (1539-1543), Tristan de Luna (1559-60) and Juan Pardo (1566-1568) provide an excellent source for such reconstructions (DePratter, Hudson, and Smith, 1983, n.d.; Hudson, Smith and Depratter, n.d.). Once the 16th century ethnohistoric situation is understood, then it should be a simple matter to work in time to map the distribution of political units in the prehistoric, archaeologically known societies.

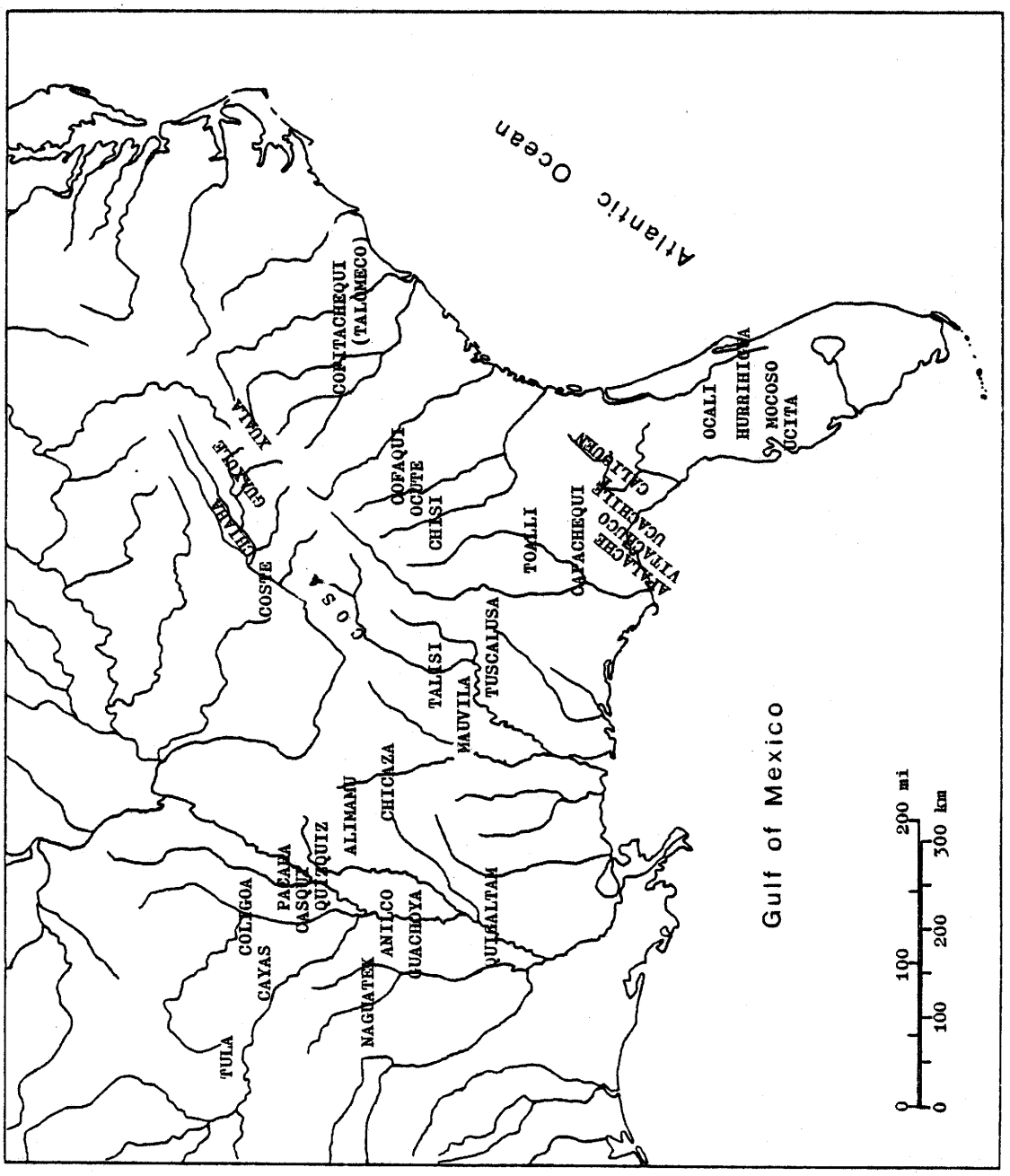

Figure 1. Provisional Locations of Provinces and Towns Visited by Hernando de Soto.

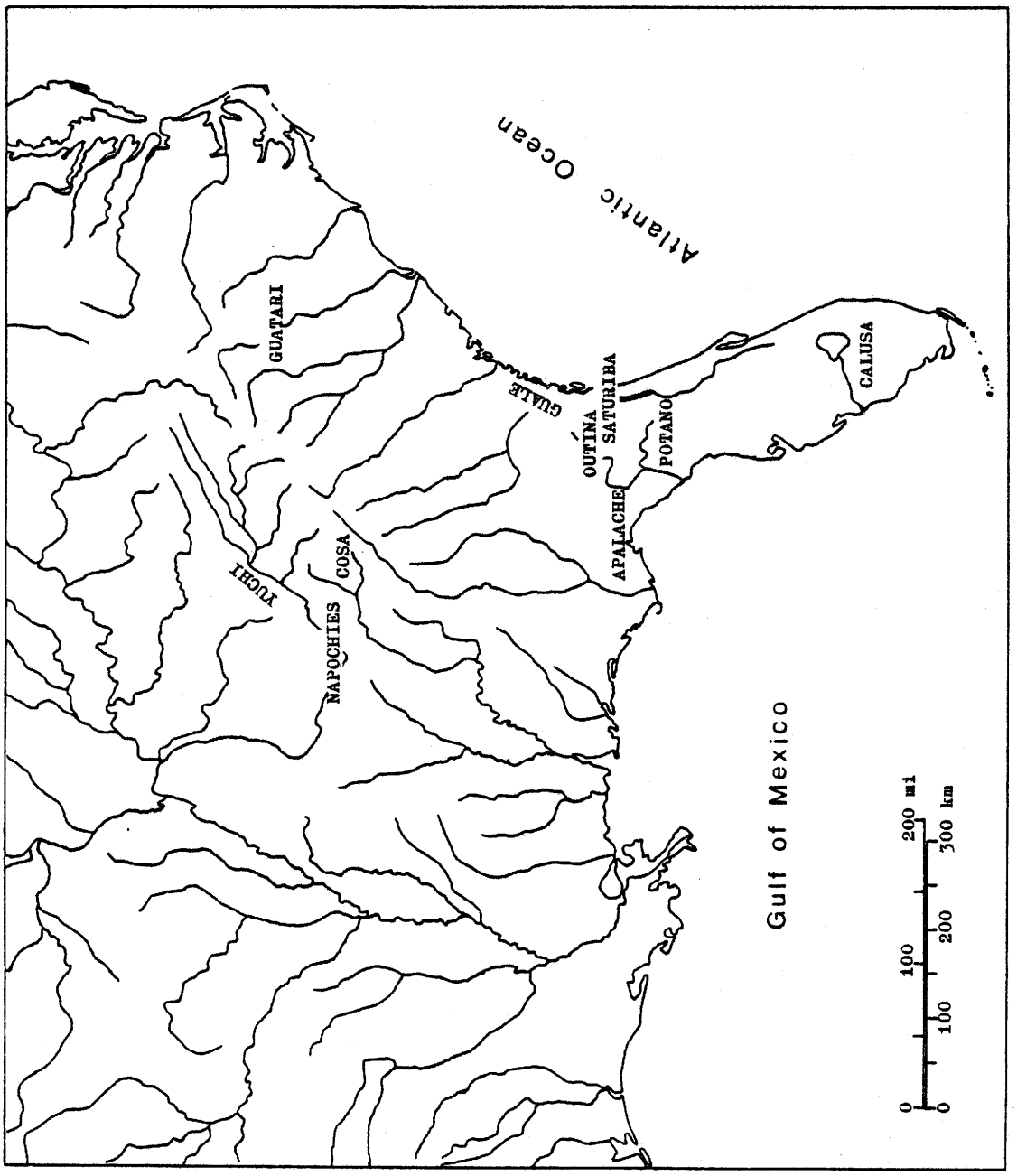

Figure 2. Sixteenth Century Chiefdoms Other Than Those Visited by Soto.

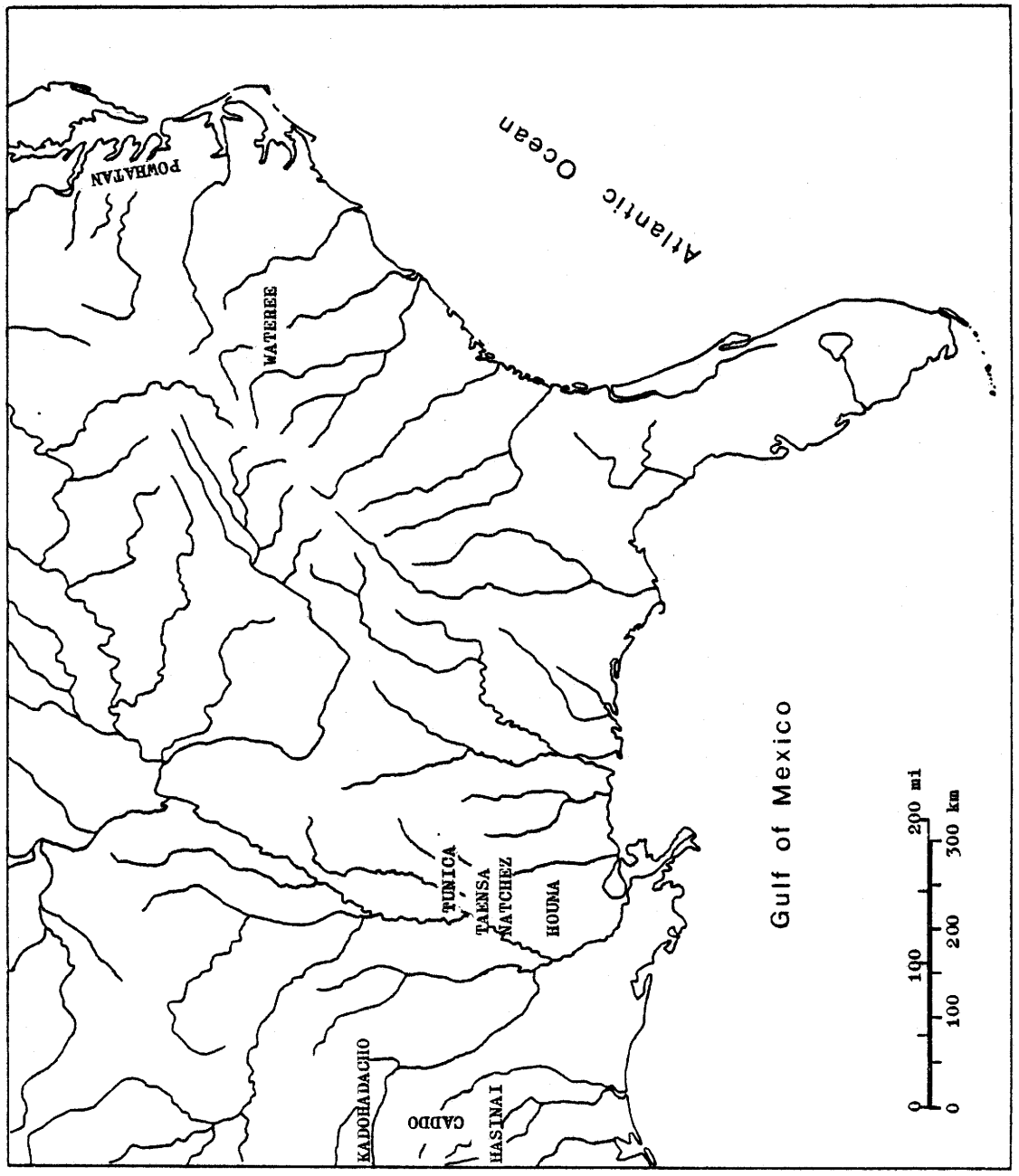

Figure 3. Seventeenth Century Chiefdoms.

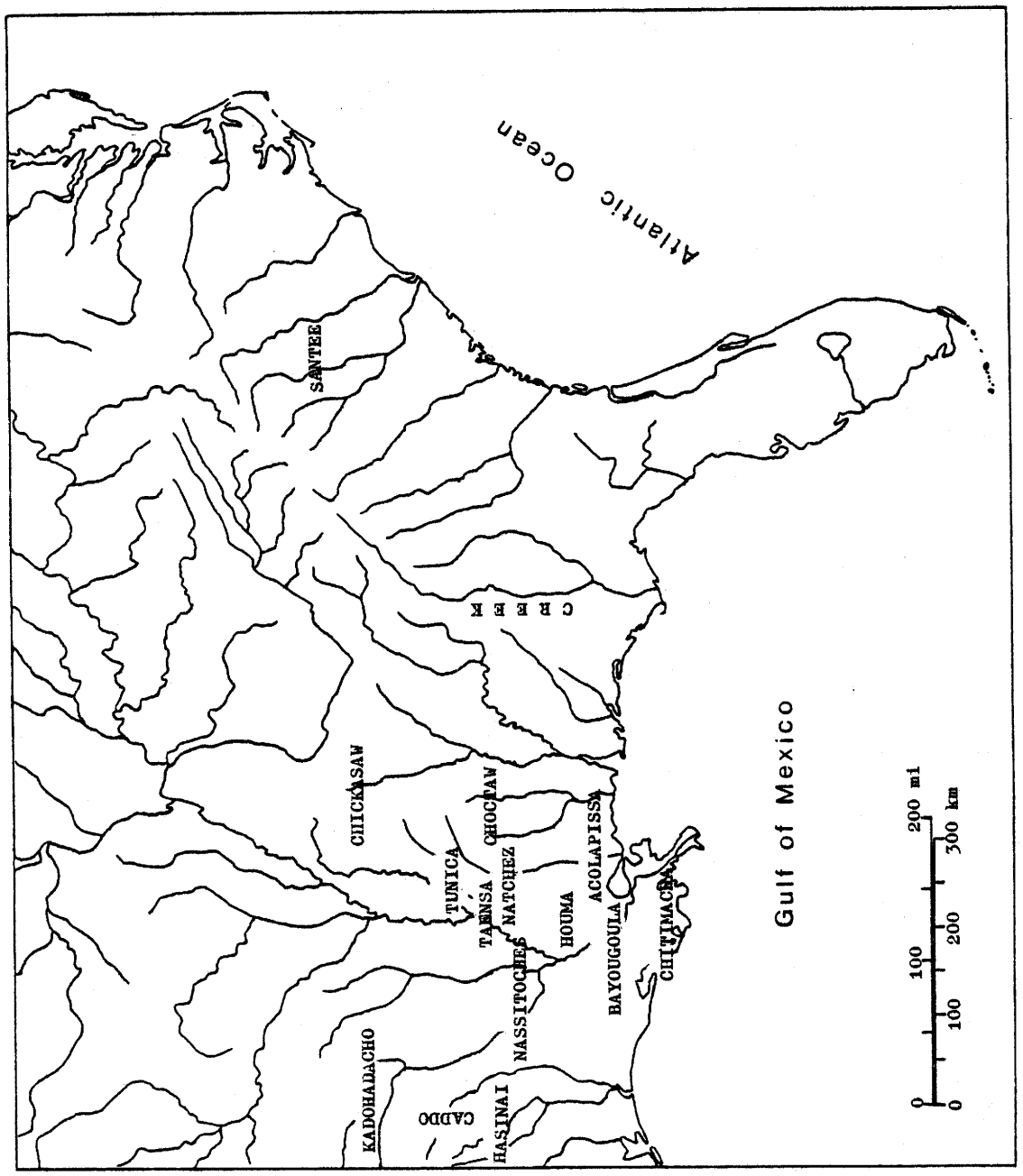

Figure 4. Eighteenth Century Chiefdoms and Tribal Societies.

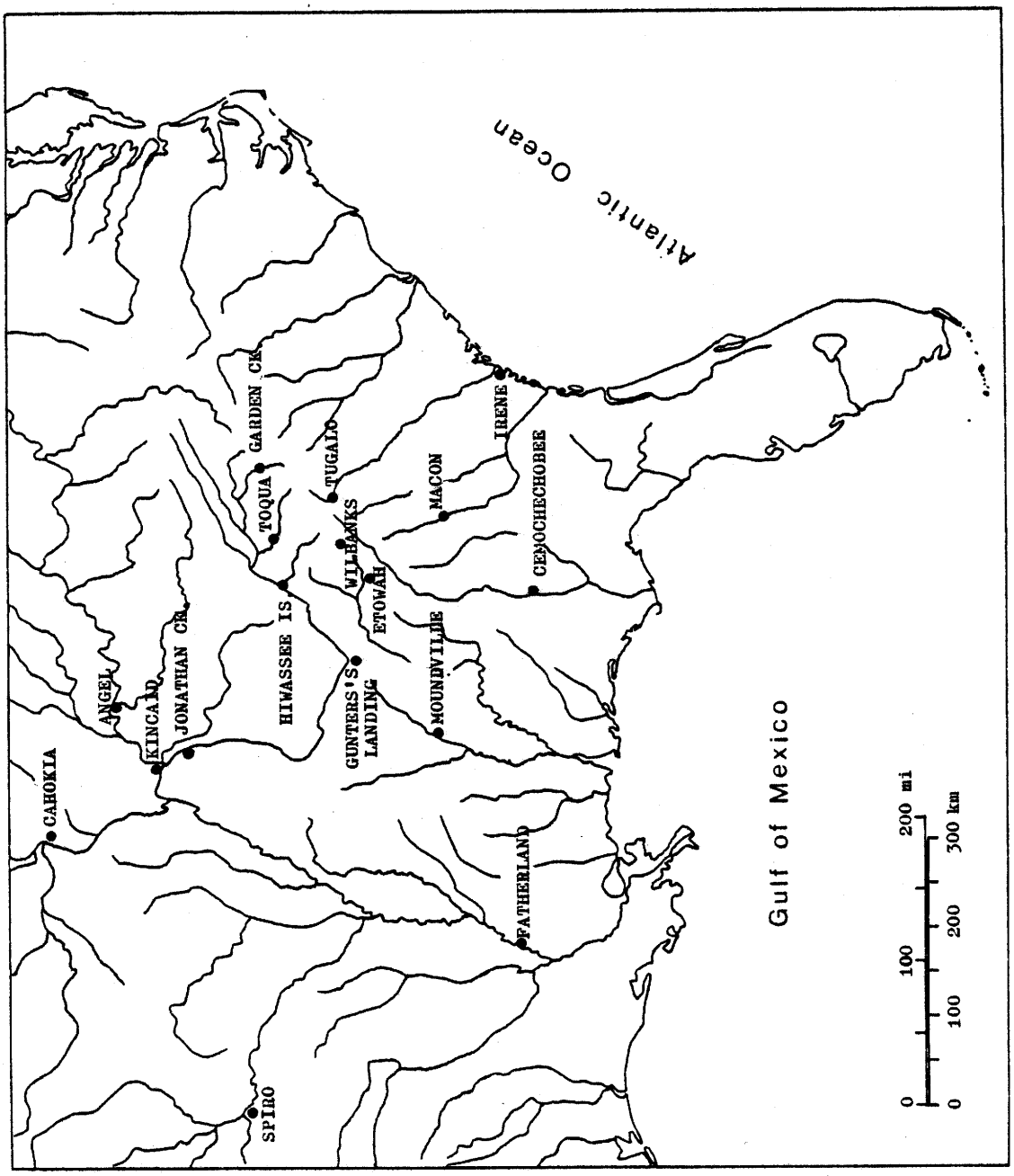

Figure 5. Archaeological Site Locations.

We now know that most early historic period societies in the Southeast were of the sort identified as chiefdoms by Elman Service (1962, 1971a, 1971b). Chiefdoms, according to Service's definition, represent an advance in cultural complexity over tribal level societies that preceded them. Where tribal societies had informal leadership based on strength of character, chiefdoms were led by individuals of high status who inherited their position. If tribal societies were egalitarian, chiefdoms had marked social stratification without having true socioeconomic classes. Chiefs had increased control over resources, greater authority, and many sumptuary rules to separate them from those of lower status, but there was neither true government, private property, markets, or standing military forces as one would expect to find in states. In sum, chiefdoms represent an intermediate step in socio-cultural complexity between egalitarian tribes and highly developed states.

Within the past few years, more and more anthropologists and archaeologists have come to realize that both prehistoric and historic period societies in the Southeast were operating as chiefdoms (see Peebles and Kus 1977; Steponaitis 1978; Muller 1978). Identification of southeastern chiefdoms has been mainly restricted to agricultural societies in the core southeast, i.e., Mississippian societies, though Randolph Turner (1976) has identified the historic Powhatan as a chiefdom and Hudson (1976:202-203) has noted that chiefdoms were probably present throughout the Southeast in both prehistoric and historic times. It now appears that even non-agricultural societies such as the Calusa of south Florida, and groups formerly considered marginal to the Southeast such as the Powhatan, small groups of the North Carolina

coast, the Caddo, and other non-Mississippian societies were undoubtedly functioning as chiefdoms at the time of earliest European contact. Because the available ethnohistoric sources for these areas are relatively complete when compared to those relating to groups in the interior southeast, they provide abundant new data for reconstructing the social, cultural, and economic organization of southeastern chiefdoms.

A Regional Approach

Recent literature on chiefdoms has concentrated on the causes for the development of chiefdoms which represent more centralized forms of socio-political integration than the tribal societies which appear to have preceded them (Carneiro 1981). Theories or the causes for origins are variable. Service(1962) proposed that chiefdoms may have arisen as a result of regional specialization of different local residential groups or of the pooling of individual skills in large-scale cooperative productive endeavors, either of which would have resulted in a need for redistribution which is a hallmark of chiefdoms. Other causes have been suggested. Webb (1974) has proposed that trade in exotic and scarce resources, and the control of that trade, would have resulted in increasingly centralized control over that trade. Carneiro (1970) and Harner (1975) have suggested population increases in areas of land scarcity as the primary cause for the development of highly centralized chiefdoms, while Cancian (1976) has suggested the production of an agricultural surplus as the prime mover. Dumond (1969) on the other hand has suggested that centralization in both Mesopotamia and Mesoamerica preceded both the development of intensive agricultural

production and the resulting dramatic increase in population. Ford (1974) suggests that control over food production and redistribution were important factors, and Webster (1975) suggests warfare. Wright (1977) has recently reviewed the available information on the origins of states (and chiefdoms) and has suggested only that more work is needed.

One possibility for the diversity among these theories might be that chiefdoms may have developed for different reasons in different areas, depending on local environmental conditions, differences in local population density and distribution, differences in frequency and intensity of warfare, and other factors. It is quite unlikely that there was a single prime mover behind the development of all chiefdoms, and is equally as unlikely that within the development of any particular chiefdom a single factor determined the level of development that chiefdom was to achieve.

My work on reconstruction of southeastern chiefdoms and their organization has been influenced in an important way by French social history, and in particular by the writings of Fernand Braudel. The way in which Braudel and other French social historians conceptualize history is directly relevant to anthroplogy. Much of the archaeology that has been done in the Southeast has been concerned with establishing chronology, with site excavation and description, with interpretation of technical bodies of information by specialists who may never have seen the site in question. All of this work is being done in the hope that these specialized studies will lead to larger understandings of culture process. Unfortunately, much of this analysis relies on assumptions grounded in synchronic studies. Thus, in many village excavations, the

assumption is made that all houses exposed were occupied simultaneously, unless there is striking evidence to the contrary. In mound excavations, burials and artifact assemblages are often lumped together and are considered as single analytical units. House floors in villages were not carefully excavated and analyzed in detail until fairly recently. All of these approaches have delayed our ability to understand chiefdoms in the southeastern United States.

Using social history as a model leading to increased understanding of southeastern societies, a new approach in both archaeological and ethnohistorical studies is required. One has to move beyond the site, beyond faunal analysis, beyond microstratigraphy, in order to begin to understand more of the variables involved in culture history (Braudel 1980; Thomas 1979). This new approach involves looking at the entire region in question and viewing the culture history of that region as interrelated instead of site specific. The problem goes even beyond implementing a regional approach. It involves settling upon a problem and then pursuing the diverse data from many disciplines and many localities within the region that can contribute to resolution of the problem area selected.

How, for instance, can one begin to interpret the seven to eight hundred year history of the predominately agricultural societies in the Southeast without having some knowledge concerning the climatic history of the region? How can one interpret the importance of hunting and gathering of Mississippian societies without looking at both areal and temporal variations in subsistence remains across the region? How can one hope to undersand the distribution of chiefdoms in the Southeast without a thorough knowledge of the nature of these chiefdoms

and the limitations placed upon them by biological, cultural, and climatic variables among others? Obviously, some of these questions involve major fields of study that are currently being considered by archaeologists as well as by specialists in other disciplines; others are not currently being considered by anyone.

One approach that can be implemented at this time involves use of all available ethnohistoric data to reconstruct as completely as possible the political organization of the southeastern chiefdoms. Because the Southeast was a diverse area both culturally and geographically, the chiefdoms present exhibit varied responses to those variables. Because southeastern chiefdoms were basically theocracies, concern for political organization leads directly to consideration of religion, belief systems, and subsistence practices which provided the food base upon which increased social complexity was based. Once these aspects of society have been reconstructed on the basis of ethnohistorical data, then it will be possible to work back into the past and interpret Mississippian development on the basis of this new model of southeastern societies. It will be possible to compare that reconstruction to later historic period societies to see what aspects of social and cultural organization had changed in response to decline in population and the ultimate breakup of the early historic period chiefdoms.

CHAPTER II

TERRITORY

In the early historic accounts pertaining to the Southeast, there are abundant references to functioning chiefdoms of varying size. In most cases, the European observers who described these chiefdoms noted the existence of territorial boundaries, the spacing of territorial units, and in some cases the mechanisms by which these territorial entities were established and maintained. When all of this information is combined, a clear picture of the size, spacing, and integrity of the southeastern chiefdoms emerges.

A few examples from the Soto narratives will serve to illustrate the kind of information relating to territories that is present in those and other accounts. Throughout the Soto accounts are references to "provinces" that were separated by natural boundaries or "deserts". According to Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:122) the province and the province's main town frequently had the same name as the province chief. Each province represented the territory under the control of a paramount chief with subsidiary chiefs controlling smaller territorial units within the larger "province". These provinces, then, can be equated with the territory of a single chiefdom.

Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:122), for instance, provides the following description of the approach to the province of Ocali in Florida:

> ...the army now passed through seven leagues of an inhabited area where there were a few houses scattered throughout the countryside, but no towns. At the end of this distance, however, they came to the principal town of the district, which like the province and its chieftain, was called Ocali.

The Gentleman of Elvas (Bourne 1904:I,46-47) provides the following description of Soto's arrival in the province of Apalache:

> From Uzachil, the Governor went towards Apalache, and at the end of two days' travel arrived at a town called Axille [still in the province of Uzachi]. After that, the Indians having no knowledge of the Christians, they were come upon unawares, the great part escaping... On the fourth day of the week, Wednesday of St. Francis, the Governor crossed over and reached Uitachuco, a town subject to Apalache...
>
> Thenceforth the country was well inhabited, producing much corn, the way leading by many habitations like villages. Sunday the twenty-fifth of October, he arrived at the town of Uzela, and on Monday at Anhayca Apalache, where the lord of all that country and Province resided.

Further along, Soto arrived at Cofitachequi after passing through a broad uninhabited area. After a brief stay, Soto departed from the main town and headed upriver, taking with him the chieftainess of Cofitachequi. Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 70) describes the authority of the chieftainess in the upriver portions of her province as follows:

> This brought us service in all the places that were passed; she ordering the Indians to come and take loads from town to town. We travelled through her territories a hundred leagues, in which, according to what we saw, she was greatly obeyed, whatsoever she ordered being performed with diligence and efficacy.

Hernando DeSoto and his men observed numerous chiefdoms during their four-year trek across the southeast, 1539-1543. They saw several of the largest chiefdoms that existed in the sixteenth century, and perhaps the provinces of Cofitachequi and Coosa rivaled any that ever existed in the Southeast in terms of actual area controlled by a single chief. Only the region surrounding Cahokia in the American Bottoms near

St. Louis, known only through archaeology, may have rivaled Cofitachequi and Coosa, but the limits of the region controlled by the chief of Cahokia have not yet been reconstructed.

Both the provinces of Cofitachequi and Coosa were reported by the Soto chroniclers to have been a hundred leagues in length (Bourne 1904: I, 70; Varner and Varner 1951:342). Recent work by DePratter, Hudson, and Smith (1983; In press) has demonstrated that these estimates are not greatly in error, when one considers that the league was equal to 3.45 miles (Chardon 1980; DePratter et al. 1983). Cofitachequi, stretching from central South Carolina to the foot of the Appalachian Mountains near Asheville, Tennessee, was over 200 miles across. The province of Coosa, extending from near Knoxville, Tennessee, into east central Alabama, was also over 200 miles long. We do not know how many subsidiary chiefs there were within these vast domains, but the number must have been sizeable. The province of Guatari on the upper Yadkin-PeeDee River in North Carolina was reported by the 1567 Juan Pardo expedition to consist of 39 chiefs subject to a female paramount chief (Vandera 1569; DePratter et al. 1983). The sixteenth-century province of Calusa in southern Florida was reported to have been only 40 leagues (140 miles) across, but it contained between 40 to 70 subject towns (Goggin and Sturtevant 1964:187).

Not all of the southeastern chiefdoms were so large nor so populous as the examples just cited. Hariot (Swanton 1946:646), for instance, describes the small chiefdoms of coastal North Carolina in the late 16th century:

> In some places of the countrey one onely towne belongeth to the gouernment of a Wiroans or chiefe Lorde; in other some two or three, in some sixe, eight, & more; the greatest

> Wiroans that yet we had dealing with had but eighteene townes in his gouernment, and able to make not aboue seuen or eight hundred fighting men at the most...

Soto also encountered small chiefdoms comparable to these. The Caddo in the early 18th century occupied a territory approximately 120 miles across, but only nine "towns" are reported within that area by Fray Francisco Casañas de Jesus Maria (Swanton 1942:170). It is likely that Casañas was talking not about small compact villages, but about residential districts covering large areas and controlled by individual chiefs.

An impression of the type of political units present in the 16th century Southeast can be obtained from Laudonnière's (Bennett 1975:76-77) description of the area around the St. John's River in Florida:

> During the repast, he [Malona] talked of various other kings, his friends and allies, reckoning up to the number of nine of them by name...He said that all of these with himself, and up to the number of forty, were vassals of the great king Olata Ouae Outina. Then he started out to list the enemies of Ouae Outina. The first one listed was Chief Satouriona, monarch of the valley of the River of May [St. John's], who had thirty vassal chiefs under him, of whom ten were his brothers. Because of these, he was greatly revered in these parts. Then he named three others not less powerful than Satouriona. The first of these lived a two day journey from Olata Ouae Outina and made war with him regularly. He was called Patovou and was a fierce man in war...
>
> Two others named were Onatheaqua and Houstaqua, powerful and wealthy lords, especially Onatheaqua, who lived near the high mountains which are full of many unusual things, including stone from which they make wedges to split wood.

Despite the fact that the chiefdom controlled by Outina was smaller than that of Satouriona (or Saturiba), other evidence indicates that Outina may have exerted greater control over his subjects than did Satouriona.

The Natchez, who are often considered to have been the most developed of the chiefdoms viewed by Europeans, consisted of only nine villages containing about 3,500 people in 1700 (Swanton 1911:39-44). They had a tradition that they had once been much more populous (Tregle 1975:313):

> [Their territory reached] from the river Manchac, or Iberville, which is about fifty leagues from the sea, to the river Wabash, which is distant from the sea about four hundred and sixty leagues; and that they had about five hundred Suns or princes...

LePetit (Swanton 1911:44) reports the same Natchez tradition, but says that the Natchez territory once included sixty villages and 800 suns. It is possible that Natchez population and territory had been reduced as a result of epidemic disease prior to 1682. DuPratz (Swanton 1911: 171-172) reports another tradition that in the recent past the Natchez had been devastated by disease during a four year period when numerous people, including nine consecutive Great Suns, died. It should be noted that much of the area claimed to have formerly been Natchez territory was unoccupied when Europeans visited that part of the Mississippi River Valley late in the 17th century, so it is possible that it was formerly occupied by the Natchez prior to their decline.

Although the Soto accounts are filled with references to a large number of provinces or chiefdoms, they provide little information pertaining to the mechanisms by which chiefdoms expanded or by which control was maintained within established territories. But some information can be had from other sources. It is clear that at least some chiefdoms grew by conquest. In Virginia, Powhatan inherited a territory that included only six "districts" or residential clusters, but during his lifetime he expanded it to include a total of 31 districts.

Some of these districts he definitely acquired through warfare. He attacked the town of Chesapeake, for example, because of a prophecy that they would rebel against him. After the town's inhabitants were routed, the town was resettled by Powhatan's subjects (Strachey 1953: 104-105; 108). The town of Kecoughtan suffered a similar fate at the hands of Powhatan's forces, and he placed the resettled town under the control of his son, Pochins (Strachey 1953:44, 67-68). Powhatan's other son controlled the towns of Powhatan and Quiyoughcohanock, respectively, although in the latter case, the boy's mother ruled in his place due to his youth (Turner 1976:99). As Turner notes, both of these sons held chieftainships in towns not originally inherited by Powhatan, so it is likely that he was attempting to consolidate his power in these newly acquired towns through kinship. We know that Powhatan had a wife in every town, and that practice would ultimately have led to a son and potential ruler born in each town.

The Calusa also used marriage to consolidate territorial holdings (Goggin and Sturtevant 1964:189). Among the Calusa, when a town acceded (voluntarily or by force) to the control of a chief, that town gave the chief a wife as a symbol of his authority over them. Although it is unstated in the Calusa example, it is at least possible that a son resulting from one of these marriages would have been a likely candidate to serve as village chief. When the Spanish missionaries tried to force the Calusa chief to give up the practice of plural marriage, he refused to do it. As a matter of fact, the Calusa chief resisted the imposition of monogamy more strongly than he did any other requirement related to Christianity (Goggin and Sturtevant 1964:189), probably because these marriages provided one of the mechanisms that held the chiefdom together.

Although there is little direct evidence from other southeastern chiefdoms for expansion by conquest, evidence does exist which suggests that chiefs throughout the Southeast attempted to consolidate their holdings through kinship ties or through marriage. Much of the relevant information comes from the four Soto accounts. Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:129) provides information on two cases where adjacent towns or provinces were controlled by brothers. In the first case Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:129) describes the province of Vitachuco, in present-day Florida, as follows:

> The province of Vitachuco had been divided among three brothers. The eldest, who ruled five-tenths of this land, bore the same name as the province and its principal village...; the second, whose name is omitted because of its having been forgotten, ruled three-tenths; and the youngest, who was lord of the village of Ochile and had the same name as his village ruled the remaining two-tenths.

It is clear that three brothers, with Vitachuco the strongest, controlled the province. It is possible that the entire province was subject to Apalache, since Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 46-47) says that the town of "Uitachuco" was subject to Apalache.

Elsewhere, Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:273) provides the following description of an area located in eastern Georgia:

> Having rested for five days, the army left Cofa for a province called Cofaqui which belonged to the Cacique Cofa's elder brother, a man who was richer and more powerful than his kinsman.

In this case, two adjacent provinces appear to have been controlled by brothers, although identification of these towns or provinces is uncertain due to problems with Garcilaso's account.

Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 40), in describing the situation in central Florida, states that adjacent towns were controlled by "kinsmen" named

Uzachil and Caliquen. In a description of the same situation, Ranjel (Bourne 1904:I, 73) says that seven chiefs who were subjects of Ucachile (Uzachil) came to help Soto at the request of Aguacaleyquen (Caliquen). Based on Ranjel's description, Aguacaleyquen or Caliquen was the paramount chief with his kinsman, probably his brother, serving as chief of a town in his province.

Laudonnière provides similar descriptions of brothers controlling adjacent areas on the Florida and Georgia coasts. In a talk with a chief named Malona, a subject of Chief Outina who lived along the St. John's River, Laudonnière (Bennett 1975:76) was told that an enemy of Outina's named Satouriona "had thirty vassal chiefs under him, of whom ten were his borthers." A second instance of brothers controlling parts of a territory comes from the coastal area of Georgia. The French around Charlesfort, in South Carolina were forced to go to Indians to the south for food. Laudonnière (Bennett 1975:42) records the following advice given by a local chief:

> ...[Go] to the country of King Covecxis, a man of might and reknown who lives in the southern part of this land, where there was an abundance in all seasons and a great supply of corn, flour, and beans... but before going to that land it would be wise to get permission from a king 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.

In this case, Oade (Guale of the later Spanish) was the paramount chief, and Covecxis, his brother, was a lesser chief.

Among the Natchez, the control of villages within the province (or territory) by kinsmen, was carried to its ultimate. DuPratz (Tregle 1975:342) provides the following description:

> The feasts which I saw celebrated in the chief village of the Natchez, which is the residence of the Great Sun,

> are celebrated in the same manner in all the villages of the nation, which are each governed by a Sun, who is subordinate to the Great Sun and acknowledges his absolute authority.

Since all Suns were related by blood, all of the Natchez village chiefs were related, even if in some cases the relationship was distant.

Another way in which chiefdoms may have expanded and maintained control was through peaceful alliances based on shared interests or needs. Defense, trade, or other interests may have played a role in such alliances. Along the Mississippi River and among the Caddo, there were very formalized procedures for receiving visiting emissaries. Such ceremonies involved smoking of the calumet and other symbols of friendship and solidarity (Swanton 1911:134-138; 1942:176-183). Allied chiefs were expected to pay tribute just as those towns or territories who were subjugated by conquest did.

The available ethnohistorical accounts reveal little about the relationship between paramount chiefs and their subject chiefs. In almost all of the ethnohistoric accounts, chiefs are accompanied by "principal men" or "old men" who may be advisors, subject chiefs, or lower level officials. From the Caddo area, however, there is an intriguing account of the relationship between chiefs and their subject chiefs. Don Damian Massanet (Swanton 1942:149) provides the following:

> Soon I noticed outside the yard, opposite the door of the governor [Chief's] house, another long building, in which no inmates could be seen. I asked who dwelt therein or what purpose it served, and was told that the captains were lodged in that house when the governor called them to a meeting. On the other side I saw yet another and smaller vacant house, and upon my inquiring about this one they answered that in the smaller house the pages of the captains were lodged, for there is a law providing that each captain shall bring his page when the governor assembles the captains, and they observe this custom. As soon as they arrive they are lodged in that house, and for each one is laid a large, brightly

> colored reed mat, on which they sleep, with a bolster made of painted reeds at the head; and when they return home, each one carries with him his mat and pillow. While they attend the meeting the governor provides them with food, until he sends them home.

This description suggests that the relationship between chiefs and their subject chiefs was quite formalized.

Little is known about the distribution of communities within chiefdoms, or at least there is little systematic information that is sufficient to allow any kind of generalizations. The archaeological data for prehistoric southeastern chiefdoms included in B. Smith (1978) is much more complete, and the interested reader is referred to that volume.

The relationship between chiefdoms is better known because the Europeans were specifically interested in the relationship between adjacent polities. Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:488-489), in a lengthy account describing Indian warfare, notes that each chief was constantly at war with not just one neighboring political unit at a time, but with all adjacent provinces or chiefdoms simultaneously.

Similarly, perpetual warfare was a constant feature of the relationship between Powahatan and his neighbors. The following description of Powhatan's warfare describes it well (J. Smith 1819:134-135):

> They seldom make warre for lands or good, but for women and children, and principally for revenge. They haue many enemies, namely, all their westernly Countries beyond the mountaines, and the heads of the rivers. Vpon the head of the river of Toppahanock is a people called Mannahoacks. To these are contributers the Tauanais, the Shackaconias, the Ontponeas, the Tigninateas, the Whonkenteaes, the Stegarakes, the Hassinungaes, and divers others, all confederates with the Monacans, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, liuing for the most part of the wild beasts and fruits. Beyond the mountaines from whence is the head of the river Patawomeke,

> the Salvages report inhabit their most mortall enemies, the Massawomekes, vpon a great salt water..These Massawomekes are a great nation and very populous. For the heades of all those river, especially the Pattawomekes, the Pautuxuntes, the Sasquesahanocks, the Tockwoughes are continually tormented by them; of whose crueltie, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with me, and my company to free them from those tormentors...
>
> Against all these enemies, the Powhatan's are constrained sometimes to fight. Their chiefs attempts are by Stratagems, trecheries, or surprisal. Yet the Werowances women and children they put not to death, but keepe them Captiues.

Powhatan was, therefore, surrounded by enemies to the north and west and his subject towns at the upper reaches of rivers flowing through his terrotory were living under constant threat of attack.

A similar situation was present in the Florida-Georgia area during the 1560's as described by Laudonnière (Bennett 1975:76-77) in an account previously noted in an account relating to alliances and subject chiefs. Elsewhere, Laudonnière (Bennett 1975:11) further describes warfare in Florida:

> The kings make wars among themselves, always by surprise attack. They kill every male enemy they can. Then they cut the skin off their heads to preserve the hair, and carry this back on their triumphant homeward journeys. They spare the enemy women and children, feed them, and retain them permanently among themselves.

From the foregoing descriptions, it can be seen that warfare was much the same in the 16th century interior Southeast, in the 17th century Powhatan area, and in mid-16th century northeast Florida. In each of the three areas, constant intersocietal warfare was conducted with all neighboring chiefdoms or tribal groups. This warfare consisted mainly of raids or surprise attacks, with the capture of women and children as one of the main results, if not purposes, of the raids. The constant warfare with all adjacent social groups was undoubtedly

waged, at least in part, to maintain territorial borders and it also increased population aggregation. Population growth would have led to increasing crowding within terrotiries of individual chiefdoms and resulted ultimately in conflict at territorial margins.

Perpetual warfare between adjacent chiefdoms is a common element in the four narratives of the Soto expedition. A few examples of such warfare will suffice to illustrate this point. On his departure from the province of Cayas (probably in Arkansas) Soto requested a guide to the province of Tulla (Tula), but the Cayas' chief responded as follows (Elvas in Bourne 1904:II, 137):

> ...that he could give him a guide, but no interpreter; that tongue of that country was different from his, and that he and his ancestors had ever been at war with its chiefs, so that they neither conversed together nor understood each other [emphasis added].

Garcilaso provides several additional examples of perpetual warfare. In a speech attributed to the chief Cofaqui of present-day Georgia, the following statements were addressed to a war leader (Captain Patofa) who was to lead the Spaniards to the province of Cofitachequi (Varner and Varner 1951:277-278):

> You are well acquainted with the hostility and perpetual enmity that has always existed between our parents, grandparents, and other ancestors, and the inhabitants of the province of Cofachiqui where you are to go in the service of our Governor and these cavaliers. And the many grievances, evils and harms that the natives of that land have continuously made and still make on the people of our nation are indeed notorious.

Father along in Garcilaso's narrative, the Spaniards and their Indian guides became lost in the wilderness separating Cofaqui and Cofachiqui. Upon asking why no Indian knew the way to Cofachiqui,

the Spaniards received the following lengthy but enlightening response (Varner and Varner 1951:284):

> But the Indians whom the Governor had brought as domestics and those who accompanied General Patofa were likewise bewildered, there being none among them who was acquainted with the road or who could say to which side they should turn in order to make a quicker exit from the forest and waste lands. So calling Captain Patofa before him the Governor questioned this man as to why it was that under the guise of friendship he had brought them to these wilds which afforded no road out in any direction, and how it could be possible or even credible that there was not a single Indian among the eight thousand with him who knew where they were or by what means one might reach the province of Cofachiqui, even though it were by cutting through the forests by hand. It was not to be believed, he said, that, having waged perpetual warfare among themselves, they should not know both the public and secret roads passing from one province to the others.
>
> Captain Patofa replied that neither he nor any of his Indians had ever previously been in this place, and that the wars waged by those two provinces had never assumed the nature of pitched battles in which one of two powers invaded enemy territory, but had simply occurred while each hunted and fished in the forests and streams through which the Spaniards had just passed. Meeting thus, they as enemies had slain and captured one another; but since the Indians of Cofachiqui were superior and always enjoyed many advantages in these battles, his own Indians had become intimidated, and like defeated people had not dared expand or go beyond their own boundaries. For this reason, he explained, they did not know at present either where they were or how to leave this region.

This account makes clear the relationship between perpetual warfare, uninhabited buffers, and raids and ambushes for the maintenance of the buffers. In a description of the enmity between the provinces of Casquin (Casqui) and Capaha (Pacaha) on the Mississippi River, Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:434-435) provides the following description:

> ...[For] many centuries back this Cacique Casquin and his parents, grandparents, and more remote ancestors had waged war upon the lords of Capaha, a province bordering on their own. And since these lords were more powerful in both vassals and lands, they had pushed and were still pushing

> Casquin into a corner and almost to the point of surrender, for he dared not take up arms lest he anger and irritate the Cacique Capaha, who as a more powerful person could and might do him harm. Hence Casquin had remained passive and had contented himself with guarding his boundaries, neither going beyond them nor affording his enemies an occasion to attack, if it suffices not to give tyrants an excuse.

As both of these instances showed, one result of the perpetual enmity between adjacent chiefdoms was that territorial boundaries became distinct. In some areas, natural barriers such as rivers, swamps, mountain ridges, and so on, may have provided sufficient separation between adjacent chiefdoms. In other areas, uninhabited buffers or shatter zones were established. The most complete information concerning these buffers comes from the Soto accounts (Table 1). Table 1 provides a summary of the references to uninhabited areas located between adjacent political units visited by Soto as he explored the Southeast. Some areas mentioned may have been lowlying areas unsuitable for occupation, but it is likely that most represent artificial buffer zones of the type described by Garcilaso. At present, most of these uninhabited areas can not be located on the ground, because we do not yet know exactly where Soto went in the interior Southeast. Charles Hudson, Marvin Smith, and the present author are currently reconstructing Soto's route, and ultimately we will know where most of the buffers were located. For now we must be satisfied with knowing that they existed.

There is one exception to our current lack of knowledge concerning location of these buffers. The extensive uninhabited area between Cofaqui (Patofa) and Cofitachequi was located between the Oconee River in Georgia and the Catawba-Wataree River in South Carolina. The Savannah River is within this buffer zone and the area around it was

Table 1

List of Uninhabited "Deserts" Mentioned in the Soto Narratives

Location	Extent	Description	Reference
Acuera to Ocali	10-12 leagues	forested	(Varner and Varner 1951:121)
Ocali to Ochili	16 leagues	forested; "Fruitful if cultivated..."	(Varner and Varner 1951:128)
Cholupaha to Caliquen	two days	--	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 40)
Osachile to Apalache	12 leagues	wilderness	(Varner and Varner 1951:175)
Apalache to Acapachiqui	5 days	--	Biedma (Bourne 1904:II, 9)
Apalache to Capachiqui	60 leagues	desert	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 51)
Capachiqui to Toalli	?	desert	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 52)
Patofa to Cutifachiqui	70 or 80 leagues	wasted country	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 60-62)
Cofaqui to Cofachiqui	7-10 days	Barren lands; wilderness	(Varner and Varner 1951:331)
Xuala to Guaxule	5 days	mountains	(Varner and Varner 1951:331)

Table 1 (cont'd)

List of Uninhabited "Deserts" Mentioned in the Soto Narratives

Location	Extent	Description	Reference
Guaxule to Ychiaha	5 days	--	(Varner and Varner 1951:336)
Canasagua to Chiaha	5 days	--	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 73)
Mauilla to Taliepataua	5 days	wilderness	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 99)
Mauvila to Chicaca	3 days	--	(Varner and Varner 1951:393)
Pafallaya to Chicaca	5 days	--	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 100)
Chicaza to Chisca	3 days	unpopulated wilderness	(Varner and Varner 1951:423)
Alimamu to Quizquiz	7 days	wilderness	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 110-111)
Alibamo to Quizquiz	8 days	wilderness	Biedma (Bourne 1904:II, 25)
Limamu to Quizquiz	9 days	rough: mountainous and swampy	Ranjel (Bourne 1904:II, 137)
Miss. River to Casquin	4 days	uninhabited	(Varner and Varner 1951:430)

Table 1 (cont'd)

List of Uninhabited "Deserts" Mentioned in the Soto Narratives

Location	Extent	Description	Reference
Aquiguate to Coligua	7 days	pathless thicket	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 133)
Quiguate to Coligua	7 days	"not peopled"; four swamps	Ranjel (Bourne 1904:II, 146)
Quiguate to Colugua	11 days ?	--	Biedma (Bourne 1904:II, 31)
Colima to Tula	4 days	uninhabited	(Varner and Varner 1951:454)
Anilco to Guachoya	4 days	wilderness with mountains	(Varner and Varner 1951:486)
Catalte to Chaguate	6 days	desert	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 166)
Beyond Auche	4 days	"deserts, forests, and craggy lands"	(Varner and Varner 1941:513)

totally unoccupied. Absence of late Mississippian sites in the Savannah River Valley is further evidence for the presence of this buffer (Taylor and Smith 1978:337-338).

Descriptions of uninhabited buffers are not so common in other ethnohistoric sources, but Arthur Barlowe, writing of the late 16th century North Carolina area, provides the following description of warfare which alludes to desolate and wasted areas which may, in fact, be uninhabited buffer zones. Barlowe's (Quinn 1955:113) description is as follows:

> ...their warres are very cruell, and bloodie, by reason whereof, and of their ciuill dissentions, which haue happened of late yeeres amongest them, the people are maruelously wasted, and in some places, the Countrey left desolate.

A similar situation apparently existed in the Virginia area by the early 17th century. John Smith's (1819:134-35) description of the perpetual warfare between the Powhatan and their neighbors to the west has already been cited. E. R. Turner (1976:199) has pointed out that an uninhabited zone separating the Powhatan from the Monacans and Manahoac appears on Smith's 1612 map (J. Smith 1819). It is likely that this buffer was a result of the warfare between the several groups involved. Turner (1976:198) has also noted that the two known fortified Powhatan settlements were both located in the western part of the chiefdom.

Although many of the buffers described in the Soto narratives and elsewhere were probably created by warfare, it is likely that the remainder were areas which were not well suited to the agricultural needs of late prehistoric and early historic period societies. Alluvial river bottom soils were the preferred agricultural lands, and habitation

sites were thus typically situated along river margins (B. Smith 1978; Larson 1970, 1972). The areas between river valleys were not sought for permanent habitation, but were probably visited during hunting and nut gathering expeditions (J. Smith 1819:133). Thus in some localities, the uplands intervening between river valleys provided natural buffers which were reinforced by raids and ambushes against collecting or hunting parties. In other localities, such as in the Mississippi River Valley and along most major rivers, formidable natural boundaries were not usually present, and it is likely that in those areas buffers were artificially created and were maintained by perpetual enmity.

These buffers were maintained by raids and ambushes, and it was basically this type of warfare which continued on into the later historic period. The raids were probably conducted by small, voluntary war parties composed of relatively small numbers of individuals. Personal motives such as glory, revenge, and personal prestige probably prompted individuals to join these war parties (Gibson 1974). As we shall see in the next chapter, these small raiding parties represented only one of two types of warfare present during the late prehistoric and early historic periods.

Two other features of uninhabited buffers must be noted here. The first concerns fortified towns located at the margins of at least some chiefdoms. Chiaha, which was located at the northern extremity of the province of Coosa, was the first fortified town encountered by Soto (Ranjel in Bourne 1904:II, 108; Biedma in Bourne 1904:II, 15). Fortified towns were also common on the southern margin of the province of Coosa according to Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 85) and Ranjel (Bourne 1904: II, 115). The next province along their route, Tuscalusa, also had a

fortified town located on its western margin (Ranjel in Bourne 1904: II, 123-126; Varner and Varner 1951:333; Elvas in Bourne 1904:I, 92-93). The frontier towns located on the western margin of Powhatan's territory in the early 175h century were also fortified, although no other towns in his chiefdom were (Turner 1976:198; J. Smith 1819).

The second feature relating to buffers involves the linguistic relationship between adjacent chiefdoms. According to Swanton's (1939: 53-54) analysis, most if not all of the boundaries between chiefdoms visited by Soto coincide with linguistic boundaries. There are other indications that political and linguistic boundaries were often one and the same. In a previously cited account, Elvas (Bourne 1904:II, 137) noted that the chiefs of Tula and Cayas spoke different languages and were at war against one another. Thomas Hariot (Swanton 1946:646), describing the situation on the North Carolina coast in the late 16th century, noted the following: "The language of every government is different from any other, and the farther distant the greater is the difference."

Table 2 summarizes Soto's travel from province to province. When moving from province to province as they traveled across the southeast, Soto and his army often emerged from uninhabited buffers and arrived in the next province unannounced, so that they repeatedly caught inhabitants totally unaware. In some cases the chroniclers note that they had crossed a linguistic boundary, but in other cases they note that the two adjacent provinces were at war. For Soto and his large force to arrive unannounced anywhere in the Southeast, it means that the isolation brought about by the combination of warring political

Table 2

Distribution of Linguistic Boundaries, Chiefdoms at War, and Unexpected Arrival by Soto

Location	Warfare	Linguistic Boundary	Unexpected arrival by Spaniards	Reference
Ucita to Mococo	Yes	Yes	--	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 30)
Uzachil to Apalache	-	-	Not on lookout	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 46)
Toali to Achese	-	-	Not on lookout	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 54)
Otoa to Chisi	-	-	Not on lookout	Biedma (Bourne 1904:II, 10)
Achese to Ocute	-	Yes	--	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 55)
Patofa to Cofitachequi	Yes	-	Yes	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 60)
Cofaqui to Cofachiqui	Yes	-	--	Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951: 276)
Arrived Quizquiz	-	-	Not on lookout	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 111)
Arrived Quizquiz	-	-	Not on lookout	Biedma (Bourne 1904:II, 25)
Chicaza to Chisca	Yes	-	Not on lookout	Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951: 423)

Table 2 (Cont'd)

Distribution of Linguistic Boundaries, Chiefdoms at War, and Unexpected Arrival by Soto

Location	Warfare	Linguistic Boundary	Unexpected arrival by Spaniards	Reference
Aquixo to Casqui	-	-	Not on lookout	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 117)
Casquin to Capaha	Yes	-	--	Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951: 434)
Aquiguate to Coligoa	-	-	Not on lookout	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 133)
Caya to Tula	Yes	Yes	--	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 137-138
Arrived Tula	-	Yes	Not on lookout	Biedma (Bourne 1904:II, 32)
Colima to Tula	-	-	Not on lookout	Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951: 454)
Anilco to Guachoya	Yes	-	Not on lookout	Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951: 487)
Arrived Aays	-	-	Not on lookout	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 176)

units, linguistic differences, and separation of chiefdoms by uninhabited buffers must have been extreme.

The problems encountered by Soto in relation to the linguistic differences are worth noting both because of the trouble they caused him and because of the impact his passage must have had on the relative isolation that existed when he arrived. Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:422) provides the account cited below, but Elvas (Bourne 1904:146-147) described the situation in much the same way:

> You should be informed also that when the Governor came to Chicaza [in Mississippi], ten, twelve and fourteen interpreters had been requisite for him to converse with the caciques and other Indians of those lands through which he had passed, for he had found a great variety of languages conforming to the numerous provinces, nearly all of which spoke a different language. Thus a message was passed from Juan Ortiz on to the last of the interpreters, all of whom were arranged according to their ability to comprehend each other and transmit what had been said. It was with just such labor and tediousness that the Adelantado asked for and received accounts of the proper things for him to know concerning all of that great land. But this difficulty was not present in the case of those individual men and women whom our soldiers had seized for their services, regardless of what province they came from, for within two months after they had been speaking with Spaniards, they comprehended what their masters said to them in Castilian, and they were able to make themselves understood in this same language when they talked of things necessary and common to all. Furthermore, when they had been with the Spaniards for six months, they served as interpreters between their masters and strange Indians.

Thus, we can see that the provinces or chiefdoms of the Southeast were vibrant entities that were in constant competition with their neighbors and enemies. Chiefdoms appear to have expanded within areas of common language, in some cases eventually extending over territories hundreds of miles in length. Whereas expansion within territories might have proceeded through conquest or voluntary alliances, it is clear that territorial boundaries were maintained through raids by

small parties of warriors. In areas where natural boundaries such as rivers, mountains, and other topographic features were absent, uninhabited buffers or shatter zones gradually formed as a result of the perpetual raiding back and forth along territorial boundaries. These buffers often extended across tens or hundreds of miles.

In addition to the raiding form of warfare that served in part for maintenance of territorial boundaries, there was another type of warfare that has not been previously recognized or described in studies of southeastern Indian societies. This second type of warfare consisting of large, organized forces that fought in major battles will be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

WARFARE

Adoption of agriculture, increased sedentism, and formation of settlement heirarchy during the development of southeastern chiefdoms, caused marked changes in warfare. First, possession of land for agriculture became more important than mere right of access for hunting and collecting. In their hunting and collecting territories, the Indians invested little or no time in modifying the landscape. Access and proper scheduling of activities were important, but actual long-term possession was not. If, due to competition, boundaries between social units had to be modified and territory had to be surrendered, little was lost in terms of energy expended in land preparation. But in agricultural societies, particularly in areas like the southeastern woodlands, long-term possession of land is essential. Energy invested in clearing, preparing and weeding fields can only be recovered if agricultural land is retained for several years. In a social setting where competition for scarce resources exists (Larson 1972; Carneiro 1970), energy will be invested to assure that productivity and possession of these scarce resources are maintained. Part of that investment required modification of the manner of warfare in the Southeast.

Woodland societies did not possess bows and arrows, so far as we know, and without those implements, warfare must have been significantly

different from Mississippian warfare. Strategy and tactics involved in protection or seizure of scarce resources must have relied on surprise attacks aimed at placing the aggressor within spear range before detection. The absence of fortifications in most Woodland sites suggests that they were unnecessary. It is likely that Woodland Period warfare was like that we find described in 18th century A.D. accounts of southeastern warfare--small raiding parties dependent upon surprise to inflict minor damage on the enemy to obtain increased status and to capture valuable prisoners (Hudson 1976:239-257).

Mississippian and early historic period warfare was significantly different. The best information that we have concerning this warfare comes from European accounts from the 16th and 17th centuries. Although it could be argued that these sources provided biased descriptions, the repetition in the various Spanish, French, and English accounts indicates a more highly organized kind of warfare throughout the Southeast at the time of European contact.

The motives for southeastern Indian warfare were complex. They varied from area to area, from time to time, from society to society, and possibly even from conflict to conflict between given societies. Discovery of the motivating forces will be difficult, but two factors--scarce resources and competition for those resources--appear to have been major contributors. Mississippian societies depended upon agriculture and their settlements were therefore concentrated around arable land. Southeastern rivers occupy entrenched valleys with restricted floodplains. As we have already seen, southeastern societies were concentrated along these river valleys. Riverine settlement occurred because agricultural technology was restricted to the stone axe and the

digging stick. Axes were used to girdle trees a year or so prior to burning off and subsequent field clearing. Digging sticks or dibbles were the only implements for cultivating the soil, so loose but fertile soils would have been preferred. Alluvial bottomland soils met all of these requirements. Upland soils may have been used in some areas under conditions of extreme stress, but floodplain soils would have been far easier to till as well as more productive.

Early in the development of Mississippian societies, population densities in the valleys may have been comparatively low. The proportion of their food provided by agriculture gradually increased through time, and traditional wild food resources were also expanded to include more and more plant and animal species. Hunting and collecting in the uplands undoubtedly was still a way of obtaining subsistence for many people at this time, but some planting was undoubtedly going on, as indicated by the presence of cultigens in some early Mississippian sites. Competition between adjacent social groups would have gradually increased in response to the need to retain possession of cleared fields. This competition resulted in an increase in the incidence of armed aggression between societies.

This competition was not restricted solely to the valley populations, however. As we have already seen, it is clear that this competition caused the formation of extensive buffer zones that were formed as the result of warfare. Large areas lying outside cultivated valleys were uninhabited and, because of the danger of being killed by enemy warriors, they were not even frequently used for hunting or fishing (Varner and Varner 1951:284). This sort of warfare would have

stimulated increased concentration of populations in the bottomlands, because there was added safety in living in nucleated settlements. Aggregated population must have put more pressure on locally available food resources, and this led to the clearing and planting of more fields, more use of foods from oxbows and other riverine resources, and increased need for influence in the supernatural sphere as more and more of the subsistence base of society shifted to agriculture. This increased the power vested in the hands of chiefs because of their supernatural connections. Chiefs could therefore make greater demands on the produce of their people in exchange for their assurance of a benign environment.

At the same time, defensive measures had to be strengthened. With population aggregation and a need to store large amounts of foodstuffs sufficient to last through the year, frontal attacks on communities would have allowed aggressors to capture stored food. For populations possessing only spears, defensive measures could have simply consisted of moats, earthen walls, or palisades composed of poles widely spaced. But with the introduction of the bow, defensive and offensive strategies changed markedly. Attackers with bows can carry more projectiles and can fire from greater distances with greater accuracy than can those armed only with spears. Additionally, arrows designed to be set afire and shot into structures made it necessary to keep the attackers at a greater distance in order to prevent storehouses containing food stuffs and temples from being set on fire (Lorant 1946:97). Plastered palisades and wattle and daub houses, both Mississippian inventions, also provided added protection against the use of fire by attackers. Bark roofing also provided increased protection not available with thatch.

In areas where there was a threat of attack, defensive palisades were constructed. In the beginning, these palisades did not have bastions, and they appear to have tightly encircled dwellings and storehouses. With increased development of tactics, both offensive and defensive, projecting bastions were added to fortification walls to increase their defensive capabilities (Webb 1952; Anderson 1969). Bastions allowed defenders to protect sections of a curtain wall from being reached by attackers. If attackers had been allowed to approach the wall, they could have set it afire, breached it, or climbed over it with the aid of ladders. With the addition of bastions, approach was made more difficult, because there would have been no cover for individuals approaching the wall (Muller 1978:282). Spacing of bastions from known archaeological sites indicates planned spacing that allowed overlapping cover fire from any two adjacent bastions, thus guaranteeing inaccessibility to the palisade wall and helping to keep attackers beyond the range of their fire arrows. L. Larson (1972:387) has estimated effective bow range at under 50 feet, but John Smith (1819) estimated the length of accurate bowshots at 40 yards, with less effective fire ranging up to 120 yards. Spacing of bastions on known palisaded villages (Table 3) ranging between 20 and 40 yards indicates that defenders would have been able to provide effective cover fire along the curtain wall.

Given the length of some known palisades (i.e., 1100 to 1400m at Kincaid, c. 2200m at Angel, and c. 3000m at Cahokia), the number of people needed to man the large number of bastions was not so great as might be expected. Even extremely long palisades such as those at Angel and Kincaid had only 50 to 60 bastions. With 8 men on each bastion,

Table 3

Distance Between Palisade Bastions from Selected Archaeological Sites.

Site	Bastion Spacing	Reference
Cahokia	20.5-40m (67.3-131.2 ft)	Anderson (1969)
Kincaid	30-35m (98.4 to 101.4 ft)	Muller (1978)
Aztalan	22.9-30.5m (75-100 ft)	Barrett (1933)
Jonathan Creek	20.1m (66 ft)	Webb (1952)
Gunther's Landing	24.4m (80 ft)	Webb and Wilder (1951)
Angel	36.6m (120 ft)	Black (1967)
Toqua	18.3m (60 ft)	Schroedl and Polhemus (1977)

in addition to others along the curtain wall, only 600 to 700 men would have been needed to repel all but the most determined attacks, against even the largest palasaded villages.

But what do we know of the kind of assaults that were made on these fortifications? Were such frontal assaults within the capabilities of Mississippian and early historic period southeastern Indians? The available sources say that they were. Evidence for coordinated attacks by organized squadrons of Indians can be seen most clearly in the four Soto narratives (Table 4). The main examples of such attacks occurred at Chicaza in north central Mississippi and at Tula in Arkansas. At Chicaza, Soto's army was emcamped for the winter within

Table 4

Attacks in Soto Chronicles Detailing Multiple Squadrons and Multiple Directions of Attack

Location	Number of Squadrons	Directions of Attack	Time	Reference
Chicaca	4	4	1:00 AM	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 103-104)
Chicaza	3	3	4:00 AM	(Varner and Varner 1951: 398-399)
Chicaca	Many Detachments	-	Dawn	Ranjel (Bourne 1904:II, 134)
2nd Attack at Chicaca				
Chicaza		3	--	Biedma (Bourne 1904:II, 231)
Chicaza	3-4	-	Night	(Varner and Varner 1951: 408)
Chicaca	3	3	4:00 AM	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 103)
Chicaca	3	3	Morning Watch	Ranjel (Bourne 1904:II, 135)
Tula	3	3	Daybreak	Biedma (Bourne 1904:II, 33)
Tula	2	2	4:00 AM	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 138)
Tula	-	3	3rd Watch-Night	(Varner and Varner 1951: 458)
On way to Naguatex	2 plus reserves	2	Daytime	Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 169-170)

an Indian-built palisade. Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:398-400) provides the following account of that attack:

> On a certain night toward the end of January in the year 1541, the north wind blew furiously, and the Indians recognized how much this wind was in their favor. At one o'clock therefore, three squadrons of them crept as silently as possible to within a hundred feet of the Spanish sentinels. Then the Curaca, who led the center and principal group, sent to find out the location of his two collateral divisions, and on learning that they were in the same vicinity as his own, gave instructions to sound a call to arms. This they did with many drums, fifes, shells, and other rustic instruments that had been brought along for the purpose of making a greater noise, and then all shouted at the same time so as to throw more terror into the hearts of the Spaniards. In order to burn the town and create a light by which to see their enemies, they had brought some faggots of a certain native grass, which when woven into a thin rope or cord and lighted, holds a flame like the wick of an arquebus ... Of this same grass they had made little rings for the tips of their arrows so that they might throw them while burning and in this way set fire to the houses from a distance.
>
> With such order and preparation the Indians now came and attacked the town, swinging their faggots and shooting many lighted arrows into the houses, which being made of straw caught fire instantly with the strong wind that was blowing ... the Indians of the two collateral divisions entered the town, and with the aid of the fire which was in their favor did a great amount of damage, killing a large number of horses and Spaniards before they had time to seek protection.

Both Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 103-4) and Ranjel (Bourne 1904:II, 134) provide similar accounts of the same attack.

In these three accounts, there are four major points of interest. First, the attackers were divided into identifiable squadrons. Second, there were coordinated, simultaneous attacks by these squadrons, and drums and other instruments were used to signal attack (and possibly other commands). Fire was employed in the attack in an attempt to destroy a fortified Spanish camp.

These indicate a sophisticated level of organized warfare far beyond that of the simple raiding type typical of 18th century Indian warfare (Kroeber 1939:148; Driver 1969:320-322; Hudson 1976:239-240). Moreover, the first attack at Chicaza was not an isolated instance because similar attacks occurred later at Chicaza, and further along at Tula, as has been previously noted. A slightly different tactic was employed at Naguatex in the Caddo area, where two squadrons attacked and drew part of the Spanish force away in pursuit, whereupon, two additional Indian squadrons held in reserve attacked the remaining Spaniards (Bourne 1904:I, 170).

Elvas notes that a captive taken in the attack at Naguatex was asked about the Indians who were involved in the battle, and he responded that they were "the Cacique of Naguatex, and one of Maye and another of a province called Hacanac, lord of great territories and numerous vassals, he of Naguatex being in Command." The attack represents a fine example of good military tactic; that is, sending in a first wave to draw off the cavalry and then attacking those left in camp with a second force held in reserve. This attack is even more surprising because Naguatex was able to command and coordinate forces from several different "provinces," although it is possible that all may have been his subjects. The massive attack against Soto at Mauvila may also have been an example by forces drawn from a variety of political units.

In the Soto accounts, there are also good descriptions of Indian warriors moving in formation. At Vitachuco, in Florida, Indians arrived in formation, and were described by Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:145-146) as follows:

> [Their] squadron they had arranged in the utmost military perfection, not squared but elongated, with the rows straight and somewhat open, and with two flanks on each side of the commanding officers. Indeed their battalion was so excellently organized that it was a beautiful sight to behold.

At Cosa, the Spaniards were greeted in a like manner (Varner and Varner 1951:343):

> Here lived the lord of the land who, to receive the Governor, came out a full league from the town accompanied by more than a thousand noblemen, all of whom were magnificently clothed in robes lined with different colored skins ... and wore feathers of many different colors, which rose half a fathom in the air, and since they were placed in the field in the form of a squadron, with twenty men in each row, they presented a beautiful and agreeable spectacle.

Although it might seem that Garcilaso was exaggerating in his description, Father Davilla Padilla (Quinn 1979:II, 242) of the Luna expedition saw the Indians of Cosa in northwest Georgia moving against the Napochies and described them as follows:

> The Indians set forward, and it was beautiful to see them divided up in eight different groups, two of which marched together in the four directions of the earth (north, south, east, and west) ... Each group had its captain, whose emblem was a long stave of two brazas in height and which the Indians call Otatl and which has at its upper end several white feathers. These were used like banners, which everyone had to respect and obey.

It is likely that both Garcilaso and Padilla were describing formations much like the ones depicted and described by LeMoyne in his account and engravings of Florida written in 1564 (Lorant 1946: Plates 13, 14).

There is also good evidence for a highly organized form of warfare waged from canoes on the Mississippi River. All four Soto narratives provide vivid descriptions of attacking forces numbering in the hundreds of canoes, moving in formation, responding to command signals, and so on.

Elvas' (Bourne 1904:I,113) account of such an attack is illustrative of how formidable these river-based forces were:

> The next day the cacique arrived, with two hundred canoes filled with men, having weapons. They were painted with ochre, wearing great bunches of white and other plumes of colours, having feathered shields in their hands, with which they sheltered the oarsmen on either side, the warriors standing erect from bow to stern, holding bows and arrows. The barge in which the Cacique came had an awning at the poop, under which he sate; and the like had the barges of the other chiefs; and there from under the canopy, where the chief man was, the course was directed and orders issued to the rest.

Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 114) provides an account of the retreat of the attacking force just described:

> They retired with great order, not one leaving the oar, even though the one next to him might have fallen, and covering themselves, they withdrew... They were fine-looking men, very large and well formed; and what with the awnings, the plumes and the shields, the pennons, and the number of people in the fleet, it appeared like a famous armada of galleys.

Thus, not only were such forces orderly in their attack but in their retreat as well.

Based on all available evidence, it is clear that at least some southeastern societies moved and attacked in organized squadrons on land and water with control maintained by the chief or other war leaders through the use of drums, flutes, shells, or "heralds." According to Turney-High (1949:26), the crucial test of the achievement of true military organization in any society is the observation of correct formations. Turney-High concludes that proper use of military formations before, during, and after an engagement is uncommon among primitive societies, and without them there can be no true military tactics. In the Southeast, there are indications that true organized warfare existed.

It is unlikely, however, that southeastern chiefdoms ever developed full-time standing armies of the sort found in true states. That is not to say that warfare did not play an important role in the daily life of most men. There are good indications that warfare may have been the primary means by which men gained status in southeastern societies. During the 18th and 19th centuries, it is clear that men were ranked according to their achievements in warfare (Hudson 1976:325-327; Gibson 1974). Men who had not distinguished themselves as warriors were forced to perform menial tasks around the village and were forced to retain their childhood names. Warriors, on the other hand, were treated with respect and were assigned new names based on their accomplishments.

There are indications that in this large-scale, organized warfare, warriors may sometimes have been "borrowed" or "rented" from allies or subsidiary chiefs. In describing events following the mass attack that nearly wiped out the Spaniards at Mauvila in central Alabama, Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:381) provides the following account of the sources of the large Indian force involved in that attack.

> Meanwhile the Indian woman who remained in the power of the Castilians after the battle of Mauvila confirmed Tascaluza's statement of treachery and openly disclosed the betrayal that chieftain had prepared for the Christians. For they said that the majority of them were not natives of that town or even of that province but were from various other provinces in the vicinity, and that they had been induced to come there by the magnificent promises of the men whom Tascaluza had persuaded to gather for that battle. Some had been offered robes of fine scarlet cloth, and garments of silk, satin, and velvet to wear in their dances and fiestas; others had been assured with solemn oaths that they would receive horses and as a sign of their victory they would be permitted to ride these horses in front of the Spaniards. Still others came out saying that they had been promised the Spaniards themselves as servants and slaves, and each specified the number of captives she had been told she could take to her house ...

In the previously cited attack against Soto's expedition at Naguatex, forces were drawn from the provinces of Maye, Hacanac, and Naguatex. Twenty-six years later, Juan Pardo was forced to abandon his explorations in the interior Southeast in 1568, because he was confronted by a large force composed of Indians from Cosa, Costehecoza, and Yuchi (DePratter, Hudson, Smith 1983).

A final example of this type can be seen in the relationship between the Chickahominy and Powhatan in early 16th century Virginia. Although the Chickahominy never acknowledged Powhatan as their chief, they did pay tribute to him, and they aided him in war in exchange for pieces of copper (Turner 1976:96, 125, 129; Strachey 1953:68-69).

One might rightfully ask in what kind of situation large, organized forces might have been used in the late prehistoric Southeast? Although there is no direct archaeological evidence which bears on this problem, there is a good deal of evidence in the ethnohistorical record. Within chiefdoms, subject towns could be attacked for several reasons. While in the province of Chicaza, the Cacique complained to Soto that "a vassal of his had risen against him, withholding tribute; and he asked for assistance, desiring to seek him in his territory, and give him the chastisement he deserved" (Elvas in Bourne 1904:I, 101). In a society where the paramount chief was supported by the tribute he collected, such a withholding of tribute would have been cause for attack on a massive scale in order to intimidate the offending tributary. Unfortunately for us, in the example just cited, Elvas states that the tribute story was just a ruse to get Soto to divide his forces, thus leaving him more vulnerable to attack. Elsewhere, however, Elvas (1904: I, 154) reports that Soto sent a message to a chief named Quigaltam

(possibly the proto-Natchez chief) claiming to be the son of the sun and requesting that he come up the river to the Spanish camp. A portion of Quigaltam's reply was as follows:

> As to what you say of your being son of the Sun, if you will cause him to dry up the great river, I will believe you; as to the rest, it is not my custom to visit anyone, but rather all of whom I have ever heard, have come to visit me, to serve me, and pay me tribute, either voluntarily or by force...

The final portion of this message suggests that Quigaltam also had to occasionally attack subject towns to force the payment of tribute.

A final description of a military expedition precipitated by nonpayment of tribute is found in Davilla Padilla's account of the expedition that Luna sent to Coza (or Cosa) already partially quoted in the discussion of formations. On arriving at Cosa, the party of nearly 300 Spaniards dispatched by Luna heard complaints from the paramount chief concerning a neighboring group, the Napochies. Part of Padilla's (Swanton 1922:231-239) description of the situation is as follows:

> Very bitter battles did the Napochies have with those from Coza, but justice was greatly at variance with success. Those from Coza were in the right, but the Napochies were victorious. In ancient times the Napochies were tributaries of the Coza people, because this place [Coza] was always recognized as head of the kingdom and its lord was considered to stand above the one of the Napochies. Then the people from Coza began to decrease while the Napochies were increasing until they refused to be their vassals, finding themselves strong enough to maintain their liberty which they abused. Then those of Coza took to arms to reduce the rebels to their former servitude, but the most victories were on the side of the Napochies. Those from Coza remained greatly affronted as well from seeing their ancient tribute broken off as because they found themselves without strength to restore it. On that account they had lately stopped their fights, although their sentiments remained the same and for several months they had not gone into the battlefield, for fear lest they return vanquished, as before. ...they [of Coza] insisted that they did not wish war with the

> Napochies, but to reduce them to the former condition of tributaries to them, the Coza people, and pay all since the time they had refused obedience.

With the help of 50 Spaniards, the Indians of Coza subdued the Napochies and forced them to resume payment of tribute.

Among the 16th and 17th century Powhatans, only a single episode of warfare within the chiefdom has been documented. John Smith (1819: 144-145) provided the following description of Powhatan's attack on the Payankatank (Piankatank):

> In the yeare 1608, he surprised the people of Payankatank his neare neighbours and subjects. The occasion was to vs vnknowne, but the manner was thus. First he sent divers of his men as to lodge amongst them that night, then the Ambuscadoes environed all their houses, and at the houre appointed, they all fell to the spoyle, twenty-foure men they slew; the long haire of the one side of their heads, with the skinne cased off with shels or reeds, they brought away. They surprised also the women, and the children, and the Werowance [chief]. All these they presented to Powhatan. The Werowance, women and children became his prisoners, and doe him service. The lockes of haire with their skinnes he hanged on a line betwixt two trees. And thus he made obstentation of his triumph at Werowocomoco [Powhatan's principal town] ...

Although the attack on Piankatank involved both infiltration and attack by "ambuscadoes" (i.e., a body of troops lying in ambush) and was not strictly a frontal attack by organized forces, Powhatan's attacking force must have been large, because twenty-four Indians of Piankatank were killed, many more were captured, and the town destroyed. The display of enemy scalps undoubtedly served as a warning to other subsidiary towns who might have considered defying Powhatan.

Among the Timucua in northwest Florida observed by the French in the 1560's, disobedience of subject towns or chieftains was also sufficient cause for retaliation. A chief, Outina, told the French "he had a vassal king named Astina, whom he had decided to take prisoner

to punish him for his disobedience" (Bennett 1975:125). Outina never carried out his attack, however.

Much better information is available for motives concerning large scale attacks conducted against neighboring chiefdoms. Although the size of the forces and method of attack are usually not known, the available information relating to the Timucua is perhaps the best. In 1564, the Chief Satouriona (Saturiba) decided to attack his longtime enemies, the Thimogona (Bennett 1975:82-85). Foodstuffs for the expedition were prepared, five hundred of his subjects and allies were gathered, and the proper ceremonies were conducted. Then, Satouriona and ten allied chiefs departed on the retaliatory strike which was in part to gain revenge for "the deaths of their ancestor chiefs at the hands of their enemies, "the Thimogona." Satouriona's forces were divided into two groups which attacked simultaneously by land and water at daybreak. The attack was successful and an unknown number of Thimogona scalps were taken. Twenty-four captured women and children were divided among the 11 chiefs: Satouriona received thirteen, and each of his subject chiefs received one. All of the Thimogona scalps were displayed at the door to Satouriona's dwelling, again perhaps as a warning to his other subjects.

In a similar large scale attack reported by Laudonnière (Bennett 1975:117-119), Outina and three hundred of his subjects attacked a neighboring chief, Potavou. LeMoyne's description of Outina's orderly march and bivouac formations has already been quoted, and Laudonnière (Bennett 1975:119) provides the following supporting description:

> After marching all day, when night came they still had not gone halfway. They lay all night in the woods near a great lake, separating themselves into groups of six

> each making a fire around the place where the king slept, who was guarded by the archers most trusted by him.

Following an encounter with some fishermen, a "sorcerer" was consulted to determine whether the attack should continue. He told Outina that Potavou was waiting for him with two thousand warriors and the attack should be discontinued. The French who were with Outina convinced him to complete the attack, and only the assistance of the French prevented a complete rout of Outina's forces. Later, while Outina was a prisoner of the French, Potavou attacked and burned Outina's village in retaliation (Bennett 1975:128).

The warfare conducted by Powhatan in Virginia provides perhaps the best example of expansionism in a Southeastern chiefdom. Powhatan inherited control of six "districts" or village clusters, but he continued to expand the chiefdom throughout the period of his reign (the late 1500's to 1618) (Turner 1976). At the time of his death, there were 31 villages under his control; at least some of those villages were subjugated through warfare.

The independent district of Kecoughtan on the James River was attacked by Powhatan during the last decade of the 16th century. The attack immediately followed the death of the Kecoughtan chief, and thus came at a time when the district was not prepared for an attack (Strachey 1953:44, 68). All who resisted were killed, and the survivors were removed to the vicinity of Piankatank which had been depopulated in an attack previously described. Strachey (1953:67-68) states that Kecoughtan formerly had "a thousand Indians and 300 Indian houses," but as Turner (1976:149) points out, the decimation of the Kecoughtan occurred prior to the arrival of the English, and Strachey's estimate is

thus open to question. Kecoughtan was eventually resettled and placed under the control of Powhatan's "son," Pochins.

Powhatan also attacked the Chesapeake, who occupied an area on the southern margin of this chiefdom. The attack occurred following a prophecy by one of Powhatan's priests to the effect that one day the Chesapeake would rise against him. Powhatan and his forces decimated the Chesapeake, and the area was resettled by Powhatan's subjects (Strachey 1953:104-105, 108). Other districts within Powhatan's chiefdom may also have been added by conquest.

Expanionist attacks such as those just described for the Powhatan area would have provided benefits beyond just the annexation of additional agricultural lands and areas containing needed natural resources (Turner 1976). First, as has been previously noted, women and children were taken as captives in both raids and full-scale attacks. Since women were the agricultural workers in most southeastern societies, these captives added to the agricultural production of their captors. The following descriptions from Garcilaso's account of Soto's expedition suggest that in some areas, captives were used as slaves to work in the fields:

> In the towns under the jurisdiction and vassalage of Cofachiqui, through which our Spaniards passed, they found many natives of other provinces who had been enslaved. In order to secure people and to prevent their fleeing, the Indians had wounded each of them in one foot, cutting the tendons above the instep where the foot joins the leg, or above the heel. And when they were thus perpetually and inhumanely fettered, they had put them in the interior far from their own lands to till the soil and do other servile jobs (Varner and Varner 1951:329-330).
>
> The Indians of Casquin, in order to damage the fields of their enemies while traveling, formed a wing half a league wide and thus devastated everything they

> encountered. Here they discovered many of their own people who had been captured and now served as domestics in the lands and fields of the inhabitants of Capaha. For the purpose of preventing these slaves from fleeing their captors had injured each of them in one foot, as we have already told of others; and they had held them in bondage with these cruel and perpetual shackles, more as an evidence of their triumph than for the advantage and service they could obtain from them (Varner and Varner 1951:439-440).

Lawson (Lefler 1967:59, 208) describes a similar practice for Carolina Indians.

Full-scale attacks on towns in adjacent chiefdoms would also have increased the wealth of victorious chiefs. Major towns contained temples, and the temples were storehouses for precious objects controlled by the chief. Temples were looted following successful attacks, and the available references indicate that the chiefs received most, if not all, of the wealth items contained in the temples. Garcilaso's (Varner and Varner 1951:493) description of the sacking of the temple at Anilco illustrates many of the points mentioned:

> The Guachoyas entered this town as they would a settlement of such hated enemies; and as do offended people who desire revenge, they sacked it and robbed the temple and burial place of the lords of the state. Here in addition to the bodies of the dead, the Cacique kept the best, richest, and most prized of their possessions, as well as the spoils and trophies of the greatest victories his people had enjoyed over the Guachoyas themselves, trophies which consisted of a large number of flags and weapons and of the heads of their most illustrious victims, placed now on lance points at the doors of the temple. The Guachoyas replaced the heads of their own people with those of Anilcos; and their military insignia and arms they carried away with great happiness and contentment at seeing them once again in their possession. The corpses within the wooden chests they threw upon the ground, and in retaliation for past injuries, trampled upon these bodies with all the scorn they could demonstrate.

Similar descriptions are provided by Garcilaso for Patofa's sacking of a temple in one of the smaller towns of Cofitachequi (Varner and Varner 1951:295) and for the sacking of the Capaha temple by Casquin (Varner and Varner 1951:438). By sacking the temple, not only were wealth items obtained, but past wrongs were redeemed. In addition, damage, perhaps irreparable damage, was inflicted on the spiritual center of the defeated chiefdom. With the sacred fire extinguished, the sacred items stolen, the bones of the ancient chiefs destroyed, how could any society hope to recover?

One effect of large scale attacks would have been reduction of the population of adjacent chiefdoms, thus reducing the chance of expansion of those chiefdom as a consequence of population pressures. Another related result was the initial formation of uninhabited buffers which were maintained by both raids and additional large-scale attacks by organized forces.

Lewis Larson (1972) has suggested that fortified villages were reliable defensive measures, because sieges would have been impossible for southeastern societies to mount and maintain. Since a number of points made by Larson (1972:391) in reference to sieges will be brought into question here, his section on sieges will be quoted in its entirety:

> I have dismissed the possibility of reducing a fortified town by siege, because it was certainly a tactic beyond the capability of an attacking force. From the amount of time necessary for such a maneuver, it would be logistically difficult, if not impossible task for a group on the Mississippian level of social complexity. It would have been impossible to supply a group of besiegers in the field. Even when one assumes that the base settlement could expend the supplies, the problems of moving the needed food and weapons to the attackers could not have been overcome. The attackers could not have effectively foraged in the

> surrounding countryside and simultaneously maintained a successful encirclement of the besieged town. Finally, it seems highly improbable that, with the type of subsistence characteristic of the southeastern groups, any community could long afford to divorce a significant sector of its population from productive activity. The attacking force most certainly would have been composed of young men who were critical to the subsistence endeavor.

Larson's arguments relating to siege will be discussed point by point in an attempt to show that sieges were within the capabilities of late prehistoric and early historic period chiefdoms in the Southeast.

Tactics utilized against Soto were surprisingly complex, and certainly the number of Indians he faced on various occasions would have been sufficient for a siege. So far as supplying a siege force, there are indications that supplies must have been a minor problem. Certainly seasonal food surpluses existed among the southeastern chiefdoms, as can be seen in the abundance of maize and other cultivated and wild foods found in storehouses by the Soto expedition. These surpluses would have been greatest during the early fall following the final maize harvest, and it is during this period that large-scale attacks may have occurred.

Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:276-277) provides the only description of supply and movement for a war expedition of some duration. His description of preparation for the trip from Cofaqui to Cofitachequi is as follows:

> The Governor [Soto] expressed his appreciation for this offer, and then added that since the Cacique as an experienced captain and as the ruler of that land was acquainted with the route they were to travel and in consequence knew what supplies would be necessary, he himself should provide as if the cause were his own... Immediately the Indain commanded that supplies and porters for carrying them

> be assembled with great care and solitude, and his order was complied with so promptly that within the four days the Spaniards rested in the town of Cofaqui four thousand native domestics gathered to transport the food and clothing of the Christians and four thousand warriors came to guide and accompany the army. ... along with the corn, the Indians now supplied a great amount of such dried fruit as we have talked about previously-fruit which the land produced of itself and without cultivation. They brought prunes and raisins, nuts of two or three varieties, and acorns of the liveoak and the oak. They offered no meat, however, because as we have already said, they have none from livestock but only that which they kill while hunting in the forest.

Although Garciloso's numbers relating to bearers and warriors may be exaggerated, the remainder of his description, especially the use of foods seems quite reasonable.

Laudonnière's (Bennett 1975) description of the 1560's French occupation of Florida provides similar information relating to war supplies and their movement. Relevant material found in that work relating to the Timucua is as follows:

> There are in this country a large number of hermaphrodites who do all the heaviest labor and bear the victuals when the group go [sic] to war... The foods which they carry are bread, honey, and flour made of corn that has been parched in the fire. This remains fresh a long time, Sometimes they also carry smoked fish (Bennett 1975:13).
>
> ...he [Satouriona] assured me that within a short time he would make a voyage to that place [Thimogona] after he had prepared food in sufficient quantity and instructed his men to fix their bows and to furnish themselves adequately with arrows so that nothing would be lacking for combat against the Thimogona (Bennett 1975:66).
>
> They [30 French soldiers] stayed only two days at Outina's place, during which time the foodstuffs were prepared for the trip [war expedition including 300 Indians]. These, according to the customs of the country, are carried by women, young boys, and hermaphrodites (Bennett 1975:117).

The above information indicates that special, storable food were considered war foods and were prepared in advance of any major expedition. Movement of supplies was acheived through the use of hermaphrodites, women, and young boys, or others. No figures are available on the quantities of supplies that were taken on the expeditions described.

Larson also gives the impression that the siege of a fortified village would have taken a long period of time. DuPratz's (Swanton 1911:133) note on the vulnerability of palisaded towns is worthy of consideration on this point:

> The gate of these forts is always on the side toward the water. If they can be prevented from going to get it [water] one may be assured that they will be reduced in a few days.

Water may thus have been the critical variable in the reduction of palisaded villages by siege. The food needed for a siege may have amounted to enough to supply a force for only a week or two instead of a greater quantity. Surely the means of transportation known to have existed among the Timucua could have provided a reasonable amount of storable food. Given the level of military efficiency and determination found elsewhere in the late prehistoric and early historic period Southeast, it is likely that other chiefdoms possessed similar capabilities.

Summary and Discussion

Warfare was an important feature of the southeastern landscape in the late prehistoric and early historic periods. Development of the bow combined with an increasing dependence on agriculture resulted in intense competition for limited bottomland soils. Palisaded villages, wattle and daub houses, and aggregated populations were a result of this warfare.

Whereas boundaries and buffers were maintained through raids involving small numbers of warriors, warfare involved in conquest or expansion of territories involved much larger forces, often numbering in the thousands of warriors. Control over these forces was maintained through orderly movement in squadrons, commands relayed by drums, fifes, and so on, and by sub-commanders who obeyed paramount war leaders. Foods suitable for war expeditions were developed, and means were developed for movement of supplies. Even sieges were within the capabilities of southeastern chiefdoms.

CHAPTER IV

SACRED AUTHORITY OF CHIEFS

As agriculturalists, the southeastern chiefdoms were greatly concerned with the need to produce sizeable crops year after year to support their people. As an ideological outgrowth of their need to assure dependable crop yields, these chiefdoms developed a belief system in which the welfare of society was thought to depend upon their good relationship with the sun. This relationship is symbolized in the widespread belief that their chiefs were in fact descendents of the sun, and that this was the basis for their authority. Although the evidence for this direct connection between the sun and political leaders comes mainly from ethnohistorical sources relating to the early 18th century Natchez, it can be demonstrated that a similar descent was recognized throughout the Southeast both in the prehistoric and early historic time periods.

The Sun and Sacred Fire

The best evidence for the relationship between the sun and temporal rulers comes from the Natchez, who were visited by a series of explorers, missionaires, and traders between 1682 and 1733. Because the Natchez evidence is critical to the present argument, it is necessary to quote at length from LePage du Pratz' telling a Natchez tradition (Swanton 1911: 169-171):

A very great number of years ago there appeared among us a man and his wife who had descended from the Sun. It is not that we thought that he was the son of the Sun or that the Sun had a wife by whom he begot children, but when both of them were seen they were still so brilliant that it was not difficult to believe that they had come from the Sun. The man told us that having seen from above that we did not govern outselves well, that we did not have a master, that each one of us believed that he had sufficient intelligence to govern others while he was not able to guide himself, he had taken the determination to descend in order to teach us how to live better.

He then told us that in order to be in condition to govern others it was necessary to know how to guide one's self, and that in order to live in peace among ourselves and please the Supreme Spirit it was necessary to observe these points: To kill no one except in defense of one's own life, never to know another woman than one's own, to take nothing that belongs to another, never to lie or to become drunk, and not to be avaricious, but to give freely and with joy that which one has, and to share food generously with those who lack it.

This man impressed us by these words because he said them with authority, and he obtained the respect of the old men themselves, although he did not spare them more than the others. The old men assembled then and resolved among themselves that since this man had so much intelligence to teach them what it was good to do he must be recognized as sovereign, so much the more as in governing them himself he could make them remember better than any other what he had taught them. So they went in the early morning to the cabin where they had had him sleep with his wife and proposed to him to be our sovereign. He refused at first, saying that he would not be obeyed and the disobedient would not fail to die. But finally he accepted the offer that was made him on the following conditions:

That we would go to inhabit another country better than that where we were, and which he would show us; that we would live in future as he had taught us the evening before; that we would promise to recognize no other sovereign besides himself and those who should descend from him and his wife; that nobility should be perpetuated through the women, which he explained to us in this way: If I have, said he to us, male and female children, they will not be able to marry each other, being brothers and sisters, to which he added that the boy should take from among the people a girl that pleased him; that this man should be sovereign; that his sons should not be even princes, but only Nobles; that the children of the

daughter, on the other hand, should be princes and princesses; that the eldest of the males should be sovereign and the eldest girl the princess who should give birth to the sovereign; that the descendants of the sovereign and the princes should descend in caste and not those of the girl, although this princess daughter or another princess had married a man of the people; that thus the princes and princesses should not ally themselves together, nor yet own cousins and the issues of own cousins; and that finally, in the absence of a sister of the sovereign, his nearest female relative should be the mother of his successor. Pursuing his speech, he then said to us that in order not to forget the good words which he had brought to us a temple should be built into which only princes and princesses (male and female Suns) should have a right to enter to speak to the Spirit; that in this temple should be preserved eternally a fire which he would make descend from the Sun, whence he had come; that the wood with which it was fed should be a pure wood without bark; that eight wise men should be chosen in the nation to guard it and tend it day and night; that they should have a chief who should watch over the manner in which they performed their duty; and that the one who failed in it should be put to death. He then wished that at the other extremity of the country which we should inhabit (and our nation was then much more extensive than it is now) a second temple should be built, where in like manner fire should be kept which had been taken from the first, so that if it came to be extinguished in the one they could seek the other, in order to relight it, and he informed us that if this misfortune ever happened death would extend itself over our nation until the fire was relighted.

They promixed him to observe and perform all these things, and then he consented to be our sovereign, but he did not wish to be called by any other name than The, which signifies "thee." However, after his death his descendants were called Suns, because they came out originally from the Sun and because The was so brilliant that one could scarcely look at him. Then he had the temples built, established the guardians of the temple, 8 for each, and for each temple a chief of the guardians, and in presence of the entire nation he made descend the fire of the Sun on the walnut [hickory] wood which he had prepared, and when it was lighted some of it was carried with much attention and respect into the other temple, which was at the farther extremity of our country. He lived a very long time, and saw the children of his children. Finally he instituted the feasts which you see...

> He [the temple guardian] did not speak to me of any sacrifices, libations, or offerings, because they make none. Their entire cult consists in maintaining the external fire, and it is that for which the great Sun watches with particular attention over the chief of the guardians of the temple. The one who ruled in my time, and whom I knew particularly, went every day into his temple to see whether the fire continued. His vigilance had been excited by the fear which had been impressed upon him by a terrible hurricane which passed over this district and had lasted for two days. Since this country, as I have already said, is very beautiful and the air there is generally pure and serene, this extraordinary event had appeared to him to announce something sinister, and the firm persuasion which the people have that the extinction of the sacred fire infallibly involves the death of a great number of men had made him apprehend lest this second accident, uniting itself to the first, the entire nation would perish.

A portion of LePage du Pratz' account of this Natchez tradition is clearly of recent origin, perhaps even inserted by du Pratz himself. The paragraph that details the rules intended to govern one's life is probably colored by the Biblical Ten Commandments--even the order of presentation is the same. It may be that in paraphrasing what he had been told by the Temple Guardian, du Pratz modified this part to be more consistent with the thinking of his readers. The remainder of the account is foreign to Western thinking, and it is probably an accurate rendering of what the Guardian said.

The first paragraph of the account tells of the origin of the man and the woman. It is clear that they came from the Sun, although their precise connection with the Sun is left unspecified. If one had seen them, however, there would have been no doubt, based on their brillance, that they could only have come from the Sun. Because these two supernatural figures established themselves as rulers of the Natchez, and because their children became rulers and progenitors of rulers in turn,

successive generations of their descendents were known as "Suns." Rules for the inheritance of leadership positions and changes in the status of succeeding generations are clearly spelled out in the fourth paragraph of du Pratz' account.

The fourth paragraph also provides an explanation for the origin of the Sacred Fire which was to be housed in temples. That fire was brought directly from the sun and was to be maintained by a staff of temple guardians. To allow the fire to be extinguished would cause death throughout the nation. Indeed, the Natchez even attributed the marked decline in their population over several preceeding generations to the carelessness of a temple guardian who let the fire go out (Swanton 1911: 172). During the years that followed this lapse, there was a "mortality" that resulted in the death of many, including nine Great Suns. Population was further reduced by sacrificial victims who were required to accompany Suns into the afterlife. Whether the sacred fire actually went out is unknown, but this parable certainly would have served to illustrate to the Natchez the need to maintain the sacred fire at all costs. Penicaut (Swanton 1911:159) states that a mallet or club was stored in the temple to be used to kill guardians in the event that they let the fire go out, and Dumont (Swanton 1911:161) adds that not only the guardian but also his wife and children were to be immediately killed if the fire were allowed to go out.

So, what was the importance of this fire other than the fact that it was believed to have been started with fire brought directly from the sun? Following the death of the first Sun man and woman, connections with the supernatural must have changed. Whereas the first Sun man and woman were able to move back and forth between this world and the Upper

World, there is no indication that any of their successors were believed to have had that ability. The fire itself was the connecting link between this world and the sacred Upper World. The fire in the temple was a special fire. The only fuel that could be used was oak or hickory logs not less than eight feet long. These logs had to be gathered at the beginning of the new moon, and the bark had to be removed before they could be used (Swanton 1911:159). This fire was never used for cooking or for any of the other functions of a normal household fire: it was therefore believed to be different from all other fires in the village. Because fire is of the Upper World, and because smoke is the product of fire, it makes perfect sense in the Natchez belief system that smoke rises back up towards the source of its origin. So long as the Sacred Fire was burning, and so long as the fire and its smoke were kept unpolluted, it is reasonable to think that the Natchez believed that it carried a signal up to the Upper World that said the Natchez were following the prescribed ways brought down from the sun long ago.

The Caddo had a series of beliefs that were quite similar to those of the Natchez. Espinosa (Swanton 1942:213-214) describes those beliefs as follows:

> Near this house [the temple] there are two other small houses about a gunshot distant. They call them the houses of the two cononicis. These, they say, are two boys or small children whom their great captain sent from the cachao ayo, or the sky, for the purpose of discussing their problems with them. They pretend that these children were in their houses until a little more than two years ago...the time their enemies, the Yojuanes, burned these houses, according to the Indian interpreter. This was when, so he sayd, they say the children ascend in smoke and they have not come down again.

Here again we see messengers sent from the sun to help the Indians with their problems--perhaps primarily those related to agriculture. These messengers lived on earth for awhile, but reascended to their former home in smoke which rose from the fire of their destruction.

Although there is no direct statement that the sacred fire the Caddo kept in their temple was brought by these messengers, that is at least a strong possibility, given what we know about Natchez beliefs. Both sacred fire and stone idols (discussed elsewhere in this volume) have been found among the archaeological remains of chiefdoms throughout the Southeast, and it is likely that these had sacred origins just as those of the Caddo and Natchez did.

The close relationship between the Natchez chief and the sun can be seen in the following quotation taken from Le Petit's (Swanton 1911: 174) account:

> The sun is the principal object of veneration to these people; as they cannot conceive of anything which can be above this heavenly body, nothing else appears to them more worthy of their homage. It is for the same reason that the great chief of this nation, who knows nothing on the earth more dignified than himself, takes the title of brother of the Sun, and the credulity of the people maintains him in the despotic authority which he claims. To enable them better to converse together they raise a mound of artificial soil on which they build his cabin, which is of the same construction as the temple. The door fronts the east, and every morning the great chief honors by his presence the rising of his elder brother, and salutes him with many howlings as soon as he appears above the horizon. Then he gives orders that they shall light his calumet; he makes him an offering of the first three puffs which he draws; afterwards raising his hand above his head and turning from the east to the west, he shows him the direction which he must take in his course.

Charlevoix (Swanton 1911:174) adds that the chief "acknowledges no superior but the Sun, from which he pretends to derive his origin." Further evidence for the close connection between the celestial sun

and the Natchez earthly Sun can be discerned by comparing attributes of the two.

The earthly Sun reigned supreme in his realm, just as the sun or supreme spirit reigned in the supernatural realm. The Great Sun was assisted by special servants who were given the same name, Oulchil tichon, or Great Sun servants, as the subordinate spirits who assisted the sun, the supreme diety (Swanton 1911:100). Just as the celestial sun resided elevated far above this earth, so the Great Sun resided on a mound high above his subjects. The Natchez Great Sun even had a small mound atop his residence mound, which he stood upon whenever he addressed the sun; this action brought him into even greater proximity to his "elder brother" on those special occasions when he wanted to speak to him directly. When the Natchez Sun moved about on ceremonial occasions, he was carried on a litter, thus maintaining his elevated position above the earth's surface and also above his subjects, just as the celestial sun did. Sunrise was greeted by the Natchez Sun, who, standing atop his special mound, gave a salutation to his "brother," smoked his calumet in salute, and then through gestures showed the rising sun the proper path to follow across the sky vault. Whenever visitors entered the residence of the Great Sun, they were required to greet him with the same salutation he used to greet the rising sun each day. Further, anyone who was so careless as to walk between the Natchez Sun and the fire which was kept burning in his house was in danger of being put to death, because to do so would cut the chief off from the fire which was derived from the sun and was the essence of the authority that the chief possessed.

Connections between the two suns can further be seen in the temple ceremonialism of the Natchez. The temple contained the bones of Natchez Suns and their close relatives, all of whom were thought to have been descended from the celestial sun. The Sacred Fire burning in the temple was kindled of peeled logs gathered only at the new moon and tended only by specialized temple guardians. The fire was never permitted to go out, so the smoke from that special fire, originally brought directly from the sun, rose up to the sky carrying the message that the conditions for life brought to the Natchez by the man and woman from the sun were being followed. In other wrods, smoke was a critical communications link between the Sun who resided in this world and his "brother" who resided far above him.

In one case when the Natchez Tattooed Serpent died, all fires in the village were extinguished. This was unusual, because they generally were extinguished only at the death of the Great Sun. In this case, it happened that the Great Sun was so overcome by grief at the death of his brother that he wished to kill himself, and thus all of the fires in the village were extinguished (Du Pratz in Swanton 1911:144). Dumont (Swanton 1911:150) says there was not enough fire in the village on this occasion to light a pipe. One must assume that this means that even the temple fire was extinguished, although this is not explicitly stated. If that were the case, then it is likely that the situation in the village was much like that described by James Adair (Williams 1930:111) for a Chickasaw Green Corn Ceremony that he observed in the last half of the eighteenth century:

> As soon as the sun is visibly declining from her meredian, the third day of the fast, the Archi-magus orders a religious attendent to cry aloud to the crowded town, that the holy fire is to be brought out for the sacred altar-commanding

> everyone of them to stay within their own houses, as becomes the beloved people, without doing the least bad thing--and to be sure to extinguish, and throw away every spark of the old fire; otherwise, the divine fire will bite them severely with bad diseases, sickness, and a great many other evils, which he sententiously enumerates, and finishes his monitory caution, by laying life and death before them.
>
> Now everything is hushed--nothing but silence all around: the Archi-Magus, and his beloved waiter, rising up with a reverend carriage, steady countenance, and composed behavior, go into the beloved place, or holiest, to bring them out the beloved fire. The former takes a piece of dry popular, willow, or white oak, and having cut a hole, so as not to reach through it, he then sharpens another piece, and placing that with the hole between his knees, he drills it briskly for several minutes, till it begins to smoke--or, by rubbing two pieces together, for about a quarter of an hour, by friction he collects the hidden fire; which all of them reckon to immediately issue from the holy Spirit of fire... When the fire appears, the beloved waiter cherishes it with fine chips, or shaved splinters of pitch-pine, which had been deposited in the holiest; then he takes the unsullied wing of a swan, fans it gently, and cherishes it to a flame. On this, the Archi-magus brings it out in an old earthen vessel, whereupon he had placed it, and lays it on the sacred altar...
>
> Their hearts are enlivened with joy at the appearance of the reputed holy fire, as the divine fire is supposed to atone for all their past crimes, except murder: and the beloved waiter shows his pleasure, by his cheerful industry in feeding it with dry fresh wood; for they put no rotten wood on it...

With the sacred fire extinguished, then the direct connection of society to the sacred Upper World through the narrow connecting strand of smoke was broken. It was a time when man and supernatural were separated and only a rekindling of the fire could reestablish that extremely important connection. Because chiefs were descended from the sun, the job of rekindling the sacred fire must have fallen to them. Any man can make a fire, but only a brother of the sun could make sacred fire.

This belief may be reflected in some of the symbolism in southeastern Indian art. Engraved on shell, copper, or pottery, one can observe numerous examples of human hands. These hands are generally distinguished by two specific features: they have beads or pearls represented at the wrist, indicative of the high status of the hand represented, and they have an eye, or a circle, or a cross within a circle, or some similar motif in the palm of the hand. Because these "sun" symbols are often associated with other sacred symbols, it is possible that the hand symbolically represents the kindling of the sacred fire.

My argument for this connection is tenuous, but is based on two main points. First, we know that the Indians made fire by rubbing two sticks together (see Penicaut in McWilliams, p. 112 for a description of this kind of fire making among the Natchez). In the absence of a knowledge of friction, one would be left to conclude that the essence of fire must reside either in the wood or in the body of man, or some part of it in each. Now, because any man could make fire using this method, there must have been something different about the fire that a chief, or Great Sun, could kindle. The difference was that he was descended from the sun, and therefore had the essence of the celestial sun residing within him. It was this factor that made fire kindled by chiefs sacred fire, whereas fire made by others was only common household fire. Thence, it is plausible that this connection to the celestial sun was depicted in the high status hands with one of several fire symbols.

This is not to say that all sacred fire was kindled by chiefs or Great Suns. Fire derived from lightning was also suitable sacred fire

because it also derived from some supernatural source and therefore could be substituted for other forms of sacred fire (Du Pratz in Swanton 1911:172). The Natchez bypassed the problem of having to endure the potential disastrous impact of being without sacred fire by having the fire kept in temples at opposite ends of their territory. Even that did not make regaining fire completely without trouble, because fire when needed had to be "wrested" away from the other temple with violence (Du Pratz in Swanton 1911:172).

Maintaining the fire in two distantly separated locations was probably a necessary result of the kind of warfare that we know took place in the Southeast. Soto witnessed several temples sacked and looted by Indians accompanying his expedition (Varner and Varner 1951: 438). In those cases, temple treasures were carried off, chests containing sacred bones of past chiefs were dumped on the floor, and undoubtedly their sacred fires were extinguished.

In summary, there was a very close relationship between chiefs and the celestial sun. This relationship was described in myths and was perpetuated through the perpetual sacred fire. Smoke from that fire provided the link between this world and the Upper World, and maintenance of that link was important for the continued control of chiefs over their subjects. Another feature of that control involved access to the afterlife, which is discussed in the following section.

Human Sacrifice and the Afterlife

Human sacrifice was a common feature among the early historic period chiefdoms in the Southeast. Most previous attempts to understand the function of sacrifice in southeastern societies have failed because

they have not been grounded in an adequate understanding of the social organization and belief system of those societies. As Charles Hudson (1976:329) has pointed out, it is difficult for us to understand the willingness of an individual to voluntarily give up his or her life, for whatever reason. In our society, life is precious, and we lack any intuitive explanation (as did theoriginal Spanish and French observers) for the known instances of sacrifice.

A feature of the Natchez belief system of the early 18th century that is critical to understanding the importance of human sacrifice can be found in their concept of the afterlife. LePetit's (Thwaites 1900: 129-131) description of the Natchez conception of the afterlife suggests that they believed that after death the "good" they did would be rewarded and the bad would be punished. His account is as follows:

> The old men prescribe the Laws for the rest of the people, and one of their principles is to have a sovereign respect for the great Chief, as being the brother of the Sun and the Master of the Temple. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and when they leave this world they go, they say, to live in another, there to be recompassed or punished. The reward to which they look forward, consists principally in feasting, and their chastisement in the privation of every pleasure. Thus they think that those who have been the faithful observers of their laws will be conducted into a region of pleasures, where all kinds of exquisite viands will be furnished them in abundance; that their delightful and tranquil days will flow on in the midst of festivals, dances, and women; in short they will revel in all imaginable pleasures. On the contrary, the violators of their laws will be cast upon lands unfruitful and entirely covered with water, where they will not have any kind of corn, but will be exposed entirely naked to the sharp bites of the mosquitoes, that all Nations will make war upon them, that they will never eat meat, and have no nourishment but the flesh of crocodiles, spoiled fish, and shellfish.

It could be argued that LePetit's account is relatively late (the letter from which the preceding is taken was written in 1730 but was based on observations made as early as 1699) and that it may show some

Christian influence. The existence of an afterlife for at least high status individuals is, however, mentioned much earlier in relation to the death of a principal Indian at Guachoya in the Mississippi River Valley (Varner and Varner 1951:511-512) and at the death of Soto (Bourne 1904:I, 162-163) in 1542. The pre-contact existence of a place where the bad were punished is more difficult to demonstrate. For the Lower Mississippi Valley, the only relevant account comes from a general statement made by the anonymous author of the Luxembourg Memoire (Swanton 1911:181) which was written in about 1718. That account is as follows:

> All the savages believe in the immortality of the soul and above all in metempsychosis. Some imagine that the souls are going to pass into the bodies of certain animals, and they therefore respect that species; others that they are going to revive if they have been brave and good people in a happier nation where hunting never fails, or in a miserable nation and in a country where only alligators are eaten if they have lived badly.

Moving away from the Mississippi Valley, similar conceptions of afterlife were present among Indians of present day North Carolina and Georgia-Alabama. Lawson (Lefler 1967:185-186), in an account of the North Carolina Indians in 1700, provides the following account of their belief in an afterlife in relation to a burial ceremony:

> [Then] the Doctor or Conjurer appears; and after some time, makes a Sort of O-yes, at which all are very silent; then he begins to give an Account, who the dead Person was, and how stout a Man he approv'd himself; how many Enemies and Captives he had kill'd and Taken; how strong, tall, and nimble he was; that he was a great Hunter, a Lover of his Country, and possess'd of a great many beautiful Wives and Children, esteem'd the greatest of Blessings among these Savages, in which they have a true Nation. Thus the Orator runs on, highly extolling the dead Man, for his Valour, Conduct, Strength, Riches, and Good Humour; and enumerating his Guns, Slaves, and almost everything he was possess'd of, when living. After which, he addressed himself to the People of that Town or Nation, and bids them supply the dead

> Man's Place, by following his steps, who, he assures them is gone into the Country of Souls, (which they think lies a great way off, in this World, which the Sun visits in his ordinary Course) and that he will have the Enjoyment of handsome young Women, great store of Deer to hunt, never meet with Hunger, Cold, or Fatigue, but every thing to answer his Expectation and Desire. This is the Heaven they propose to themselves; but, on the contrary, for those Indians that are lazy, thievish amongst themselves, bad Hunters, and no Warriors, nor of much Use to the Nation, to such they allot, in the next World, Hunger, Cold, Troubles, old ugly Women for their Companions, with Snakes, and all sorts of nasty Victuals to feed on. Thus is mark'd out their Heaven and Hell.

William Byrd (Swanton 1946:749-751; Bassett 1901:140-143) provides an excellent account of Saponi beliefs relating to the afterlife, and Caleb Swan (Schoolcraft 1841:V, 270) provides a similar account for late 18th century Creeks. Their descriptions of the lands reserved for the good and the bad members of society are quite similar to those already provided.

There is at least, then, some evidence for the existence of a place in the afterlife where those who did not conform to the norms of southeastern societies were punished. All of the available accounts are post-1700, and may reflect Christian influence. But, the presence of abundant grave goods, including trophy skulls, weapons, food containers, and other materials with prehistoric Mississippian Stage burials is good evidence for a belief in the existence of an afterlife in which those materials would be needed.

An additional evidence for belief in the afterlife is found in the accounts of both John Smith and William Strachey in their descriptions of Virginia Indians in the 17th century. Smith's (1819:141) account is as follows:

> They thinke that their Werowances and Priests which they also esteeme Quiyoughcosughes, when they are dead, doe

> goe beyond the mountaines towards the setting of the sunne, and ever remaine there in forme of their Okee, with their heads painted with oyle and Pocones, finely trimmed with feathers, and shall haue beads, hatchets, copper, and Tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing, with all their Predecessors. But the common people they suppose shall not liue after death, but rot in their graues like dead dogs.

Strachey's (1853:100) account is similar to Smith's, but also includes the concept of reincarnation among Powhatan beliefs.

In light of the foregoing, human sacrifice in the Southeast can be seen to have been part of a belief system that held that human souls continued to exist in an afterlife. In at least one case, among the Powhatan, access to the afterlife was reserved for high status individuals including chiefs and priests. Morever, whether an afterlife was only for high status individual or only for those who lived proper lives in this existence, any individual who was sacrificed to serve as a retainer or servant to the chief in the afterlife would be sure to spend eternity in the more desirable of the two post-life alternatives. With this guarantee of eternal happiness, it is easier to understand why sacrifice, even of volunteers, was common in the Southeast. In their way of thinking, it was neither punishment nor giving up of life. It was simply moving on to a better life.

Several forms of human sacrifice were present in the Southeast at the time of earliest European contact. Knowles (1940) provides a good summary of available accounts of such sacrifice, and most of the available information concerning this practice in the Mississippi River Valley is contained in Swanton (1911). The most common type of sacrifice occurred at the death of a high status individual, and the best

descriptions of this kind of sacrifice are found among the accounts relating to the exploration and settlement of the Mississippi Valley.

The earliest mention of sacrifice is in the Gentleman of Elvas' (Bourne 1904:I, 162-163) account of Hernando De Soto's death near Guachoya in the Mississippi River Valley. Although Soto's death was not announced to the Indians, they suspected that he had died. The chief of Guachoya brought two young men to the Spanish camp to be sacrificed according to their custom to "accompany and serve" Soto in the afterlife. When Moscoco freed the two men, one of them choose to accompany the Spaniards rather than return to his village to serve under one who had condemned him to death. Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:511-512) provides a second account relating to sacrifice at the same town of Guachoya, although he does not seem to be describing the same incident. According to Garcilaso, a boy from Guachoya came to the Spanish camp and joined them, saying that he was an orphan who was soon to be sacrificed at the death of the "principal Indian" who had raised him. Being unwilling to endure that fate, the boy had instead fled to the Spanish camp.

Although there is always the possibility that Elvas and Garcilaso were describing the same incident, that is unlikely given the amount of detail contained in each of the two accounts. It should be noted that each account mentions sacrifice in relation to the death of a high status individual: Soto in the first case and a "principal Indian" in the second. In both cases service in the afterlife is given as the reason for the proposed sacrifices. The fact that no mention of sacrifice occurs in the Soto accounts prior to the time that the expedition reached the Mississippi Valley may be due to chance more than the

actual absence of the practice in the vast area previously traveled. Soto did not witness the death of any chiefs or principal men except those killed on the field of battle by his own men. There were no burials of high status individuals observed by Soto so far as we know, so it is not surprising that we have no first hand descriptions of retainer sacrifice from the Soto chroniclers.

It is also clear that sacrifice was practiced in the Mississippi Valley by the Natchez and their neighbors in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The French accounts relating to that time are filled with descriptions of sacrifice at the death of high status individuals including the Chief or Great Sun, his brother, the Tattooed Serpent, and their sister, the White Woman.

Tonti (Cox 1905:I, 21) provides one of the earliest descriptions of sacrifice observed on the Mississippi River in the 1680's. He noted that when the Taensa chief died, "they sacrifice his youngest wife, his house steward, and a hundred men to accompany him into the other world." Among the Natchez, Gravier (Swanton 1911:139) recorded the following shortly after 1700:

> The Frenchman who M. d'Iberville left there to learn the language told me that on the death of the last chief they put to death two women, three men, and three children. They strangled them with a bow-string, and this cruel ceremony was performed with great pomp, these wretched victims deeming themselves greatly honored to accompany their chief to a violent death. There were only seven for the great chief who died some months before.

One of the more thorough descriptions of Natchez sacrifice comes from Penicaut who observed the death of a White Woman or Great Female Sun in 1704. His account (Swanton 1911:140-141), which follows, is unusually comprehensive:

It happened in our time that the grand chieftainess Noble being dead, we saw the burial ceremony, which is indeed the most horrible tragedy that one can witness. It made myself and all my comrades tremble with horror. She was a chieftainess Noble in her own right. Her husband, who was not at all noble, was immediately strangled by the first boy she had by him, to accompany his wife into the great village, where they believe they go. After such a fine beginning they put outside of the cabin of the great chief all that was there. As is customary they made a kind of triumphal car [litter] in the cabin, where they placed the dead woman and her strangled husband. A moment later, they brought 12 little dead infants, who had been strangled, and whom they placed around the dead woman. It was their fathers and mothers who brought them there, by order of the eldest of the dead chieftainess's children, and who then, as grand chief [Great Sun], commands to have die to honor the funeral rights of his mother as many persons as he wishes. They had 14 scaffolds prepared in the public square, which they ornamented with branches of trees and with cloth covered with pictures. On each scaffold a man placed himself who was going to accompany the defunct to the other world. They stood on these scaffolds surrounded by their nearest relatives; they are sometimes warned more than ten years before their death. It is an honor for their relatives. Ordinarily they have offered to die during the life of the defunct, for the good will which they bear him, and they themselves have tied the cord with which they are strangled. They are dressed in their finest clothing, with a large shell in the right hand, and the nearest relative - for example, if it is the father of a family who dies, his eldest son - walks behind him bearing the cord under his arm and a war club in his right hand. He makes a frightful cry which they call the death cry. Then all these unfortunate victime every quarter of an hour descend from their scaffolds and unite in the middle of the square, where they dance together before the temple and before the house of the dead female chief, when they remount their scaffolds to resume their places. They are very much respected that day, and each one has five servants. Their faces are all reddened with vermillion. For my part I have thought it was in order not to let the fear that they might have of their approaching death be apparent.

At the end of four days they begin the ceremony of "the march of the bodies."

The fathers and the mothers who had brought their dead children took them and held them in their hands; the oldest of these children did not appear to be more than three years old. They placed them to the right and left of the entrance to the cabin of the dead female chief. The 14 victims destined to be strangled repaired there in the

> same order; the chiefs and the relatives of the dead woman appeared there all in mourning-that is to say, with their hair cut. They then made such frightful cries that we thought the devils were come out of the hells to come and howl in this place. The unfortunate persons destined to death danced and the relatives of the dead woman sang. When the march of this fine convoy was begun by two and two, the dead woman was brought out of her cabin on the shoulders of four savages as on a stretcher [litter]. As soon as she had been taken out, they set fire to her cabin (it is the usual custom with the Nobles). The fathers, who carried their dead children in their hands, marched in front, four paces distant from each other, and after marching 10 steps they let them fall to the ground. Those who bore the dead woman passed over and went around these children three times. The fathers then gathered them up and reassumed their places in the ranks, and at every 10 paces they recommenced this frightful ceremony, until they reached the temple, so that these children were in pieces when this fine convoy arrived. While they interred the female Noble in the temple the victims were stripped before the door, and, after they had been made to sit on the ground, a savage seated himself on the knees of each while another behind held his arms. They then passed a cord around his neck and put the skin of a deer over his head; they made each of these poor unfortunates swallow three pills of tobacco, and gave him a draught of water to drink, in order that the pills should dissolve in his stomach, which made him lose consciousness; then the relatives of the deceased ranged themselves at their sides, to right and left, and each, as he sang, drew an end of a cord, which was passed around the neck with a running knot, until they were dead, after which they buried them.
>
> If a chief dies and still has his nurse, she must die with him.

Important points to note in Penicaut's account include the apparent ability of the chief to chose as many sacrificial victims as he saw fit (although some were notified up to 10 years in advance), the sacrifice of infants, and the honor that sacrifice brought to the relatives of the victims. These are common features in all of the accounts of sacrifice from the lower Mississippi Valley.

DuPratz (Swanton 1911:143-149) provides an account of the human sacrifice associated with the death of the Tattooed Serpent (brother of the Great Sun) in 1725. Among the persons sacrificed were the

Tattooed Serpent's first and second wives, his "chancellor," his doctor, his head servant, his pipe-bearer, three old women, and a close female friend. An infant was also killed by its parents and was thrown beneath the feet of the men carrying the litter on which the Tattooed Serpent's body was carried from his home. DuPratz (Swanton 1911:145-149) further describes the ceremony involved in the actual sacrifice as follows:

> [The] young Sun came to tell me that orders had been given (as he had promised, although feignedly) to have only those die who were in the cabin of the deceased, because they were his food; that besides there would be put to death a bad woman, if she had not already been killed, and an infant which had already been strangled by its father and mother, a forfeit which purchased their lives at the death of the great Sun, ennobled them, and raised them from the grade of Stinkards.
>
> A few moments later the grand master of ceremonies appeared at the door of the dead man's house with the ornaments which were proper to his rank ... He uttered two words and the people in the cabin came out. These persons were the favorite wife and his other wife, his chancellor, his doctor, his head servant, his pipe bearer, and some old women. Each of these victims was accompanied by eight male relations, who were going to put him to death. One bore the war club raised as if to strike, and often he seemed to do so, another carried the mat on which to seat him, a third carried the cord for strangling him, another the skin, the fifth a dish in which were five or six balls of pounded tobacco to make him swallow in order to stupefy him. Another bore a little earthen bottle holding about a pint, in order to make him drink some mouthfuls of water in order to swallow the pellets more easily. Two others followed to aid in drawing the cord at each side.
>
> A very small number of men suffices to strangle a person, but since this action withdraws them from the rank of Stinkards, puts them in the class of Honored men, and thus exempts them from dying with the Suns, many more would present themselves if the number were not fixed to eight persons only. All these persons whom I have just described walk in this order, two by two, after their relations. The victims have their hair daubed with red and in the hand the shell of a river mussel which is about 7 inches long by 3 or 4 broad. By that they are distinguished from their

followers, who on those days have red feathers in their hair. The day of the death they have their hands reddened, as being prepared to give death.

Later when the actual funeral procession began, the ceremonies took the following form:

As soon as the master of ceremonies went to the door of the deceased he saluted him, without entering, with a great hou. Then he made the death cry, to which the people on the square replied in the same manner. The entire nation did the same thing and the echoes repeated it from afar. The body of the strangled infant was near the door by which the body of the dead man was to be brought out. Its father and its mother were behind it, leaning against the wall, their feet on some Spanish moss, esteeming themselves unworthy to walk on the earth until the body of the deceased had passed over it. As soon as the body appeared they laid their infant down, then raised it when it was outside, in order to expose it at each circle which it made until it had reached the temple.

The Tattooed-serpent, having come out of his cabin in his state bed, as I have pictured it, was placed on a litter with two poles, which four men carried. Another pole was placed underneath toward the middle and crosswise, which two other men held, in order to sustain the body. These six men who carried it were guardians of the temple.

The grand master of ceremonies walked first, after him the oldest of the war chiefs, who bore the pole from which hung the cane links indicative of the number of enemies he had killed. He held this pole in one hand and in the other a war calumet, a mark of the procession of those who were going to die at his burial. Together they circled the house from which they had come out three times. At the third turn they took the road to the temple, and then the relatives of the victims placed themselves in the order which I have described for the rehearsal, but they walked very slowly, because they were going straight to the temple, while the body circled about as it advanced in a manner of which I am not able to give a better idea than by the mark indicated on the cut [a circuitous path]. At each circuit made by the body the man of whom I have spoken threw his child in front of it in order that the body should pass over. He took it up again by one foot to do the same at the other circuits.

Finally the body reached the temple, and the victims put themselves in their places as determined in the rehearsals. The mats were stretched out. They seated themselves there. The death cry was uttered. The pellets of tobacco

> were given to them and a little water to drink after each one. After they had all been taken [each victim's] head was covered with a skin on which the cord was placed around the neck, two men held it in order that it should not be dragged away [to one side] by the stronger party, and the cord, which had a running knot, was held at each side by three men, who drew with all their strength from the two opposite sides. They are so skillful in this operation that it is impossible to describe it as properly as it is done.
>
> The body of the Tattooed-serpent was placed in a great trench to the right of the temple in the interior. His two wives were buried in the same trench. La Glorieuse was buried in front of the temple to the right and the chancellor on the left. The others were carried into the temples of their own villages in order to be interred there. After this ceremony the cabin of the deceased was burned, according to custom.

Dumont (Swanton 1911:156-157) provides additional information concerning the death of the same Tattooed Serpent. He says that the two wives, his first warrior, the female friend, his head servant and his wife, another woman, and a maker of war clubs were killed in the temple, and shortly thereafter, a nurse, a doctor, and three old women were killed "on the square." Elsewhere, he says that four temple guardians were to be strangled in ten months when the bones of the Tattooed Serpent were taken out of the earth.

Both LePetit (Swanton 1911:143) and the anonymously authored Luxembourg Memoire (Swanton 1911:100) mention that servants who were either voluntary or were given to the Great Sun at his birth were sacrificed at his death to continue their service to him in the afterlife. According to LePetit, after removal of flesh and drying of the bones, the remains of the Great Sun's principal servants were placed beside him in the temple, whereas the remains of the remaining servants were buried by their relatives. LePetit also notes that human

sacrifice accompanied the death of lesser Suns, i.e., brothers and sisters of the Great Sun.

Practices similar to those found among the Natchez were also present among the 16th century Calusa in Florida. Lopez de Velasco (Swanton 1922:389) provides the following account of their sacrifice at the death of high status individuals:

> The Indians of Carlos have the following customs:
>
> First, every time that the son of a cacique dies, each neighbor sacrifices (or kills) his sons or daughters who have accompanied the dead body of the cacique's son.
>
> Second, when the cacique himself, or the caciqua [his wife] dies, every servant of his or hers, as the case may be, is put to death.

Although it is not stated by Velasco, it is likely that the sacrificed individuals were intended to serve the deceased in the afterlife.

From the late 17th century there is an account by Lederer (Swanton 1946:647) which relates that at the death of the son of the Wateree "King," the "King" had sent three youths out to kill as many enemy women as possible to serve his son in the afterlife. No other similar accounts occur in the available literature.

Besides the form of sacrifice intended to supply high status individuals with servants and company in the afterlife, other types of sacrifice appear less commonly in existing ethnohistorical accounts. These probably occur less frequently because they were not a part of a funeral ceremony that French or Spanish visitors might have witnessed. These sacrifices occurred for a variety of reasons, some of which are not clearly spelled out in the accounts in which the references are found. For instance, LeMoyne (Swanton 1922:382) relates the following

concerning an unusual form of sacrifice found among the Timucua of Florida in the 1560's:

> Their custom is to offer up the first-born son to the chief. When the day for the sacrifice is notified to the chief, he proceeds to a place set apart for the purpose, where there is a bench for him, on which he takes his seat. In the middle of the area before him is a wooden stump two feet high, and as many thick, before which the mother sits on her heels, with her face covered in her hands, lamenting the loss of her child. The principal one of her female relatives or friends now offers the child to the chief in worship, after which the women who have accompanied the mother form a circle, and dance around with demonstrations of joy, but without joining hands. She who holds the child goes and dances in the middle, singing some praises of the chief. Meanwhile, six Indians, chosen for the purpose, take their stand apart in a certain place in the open area; and midway among them the sacrificing officer, who is decorated with a sort of magnificence, and holds a club. The ceremonies being through, the sacrificer takes the child, and slays it in honor of the chief, before them all, upon the wooden stump. The offering was on one occasion performed in our presence.

The purpose of the sacrifice just described is not clearly indicated by LeMoyne. His phrase, "in honor of the chief," tells us little about the reason the act was performed.

Just as puzzling is Velasco's (Swanton 1922:389) account of the sacrifice of Spanish captives by the Calusa, which he describes as follows:

> Each year they kill a Christian captive to feed their idol, which they adore, and they say it has to eat every year the eyes of a man, and then they all dance around the dead man's head.

Perhaps related to this practice is the Gentleman of Elvas' (Bourne 1904:I, 29-30) description of sacrifice at Ucita which was located just north of Calusa on the Florida Gulf Coast. His account is as follows:

> The Indians [of Ucita] are worshippers of the Devil, and it is their custom to make sacrifices of the blood and bodies of their people, or of those of any other they can come by; and they affirm, too, that when he would have

> them make an offering, he speaks, telling them that he is athirst, and that they must make sacrifice to him,

Similarly, Tonti (Cox 1905:I, 21) observes that the human heads decorating the palisade surrounding the Taensa temple were remains of enemies who were sacrificed to the sun. It is likely that the individuals represented were war captives who were tortured to death (Knowles 1940).

A final type of sacrifice found in at least two separate areas of the Southeast concerns human sacrifice to appease spirits. Iberville (Swanton 1911:266-267) provides perhaps the best description of this type of sacrifice as he observed it among the Taensa in 1700:

> The 16th and 17th [of March] it rained and thundered much; the night of the 16th to the 17th a thunderbolt fell on the temple of the Taensas and set fire to it, which burned it entirely. These savages, to appease the Spirit, who they said was angry, threw five little children in swaddling clothes into the fire of the temple. They would have thrown in many others had not three Frenchmen run thither and prevented them. An old man of about 65 years, who appeared to be the principal priest, was near the fire, crying in a loud voice: "Women, bring your children to sacrifice them to the Spirit in order to appease him," a thing which five of these women did, bringing to him their children, whom he took and threw into the midst of the flames. The action of these women was regarded by them as one of the finest one could make, so that they followed this old man, who led them with ceremony to the cabin of the one who was going to be made chief of the nation, for the chief had died a short time before. They had the custom, at the death of their chief, of killing 15 or 20 men or women to accompany him, say they, in the other world and serve him. Many, according to what is said, are enchanted to be of this number. I doubt it very much. The old man of whom I spoke above said that the Spirit was angry, because at the death of the last chief, no one had been killed to accompany him, and that he was angry himself, so that he had had the temple burned, accusing the French that it was they who had been the cause of this misfortune, because M. de Montigny, being at the village of the time of the death of the chief, had prevented them from killing anyone, at which all the people in the nation appeared very well satisfied except the grand priest.

The women who had sacrificed their children were "sanctified and consecrated to the Spirit through the action which they had performed," according to Iberville, and they played important roles in the consecretion of the chief's house as the new temple.

St. Cosme (Swanton 1911:93) tells of a second case in which sacrifice in the Lower Mississippi Valley was done for benefit of spirits. He states that if any of the Natchez Suns fell ill, then infants were usually sacrificed to "appease the spirit." He then makes a brief reference to sacrifice at the death of a Sun, but he provides no further descriptions of sacrifice.

A final example concerning sacrifice of another kind comes from Henry Spelman's (Swanton 1946:743) description of Powhatan and Potomac practices based on observations made while he was a captive. His account is as follows:

> In ye Potomecks cuntry they haue an other god whom they call Quioquascacke, and unto ther Images they offer Beades and Copper if at any time they want Rayne or haue to much, and though they obserue no day to worshipe ther god: but vppon necessitye, yet once in the yeare, ther preests which are ther coniuerer with ye men, weomen, and children doe goe into the woods, where ther preests makes a great cirkell of fier in ye which after many obseruanses in ther coniurations they make offer of 2 or 3 children to be giuen to ther god if he will apeare unto them and shew his mind whome he will haue. Vppon which offringe they heare a noyse out of ye Cirkell Nominatinge such as he will haue, whome presently they take bindinge them hand and footte and cast them into ye circle of the fier, for be it the Kinges sonne he must be giuen if once named by ther god. After ye bodies which are offered are consumed in the fier and ther ceremonees performed the men depart merily, the weomen weaping.

Once again, we are left to speculate on the function of the activity being described, but the "once in the yeare" phrase may indicate that the sacrifice was part of an annual renewal ceremony.

In summary, sacrifice among Southeastern Indian societies falls into what appear to be three major categories. First, there was sacrifice at the death of high status individuals, at least among societies in the Mississippi Valley and among the Calusa. Second, there were instances in which they attempted to appease angry spirits or to maintain the proper relationship with potentially angry spirits. Third, there are cases such as the sacrifice of the Timucua chief's first son which do not fit any good explanation based on the information at hand. A fourth possible type involves the sacrifice of war prisoners in honor or the sun or some other diety (Knowles 1940), but such sacrifice is not of major concern here.

Little can be said about the way in which human sacrifice might have come into being among Southeastern societies. Perhaps it was simply an elaboration of the sacrifice of foodstuffs and tobacco to spirits. Those instances of retainer sacrifice to provide service in the afterlife probably developed in conjunction with the developing concept of different afterlives for commoners and high status individuals. If there was a choice between a more desirable or less desirable afterlife based on giving up one's present life, then one can easily imagine how such a practice could have been adopted. Add to this the incentive of relatives being elevated in status for participation in the actual sacrifice, and it would have been even more attractive to both individuals and their kin groups.

That is not to say that sacrificial victims always went to their deaths willingly. The instance where a boy to be sacrificed joined Soto to avoid this fate has already been given, and DuPratz (Swanton 1911:146-147) provides an even more dramatic example of the same sort.

A Natchez man, Ette-actal, was to be sacrificed at the death of his wife, a female Sun. He fled his village to avoid being killed and went to live with the French, where he received a meaningless reprieve from the commandant. After a while, Ette-actal began visiting his relatives, and at the death of the Tattooed Serpent, he was ordered seized by the Great Sun to be sacrificed. Once again, Ette-actal declined to die willingly, and the favorite wife of the Tattooed Serpent sent him away in disgust. Three old and crippled women including two of Ette-actal's kinsmen volunteered to die in his place. According to DuPratz, the generosity of these women "purchased the life of the warrior, Ette-actal, and acquired for him the rank of Honored man." The mechanism by which Ette-actal was raised in status is not clear from DuPratz' description.

Beyond providing access to the afterlife for common people, because among the Natchez at least, only Stinkards or people of the lowest status could be sacrificed, what other purposes might sacrifice have had? First, it would have provided a mechanism by which the balance between the sexes could have been maintained. I have argued elsewhere in this volume that a highly developed form of warfare was practiced in the Southeast. Such persistent warfare, often conducted against all neighboring groups, would have over time resulted in a loss of more men than women, because men did most of the fighting. Sacrifice involving widows and unmarried women would have helped reinstitute a more desirable male-female sex ratio in societies such as those in the Southeast where everyone was monogamous except for the chiefs.

Second, it provided a means of voluntary suicide for older, non-productive members of society such as the three crippled women who took Ette-actal's place. It might also have served to reduce overall

population growth. Sacrifice of young widows and unmarried women in addition to infants and young children would also have served to limit population growth. When we look at places like Cahokia where over 50 young women were sacrificed in a single episode we can see how effective sacrifice might have been at keeping population growth in check (Fowler 1974:20).

Third, and perhaps most importantly, sacrifice at the death of a chief effectively removed all members of his regime and cleared the way for the next regime to move in. A chief's wife, many of his officers, his servants, and the temple guardians were all sacrificed. His house was burned down, and a new mound surface was built over it. Not only was the old regime gone, but the only trace of it was found in the temple where the chief's bones were placed to reside in perpetuity.

A statement written by Penicaut (Swanton 1911:141) in 1704 provides some insight into the importance of sacrifice to the Natchez. His report follows:

> This nation still follows this excreble custom, in spite of all that has been done to turn them from it. Our missionaries have never been able to succeed in that; all that they were able to do was to succeed sometimes in baptizing these poor little infants before their fathers strangled them. Besides, this nation is too much infatuated with its religion, which flatters the evil inclinations of their corrupt nature, for anyone ever to have made any progress in conversion and to have established Christianity there.

And finally, there is the Indians justification of human sacrifice. Perhaps the best account relating to such justification comes from Dumont's (Swanton 1911:154) description of the death of the Tattooed Serpent which follows:

> I repaired to the great chief of war, of whom I asked whether many people would die. He answered, "If you French had not spoken, the road from my brother's cabin to the temple would have been strewn with the dead. Only the old women will die. I have already sent back more than 30 young people who wished to die. After all, is not my brother precious? Is he a Stinkard? And what will the chief of the spirits say if he sees him come entirely alone? He will say this is not a chief, and he will drive him from before his face. Besides, his two wives have always walked and eaten with him. They must go with him, and when 20 guns and 20 coverings of Limbourg shall be given they will not seek to avoid death."

The reference to guns and "coverings" may represent payment to the kin of sacrificial victims, but such payment, if that is what it was, is not mentioned elsewhere.

Summary and Conclusions

Thus we see that there was a close relationship between chiefs and the celestial sun in southeastern chiefdoms. Mound residence, temple burial, use of litters, maintenance of sacred fire, and certain rituals were symbolic of this close relationship. Because the sun was important for success in agriculture, the sun's earthy representative, the chief, played an important role in agriculture ritual. This ritual was centered on the temple and is discussed later in this volume.

Access to the afterlife was also controlled in whole or in part by chiefs. If there was no separate afterlife for commoners, then the only way to enter the afterlife was to accompany the chief through sacrifice. If there were both "good" and "bad" afterlifes, then a person could assure his own or his children's future well-being through sacrifice. Also, one's relatives could attain increased status through assisting in the actual sacrifice. Sacrifice also benefited society by limiting population growth, equalizing the male/female ratio, and

eliminating those unable to contribute to society due to old age or health problems.

CHAPTER V

SUCCESSION TO OFFICE

Once a chiefdom achieves a strong chiefly authority it must provide for an orderly transfer of power at the death of a chief. This was almost certainly done in the Southeast through principles of inheritance reckoned through matrilineal or patrilineal descent. Service (1971:147) observed that inheritance in most chiefdoms was through primogeniture, indicative of patrilineality, although he did note that in rare cases inheritance was through the chief's sister, as would be expected in matrilineal societies. Because most southeastern U.S. societies were matrilineal (Hudson 1976:185-195, 518), most of the available information concerning chiefly succession relates to matrilineal principles of inheritance. There are exceptions, however, and these will be discussed in turn.

Matrilineal Succession

Although the early chroniclers had little or no understanding of the concept of matrilineality, their writings do provide enough information to conclude that some of the groups they were describing were, in fact, matrilineal, at least in the succession to the office of chief. Ranjel (Bourne 1905:II, 91) records the following information concerning succession of Cofaqui in each central Georgia:

> ...they departed from Ocute and reached Cofaqui and the leading men came with gifts. This chief Cofaqui was an old man, with a full beard, and his nephew governed for him.

A similar situation, was recorded by Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 76) for the "province" of Chiaha in east Tennessee. A conversation with the chief of that province was recorded as follows:

> My people will not obey me, nor do anything that an uncle of mine does not command: he governs this country, in my place, until I shall be of mature age.

In 1700, John Lawson (Lefler 1967) passed through the same region formerly occupied by Cofitachequi. He provides the following description of what is certainly matrilineal succession (Lefler 1967:205):

> The Succession falls not to the King's Son, but to his Sister's Son, which is a sure way to prevent Imposters in the Succession. Sometimes they poison the Heir to make way for another, which is not seldom done, when they do not approve of the Youth that is to succeed them. The King himself is commonly chief Doctor in that Cure... They are so well versed in Poison, that they are often found to poison whole Families; nay, most of a Town...

This account by Lawson is interesting for two reasons. First, it gives voice to the way in which Europeans, and perhaps also the Indians, justified matrilineal succession. As Lawson (Lefler 1967:57) so succinctly put it elsewhere, "the Female Issue carrying the Heritage, for fear of Imposters: the Savages well knowing, how much Frailty possesses the Indian Women, betwixt the Garters and the Girdle." The second important point concerns the possibility of scheming and rivalry in inheritance of the chiefly position. This is the only specific allusion to such intrigue, but it may have been more common than the ducuments would lead us to believe.

The other good case for matrilineal succession concerns the Natchez. Three of the major accounts pertaining to the Natchez are quite

similar, but because of their brevity, all three will be presented here.

> The great chief of the Natchez bears the name of Sun; and it is always, as among the Hurons, the son of the woman who is nearest related to him that succeeds him. They give this woman the title of woman chief ... (Charlevoix in Swanton 1911:101).

> But at the death of this chief his children, boys or girls, never inherit his power and never succeed to the command. His decendants reenter the rank of Stinkards, and it is for the boys to perform actions of valor which may raise them to the dignity of Honored men. It appertains only to the female Sun, whom they call also the white woman, to perpetuate the stem from which spring their chiefs. She has more power so long as she lives than the chief himself, who may be her son or her brother, and never her husband ... The males who spring from this woman are the chiefs of the nation, and the girls become, like herself, female Suns or white women (Dumont in Swanton 1911:104).

> The nobility is maintained from mother to dauther, and they are Suns in perpetuity without suffering any alteration in dignity. However, they are never able to attain the sovereignty any more than the children of the male Suns, but the eldest son of the female Sun nearest related to the mother of the reigning Sun is the one who mounts the throne when it becomes vacant (DuPratz in Swanton 1911:106).

Given the evidence contained in these three accounts, there can be little doubt that among the Natchez succession to the chieftainship was matrilineal. The only possible error that they contain is Dumont's statement that the White Woman possessed more power than the Great Sun, because based on what we know of Natchez socio-political organization, it is clear that this was not the case.

DuPratz traces the origin of the succession practices to a command given by "the man of the sun" who came to earth and told the Natchez how to live proper lives. A temple guardian told DuPratz (Tregle 1975:331) about the conditions under which the man of the sun agreed to become chief of the Natchez:

> ...that we would promise never to acknowledge any other sovereigns but him and his descendants; that the nobility should be perpetuated by the woman after this manner; if I, said he, have male and female children, they being brothers and sisters cannot marry together; the eldest boy may chuse a wife from among the people, but his sons shall be only nobles; the children on the other hand, shall be princes and princesses, and her eldest son be sovereign.

LePetit (Swanton 1911:103) notes that it is the sister's son who succeeds the chief:

> This policy is founded on the knowledge they have of the licentiousness of their women. They are not sure, they say, that the children of the chief's wife may be of the royal blood, whereas the son of the sister of the great chief must be, at least on the side of the mother.

Thus, it is clear that the Natchez and at least some other groups living in the Carolinas had matrilineal succession. Among the Natchez this pattern was justified through religious beliefs, but in both areas where this form of succession was present, at least some members of society justified it on the basis that maternity is certain, while paternity is not. This was not, however, a universal pattern in the Southeast.

Primogeniture

There is limited evidence of inheritance of the chiefly position by primogeniture. The only area where this form of inheritance appears in the ethnohistorical record is among the Timucuans of east Florida. Laudonnière (Bennett 1975:13), in general description of Florida Indians, provides the following account relating to succession:

> Each man is married to one woman. The king is permitted to have two or three wives, but his first wife is the only one recognized as queen, and only her children inherit the property and authority of the father.

In a more specific account, Laudonnière (Bennett 1975:61) reports a conversation held with the Timucuan chief, Satouriona. Although he does not state directly that the chief's son was the heir, he does provide sufficient information to make us think that his earlier more general comment was based on this information:

> ...the chief Satouriona took me by the hand as if he had a great secret to tell me, and showed me by signs how far up the river his dominion lay. He said that he was called Paracousi Satouriona, which amounts to King Satouriona. The children carry the same title of paraousti. His oldest one is named Atore, a man whom I dare say is perfect in handsomeness, wisdom, and honest appearance, showing by his modest dignity that he earned the title that he carried.

Again, this account is not totally clear concerning inheritance, but taken in conjunction with the previously cited generalized account pertaining to Florida Indians, it is likely that Atore, the paraousti, would some day accede to the office of paracousi. Information relating to succession in the larger, more centralized Timucuan chiefdom of Outina is not available.

Accession by Brothers or Sisters

In a few instances inheritance was by siblings rather than by one's own children or by nephews. Perhaps this is a form of matrilineal succession where the office passed to a chief's brothers and sisters as a first choice, with it then going to either sons or nephews in the absence of siblings.

John Smith (1819:143) provides one of the more complete accounts of this form of inheritance as he found it among the Powhatan in the early part of the 17th century:

> His kingdomes descend not to his sonnes nor his children, but first to his brethren, whereof he hath 3, namely,

> Opitchapan, Opechancanough, and Catataugh, and after their decease to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the rest, and after them to the heires male or female of the eldest sister, but never to the heires of the males.

The only other group for which this form of inheritance is explicitly described is the Caddo who lived on the western fringes of the Southeast. Although the available descriptions are not altogether clear, there is at least some indication that a brother or sister might fall in the order of succession. Casañas (Swanton 1942:170), for instance, says that the chief holds office "by the direct line of descent" and that at his death he was succeeded by his "nearest blood kin." Espinosa (Swanton 1942:171) states that the chiefly position was inherited by "one's sons or relatives" in a system without "controversy or litigation." Morfi (Swanton 1942:171), who draws much of his information directly from Espinosa, notes that the oldest son inherited the position of "principal chief," but that "in his absence, in the next brother, or nearest kin."

Again, the documentation is neither abundant nor decisive, but all three Caddo accounts at least leave open the possibility that someone other than an offspring of the chief may have been the first choice. Whatever the case among the Caddo, it is clear that the form of inheritance practiced among the Powhatan may have been more widespread in the Southeast than the available documents would lead us to believe. For example, in a number of accounts female chiefs are mentioned as occupying chiefly positions. Perhaps the best known instance appears in the Soto chronicles from the 1540 visit of the Spaniards to the central South Carolina town of Cofitachequi, where the "chief" was actually a chieftainess. Biedma (Bourne 1904:II, 12) says that the Lady of

Cofitachequi who met Soto at the river crossing near her town was a niece to the real ruler of Cofitachequi, who was also female. Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:298, 304) confirms that they met the niece of the lady of Cofitachequi, but he adds that she had recently inherited the title of chieftainess. Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 70) states that the source for the story that the woman they dealt with was only the niece of the true chieftainess had come from their guide, Pedro, who had already been found to know less about the area than he claimed to know. Elvas discounted his story.

Whether it was the chieftainess or her niece that the Spanish met, there is no doubt that the chiefdom was ruled by a woman. Although we have no direct statements concerning inheritance in the province of Cofitachequi, there are some possible clues. Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:319) said that the temple at Talomeco, a town of Cofitachequi, contained the bones of former chiefs and chieftainesses, in addition to those of their children, their brothers and sisters, and their nieces and nephews. Garcilaso was not actually with Soto, so his information is second hand and may not be accurate in this case. It is at least possible that Cofitachequi had a system of inheritance that differed from that found in other southeastern chiefdoms, but the available documents do not provide sufficient information to allow us to say for sure.

Other chieftainesses appear in the documentary sources pertaining to the Southeast. Tonti (Swanton 1942:43) states that the ruler of the Cadadoquis was a woman. Juan Pardo (DePratter et al. 1983) encountered a female chief in the powerful Guatari chiefdom in North

Carolina in 1567. Laudonnière (Bennett 1975) knew of a chieftainess on the Georgia coast in 1564. All of these women came to power through inheritance of their position, and it is likely that they were following the same system of inheritance described by Smith for the Powhatan. It is possible that population collapse caused by European disease had some impact on the individuals who ultimately ended up inheriting leadership positions, because we know at least in the case of Cofitachequi that the area had been decimated by disease only a few years before Soto arrived there (Bourne 1904:I, 66).

A Final Case

A final instance of succession differs so dramatically from other examples that one is tempted to dismiss it out of hand as a misunderstanding by European observers. Goggin and Sturtevant (1964:192-194) however, make a strong case for acceptance of the Calusa example, which involves brother-sister marriage. Drawing upon the testimony of a priest who spent several months with the Calusa and who spoke their language, Goggin and Sturtevant are able to identify at least three instances of brother-sister marriage among the Calusa in the 1560s. These marriages were only between chiefs and their sisters, and Rogel, the priest, indicated that this form of marriage was reserved for chiefs. The picture among the Calusa in the 1560s was clouded by Spanish intervention, including the murder of two Calusa chiefs in 1567 and 1569. Thus, no offspring of the known sibling marriages ever acceded to the position of chief, but presumably that would have occurred in the absence of Spanish intervention.

Regency would occur in situations where rules of inheritance were firmly fixed; there were cases in the Southeast where children sometimes acceded to the chiefly position before they were old enough to handle the job. Apparently the order of succession in the Southeastern chiefdoms was strongly enough enforced that this was not a major problem, but simply one to be dealt with in turn. Thus, we find the Gentleman of Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 76) visiting Chiaha in eastern Tennessee with Soto and citing the following speech made by the "Cacique" of Chiaha:

> ... I have returned like a true vassal, to put myself in your power, that you may do with my person as shall seem best to you. My people will not obey me, nor do anything that an uncle of mine does not command: he governs this country, in my place until I shall be of mature age.

Taken by itself, this account by Elvas would not make a very strong case for the appointment of regents to serve in the place of minors. There are other cases, however. Morfi (Swanton 1942:171) describes the situation among the Caddo as follows:

> In this succession they never cause any litigation or the least of misunderstanding. If the heir is a minor, they recognize and proclaim him superior and appoint one of the principal caciques to be his guardian and master, to assist him and instruct him during his minority. This guardian brings the boy to all of the meetings and congresses, seats him in the first place in order of precedence among those assembled, and though during the time they treat the most important matters of state, the boy is usually playing or sleeping, all resolutions are made in his name.

Espinosa (Swanton 1942:171) provides a similar description for the same procedure among the Caddo.

A final example of the appointment of a regent comes from the Powhatan of Virginia. White (1846:20) observed a young boy who was chief

of the district of Potomac, but his uncle was serving as regent until the boy was old enough to become chief in his own right.

In other cases where inheritance was predetermined, there was undoubtedly some special care and training of boys who were in the direct line of succession. The only direct reference to this type of training in the Southeast comes from the journal of Paul du Ru (Butler 1934) who visited the Natchez in 1700 and provided the following account:

> The chieftainess [wife of the Great Sun] arrived and brought with her a supply of meal for us. She had a little prince following her whom she takes with her everywhere she goes; he is in charge of a man who serves as his tutor. The child is very pretty and already shows nobility in his countenance. Some day he will be Grand Ouachilla and wear the crown with the same dignity as the present one.

The account is important because it shows that some training was conducted at least among the Natchez for individuals who were to become chief. The boy was not described as the son of the current chief, and given what we know from other accounts, he was probably the Great Sun's nephew.

Summary and Conclusions

As can be seen from the foregoing, succession to office was an important feature of chiefdoms across the Southeast. There was variability in the rules used to determine succession, however, and most of this variability undoubtedly reflects the manner in which descent was traced and kinship was reckoned. Matrilineal societies chose their leaders through application of the principles pertaining to matrilineality, patrilineal societies used patrilineal princples, and some other societies used a third set of principles which we do not clearly understand at present. There is no doubt that strong rules of succession

were present throughout the region, however. Even when succession fell to young children, regents were appointed to serve in their stead until the child reached an age at which he was able to assume his inherited position. At least among the Natchez, and probably also among other societies, there were tutors charged with instructing potential heirs in skills necessary for leadership. In short, succession served to maintain continuity within the southeastern chiefdoms, and those chiefdoms were able to last through time in part because they had strong rules governing succession to the office of chief.

CHAPTER VI

TEMPLES: POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CENTERS OF THE SOUTHEASTERN CHIEFDOMS

Perhaps one of the least understood aspects of southeastern chiefdoms is the mortuary temple. Swanton (1911:365) compared the "so-called 'temples'" of the Natchez and other lower Mississippi River valley tribes to the bone houses of the Choctaw and Chitimacha. Waring (1968a, 1968b) considered the temple to be a part of a mortuary death cult that represented a survival from earlier Hopewellian burial ceremonialism. Black (1967:534) in one of the more thorough examinations of the available ethnohistorical data by an archaeologist labels Natchez mortuary ritual and temple burial as "these weird rites" and "bizarre." Temples receive only passing notice in Hudson's work on southeastern Indians, and Swanton (1946:778-781) provides only a brief summary of temple related ceremonies. Brown (1975) provides the best overview concerning mortuary temples and their use by the inhabitatns of Spiro, but he makes little use of the ethnohistorical sources beyond what he draws from Waring (1968a; 1968b). Neitzel's (1965) extensive use of sources relates only to the main town of the Natchez, and he makes only a limited attempt to interpret the role of the temple, its contents, and associated ritual in the life of the Natchez or of other southeastern U.S. societies.

The scant attention paid to temples is surprising given their importance in southeastern chiefdoms. Perhaps this lack of concern

stems from Swanton's treatment in his compendia of southeastern Indian ethnohistorical sources. There is, for instance, no entry under "Temples" in either the table of contents or index of his volume on the Lower Mississippi Valley (1911). In his Caddo sourcebook, temples are indexed, but temple descriptions occupy only five pages with brief references to temple furniture occurring on only seven additional pages. In his Indians of the Southeastern United States (1946), the work most frequently consulted by archaeologists, a number of entries under "Temples" are listed in the index, but many are only brief notes on temple furniture, and the bulk of the remaining references concern temples found among the Indians of Florida and Virginia. Thus, in order to learn what is known about temples from Swanton's volumes on southeastern Indians, one would be forced to read most of all of the volumes, and then would find only scattered references.

When all of the available ethnohistoric information is examined, it becomes clear that temples were important features across the Southeast, and that temple structures, contents, and functions were similar throughout the region. There were undoubtedly minor regional differences in beliefs relating to temples, and some of those differences can be seen in the accounts presented here. But the similarities far outnumber the differences, and by drawing on all of the available sources, some insight can be had into beliefs involving temples in the Southeast.

Temple Form and Structure

Table 5 summarizes available information concerning exterior temple features. Dates are provided for each reference so that temporal

Table 5

Exterior Features of Southeastern Temples

LOCATION	DATE	SIZE	SHAPE	WATTLE & DAUB	COVER MATS	ANNUAL RENEWAL	ROOF EFF.	NO. OF EFF.	EXT. GUARD	ON MD.	ON SQ.	PALISADE	SPECIAL ORNAMENT	OTHER
Talomeco (Varner and Varner 1952:314-318)	1540	100' X 40'	Rect.		on roof								Pearls & shells on roof	
Talomeco (Bourne 1904: II, 101)	1540									yes				
Capaha (Varner and Varner 1951:438-439)	1541										yes	heads on lances		
Ucita (Bourne 1904: I, 23)	1539						yes				yes			
Anilco (Varner and Varner 1951:493)	1542											heads on lances		
Guale (Jones 1978: 199)	16th cent.			yes							no			
Powhatan (J. Smith 1819: 138-139)	c. 1608	60' in length	"arbour wise"							"on top of... red hill"				isolated
Powhatan (Strachey 1953: 88)	c. 1608	Sometimes 20' X 100'	Rect.	yes					Black images					isolated chancel door to east

Table 5 (Continued)

LOCATION	DATE	SIZE	SHAPE	WATTLE & DAUB	COVER MATS	ANNUAL RENEWAL	ROOF EFF.	NO. OF EFF.	EXT. GUARD	ON MD.	ON SQ.	PALISADE	SPECIAL ORNAMENT	OTHER
Taensa (Cox 1905: 21-22)	1682						yes	3			opp. house of chief	spikes contain heads	shell on wood block	plaited rope of scalps
Taensa (Swanton 1911: 263)	1682	30' X 12'	oval: dome-shaped	yes	on roof							yes, with skulls		door painted red
Taensa (Shea 1861: 82-83)	1699								three columns (?)			yes, with skulls		
Taensa (Shea 1861: 77)	1699				walls 7-8' thick									
Taensa (Butler 1934: 41)	1700											yes		
Taensa (Thwaites 1900: 123-125)	pre 1730	100' in circumf.	circular (?)		on roof		yes	3				yes, with skulls		little door 3' X 4'; shed for guardian
Tunica (Shea 1961: 81)	1700									yes?				
Tunica (Shea 1961: 77)	1700				walls									
Natchez (Shea 1861: 138)	c. 1701	Spacious			yes	yes								door low and narrow
Natchez (McWilliams 1953: 90)	1704	20 toises (?) square	outside is round	yes	yes	yes								

Table 5 (Continued)

LOCATION	DATE	SIZE	SHAPE	WATTLE & DAUB	COVER MATS	ANNUAL RENEWAL	ROOF EFF.	NO. OF EFF.	EXT. GUARD	ON MD.	ON SQ.	PALISADE	SPECIAL ORNAMENT	OTHER
Natchez (Swanton 1911: 161-163)	post 1720	30' square		yes			yes	3		yes				faces east
Natchez (Swanton 1911: 159-160)	c. 1721	40' X 20'		yes	yes		yes	2			at end of sq.			faces east; door ment.; benches
Natchez (Swanton 1911: 161)	c. 1730				yes									
Bayougoula (two temples) (Butler 1934: 19-20)	1700				yes		yes	2 3	one temp had portico decor. with various figures					doors low and square
Nassitoches & Colapissas (McWilliams 1953: 110-111)	1704		round						wooden likenesses at door birds					
Acolapassa (Bushnell 1927: 5)	1732	22' X 14'			yes		yes	3						
Bayougoula (Swanton 1911: 274-275)	1699	30' across	round	yes			yes	more than one	temp. port. with fig. of bears, wolves, birds					
Caddo (Swanton 1942: 151)		large	round		yes									
Nabadache (Bolton 1914:II,263)										yes				

relationships between temple features can be observed. As can be seen from the entries in the table, complete information is not available for any single temple, but by combining the information from two or more sources describing the same temple, a more complete picture can be obtained. Despite the broad spatial separation of the temples involved, remarkable similarities exist among the features described.

Size and shape of the temples are of little importance to the present discussion, but the available dimensions are included in the table to demonstrate the apparent variation in those features. Wattle-and-daub walls are indicated for the Gaule, Powhatan, and Natchez temples. The absence of wattle-and-daub walls in the other Mississippi River Valley temples may be due to the presence of multiple wall mats which were mentioned as being renewed yearly among the Natchez. The 7-8' thick Taensa temple walls observed by Montigny (Shea 1861:77) may be a result of such accumulations of wall mats. Penicaut (McWilliams 1953: 90) provides a great deal of detail relating to the construction of the cane mats. The annual renewal of the mats may have been related to the annual Green Corn Ceremony practiced by the Natchez (Swanton 1911: 266-8) and most other 18th century southeastern groups. According to Hudson (1976:367), the Green Corn Ceremonial was related to a quest for purity which was important to southeastern Indians. Maintenance of temple purity would undoubtedly have been a feature of any renewal ritual.

An interesting feature which spans the entire temporal and spatial range included in Table 5 is the use of bird effigies as roof ornaments. These effigies are identified specifically as eagles by Tonti (Cox 1905:21-22) and LePetit (Thwaites 1900:123-125) for the Taensa temple,

and by Charlevoix (Swanton 1911:159) for the Natchez temple. DeBatz (Bushnell 1927:5) identifies the birds as half eagle and half turkey. Other authors variously identify the effigies as "fowl," "great birds," and roosters. At present, there is too little information to allow any definite identification of the birds. Eagles, hawks, and falcons were definitely important in the belief system of both the 18th and 19th century southeastern Indians and the late prehistoric inhabitant of the same area (Waring 1968:40-7; Hudson 1976:129, 163, 168; Howard 1968:37-48). It is possible that the temple effigies were related to beliefs concerning death, the afterlife, the power of the chiefs, or some other, unrecorded portion of the belief system. For the present, it is sufficient to note that the bird effigies were present during a long time span everywhere in the Southeast.

Human and animal effigies were located just outside the doors of the Powhatan, Bayougoula, and Nassitoches-Colapissas temples. The function of these effigies is not know, although they may have served as "guardian" figures like many of those located just inside temple doors and described in the next section of this chapter.

Some, but not all temples, were described as having been located on mounds. Even in the Natchez case, where the temple was certainly situated atop a mound (Neitzel 1965), only one of six accounts cited mentions a mound. Similarly, location adjacent to or near the village plaza is mentioned for some, but not all, temples. In the Powhatan case, the temple was described as being intentionally separated from the nearest village. In most other cases, however, the temples were near the village plaza.

The next feature listed in Table 5 concerns palisades surrounding the temple. Such palisades are specifically described only for the Taensa, although evidence for their existence has occasionally been found on archaeological sites (see below). The Taensa temple's palisade in the early 18th century was used for the display of war trophies in the form of human skulls. Tonti (Cox 1905:21-22), also referring to the Taensa temple, described the skulls as being displayed on spikes attached to the temple wall. While none of the other accounts mention skulls in relation to an enclosing palisade, at least one other account describes skulls or "heads" displayed in association with the temple. Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:438, 493) described such heads impaled on the points of lances near the temple doors at Capaha and Anilco, both of which were near the Mississippi River. The display of skulls suggests a relationship between success in warfare and the temple, and that relationship will be further developed later. Another feature related to the display of skulls can be found in Tonti's (Cox 1905:21-22) mention of a long plait (perhaps 30 feet or more) composed of scalps taken from opponents in war. This plait, located near the temple door, was displayed on a "block of wood on which is a great shell." This display of scalps is reminiscent of a similar feature observed at the Napochie village by members of the Luna expedition (Swanton 1922:236):

> In a square situated in the corner of the village they found a pole of about three estadoes in height which served as gallows or pillory where they affronted or insulted their enemies and also criminals. As in the past wars had been in favour of the Napochies, that pole was full of scalps of people from Coza. It was an Indian custom that the scalp of the fallen enemy was taken and hung on that pole. The dead had been numerous and the pole was quite peopled with scalps.

It is possible that Tonti was attempting to describe a similar pole, especially when the great length of the scalp plait is considered.

The only remaining feature of any regional consequence is found in the orientation of the temple entrance. Wherever a direction is mentioned (one case among the Powhatan and two instances for the Natchez temple), the entrance always faces east. Similarly, the bird effigies found on the roof crest of temples also often faced east, the direction of the rising sun. Therefore, despite expected local regional variability, there are a number of common exterior features among temples described between 1539 and 1730 from throughout the Southeast, and these similarities probably reflect shared beliefs concerning the function of temples.

Temple Interiors

The various ethnohistoric accounts of the Southeast contain a great deal of information concerning interior features of temples. Much of this information is available because Europeans were curious about temple contents, and on more than one occasion they forced their way into Indian temples (Hatcher 1927a:292; Beverly 1947:195-198; McWilliams 1953:195-198). Others, like DuPratz (Swanton 1911:161-163), gained the trust of temple guardians and were allowed access to even the most secret temple contents. Information regarding temple contents is summarized in Table 6. As was the case with exterior features, there are many similarities in temple contents throughout the Southeast. There are also major differences, which will be discussed in turn.

As can be seen in Table 6, the Spanish chroniclers who accompanied Soto described few interior features other than those relating to wealth

Table 6. Internal Features of Southeastern Temples

CHIEFDOM (REFERENCE)	FIRE	TEMPLE GUARDIANS	EFFIGY GUARD. FIGURES	MORTUARY CONTENTS	ACCUMULATED GOODS	BURIAL ACCESS	IDOLS & SPIRITS
Hirrihigua (Varner&Varner 1951:65-67)				In wooden chests			
Ucita (Bourne 1904: I, 23)					Pearls		
Unidentified (Varner&Varner 1951:292-3)					Best, richest possessions		
Cofitachequi (Varner&Varner 1951:311)				Bodies in wood chests, no preservatives	Baskets of pearls, skin and chamois clothing		
Cofitachequi (Bourne 1904: II, 100)				Bodies	Pearls on breasts,arms, necks,bellies, legs-200 lbs. of pearls; trade goods		
Cofitachequi (Bourne 1904: II, 14)				Bodies	6½-7 arrobas of pearls; trade goods		
Cofitachequi (Bourne 1904: I, 66)					350 lbs. pearls; clothing, skins,shoes, trade goods		

Table 6. (Continued)

CHIEFDOM (REFERENCE)	FIRE	TEMPLE GUARDIANS	EFFIGY GUARD. FIGURES	MORTUARY CONTENTS	ACCUMULATED GOODS	BURIAL ACCESS	IDOLS & SPIRITS
Talomeco (Varner&Varner 1951:315-324)			12 armed giants	Bodies in chests	Pearls,shells, feathers, hides,skins, weapons	Chiefs,their children, brothers, sisters, nieces & nephews	Male & female statues with pearls & weapons
Talomeco (Bourne 1904: II, 101)					Weapons		
Chiaha (Varner&Varner 1951:337)					Pearls	Parents & grandparents of chiefs	
Capaha (Varner&Varner 1951:438)				Burials in chests	Ornaments & riches		
Anilco (Varner&Varner 1951:493)				Bodies	War trophies, spoils & flags, weapons		
Powhatan (J. Smith 1819: 138-139)		Priests- 2 or 3	Image of devil	Dried bodies	Copper,pearls all of kings wealth;skins pigment,beads		
Powhatan (Beverly 1947: 195-198)				Bones wrapped in mats	Large tomahawks		Image of devil
Powhatan (Strachey 1953: 88-89, 94-95)	Fire in east end	Priests	Image of devil; images at corners of storehouse	Dried bodies	Copper,beads, pearls		

Table 6. (Continued)

CHIEFDOM (REFERENCE)	FIRE	TEMPLE GUARDIANS	EFFIGY GUARD. FIGURES	MORTUARY CONTENTS	ACCUMULATED GOODS	BURIAL ACCESS	IDOLS & SPIRITS
Taensa (Cox 1905: 21-22)	3 logs	2 priests			cabinet with treasures, pearls, trade goods		
Taensa (Thwaites 1900: 123-125)	Perpetual; 2 or 3 logs	Number fixed; serve by quarter	Figures of men and animals	Bones in cane baskets	European trade goods	Chiefs and sacrificial victims	Figures of men and women, fish jaw bones, heads and tails of serpents, stuffed owl crystals
Tunica (Shea 1861: 81)							Earthen figures
Tunica (Shea 1861: 136)	Present	Old man					
Natchez (Butler 1934: 35-36)	Present	Keeper		Bones in beds			
Natchez (Shea 1861: 138-140)	Present	Old man		3 mausoleums, mat-covered			Basket containing spirits of many nations
Natchez (McWilliams 1953:91-92)	Fire of 8' logs cut at new moon	4 guardians sleep in temple			Pearls from ancestors	Three highest families of nobles	Little stone images and image of rattlesnake
Natchez (Swanton 1911: 159)	Perpetual	A man		Bones			

Table 6. (Continued)

CHIEFDOM (REFERENCE)	FIRE	TEMPLE GUARDIANS	EFFIGY GUARD. FIGURES	MORTUARY CONTENTS	ACCUMULATED GOODS	BURIAL ACCESS	IDOLS & SPIRITS
Natchez (Swanton 1911: 161-163)	Eternal fire, special wood, 8' logs	1 chief guardian, 8 total; 2 serve each quarter of moon		Bones in coffer of cane splints			
Natchez (Kellogg 1923: 243)	3 logs	Keeper of temple		Boxes in disorder with bones			Wood heads, wood monkeys
Natchez (Mereness 1916: 47)	Present	Several savages				Great chiefs	
Natchez (Swanton 1911: 161)	Present	4 guardians in 8 day turns				Chiefs and ancestors	
Mougoulasha/ Bayougoula (French 1875: 73-74)	Present						Figures of animals; scalps
Bayougoula (Swanton 1911: 275)	2 logs				Deer,bear,& bison skins; glass bottle		Painted possum figures
Mougoulasha/ Bayougoula (Butler 1934:20)	Lamp of eternal fire			Rows of packages of bones			
Houma (Butler 1934: 26-27)				Bones			
Houma (Shea 1861:144)	Present	Old man	Grotesque figures of 4 satyrs	Bones			

Table 6. (Continued)

CHIEFDOM (REFERENCE)	FIRE	TEMPLE GUARDIANS	EFFIGY GUARD. FIGURES	MORTUARY CONTENTS	ACCUMULATED GOODS	BURIAL ACCESS	IDOLS & SPIRITS
Caddo (Hatcher 1927C: 160-162)	4 logs; oriented to cardinal pts.				Rolls of ornamental feathers, crowns of skins & feathers, & feather bonnet In adjacent houses feathers, crowns, flutes, instruments		Bench with pipe, feathers, incense burners
Caddo (Hatcher 1927a: 290-92)		A number of sacristans					
Hasaini (Hatcher 1927b: 55-56)	Perpetual						Large & small idols

items stored in the temples. Later accounts make little mention of the enormous amounts of goods stored in temples, and it is possible that that practice was curtailed sometime between 1540 and 1682 when the first accounts of the Mississippi Valley temples begin. Because Soto and his party saw an abundance of wealth items stored in various temples, it will be worthwile to look at their descriptions to see what kinds of things were stored there.

Perhaps the best known temple description is that provided for the temple at Talomeco in central South Carolina by Garcilaso. His account is often dismissed because of the wealth of detail that is described, but it is possible that Garcilaso may have been guilty of less exaggeration than is usually attributed to him. Because it is such a complete account of interior temple features, Garcilaso's (Varner and Varner 1951:315-324) description of the Talomeco temple will be presented here for use as a basis for comparison with other southeastern temples:

> To enter the temple, they opened some large doors which were in proportion to the size of the building. Close to these portals were twelve giants, carved in wood and copied from life with so much ferocity and vigor of posture that the Castilians paused and took a stand where they might examine them with care; and they were amazed to discover in such barbarous lands works which would have been prized exceedingly both for their grandeur and perfection had they been found in the most famous temples of Rome at the time of its greatest strength and empire. These giants were placed so as to guard and defend the entrance against those who might wish to come through it. Six were stationed on each side, one standing behind the other and all descending gradually from the largest to the smallest, for the first were four yards high the second somewhat less, and so on down until the last.

The next portion of Garcilaso's account describes the giants and the weapons with which they were armed. The description of those arms is not pertinent to the present discussion and will therefore be omitted.

Suffice it to say that pairs of guards were armed with clubs, "broadswords," staffs, battle-axes, bows and arrows, and pikes. The account then continues:

> All of these giants as well as the first ones appeared to be threatening to wound anyone who attempted to enter by the door. Those with clubs were placed so as to strike down from above; those with broadswords and pikes, to pierce; those with axes, to cut; those with sticks, to strike diagonally; and those with bows and arrows, to shoot from afar. Each one of them was in the most savage and ferocious posture that the weapon in his hand permitted; and what most amazed the Spaniards was to see the naturalness and lifelikeness with which these images had been copied in all respects.
>
> The ceiling of the temple, from the walls upward, was adorned like the roof outside with designs of shells interspersed with strands of pearls and seed pearls which were stretched so as to adhere to and follow the contour of the roof. Among these decorations were great headdresses of different colors of feathers such as those made for wear, and in addition to the pearls stretched along the ceiling and the feathers nailed to it, there were many others which had been suspended by some thin, soft-colored strings that could not be seen distinctly. Thus both pearls and feathers seemed to have been placed in the air at different levels so that they would appear to be falling from the roof. In this manner the ceiling of the temple was adorned from the walls upward, and it was an agreeable sight to behold.
>
> Glancing now from the roof downward, our captains and soldiers perceived that along the highest of the four walls of the temple there were two rows of statues, ranged one over the other. These were figures of men and women, and were of the normal size of the people of that land, who are as large as Philistines. All rested upon a base or pedestal, their order of arrangement being determined by their size; and they served no other purpose than to adorn the walls and prevent their appearing bare at the top, there being no tapestries. The male figures held all of the various weapons that we have named at other times, and these weapons were adorned with bands of pearls and seed pearls, each band being comprised of four, five or six strands. And for greater beauty they were decorated at intervals with exquisitely tinted fringes, for these Indians color everything they wish, and do it extremely well. The statues of women held nothing in their hands.

On the floor along the walls were some wooden benches which were exceedingly carved, as was everything in that temple; and resting upon these benches were the chests which served as sepulchres for the lifeless bodies of the curacas who had been lords of the province of Cofechiqui, their children, their brothers and sisters, and their neices and nephews, no one else being buried in that temple. These chests were well covered with lids, and a yard above each of them was a statue carved from wood and placed on a pedeatal against the wall. This was a personal likeness of the man or woman within the chest and was made at the age he or she had attained at death. Thus these likenesses served as memorials for the deceased. The statues of the men held weapons in their hands, whereas those of the women and children held nothing.

The space between the images of the dead and the statues along the upper part of the wall was covered with large and small shields, some of which were round and some oblong... Both the oblong and the round shields were matted with strands of pearls and seed pearls, and on their edges were fringes of colored thread which beautified them exceedingly.

Running lengthwise along the floor of the temple were three rows of large and small wooden chests placed on benches and so arranged that some rested on top of others, the largest first, then smaller ones, and afterward others still smaller. In this manner -- four, five and six chests were stacked in such a way that they ranged from the greatest to the least in the form of a pyramid...

...In this collection of chests, there was such a great quantity of both pearls and seed pearls that on seeing them the Spaniards confessed that what the Senora had said of the temple and burial place was neither presumption nor exaggeration but the truth, and that even though all might load both themselves and their horses (there being more than nine hundred [sic] men and upwards of three hundred beasts), they would never be able to remove from the temple all the pearls it contained...

Along with this splendor and wealth of pearls in the temple, there were likewise many enormous bundles of chamois. Some were white and some had been dyed various hues, and those which had been dyed were separated according to color. Furthermore there were great bundles of mantles of many colors that were made of chamois, and another great quantity made of skins dressed with their fur-skins of all the various animals both great and small which thrive in that land. Many were of different species and colors of cat, and others, of very fine marten, each of them being so well dressed that among the best of Germany or Muscovy one could not have found better.

> All things pertaining to the temple-the roof as well as the walls and the floor-were arranged in the manner and order I have described. Each article was placed with the care and system that one might expect of the neatest people in the world. Moreover, everything was clean, without spiderwebs or dust; hence it would appear that there must have been many people to assist with the ministry and service of the temple-the cleaning and the arranging of each thing in its proper place.
>
> Around the temple, there were eight salas (each separated from the other and arranged in its own order and pattern), which proved to be annexes and were for both ornament and service...

The 8 "salas" contained pikes, maces, battle-axes, "broadswords," truncheons, bows and arrows, round shields, and oblong shields, respectively. All of the weapons were described as being decorated with "pearls and seed pearls and colored fringes."

Garcilaso's long and involved account certainly contains some exaggeration, but the basic features he describes appear to have been common among temples found throughout the Southeast in later times. The basic features of Garcilaso's description are as follows:

1) Carved, wooden giants were located just inside the temple doors and served as guardians.
2) Shells, pearls, and feather headdresses were used as ornaments throughout the temple.
3) Along the upper portion of one wall of the temple were two rows of statues [stone?] of both men and women.
4) Wooden statues were located above each burial chest.
5) Covered wooden burial chests rested on benches located along the temple walls.
6) Chests containing pearls, bundles of deer skins, and bundles of mantles made of various animal pelts including wildcats, martens, (?) and various other animals were present.

7) A large number of weapons of various sorts were stored in the temple.

Before looking at the distribution of these temple features in the remainder of the Southeast, other descriptions of the temple at Talomeco must be considered in order to determine whether or not Garcilaso's account is spurious. Because the temple of Talomeco, and the nearby temple at Cofitachequi, are described in varying amounts of detail in the other three Soto accounts, we can use them for comparative purposes.

Ranjel's (Broune 1904:II, 101) account of the Talomeco temple consists of the following few brief sentences:

> In the mosque, or house of worship, of Talimeco there were breast plates like corselets and head-pieces made of rawhide, the hair stripped off; and also very good shields. This Talimeco was a village holding extensive sway; and this house of worship was on a high mound and much revered.

Ranjel's description is much briefer than Garcilaso's, and neither Elvas nor Biedma mentions the Talomeco temple. Possibly explanations for this seeming anomaly can be found in the accounts of both Ranjel and Garcilasco. Ranjel (Bourne 1904:II, 101), for instance, provides the following details of Soto's visit to the Talomeco temple:

> ...When the woman chief saw the Christians set much store by them [pearls], she said: "Do you hold that of much account? Go to Talimeco, my village, and you will find so many that your horses cannot carry them." The Governor replied: "Let them stay there; to whom God gives a gift, may St. Peter bless it." And there the matter dropped. It was believed that he planned to take that place for himself since it was the best that they saw and with the land on the best condition....

Since the Talomeco temple is not mentioned in two of the accounts, it is possible that Soto's visit to that temple was, in fact, secretive or was conducted by only a small number of the members of his expedition.

This possibility is confirmed by Garcilaso's (Varner and Varner 1951: 312) description of the party which visited the temple.

> Our Castilians now awaited the return of the Comptroller and Captain Juan de Anasco, from his second expedition before going to see the pearls and seed pearls in the temple. Meanwhile the Governor ordered trustworthy persons to guard the place, and he himself roamed about it at night lest someone coveting the riches he had heard described should become rebellious and attempt to carry away in secret the best that there was in that sepulchre. Then as soon as the Comptroller rejoined them, the Governor and the officials of the Imperial Exchequer went to the temple with thirty additional cavaliers, including both captains and outstanding soldiers, to examine the pearls and other objects enclosed there.

If one of Garcilaso's informants visited the temple while neither Elvas nor Biedma was among the select group who visited it, then the variation in the accounts is explained. The secretiveness suggested in the Ranjel and Garcilaso accounts indicates that this was indeed probably the case.

The Talomeco temple can be compared to the nearby Cofitachequi temple which was located in an adjacent town within the same chiefdom. The Cofitachequi temple is mentioned in all four Soto accounts, perhaps because it was located in the town in which the entire army stayed and thus would have been seen by many more people than the temple at Talomeco.

The chieftainess of Cofitachequi described the temple as "The burial place of the nobility of this town. Within it you will find large and small pearls and in addition many seed pearls" (Varner and Varner 1951:311). Upon entering that temple, the Spaniards found the following (Varner and Varner 1951:311):

> They found that along all four walls the Indians had set wooden chests similar to those of Spain except that they were without hinges and locks; and they were amazed that

> these chests were so well constructed since the Indians lacked the implements of European artisans. Within the chests, which rested on benches half a yard high, the infidels had entombed the bodies of their dead without any more preservations against decomposition than if they were giving them burial in the earth, for these people were not bothered with the stench of decaying flesh since their temples served only as charnel houses and no one entered them to make a sacrifice or pray because, as we stated in the beginning, such ceremonies were not observed among them...
>
> Besides the large chests serving as sepulchres, there were smaller ones; and in both these and some spacious baskets woven of cane...there were great quantities of pearls and seed pearls as well as much of such clothing as the native men and women wear. These garments were made of chamois and other small skins...
>
> All now rejoiced to find so much wealth in one place, for it was agreed that here there were more than twenty-five thousand pounds of pearls and seed pearls.

Ranjel (Bourne 1904:II, 100) describes the same temple in the following words:

> ...the Governor and Rodrigo Ranjel entered the mosque and oratory of this heathen people, and opening some burying places they found some bodies of men fastened on a barbacoa. The breasts, belly, necks and arms and legs full of pearls; and as they were taking them off Ranjel saw something green like an emerald of good quality and he showed it to the Governor and was rejoiced... they took out this emerald and it was glass and rosaries with their crosses. They also found Biscayan axes of iron from which they recognized that they were in the government or territory where the lawyer Lucas Vazquez de Ayllon came to his ruin. They took away from these some two hundred pounds of pearls.

Biedma (Bourne 1904:II, 14) also provides a brief description of the Cofitachequi temple:

> ...he [Soto] opened a mosque, in which were interred the bodies of the chief personages of that country. We took from it a quantity of pearls, of the weight of as many as six arrobas and a half, or seven, though they were injured from lying in the earth, and in the adipose substance of the dead. We found buried two wood axes, of Castilian make, a rosay of jet beads, and some false pearls, such as are taken from this country to traffic with the Indians, all of which we supposed they got in

> exchange, made with those who followed the Licentiate Ayllon.

Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 66) also describes the temple(s) of Cofitachequi. According to Elvas, the temples contained "three hundred and fifty pounds' weight of pearls, and figures of babies and birds made of them." On the same page, Elvas describes the contents of several "barbacoas" which may or may not have been associated with the temple.

> In the barbacoas were large quantities of clothing, shawls of thread, made from the bark of trees, and others of feathers, white, gray, vermillion, and yellow, rich and proper for winter. There were also many well-dressed deer-skins of colours drawn over with designs, of which had been made shoes, stockings, and hose.

Elvas (p. 67) notes that Ayllon's dirk and some beads were also found "in the town."

In looking at the descriptions of these two temples, many similarities are immediately apparent. Both were used for burial of high status individuals and both contained vast quantities of wealth items including pearls and skins. Although Garcilaso's estimates of the number of pearls contained in both temples are undoubtedly an exaggeration, Elvas and Ranjel both estimate the number in the less opulent temple at Cofitachequi at 200-300 pounds. Trade materials, skins, weapons, and trade goods were also mentioned as being present in the temple at Cofitachequi just as they were at Talomeco.

Guardian figures located just inside the temple doors are also known from other temples. Where Garcilaso describes armed warriors guarding the entranceway to the Talomeco temple, the Powhatan temple was guarded by an "image of the Devil" according to both J. Smith

(1819:138-139) and Strachey (1953:88-89). Other figures in the form of satyrs were described for the Houma temple (Gravier in Shea 1861:144).

Distribution of the stone figures mentioned by Garcilaso is not well known, but they did occur in temples throughout most of the southeast. Martyr (MacNutt 1970) provides a description of a pair of such figures observed on the South Carolina coast in the 1520's, and St. Cosme (Swanton 1911:172) and LePetit (Thwaites 1900:123-125) mention similar figures for the Natchez and the Taensa, respectively. Other effigy figures that may have been related to the stone images seen by Garcilaso include the two figures of "children" sent down from the sky that were kept by the Caddo until they were destroyed by fire (Hatcher 1927c:160-161). Wooden and stone human effigy figures have been found in archaeological sites throughout the Southeast (Webb and DeJarnette 1942:294-297; Rudolph 1972), and many if not all of these figures probably were once housed in temples.

Burial chests like those described by Garcilaso were also encountered in Florida, South Carolina, and perhaps parts of the Lower Mississippi Valley (Capaha and perhaps Anilco in Table 6). Among the Powhatan, bodies were dried and placed on platforms, whereas among the Natchez, bodies were defleshed and the bones stored in baskets. In all cases, human remains stored in the temples were those of high status individuals including chiefs and their wives, and probably other members of the chiefs lineage.

The Sacred Fire, commonly described in post 16th century accounts, was not described in any of the temples entered by Soto or those accompanying him. It is unlikely that Sacred Fire was absent from all of these temples since it occurred so commonly throughout the

rest of the Southeast in later times. It is more likely that the fire was not mentioned by any of the Soto chroniclers because even if they had noticed it they would not have taken the time to inquire about its function or meaning. Sacred Fire in later accounts is variously described as being composed of two to four logs touching at their ends and smouldering rather than actively burning. Logs for the fire were gathered at special times during the year, were cleaned of their bark, and were stored near the temple.

Stored within the temples were an assortment of items for which the European accounts provide only passing notice and unsatisfactory descriptions. Variously described as spirits, figures, figurines, and images, these seemingly meaningless objects may have represented one of the more important groups of religious items stored in the temple, although we will never know for sure. These objects included statues carved and painted in the form of opossums, rattlesnakes, owls, and human figures, as well as the tails of rattlesnakes, "fish jaw bones," and crystals. All of these were undoubtedly important features in the belief systems of the people who put them there, but because the objects are accompanied by no recorded myths or sacred texts, we will never know for sure.

Temple Functions

The form, structure, and contents of temples appear to have been quite similar everywhere in the Southeast. They were frequently, but not always, located atop mounds. They usually contained the Sacred Fire, burials of the chief, his family, and his ancestors, and sacred symbols, paraphenalia, and "mysteries." They served as storehouses

where tribute items, captured war trophies, and status symbols were stored by chiefs for use in their burial ceremonies or as offerings to past chiefs. A major feature of temples that is not usually found in discussions of these temples is the role they played in the maintenance of the priest-chief's authority through the supernatural connections and esoteric knowledge that they embodied. They were places that must have been held in great awe and esteem by the subjects of the chiefs. It is, in fact, probable that they believed that the very survival of society was dependent upon and symbolized in the temple and its contents.

Among ethnohistorical sources, we can see the importance of these supernatural links in a description of Caddo temples provided by Espinosa (Swanton 1942:213-214) early in the 18th century:

> They have especial superstitutions in connection with fire and they worship it. There is a house set apart for this purpose where there is always a fire. They have appointed an old man whose duty it is to keep it up always. He is their chenesi or chief priest. They say that if it goes out everybody will die ... They say it is the house of the great captain [paramount spirit]... Their fire or bonfire is always made of four very large, heavy logs which point toward the four principal directions. The wood is brought in small and kept in a pile outside. Here the old men gather for their consultations and war dances and when they need rain for their crops... The ashes from their fire continue to accumulate outside and when they bring any bones of the enemy whom they have killed, they bury them in these ashes... Usually the Naichas and Ainais gather for their special feasts of the year in one temple and the Nacodoches and the Nanonis in the other temple which is located among the Nacodoches. All of the houses, or most of them, are supplied with fire from the principal temple--not that it is carried every day, but they are supplied there from when the houses are built, and they keep it burning. If it does out at any time, they consider it a sign that all the family will die and they bring new fire from the fire temple with great ceremony... They are very much afraid of angering the fire and they offer up to it the first tobacco and the first fruits of their corn, a portion of the game they kill, and a part of all their crops. They claim that fire created all of these things for them.

In looking at temples in the Southeast, we see that most of the things described by Espinosa are found throughout the region. Swanton (1928) has summarized the available ethnohistorical sources relating to the distribution of the sacred fire among southeastern groups. The Natchez temple guardian told DuPratz (Swanton 1911:170) that the sacred fire had been brought to earth by two persons sent by the sun; instructions for construction and maintenance of both the fire and the temple that housed it were also provided by these emisaries from the sun. The Caddo also once entertained two "children" sent by the sky spirit who may also have brought the sacred fire to earth (Swanton 1942:213), although the available accounts of Caddo belief do not state this explicitly. Accounts of other southeastern societies have even less to say concerning origins of sacred fire (see Hudson 1976:135).

Espinosa notes that the Caddo temple was associated with war through the burial of the bones of enemy warriors in the ashes from the temple fire. The symbolism involved is not clear, but the temple/war connection can be seen in other contexts in other southeastern societies. Both Morfi (Swanton 1942:215) and Espinosa (Swanton 1942: 213) state that the "Old men" met in council within the temple to deliberate matters concerning war and peace as well as other matters. LePetit (Thwaites 1900:149) describes a dance before the temple doors performed by the Natchez war captain. Gravier (Shea 1961:136) notes that among the Natchez, the temple was entered only in connection with war ceremonialism, but this is undoubtedly an exaggeration. Around the Taensa temple was a palisade bearing the heads of enemy dead (Cox 1905: 21:22; Swanton 1911:263; Shea 1861:82-83; Thwaites 1900:123-125). There was a similar display of heads around temples at two locations in

the Mississippi Valley reported in Garcilaso's (Varner and Varner 1951: 438, 493) account of the Soto expedition. Thus, there is at least a limited source of evidence that connects the temple and its contents to success in warfare.

In addition to the presence of the sacred fire inside the temple, another important belief about temples may have had ties to warfare. The southeastern temple was believed to contain spirits of several sorts that may have been thought to have the power to intervene in confrontations with the enemy. All temples contained the bones or preserved bodies of past chiefs and their close relatives. Because the chiefs, at least among the Natchez, and probably throughout the Southeast, were decended from the celestial sun, they were thought to be spirits or dieties of a lesser sort (Swanton 1911:172; Mereness 1916:48). These chiefly spirits were served in death just as they were served in life (Butler 1934). Food was served to these spirits (Shea 1861:137) who were able to converse with the temple guardians and probably also the chief (Swanton 1911:152; Swanton 1922:388). Gravier (Shea 1861:139) was told that a basket in the Natchez temple contained "the spirit of each nation of these quarters" in addition to that of the Natchez. Other types of spirits including those represented by the mysterious figurines observed in many temples already cited may also have dwelt in the temple. It is clear that the temple contained a variety of spirits. Any of these--or perhaps other spirits not described in ethnohistorical accounts--may have been of assistance in insuring success in warfare.

The same spirits may have helped maintain peace, because among the Caddo (Swanton 1942:215) and the Natchez, decisions to make peace and to form alliances involved temples. Montigny (Swanton 1911:138) provides

the following description of the arrival of Taensa emissaries in the Natchez main town:

> A magnificant reception was accorded them, after which they were conducted to the door of the temple where the chiefs of the nation were assembled. There the accustomed ceremonies were gone through with. Then the presents of the Natchez deputies were brought into the temple. This offering consisted of six muskrat blankets very well worked. And the peace was concluded. In order to close the ceremony the old man who had the care of the temple ascended a slight elevation and addressed his words sometimes to the spirit, sometimes to those present, exhorting the two nations to forget the past and live in an inviolate peace.

Not only were gifts given by peace emissaries taken to temples, but all gifts given to chiefs were apparently also stored in the temple. Thus, for the Natchez, Paul du Ru (Butler 1934:35), Charlevoix (Kellogg 1923:249), and LePetit (Thwaites 1900:139) note that all or part of the gifts were taken to the temple. Paul du Ru (Butler 1934: 35) describes the procedure as follows:

> We tasted everything and then M. d'Iberville presented his gifts. Immediately a part of them were taken to the door of the temple, which faces the chief's cabin from below, and they were presented by a sort of priest without any special vestments with much gesticulation toward Heaven, great shouting, and a long prayer. Two others outside the portico repeated what he did except for the prayer which he continued for a long time within.

It is unclear from most of the available descriptions what the final disposition of all the goods taken to the temple was, but the chief may have accumulated some of the goods to be buried with him in this way. Montigny (Swanton 1911:166) says that the goods, or at least some of them, were shared by the populance. Some or part of these goods may also have been used to support the temple guardians or certain activities in the temple, and at least some portion was distributed by the chief (Thwaites 1900:139). We do know that temple guardians

obtained at least part of their support from grain taken by the White Woman for the support of the temple, herself, and the Great Sun (Gravier in Shea 1861:142). It is likely that the temple guardians also profited from the offerings of food and goods taken to the temple during feasts.

The temple also had an important role in agriculture. Among the Natchez, seeds were taken to the temple to be blessed, but neither of the two accounts that describe this behavior (Thwaites 1900:139; Kellogg 1923:250) mention whether it was the chief or the temple guardian who did the blessing. Similarly, at least among the Natchez, several accounts specify that the first fruits of the harvest were taken to the temple (Shea 1861:142; Thwaites 1900:139; Kellogg 1923:249). The same practice was also present among the Caddo (Swanton 1942:128-129; 214-215). At least in the Natchez case, one account describes the eventual disposition of these first fruits (Thwaites 1900:139).

> The fathers of families do not fail to carry to the Temple the first of their fruits, their corn, and vegetables. It is the same even with presents which are made to this Nation; they are immediately offered at the gate of the Temple, when the guardian, after having displayed and presented them to the spirits, carries them to the house of the great Chief, who makes a distribution of them as he judges best, without any person testifying the least discontent.

Among the Caddo, three mats were taken to the temple at a particular time of year in order to assure a successful crop (Swanton 1942: 128). Also, among the Caddo (Swanton 1942:213) rain making was at least partially a temple-related function. Epinosa's (Swanton 1942: 128-129) account of Hansinai agricultural practices is as follows:

> Before they begin their planting they inform all the women in order that they may provide food for the day designated. They all gather together, old women, girls, and children.

> They make two or three mats of little strips of cane which an old woman, who acts as supervisor, provides for them. These they turn over to a captain, who makes an offering of them in the fire temple in order that they may have good crops that year. They end the ceremony by eating together all they have brought from their houses and then they adjourn the meeting. There is also a general meeting of men and women in the house of the captain where there is a small fire temple. Here they cut the wood to make their hoes of black walnut.
>
> They clean a spot of ground about a stone's throw in circumference and collect a quantity of wood which they heap up in piles. With great joy they distribute dried deer meat, meal, and other foods which have been provided and depart for their homes much pleased. A tamma, who is an official among them, goes around and very carefully collects the first fruits of the tobacco, which never fails to produce in season. This he delivers to his captain whose duty it is to ward off the tempests by his conjuring, to pray for rain, and to be the first to bless the first fruits for use. They respect him a great deal, and they are careful to get him to help them to plant their crops.

Thus, at least among the Hasinai, it is clear that the chief played an important role in agricultural production, including control relating to rain and "tempests."

The stone images stored in the temples may also have played an important role in relation to agriculture. They almost certainly represented either messengers sent down to earth by the supernatural powers or they were effigies of past chiefs, and in either case would have been highly revered as spirits. Francisco Chicorana (Swanton 1922:43-44), an Indian from the coast of South Carolina, gave Peter Martyr the following account of the use of these stone statues in agricultural ritual in the 1520's:

> The natives have no temples, but use the dwellings of their sovereigns as such. As a proof of this we have said that a gigantic sovereign called Datha ruled in the province Duhare, whose palace was built of stone, while all the other houses were built of lumber covered with thatch or grasses. In the courtyard of this palace, the Spaniards found two idols as large as a three-year-old child, one

> male and one female. These idols are both called Inamahari, and had their residence in the palace. Twice each year they are exhibited, the first time at the sowing season, when they are invoked to obtain successful result for their labors... Thanksgivings are offered to them if the crops are good; in the contrary case they are implored to show themselves more favorable the following year.
>
> The idols are carried in the procession amidst pomp, accompanied by the entire people. It will not be useless to describe this ceremony. On the eve of the festival the king has his bed made in the room where the idols stand, and sleeps in their presence. At daybreak the people assemble, and the king himself carries these idols, hugging them to his breast, to the top of his palace, where he exhibits them to the people. He and they are saluted with respect and fear by the people, who fall upon their knees or throw themselves on the ground with loud shouts. The king then descends and hangs the idols, draped in artistically worked cotton stuffs, upon the breasts of two venerable men of authority. They are, moreover, adorned with feather mantles of various colors, and are thus carried escorted with hymns and songs into the country, where the girls and young men dance and leap. Anyone who stopped in his house or absented himself during the procession would be suspected of heresy; and not only the absent, but likewise any who took part in the ceremony carelessly and without observing the ritual. The men escort the idols during the day, while during the night the women watch over them, lavishing upon them demonstrations of joy and respect. The next day they were carried back to the palace with the same ceremonies with which they were taken out. If the sacrifice is accomplished with devotion and in conformity with the ritual, the Indians believe they will obtain rich crops, bodily health, peace, or if they are about to fight, victory, from these idols. Thick cakes, similar to those the ancients made from flour, are offered to them. The natives are convinced that their prayers for harvests will be heard, especially if the cakes are mixed with tears.

Although we have no other descriptions relating to the use of these statues in ritual of any sort, there is no doubt that they were important pieces of temple furniture. They represented spirits that had close links to the supernatural and would therefore have been used to intervene, perhaps, if society were threatened.

An account provided by St. Cosme (Swanton 1911:172) gives the origin of the stone image housed in the Natchez temple:

> The chiefs were regarded as spirits descended from a kind of idol which they have in their temple and for which they have a great respect. It is a stone statue enclosed in a wooden box. They say that this is not properly the great spirit, but one of his relatives which he formerly sent into this place to be the master of the earth; that this chief became so terrible that he made men die merely by his look; that in order to prevent it he had a cabin [the temple] made for himself into which he entered and had himself changed into a stone statue for fear that his flesh would be corrupted in the earth.

Swanton (1911:173) provides some insight into why St. Cosme is the only one who was able to obtain this bit of information about Natchez temple contents that is not present in other accounts. A Caddo account concerning "two Children" will be given later to illustrate another way in which these statues might have been used by priests or chiefs to extract goods and services from their subjects.

So, what were the functions of temples? First, they contained sacred fire that in all likelihood was thought to be directly related to the celestial sun which was the most important of the supernatural forces in the southeastern Indian belief system. Second, they contained the bones of past chiefs who had entered the spirit world, but their spirits still remained in the temple. Third, the temples contained a variety of other kinds of spirits about which we know very little. Thus, the temples contained three major symbols of the close relationship between the chief and the supernatural realm. All of these supernatural connections were important, and they were maintained at great expense. Guardians were supported, the temple was ritually renewed, and the bones were curated in perpetuity. The importance of keeping the sacred fire burning can be seen in the penalty for allowing it to go out. In the event that the fire was accidentally extinguished

or allowed to go out, the guardians and perhaps even their families were killed (Swanton 1911:91-92, 161, 163).

Respect for the contents of the temple and the power embodied therein can be seen in the relationship of the temple to all major aspects of community life. Thus, the temple functioned in ceremonies relating to preparation for war, the negotiation of peace, the display of war trophies, the blessing of seeds, the blessing of first fruits, and the making of rain. For a group of agricultural societies involved in frequent warfare, the temple and its contents were undoubtedly the focus of many of the beliefs concerning the survival of society.

One of the major ways in which access to the power contained in the temple was controlled was by restricting access to both the temple itself and to knowledge about its contents. It is clear that entry into temples was tightly controlled. Not counting the temple guardians, it seems most likely that only the chief and a few of his close relatives had unlimited access. Thus, Penicaut (McWilliams 1953:92) tells us that the Natchez Great Sun and his wife frequently entered the temple to worship. LePetit (Thwaites 1900:125) says only the Natchez chief and his sisters, including the White Woman, were allowed entry, whereas Dumont (Swanton 1911:161, 170) says that male and female Suns and some Honored Men were also allowed to enter. It is possible that only the chief, his wife, his sister, and perhaps one or two others were allowed unlimited access, and that others may have been allowed to enter under special conditions for particular ceremonies or activities.

We know that the temple guardians would have always been on duty to restrict access, and we have seen that the entryways of many southeastern temples were lined with large carved figures. Strachey (1953:62)

tells us that these figures were placed in such a manner as to prevent access, presumably because they represented frightening personages that played some role in the belief system. At least among the Taensa, there was a palisade surrounding the temple which would have further restricted access and at the same time would have enhanced the mysterious nature of activities that occurred in and around the temple.

It is probable that a certain amount of esoteric knowledge concerning the temple and the supernatural connections of the chief was not known to the common man. Father Rogel, who worked among the Calusa in the 1560's, reported that the chiefs would have to be converted to Christianity before their subjects because

> ...even in the same idolatries which the vassals have, they know nothing of what they adore, even in the cult of the idols, except what the king and the chief sorcerer tell them... because if a vassal is asked what he believes about his idols, he says that he does not know, that his king is the one who knows; and the same if they are asked the origin of their idols (Zubillaga 1946:289-290 quoted in Goggin and Sturtevant 1964:192).

A Spaniard, formerly a captive among the Calusa, provided Laudonnière with the following description of protection of certain esoteric knowledge by the chief (Bennett 1975:110-111):

> Finally, they said that the king was held in great reverence by his subjects and that he made them believe that his sorceries and spells were the reason why the earth brought forth her fruit; and that to persuade them of this idea he withdrew one or two times each year to a certain house [a temple]? , accompanied by two or three of his closest associates [temple guardians?], and there did certain magic deeds. They said if anyone went to see what was done in that place the king had them quickly killed.

Among the Natchez and Taensa and probably other Lower Mississippi Valley groups, a great deal went on in the temple that most people knew nothing of, mainly due to limited access previously discussed. The

chief was considered a spirit even in life (Mereness 1916:48), and thus he was probably thought to commune freely with other spirits. The chief of the temple guardians also had the ability to talk to the spirits and convey messages from them (Swanton 1911:266-267; Van Tuyl 1979:7).

In an account provided by Beverly (1947:196-197) based on a surreptitious visit to a Powhatan temple, we can begin to see the way in which temple guardians may have sometimes used deception to increase the respect and perhaps the fear that the common man felt for the supernatural forces who spent part of their time in the temple. Beverly's account is as follows:

> Having removed about fourteen Loggs from the Door, with which it was barricado'd, we went in, and at first found nothing but naked Walls, and a Fire place in the middle. This house was about eighteen foot wide, and thirty feet long, built after the manner of their other Cabbins, but larger, with a Hole in the middle of the Roof, to vent the Smoke, the Door being at one end: Round about the House, at some distance from it, were set up Posts, with Faces carved on them, and painted. We did not observe any Window, or passage for the Light, except the Door, and the vent of the Chimney. At last, we observ'd, that at the farther end, about ten foot of the Room, was cut off by a Partition of very close Mats; and it was dismal dark behind that Partition. We were at first scrupulous to enter this obscure place, but at last we ventur'd, and groping about, we felt some Posts in the middle; then reaching our hands up those Posts, we found large Shelves, and upon these Shelves three Mats, each of which was roll'd up and sow'd fast. These we handed down to the light, and to save time in unlacing the Seams, we made use of a Knife, and ripp'd them, without doing any damage to the Mats. In one of these we found some vast Bones, which we judg'd to be the Bones of Men, particularly we measured one Thigh-bone, and found it two foot nine inches long: In another Mat, we found some Indian Tomahawks finely grav'd, and painted. These resembl'd the wooden Faulchion use'd by the Prize-fighters in England, except that they have no guard to save the Fingers. They were made of a rough heavy Wood ... Among these Tomahawks was the largest that ever I saw; there was fasten'd to

> it a Wild Turky's Beard, painted red, and two of the longest Feathers of his Wings hung dangling at it, by a string of about 6 inches long, ty'd to the end of the Tomahawk. In the third Mat there was something, which we took to be their Idol, tho of an underling sort, and wanted putting together. The pieces were these, first a Board three foot and a half long, with one indenture at the upper end, like a Fork, to fasten the Head upon, from thence half way down, were Half hoops nail'd to the Edges of the Board, at about four Inches distance, which was bow'd out, to represent the Breast and Belly: on the lower half was another Board of half the length of the other, fasten'd to it by Joynts or pieces of Wood, which being set on each side, stood out about 14 inches from the Body, and half as high; we suppos'd the use of these to be for the bowing of the Knees, when the Image was set up. There were packt up with these things, red and blue pieces of Cotton Cloath, and Rolls made up for Arms, Thighs, and Legs, bent to at the Knees, as it represented in the Figure of their Idol, which was taken by an exact Drawer in the Country [John White]. It wou'd be difficult to see one of these Images at this day, because the Indians are extreme shy of exposing them. We put the Cloaths upon the Hoops for the Body, and fasten'd on the Arms and Legs, to have a view of the representation: But the Head and rich Bracelets, which it is usually adorn'd with, were not there, or at least we did not find them... This Image when drest up, might look very venerable in that dark place; where 'tis not possible to see it, but by the glimmering light, that is let in, by lifting up a piece of the Matting, which we observ'd to be conveniently hung for that purpose; for when the light of the Door and Chimney, glance in several directions, upon the Image thro that little passage, it must needs make a strange representation, which those poor people are taught to worship with a devout Ignorance. There are other things that contribute towards carrying on this Imposture; first the chief Conjurer enters within the Partition in the dark, and may undiscern'd move the Image as he pleasse: Secondlty, a Priest of Authority stands in the room with the people, to keep them from being too inquisitive, under the penalty of the Diety's displeasure, and his own censure.

Two other important accounts have to do with the way priests and temple guardians used the temples and their contents to manipulate the remainder of society. The first account comes from Strachey(1953:89) and pertains to the Powhatan of about 1610:

> In the temple vayled with a Matt sitts their Okeus an Image illfavouredly carved, all black, dressed with Chaynes of Pearle the presentment and figure of that god (saye the Priests vnto the Laytie, and who religiously beleeve what the priests saie) which doth them all the harme they suffer, be yt in their bodies, or goodes, within dores or abroad, and true yt is many of them are divers tymes (especially offenders) shrewdly scratched as they walk along in the woodes, yt maie well be by the subtile Spirritt the malitious enemy to mankind whome therefore to pacefie and worke to doe them good (at lest no harme) the priests tell them doe these and these Sacrifices vnto, of these and these things, and thus and thus often, by which meanes not only their owne children but Straungers are sometymes sacryficed vnto him; whilst the great god (the priests tell them) who governs all the world, and makes the Sun to shine, creating the Moone and Starres his Companions, great powers, and which dwell with him, and by whose vertues and Influences, the vnder earth is tempered and brings forth her fruictes according to her seasons, they calling Ahone, the good and peaceable god, requires no such dutyes, nor needes be sacryficed vnto, for he entendeth all good vnto them, and will doe no harme, only the displeased Okeus looking into all mens accions and examyning the same according to the severe Scale of Iustice, punisheth them with sicknesses, beates them, and strikes their ripe Corne with blastings, stormes, and thunderclappes, stirres vp warre and makes their women false vnto them, such is the misery and thraldome vnder which Sathan hath bound these wretched Miscreants.

The final account relating to the use of esoteric knowledge and temple contents for manipulation of the less knowledgeable members of society is from Casañas' (Hatcher 1927a:292-293) description of Caddo social and religious practices:

> The grand xinesi of this province has deceived all his vassals by telling them that, whenever he wants to, he talks to two children whom he has in his house and who came from the other side of Heaven. He says that these children eat and drink and that, whenever he wants to talk to God, he does so through them. On certain occasions, when he feels that his people do not bring him corn and other things they have, he reports that the two children are angry and are not willing to talk about questions of the general welfare of the tribe.
>
> In addition, the xinesi tells his people that these two children have informed him that the people will not have good crops; that their enemies are going to kill

them; that God is not going to help them, all because they have not given their captain a portion of all their supplies. And they not only give portions of everything to him, but I have been told that they even go hungry because he tells them these things. He calls all the tribes to his house and gives orders to all the caddices and the old men to come into the house where he keeps the two children. This house [temple] is very much larger than the one where he lives. They all seat themselves around the fire which the xinesi keeps burning both day and night. He always takes the greatest possible pains to see that it never goes out. He keeps a number of sacristans to feed the holy sacramental fire. The first thing he does in the view of the assembled men is to take some live coals with a pair of tongs. He then mixes fat from the heart of a buffalo with tobacco and offers the incense to the two children whom he has put upon a tall tapestle, two square varas in size. At the sides are two small boxes made of reeds into which he always puts a portion of the things the people bring him during the year. He now tells those assembled that the boxes are now empty. As soon as he is through offering the incense, he puts out the fire [the coals?] and shuts the door so that nothing can be seen distinctly. Thus all the men within are in darkness. Those outside sing and dance while those within are perfectly silent, listening to the xinesi who speaks in two assumed voices--one that of a child, the other somewhat like his own voice. In the latter voice, he speaks to the children, asking them to tell God that the Asinai are now going to reform and to beg of Him in the future to give them a great deal of corn, good health, fleetness in chasing the deer and the buffalo, great strength for fighting their enemies, and many women to serve them all. The petitions which he offers to God consists of these and many similar things.

After finishing the prayer he takes a small calabash in his hand. Inside this are usually some things which rattle. He throws this little calabash upon the ground. He makes them all believe that, if it falls upon the ground (without making any sound), God is angry and that he does not wish to speak to them. Then all are frightened when they see the calabash is on the floor and not making any noise. Thye cry out in loud voices that they promise the great captain Ayo Aymay the Supreme Spirit to bring something of every kind of food they may have to the two caninisi, i.e., the two children, and to their xinesi. As soon as the xinesi hears the promise made to God to furnish him with everything and to provide him with whatever he may need, he suddenly picks up the little calabash and begins to make a noise, imitating the voice of a child, and says that God is now speaking and says to tell all the rest that, if the tribe fulfills the promise which those present have given, He will give them everything which they ask for--and

> they must ask through their xinesi. Then the xinesi in his natural voice repeats what the children have said to him. He then tells the Indians to go out and search for meat and everything else they can find in order that neither God nor the two children may be angry again, promising them that the two children will always keep God satisfied. He sometimes tells them this in an angry voice and sometimes in a kind voice. He then opens the door and tells them to go home and not forget what they have promised God. They all go out in great haste without giving place to one another, making a noise like goats when running out of their corral. I have not yet been able to find out what this means.
>
> The xinesi is left inside, stirring the fire and pulverizing meal for the children in a mortar which he has in the house. When he finds that all of the others have gone to their own houses, he comes out and goes home, about a hundred paces away. In addition it may be noted that as long as these functions last, no one is ever permitted to see these two children. The xinesi threatens them with instant death, and then cites the example of a man who once saw them and immediately fell down dead.

Thus we can see in the examples just presented that chiefs used esoteric knowledge concerning religious beliefs to obtain the support and following of their subjects. The rites described were conducted under "mysterious" circumstances, and those in the audience were denied access to the more secret parts of the preparations for those rites. In all cases, there were attempts to extort goods and services from those present through describing bad things that would befall those present if they did not pacify the spirits.

An additional point needs to be made about temples. Temples played an important part in the belief system of the southeastern Indians because the buildings and their contents involved all aspects of daily life and longtime survival of society, as has been previously discussed. We can see the importance of the temple beliefs in the daily life of the Indians in the deference that they paid it. LePetit (Swanton 1911:166) describes the respect shown the temple in the following account:

> They never plant their fields without having first presented the seed in the temple with the accustomed ceremonies. As soon as these people approach the temple, they raise their arms by way of respect and utter three howls, after which they place their hands on the earth and raise themselves again three times with as many reiterated howls. When anyone has merely to pass before the temple, he only pauses to salute it by his downcast eyes and raised arms. If a father or mother see their son fail in the performance of this ceremony, they will punish him immediately with repeated blows of a stick.

The use of howls to express respect to the chief, the sun, and for other purposes is discussed elsewhere.

Gravier (Shea 1861:141) describes the same Natchez procedure in slightly different terms as follows:

> All the men who pass before the temple lay down what they carry, and extend their arms towards the temple with loud howlings, and if they have small children they take them in their arms and turning towards the temple, they make them touch the ground three times with the forehead.

Penicaut (Swanton 1911:282) notes that the Acolapissa gathered in front of their temple every morning and evening where they rubbed their bodies with white earth and raised their arms while "muttering" in a low voice for a quarter of an hour.

John Smith (1819:139) of Virginia provides us with the final account to be cited here. He notes that:

> Upon the top of certaine red sandy hils in the woods, there are three great houses filled with images of their Kings, and Devils, and Tombes of their Predecessors. Those houses are neare sixtie foot in length built arbourwise, after their building. This place they count so holy as that but the Priests and Kings dare come into them; nor the Salvages dare not goe vp the river in boats by it, but they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads, or Pocones into the river, for feare their Okee should be offended and revenged of them.

As a final point to be made about temples and beliefs regarding their contents, there is a brief account of the Natchez harvest ceremony provided by LePetit (Thwaites 1900:137-139). He notes that on the final day of the festivities, the chief made a speech to his subjects in which he "exhorts them to fulfill all their duties to Religion," to "above all things have a great veneration for the spirits who reside in the Temple," and also to carefully instruct their children. Because this type of speech made on the most important day of the year functioned to stress the close connection between the chief, the spirits in the temple, and the need for a close relationship with the supernatural forces that controlled the natural world, it was undoubtedly an important feature in maintaining the chief's control over his subjects.

Although many early European visitors to southeastern chiefdoms observed harvest ceremonies, none records in detail the specifics of the chief's speech. We do have an 18th century account of such a speech that alludes to the old ways and encourages those listening to pay proper respect to the sacred fire and other important religious features. James Adair observed the Chickasaw Green Corn ceremony observed during the 1760's, and provided an extensive account including the speech by the Archi-magus or chief priest just after he had rekindled the sacred fire in the square ground. Adair's (Williams 1930: 112-114) account follows:

> A religious waiter is soon ordered to call to the women around, to come for the sacred fire: they gladly obey. When they come to the outside of the quadrangular holy ground, the Archi-magus addresses the warriors, and gives them all the particular positive injunctions, and negative percepts they yet retain of the ancient law, relating to their own manly station. Then he changes his note, and uses a much sharper language to the women, as suspecting their former virtue. He first tells them very earnestly,

> that if there are any of them who have not extinguished the old evil fire, or have contracted any impurity, they must forthwith depart, lest the devine fire should spoil both them and the people; he charges them to be sure not to give the children a bad example of eating any unsanctified, or impure food, otherwise they will get full of worms, and be devoured by famine and diseases, and bring many other dangerous evils both upon themselves, and all the beloved, or holy people...
>
> In this female lecture, he is sharp and prolix: he urges them with much earnestness to an honest observance of the marriage-law... After that, he addresses himself to the whole body of the people, and tells them, in rapid bold language, with great energy, and expressive gestures of body, to look at the holy fire, which again has introduced all those shameful adulterous criminals into social privileges; he bids them not to be guilty of the like for time to come, but be sure to remember well, and strongly shake hands with the old beloved straight speech, otherwise the divine fire, which sees, hears, and knows them, will spoil them exceedingly, if at any time they relapse, and commit that detestable crime. Then he numerates all the supposed lesser crimes, and moves the audience by the great motives of the hope of temporal good, and the fear of temporal evil, assuring them, that upon their careful observance of the ancient law, the holy fire will enable their prophets, the rainmakers, to procure them plentiful harvests, and give their warleaders victory over their enemies--and by the communicative power of their holy things, health and prosperity are certain: but on failure, they are to expect a great many extraordinary calamities, such as hunger, uncommon diseases, a subjection to witchcraft, and captivity and death by the hands of the hateful enemy in the woods, where the wild fowls will eat their flesh, and beasts of prey destroy the remaining bones, so as they will not be gathered to their forefathers--because their ark abroad, and beloved things at home, would lose their virtual power of averting evil. He concludes, by advising them to a strict observance of their old rites and customs, and then every thing shall go well with them.

This speech, given by a religious leader who had little or no power among the tribal-level Chickasaw, was undoubtedly using a formula that had been passed down over the generations from the time when sacred fire was housed in the temple and powerful chiefs ruled supreme. The threats and promised punishments for transgressors of

the "ancient law" probably struck fear into the hearts of the Chickasaw just as they had throughout the Southeast far back into the past.

CHAPTER VII

POWERS AND PREROGATIVES OF CHIEFS

Despite the fact that Soto and his army passed through the heart of the Southeast and saw many functioning chiefdoms, the extant accounts provide little information on 16th century political authority. But from the accounts it is clear that chiefs were able to provide services upon demand, including providing large numbers of bearers and women to Soto (Varner and Varner 1951:276; Bourne 1904:II, 116; II, 108; I, 57). Chiefs they encountered were frequently accompanied by large numbers of "principal men" or "noblemen", but there is nothing further in the Soto documents to tell us who these men were or what their role in southeastern Indian society really was (Bourne 1904:II, 122; Varner and Varner 1951:275, 355).

In order to learn just how much power chiefs really had, we can turn to documents from the 17th and early 18th centuries, because a wealth of information from that time period describes chiefly authority as it was observed in the Southeast. By the time many of these observations were made by Europeans, there had already been more than a century during which disease must already have begun to take its toll (Fish and Fish 1979; Hudson 1976:4). Shortly after 1730 the last of the southeastern chiefdoms disintegrated, so it is quite likely that the political authority observed in the early 18th century may have been an attenuated form of what had existed earlier. For example, at the time when

Europeans visited the Natchez, their main town contained only a few houses. Previously the Natchez had occupied a much larger territory and had a greater population, but disease (Swanton 1911:171-172) had already drastically reduced their population by the 1680's. Keeping in mind that it is possible that no one after Soto's pass through the region in the 16th century ever again saw a southeastern chief at the height of his power, consider the following data from the relevant accounts.

Coercive and Punitive Powers

Beginning in 1608, several visitors wrote firsthand accounts describing the Powhatan of Virginia. Foremost among these was John Smith, who for a time was a captive and was taken throughout the territory controlled by Powhatan. Smith's (1819:142-144) description of Powhatan's authority is as follows:

> Although the Country people be very barbarous, yet haue they amongst them such government, as that their Magistrates, for good commanding, and their people for due subjection, and obeying, excell many places that would be counted very civill. The forme of their common-wealth is a Monarchicall government, one as Emperour ruleth over many Kings or Governours. Their chief ruler is called Powhatan...
>
> He nor any of his people vnderstand any letters, whereby to write or reade, onely the lawes whereby he ruleth is custome. Yet when he listeth his will is a law and must be obeyed: not onely as a King, but halfe a God they esteeme him. His inferior Kings whom they call Werowances, are tyed to rule by customes, and haue power of life and death at their command in that nature... They all know their severall lands, and habitations, and limits, to fish, foule, or hunt in, but they hold all of their great Werowance Powhatan, vnto whom they pay tribute of skinnes, beads, copper, pearle, deere, turkies, wild beasts, and corne. What he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare and adoration, all these people doe obey this Powhatan. For at his feete

> they present whatsoever he commandeth, and at the least frowne of his brow, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no marvell, for he is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him.

Smith then details some of Powhatan's punishments, ranging from beatings, to dismemberment, to death, but because it is not possible to know whether it was war captives or Powhatan's subjects involved, the specific accounts need not be quoted here. It should be apparent from the foregoing passage that John Smith was quite impressed with the authority of Powhatan. Strachey (1849:51-53) provides a nearly identical account that was probably derived in whole or in part from Smith.

Powhatan ruled more than thirty towns at the time of his death, and he maintained residences in the six towns that he had inherited (J. Smith 1819:142). He had numerous wives, perhaps as many as 100, who lived in their home villages where they undoubtedly would have produced sons who could claim the position of village chief (Strachey 1849:53). He was constantly accompanied by a body guard of 40 to 50 of the tallest of his male subjects, and at night sentinels were stationed at each corner of his house (J. Smith 1819:142-143).

In 1701, John Lawson made a trek through the Carolinas, observing several Indian societies who had not been visited--or at least they had not been described--since 16th century visits by Soto and Pardo. Although many of the chiefdoms that had existed in the area he traversed had declined following the earlier Spanish exploration, there was one group of people, the Santee, who appear to have been organized at the chiefdom level. Lawson (Lefler 1967:27) described the Santee chief as follows:

> The Santee King...is the most absolute Indian Ruler in these Parts, although he is Head but of a small People, in Respect to some other Nations of Indians, that I have seen: He can put any of his People to Death that has committed any Fault which he judges worthy of so great a Punishment. This Authority is rarely found amongst these Savages, for they act not (commonly) by a determinative Voice in their Laws, towards any one that hath committed Murder, or such other great Crime.

As Swanton (1946:647) noted, Lederer, who passed through the Carolinas a few years earlier than Lawson found that the nearby Wateree were at the time the most powerful chiefdom in the area, as they had been in the 16th century when they were observed by Juan Pardo (DePratter et al. 1983).

For groups in Florida, there is somewhat less information than is available for some other parts of the Southeast. In the 16th century, the Calusa chief was able to put to death anyone who spied on his secret religious rituals (Bennett 1975:111), but there are few other statements concerning the extent of his power. Among the Timucua in north Florida, a chief named Outina was much more powerful than his neighbor Satouriona, or Saturiba. LeMoyne (Lorant 1946:99) depicts and describes the killing of two guards for sleeping on guard duty when a town was burned by the enemy; he further notes that the same punishment was used for other crimes. LeMoyne does not say whether it was Outina or Saturiba who ordered the executions, but the chief shown observing the deaths appears to be Saturiba based on comparison with LeMoyne's other drawings. Pareja (Swanton 1922:371; Milanich and Sturtevant 1972:34, 40) notes that Timucuan chiefs could have the arms of their subjects broken for failing to work when so ordered, but he does not mention life and death powers.

By far the most complete information on authority among the southeastern chiefdoms pertains to the Natchez, who were observed between 1682 and 1733. Nearly every major European account dealing with the Natchez describes in some detail the authority of the Great Sun. Because the information is so complete, and because the Natchez provide those accounts that come closest to the strength of authority that was undoubtedly present at the time of earliest contact in the interior Southeast, several Natchez accounts will be cited here. In addition to those Natchez accounts, a single description of the nearby Taensa chief taken from Membre (Swanton 1911:262) is relevant:

> They have temples where they preserve the bones of their dead chiefs, and what is noteworthy is that the chiefs have much more power and authority than among all our savages [to the north]. They command and are obeyed. A person does not pass between them and the reed torch which burns in their houses, but makes a circuit with some ceremony. They have their servants, who wait upon them at table. People bring them food from outside. They serve them drink in their cup after having rinced it, and no one drinks before they [do]. Their wives and children are treated in the same manner. They distribute presents according to their will, to whomever among them it seems good.

Membre concluded his description with an account of the arrival of the chief and his aides which is quoted elsewhere in this volume.

DuPratz has written the most comprehensive account of the Natchez. DuPratz spent a great deal of time talking to the Natchez, and was a close friend of both the Great Sun and his brother, the Tattooed-Serpent, so his description probably is based on more than just passing observation. DuPratz (Swanton 1911:106) account is as follows:

> In fact these people are reared in such perfect submission to their sovereign that the authority which he exerts over them is a veritable despotism, which can be compared only to that of the first Ottoman emperors. He is, like them,

> absolute master of the goods and life of his subjects, he disposes of them according to his pleasure, his will is his reason, and, an advantage which the Ottomans have never had, there is neither any attempt on his person nor seditious movements to fear. When he orders a man who has merited it to be put to death, the unhappy condemned individual neither begs nor makes intercession for his life, nor seeks to escape. The order of the sovereign is executed on the spot and no one murmurs. The relatives of the great chief share more or less of his authority in proportion to the nearness in blood, and the Tattooed-serpent has been seen to have three men put to death who had arrested and bound a Frenchman whom he loved much, in order to kill him, although we were then at war with the Natchez.

Lest the reader think that DuPratz may have exaggerated due to his friendship with the Natchez or his disdain for the Ottoman emperors, then consider the following account provided by Pénicaut (Swanton 1911: 100-101):

> This great chief [Natchez Great Sun] commands all the chiefs of the eight other villages. He sends orders to them by two of his servants, for he has as many as 30 of them who are called loüés, in their language tichon. He also has many servants who are called Oulchil tichon (Great Sun servants) who serve him for many ends. The chiefs of the other villages send him what has been obtained from the dances of their villages. His house is very large; it can hold as many as 4,000 [?] persons. This grand chief is as absolute as a king. His people do not come near him through respect. When they speak to him, they are four paces distant.

Authority with which the Natchez chief ruled is further elaborated upon by LePetit (Swanton 1911:102-103):

> The sun is the principal object of veneration to these people; as they can not conceive of anything which can be above this heavenly body, nothing else appears to them more worthy of their homage. It is for the same reason that the great chief of this nation, who knows nothing on the earth more dignified than himself, takes the title of brother of the sun, and the credulity of the people maintains him in the despotic authority which he claims...

> These people blindly obey the least wish of their great chief. They look upon him as absolute master, nor only of their property but also of their lives, and not one of them would dare to refuse him his head, if he should demand it; for whatever labors he commands them to execute, they are forbidden to exact any wages. The French, who are often in need of hunters or of rowers for their long voyages, never apply to anyone but the great chief. He furnishes all the men they wish, and receives payment, without giving any part to those unfortunate individuals, who are not permitted even to complain...
>
> The great chief nominates to the most important offices of state ... All these ministers, who execute the will of the great chief, are treated with the same respect and obedience as if he personally gave the orders.

A final account is from Charlevoix (Swanton 1911:101-102), who provides the most graphic account of the life-and-death powers of the Natchez chief.

> What distinguishes them more particularly is the form of their government, entirely despotic; a great dependence, which extends even to a kind of slavery, in the subjects; more pride and grandeur in the chiefs, and their pacific spirit, which, however, they have not entirely preserved for some years past.
>
> The Hurons believe, as well as they, that their hereditary chiefs are descended from the Sun; but there is not one that would be his servant, nor follow him into the other world for the honor of serving him there, as often happens among the Natchez ...
>
> The great chief of the Natchez bears the name of the Sun; and it is always, as among the Hurons, the son of the woman who is nearest related to him that succeeds him. They give this woman the title of woman chief; and though in general she does not meddle with the government, they pay her great honors. She has also, as well as the great chief, the power of life and death. As soon as anyone has the misfortune to displease either of them, they order their guards, whom they call allouez, to kill him. "Go and rid me of that dog," say they; and they are immediately obeyed. Their subjects, and even the chiefs of the villages, never approach them but they salute them three times, setting up a cry, which is a kind of howling.

Without doubt, the Natchez chief wielded considerable authority, including the ability to kill those members of society who had committed certain crimes. Penicaut (Swanton 1911:159) observed that inside the Natchez temple was a mallet that was used to put to death temple guardians who let the sacred fire go out. The same life-and-death powers occurred among the other chiefdoms being discussed here, and this was an important difference between the form of chiefly authority found in 16th century chiefdoms and that found in later tribal societies in the Southeast. The chief's authority in chiefdoms must have allowed him to avoid the threat of retaliation by the victim's kinsmen, an important feature in all southeastern societies following the decline of chiefdoms (Hudson 1976:230-232).

Among the nearby Caddo in the early part of the 18th century, we find that chiefly authority was somewhat weaker than that among the Natchez, but was still substantial. Casañas (Swanton 1942:172), for instance, provides the following account:

> They are timid by nature; and therefore, they have great respect for the grand xinesi, for the caddices, and for the leading men ... the respect and obedience they show the grand xinesi is remarkable. Every one tries to keep him satisfied by giving him something of everything he has and by going out to hunt something for him to feast upon. Finally, in controlling them he has only to say, "I want this or that done."
>
> All obey because they fear his frown. They agreed that his proposition is very reasonable, and it will be best that nothing except what he says should be done.

Farther along in his account, Casañas (Swanton 1942:183) provides the following description of punishments that could be assigned by the Caddo chief:

> The punishments they use and inflict upon the delinquents consist of whippings, according to the crimes. For murder, they give the criminal so many licks that he rarely recovers his senses. If he has shot someone with an arrow, or if he has committed a personal offense, dealing, perhaps, a mortal blow to the caddi or to one of the family of this official--such as his father, mother, sons, or relatives--he receives the death sentence. I have not seen the punishment myself, but it is such a common thing among them that even the children know about it. If a person shoots another with an arrow or does something else like it, one can be sure that the punishment will be inflicted and that it will result as described above.

Among the southeastern chiefdoms then, chiefs were greatly respected, and their every whim was catered to in order to avoid their "frown" or wrath. Perhaps the greatest indication of chiefly authority lies in their ability to take the life of their subjects. In addition to being able to kill criminals, the chiefs and their relatives also had the ability to select a number of victims to be sacrifed to accompany the chief, and perhaps others, into the afterlife (Swanton 1911: 140).

Ability of the Chief to Plan, Organize, and Deploy Labor

According to Service (1971:140), a chief's ability to plan, organize, and deploy labor is of great economic importance at the chiefdom level. Although Service's examples apply to situations not found in the Southeast (i.e., terracing of mountains and irrigation), this chiefly ability could have been important in such activities as producing an agricultural surplus through organized labor and military defense.

There are numerous references in the Soto chronicles to the chief's ability to organize and deploy labor. Whenever Soto needed bearers or supplies he asked chiefs who apparently were able to provide for his

needs often without consulting with anyone else. The following references provide some insight into the chief's abilities along these lines as described in Soto chronicles:

> Then the Curaca [of Cofaqui] informed him that the province of Cofachiqui touched upon his own boundaries, but he said that between the one place and the other there lay an immense wilderness which required seven days to cross. And now for the journey he offered his lordship all the warriors necessary to wait upon and accompany him to wherever he might wish to take them. And he likewise offered all the supplies needed for the trip ... (Varner and Varner 1951:276).

> September 25 came the chief of Talisi and he gave what they asked, such as carriers, women, and supplies ... (Bourne 1904:II, 116).

> Chiaha gave them five hundred carriers ... (Bourne 1904: II, 108).

> On Monday, the twelfth of April, the Governor took his departure, the cacique of Ocute giving him four hundred tamemes, the Indians that carry burdens (Bourne 1904:I, 57).

Numerous additional examples could be provided from the Soto accounts to demonstrate the ability of 16th century chiefs to provide both bearers and supplies, but no further examples are required. This same chiefly authority extended at least into the early 18th century among the Natchez, as is indicated in the following account by LePetit (Swanton 1911:102):

> The French, who are often in need of hunters or of rowers for their long voyages, never apply to anyone but the great chief. He furnishes all the men they wish, and receives payment, without giving any part to those unfortunate individuals, who are not permitted even to complain.

Charlevoix (Swanton 1911:174) provides a similar account of the chief's abilities.

Chiefs also had a great deal of control over agricultural production. Laudonnière (Bennett 1975:15) provides the following description of organized agricultural activity among the Timucua of northeast Florida:

> When the land is to be sown, the king commands one of his men to assemble his subjects every day to labor, during which time the king causes the supply of the drink [Black Drink] already mentioned to be made for them. In the harvest season all of the grain is carried into the public house and distributed to each according to his quality or rank.

Based upon evidence to be presented later, it is unlikely that it was just an ordinary man chosen to gather the chiefs subjects together; he was more likely an official in charge of labor projects. Among the Timucua, both paramount and subsidiary chiefs were able to have the arms of their subjects broken as a form of punishment (Milanich and Sturtevant 1972:35), and it is possible that failure to participate in agricultural labor was one of the offences so punished.

Information also exists concerning the supposed "public" access to the storehouses for corn. LeMoyne (Bennett 1968:46) reports that among the Timucua, all types of food were stored in public storehouses where, "they go and get them as need may require, without any apprehensions of being defrauded." Access may not have been quite that simple, however. Pareja (Milanich and Sturtevant 1972:41) says that the opening of a Timucua storehouse was preceded by a ceremony performed by a priest, that "prayers" were made whenever one approached the storehouse and also when flour was made from the first corn obtained from a newly opened storehouse. Similar ritual was involved in the planting and harvesting of corn. When tilling began, the chief had a special ceremony conducted.

At planting, the chief had a pot of gruel prepared; that gruel was then consumed by six old men. The priest "prayed" to the new corn as it was harvested, and he was required to be the first to eat of the new corn. This would seem to indicate that the chief and his priestly associates controlled all aspects of planting, harvesting, and consumption of corn (and also perhaps most other food resources).

There are no other accounts of controlled agricultural labor, though it is likely that it was being employed elsewhere. The Soto accounts indicate how much food these "public" storehouses might have contained, because public granaries are commonly mentioned in the narratives, and corn was generally plentiful. According to Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:260), Soto, his army of over 600 men, and more than 200 horses were able to survive at Apalachee in northwest Florida during five months in the fall and winter of 1539-1540 without having to travel more than a league and a half to obtain corn.

Good evidence for the ability of the chief to deploy and control labor also comes from the sources pertaining to the Caddo. The most complete description pertains to the construction of houses. Espinosa (Swanton 1942:149-150) provides the following account pertaining to such construction:

> Whenever the owners of a house decide to build one [a house], they advise the captains whom, in their language, they call caddi. The latter set the day and order the overseers whom they call tammas to go around to all the houses and give notice in order that all may aid in the building. These two messengers mount their horses--of which the Texas Indians have a great number since the first entry of the Spaniards. They carry in their hands a number of little sticks equal to the number of laths needed for the house. They go the rounds and leave each ranch one of the little sticks so that he who receives it may take care to cut and clean a lath [pole] and bring it and put in the hole designated for it. Another member of the household is placed in charge of

> a sufficient number of men to continue the work of lacing the laths together ... To the Indian women, one or two from each house, is given the duty of bringing a load of grass ... These arrangements being made, the tammas go and sleep at the place where the building is to be done. When day breaks, they call the people designated together. At dawn, the captains arrive and take their places without putting their hands to the work other than to oversee it. At sunrise, upon the first call of the messenger, each comes running with his lath on his shoulder and puts it in the hole which he has previously dug...

House construction is further described in Espinosa's account, and then comes the following discussion of the manner in which labor was extracted:

> During all this time the overseer walks around with his rods made of two or three fresh, flexible branches for the purpose of hurrying the people. Even though they bring the materials they have been instructed to provide, he goes out to meet the man or woman who is late and who arrives after the work is begun. If the delinquent is a man, the overseer gives him four or five licks across the breast and, if it be a woman, he uncovers her shoulders and does the same thing. This is done without exception of persons, for even though it be his own wife or sister who is at fault, she receives her punishment. No one is offended at this but rather laughs at it.

Morfi (Swanton 1942:151), drawing heavily upon Espinosa's account to provide a description of the same practice, mentions that it is the tammas who initiate work, but he also refers to perhaps another individual, a "Director of the work", who actually oversees the construction and whips offenders. Casañas (Swan 1942:172) also notes that "idlers" were whipped on legs and stomachs by the tammas.

A similar sort of control over labor can be seen in accounts pertaining to Caddo agriculture, as is illustrated in the following account by Espinosa (1942:128):

> Before they begin their planting they inform all the women in order that they may provide food for the day designated. They all gather together, old women, girls, and children. They make two or three mats of little strips of cane which

> an old woman, who acts as supervisor, provides for them. These they turn over to a captain who makes an offering of them in the fire temple in order that they may have good crops that year. They end the ceremony by eating together all they have brought from their homes and then they adjourn the meeting. There is also a general meeting of men and women in the house of the captain where there is a small fire temple. Here they cut the wood to make their hoes of black walnut...
>
> The crops which the Asinais plant are also community crops. They begin first at the house of the chenesi, who is their leading priest and the person who takes care of their fire temple... They then plant for the principal captain and afterwards for all the rest in their order as fixed by the captains in their assemblies. What the Indians do all together is to clear the land and dig it about the depth of a handbreadth ... The planting of the corn and the beans and the other seed is the duty of the householders.

Thus we can see that among the Caddo, planting involved communal effort in which the chief and the temple both played a role. Fields were planted in order of the owners social status, and harvest may have been in the same manner, although we have no written accounts to verify it.

Among the Natchez, there were a communal planting similar to that described for the Caddo. M. de la Vente (Swanton 1911:75), for instance, notes that all planting was "done in common," and Montigny (Swanton 1911:75) states that prior to the planting of the chief's land, there was a general dance attended by the entire village. DuPratz (Swanton 1911:113) provides an extended account pertaining to a special field planted for the Natchez chief:

> When they wish to sow this corn they choose a new plot of earth, which within the memory of man has never been cultivated. They cut the canes ... They set fire to it ... All that concerns the working of this field and the culture of this grain is done only by the warriors from the time they have begun to cultivate it to the moment of the feast, and the great war chief is always at their head. These are not only the ones who cultivate the field and put it in a condition to receive seed; they are also those who sow the maize and weed it as many times as are necessary. The smallest operations are not in the least unworthy of their

> hands. It would be a profanation if any other should touch it, and if it happened that a native other than a warrior put his hand on it, this grain is so much respected and so sacred, it is believed that he would never be able to go away from the field, but would perish there miserably.

When the corn was ripe, it was harvested and placed in a special granary located some distance from the village. When the grain was stored away, the chief was notified, and he "sets whatever day pleases him for eating it in common and in his presence." On the designated day, the Natchez harvest ceremony was performed, including the consumption of the corn from the warriors field. It is possible that the corn from this field was needed not only for ceremonies as part of the harvest ceremony, but it may also have represented a symbolic form of redistribution where the chief distributed this corn in exchange for the corn he took from his subjects for his support during the rest of the year. As Gravier (Swanton 1911:122) tells us, the White Woman was in charge of selecting a portion of the harvest to support the "chief and the woman chief [White Woman], and to furnish food to the spirits of the deceased chiefs," and that "no one dare refuse what her emissaries chose to take."

The corn, and probably other produce collected for the chief, was apparently intended solely for his support, for when emissaries came to visit the chief, they had to be given provisions as Charlevoix (Swanton 1911:134) recounts in the following:

> He gives orders to the master of ceremonies for the preparations for their reception, and names those who are by turns to maintain these envoys; for it is at the cost of his subjects that he defrays the expenses of the embassage.

An account relating to the result of improper attention to the entertaining of visitors can be seen in Dumont's (Swanton 1911:119)

description of events surrounding a visit by some Frenchmen to the Green Corn ceremony. The Great Sun thought that better preparations should have been made, so he harangued his subjects as follows:

> Then he approached them [his subjects] violently, asking them if they were not ashamed to know that the French, who were their friends, were among them without their having thought of preparing anything with which to receive them, and whether they thought that they were accustomed, like themselves, to gruel and hominy. His harangue ended by his giving them an order to provide for them. At this speech of their chief the savages replied in their ordinary manner of howling nine times, after which, having detached themselves by troops, they were seen to return at the end of about two hours in single file, bringing to the feet of the great chief, some smoke-dried pieces of bison, others quarters of bear or of deer freshly killed, squirrels, etc. In an instant the floor of the cabin was covered to the depth of more than 1 1/2 feet with meat and game of all kinds.

The Natchez Great Sun had many servants, and these may have served to reduce the chief's demands on his subjects, although very little is known about what they did for the chief. As was previously noted, Penicaut (Swanton 1911:122) says that the chief was served by as many as thirty regular servants, called tichon. He also had many other servants referred to as Great Sun servants, and they may have assisted more in his sacred duties. The anonymous author of the Luxembourg Memoir (Swanton 1911:100) says that many of these servants attached themselves to the chief's service voluntarily, and in general hunted and worked for him. DuPratz (Swanton 1911:110) provides a similar account in terms of both voluntary service and their functions. It is LePetit (Swanton 1911:142), however, who provides our most complete information pertaining to servants and their duties.

> ... [As] soon as an heir presumptive has been born to the great chief, each family that has an infant at the breast is obliged to pay him homage. From all these infants they choose a certain number whom they desire for the service

> of the young prince, and as soon as they are of a competent age they furnish them with employments suited to their talents. Some pass their lives in hunting, or in fishing, to furnish supplies for the table; others are employed in agriculture, while others serve to fill up his retinue. If he happens to die, all these servants sacrifice themselves ...

Southeastern chiefs were able to control labor of at least two other kinds, although the available descriptions pertaining to these is not complete. At times when temples needed reconstructing, mounds needed new stages added, or palisades needed constructing or repairs, it is likely that the chief had some control over the labor involved. Unfortunately, we have no descriptions of this kind of labor. We do know that at least among the Natchez there was an official whose duty was "inspection of the public works," so it is apparent that at least some control of labor must have been involved in their maintenance (Swanton 1911:103).

The final instance of the chief's ability to control and organize labor was warfare. Mounting war expeditions of the sort described elsewhere in this volume would have entailed recruiting men, gathering foodstuffs, and coordinating movements. The Natchez and most other chiefdoms described in the literature had war chiefs who served under or with the chief, so it is likely that much of the organization of war-related endeavors fell on their shoulders.

Tribute

Tribute was an important feature in the economic life of the southeastern chiefdoms. The materials accumulated thorugh tribute provided the chiefs with the wherewithall to maintain their elevated social position, support subsidiary officers, underwrite construction projects

if necessary, entertain emmissaries, accumulate status goods for use as burial accompaniments or for use as offerings to the spirit ancestors who resided in the temple. The form and timing of tribute offerings has not been previoulsy investigated in the Southeast in detail, although Swanton (1946:641-650) provides several accounts relating to tribute, including one which he dismisses as a case of "'friendly' forced loans." Despite Swanton's abbreviated treatment of the subject, it is apparent from early accounts that tribute was a common feature among aboriginal societies throughout the Southeast at the time of Spanish exploration in the 16th century, and it continued to some extent into the early part of the 18th century.

The earliest account of tribute comes from the work of Peter Martyr, based on information he obtained from members of Ayllon's 1521 exploratory expedition to the coast of present-day South Carolina, but primarily from an Indian captive named Francisco Chicorona. This Indian told Martyr (MacNutt 1970:266) that:

> Their kings are of gigantic size ... All of the provinces we have named pay them tribute and these tributes are paid in kind; for they are free from the pest of money, and trade is carried on by exchanging goods.

The Soto accounts also contain a number of references to tribute. Shortly after arriving in Florida, Soto came upon a Spaniard, Juan Ortiz, who had been freed by the Indians after a long captivity. When Soto inquired about gold and silver in the possession of the Indians, Ortiz (Bourne 1904:I, 32) provided the following information:

> ... He said that he had not been ten leagues in any direction from where he lived; but that thirty leagues distant was a chief named Paracoxi, to whom Mococo, Ucita, and all they that dwelt along the coast paid tribute, and that he perhaps had some knowledge of some good country...

Biedma (Bourne 1904:II, 3), describing the same area as Elvas, states that Soto heard of a cacique named Hurripacuxi "who lived about 20 leagues from the coast, to whom the Indians said they all paid tribute." Farther along, at a place in northern Florida called Napetuca, an Indian trader was captured by Soto, and Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 50-51) records the following response by the trader to Soto's inquiry about gold:

> [There is] afar in the direction of the sun's rising [another province] from which he had been a long time absent visiting other lands; that its name was Yupaha, and was governed by a woman, the town she lived in being of astonishing size, and many neighboring lords her tributaries, some of whom gave her clothing, others gold in quantity.

At Apalache in northwest Florida, Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 53) observed that around the houses of "masters and Principal men" were "many barbacoas [storehouses], in which they bring together the tribute their people give them of maize, skins of deer, and blankets of the country." Ranjel (Bourne 1904:II, 90) describes a meeting at which Soto gave a chief in central Georgia a feather plume adorned with silver. The chief, Camumo, in recognition of Soto's power and generosity, asked "to whom he should give tribute in the future, whether to the governor or to Ocute." Soto suggested that he continue paying tribute to Ocute, the chief to whom he was subject.

On the Mississippi River, Soto heard of a great chief located down stream from where he was. According to Elvas (Bourne 1904:154-155) he sent a message to that chief:

> ... [Soto] sent a messenger to the Cacique Quigaltam, to say that he was the child of the Sun, and whence he came all obeyed him, rendering their tribute; that he besought him to value his friendship, and to come where he was; that he would be rejoiced to see him; and in token of love and obedience, he must bring him something from his country that was in most esteem there.

Quigaltam was not cowed by Soto's demands, however, and he sent back the following bold reply referring to both the requested visit and the tribute:

> As to what you say of your being the son of the Sun, if you will cause him to dry up the great river, I will believe you: as to the rest, it is not my custom to visit any one, but rather all, of whom I have ever heard, have come to visit me, to serve and obey me, and pay me tribute, either voluntarily or by force: if you desire to see me, come where I am; if for peace, I will receive you with special goodwill; if for war, I will await you in my town; but neither for you, nor for any man, will I set back one foot.

Even if Quigaltam's wording was slightly different and we have here only a paraphrase from Elvas, the substance of the response is probably accurate. It would seem from the reply that tribute could be paid by force, perhaps as a result of warfare, or voluntarily, perhaps by affiliated or allied chiefs and their subjects.

Another 16th century account of tribute comes from records pertaining to the Luna expedition into the interior from the Gulf coast in 1559-1561 (Priestley 1928). Fray Padilla's (Swanton 1922:231-239; Quinn 1979:240-247) account tells of the relationship between the chiefdom of Coosa and their tributaries, the Napochies. Padilla tells us the following about the relationship between these two neighboring societies:

> Very bitter battles did the Napochies have with those from Coza, but justice was greatly at variance with success. Those from Coza were in the right, but the Napochies were victorious. In ancient times the Napochies were tributaries of the Coza people, because this place (Coza) was always recognized as head of the kingdom and its lord was considered to stand above the one of the Napochies. Then the people from Coza began to decrease while the Napochies were increasing until they refused to be their vassals, finding themselves strong enough to maintain their liberty which they abused. Then those of Coza took to arms to reduce

> the rebels to their former servitude, but the most victories were on the side of the Napochies. Those from Coza remained greatly affronted as well from seeing their ancient tribute broken off, as because they found themselves without strength to restore it. On that account they had lately stopped their fights, although their sentiments remained the same for several months they had not gone into the battlefield, for fear lest they return vanquished, as before.

At this point the Spaniards entered the picture and offered to assist Coza in its struggle with the Napochies. The Napochies surrendered when they saw the power of the Spanish weapons, and agreed to make peace with Coza, and "pledged themselves to pay as tribute, thrice a year, game, fruits, chestnuts, and nuts, in confirmation of their [the Cosa peoples] superiority, which had been recognized by their forefathers."

In south Florida, among the Calusa, the chief Carlos controlled more than seventy towns in the 1560's, and he was able to extract tribute both from these towns as well as from other towns (Goggin and Sturtevant 1964:187). The tribute included feathers, mats, fruit, fish, game, roots, deerskins, and salvaged Spanish gold, silver, and sailors from shipwrecks (Swanton 1946:649; Goggin and Sturtevant 1964:188). In northeast Florida, the Timucuan chiefs were also able to extract tribute (Milanich and Sturtevant 1972:40).

More complete information is available on the early 17th century Powhatan. John Smith (1907:115) provides the following description of tribute collected by Powhatan:

> They [i.e,, Powhatan's subject chiefs] all knowe their severall landes, and habitations, and limits to fish, fowle, or hunt in, but they hold all of their great Werowance Powhatan, unto whome they pay tribute of skinnes, beades, copper, pearle, deare, turkies, wild beasts, and corne. What he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare

> and adoration all these people doe obay this Powhatan. For at his feet, they present whatsoever he commandeth, and at the least frowne of his browe, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no marvell, for he is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing such as offend him.

Strachey provides even greater detail concerning the way in which Powhatan was able to extract tribute from his subjects (Strachey 1849: 81):

> ... [Powhatan's subjects] pay eight parts of ten tribute of all the comodities which their country yieldeth, as of wheat, pease, beanes, eight measures of ten of all sorts of skynes, and furrs eight of ten; and so he robbes the people, in effect, of all they have, even to the deare's skyn wherewith they cover them from cold, in so much as they dare not dresse yt and put yt on untill he have seene yt and refused yt, for which he commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing.

Despite the fact that the "eight parts of ten" figure may have been an exaggeration on the part of Strachey, there can be little doubt that Powhatan could extract great amounts of tribute from his subjects. The situation appears to have been quite similar among the early 18th century Natchez, for whom Charlevoix (Swanton 1911:110) tells us "the savages, from whom the great chief has a right to take all they have, get as far from him as they can; and therefore, many villages of this nation have been formed at some distance from this [the main Natchez town]." Charlevoix (Swanton 1911:102) says that the Natchez gave their chief "the best of their harvest, and of their hunting and fishing." Wood ducks and other birds were periodically given to the chief (Du-Pratz in Swanton 1911:109-110), and at the annual harvest celebration, part of the harvest was taken for the support of the chief, the White Woman, and "the spirits of the deceased chiefs" (Swanton 1911:122). Some of the tribute just described appears to have come directly from

a chief's subjects, as in the previously cited case where the Natchez Great Sun was entertaining French visitors during the harvest ceremony and felt that they had not been adequately provided for by his subjects.

In other cases, tribute appears to have been collected by subject chiefs from their subjects, and then that accumulated tribute was given to the paramount chief. We know for instance that the Calusa chief in south Florida was paid tribute by a number of towns, perhaps by over a hundred (Goggin and Sturtevant 1964:187). In a similar fashion, we see the Powhatan (Beverly in Swanton 1946:646), Natchez (Swanton 1911:100), and Caddo (Swanton 1942:226) collecting tribute in subsidiary towns and then taking it to the paramount chief.

Regularly scheduled festivals were probably the mechanism by which most tribute was collected for both the paramount chief and his subject chiefs. DuPratz (Swanton 1911:109-110) provides a list of Natchez months, stating that on every new moon a feast was held. These feasts were the times during each month when the chief was given tribute in the form of various foodstuffs by his subjects. DuPratz (Swanton 1911: 110) describes them as follows:

> ... [The feasts were] equally religious and political; religious, in that they appear to be instituted to thank the Great Spirit for the benefits he has sent men, political in that the subjects then pay their sovereign the tribute which they owe, for however absolute the authority of the Great Sun may be, although many give themselves to him to serve him, and a number of warriors attach themselves to his person, to follow him whereever he goes, and to hunt for him, yet he raises no stated impositions; and what he receives from these people appears given, not so much as a right due as a voluntary homage and a testimony of their love and gratitude.

These feasts were celebrated in each Natchez village, and although DuPratz tells us that the tribute was given voluntarily, it is likely

that there was more pressure to give than met the eye. If the feasts were to thank the Great Spirit, than it would be expected that the Great Sun, also considered a spirit, should also be given his fair share of the rewards reaped by the Natchez as a result of his acting as mediator between the Natchez and the Great Spirit. Penicaut (Swanton 1911:121) tells us that feasts were held whenever "the great chief has need of some provisions, such as flour, beans, and other such things" and that those goods were placed at the door of his cabin on the last day of the feast. As Swanton has pointed out, it is likely that Penicaut was describing the regularly scheduled feasts described by DuPratz in more detail. The Caddo (Swanton 1942:226) celebrated similar feasts, and at least some gifts were given to the chief at those times, although the documents are not clear on whether these were the times when the chief received the bulk of the tribute due him.

Although the ethnohistorical sources concerning tribute are sparse, they do provide sufficient information to indicate that tribute was an important feature of southeastern chiefdoms. Part of the goods collected were undoubtedly redistributed when the chiefs sponsored festivals, when they provisioned war parties, and perhaps when work was done on palisades and other public structures. Not all of the accumulated wealth was redistributed, however, because much of it was retained in temple storehouses. The accumulated wealth is of the sort that was described by Garcilaso in the temple at Cofitachequi and in Powhatan's storehouse. This wealth is the copper, shell, and other elaborate goods found on the litter burials at Spiro. It is the

sheets of copper, numerous chunky stones, mica, shell beads, and projectile points in Mound 72 at Cahokia. It is all of the high status goods made of exotic raw materials that have been found in many Mississippian mound burials.

CHAPTER VIII

FINERY IN LIFE AND DEATH

Among the southeastern chiefdoms many sumptuary rules were enforced to increase the social and ritual separation between the chief and his subjects (Service 1971). In many cases these sumptuary rules were also extended to the members of the chief's family, including children. Many of these rules governed the control of exotic resources and esoteric knowledge by chiefs and their immediate families.

Perhaps the most obvious separation between southeastern rulers and their subjects was the privilege of mound residence for chiefs and members of their immediate families. From various ethnohistorical accounts it is clear that many southeastern mounds were used for chiefly habitation, although similar mounds also served other functions as well (Knight 1981). Archaeological excavations in such residence mounds demonstrate, however, that those residence mounds, which frequently reached heights of thirty feet or more, were not built as massive single construction efforts, but were instead the result of repeated new construction "stages" that may have been linked to the annual ceremonial cycle or some other social factor. LePetit (Swanton 1911:102) states that a new stage was added to the Natchez chief's residence mound following the death of each Great Sun. This correlates quite well with recent work at Cemochechobee site (Schnell et al. 1981; Knight 1981) in southwest Georgia, where it was found that the average time span between

construction stages in that multi-purpose mound complex was on the order of 20 to 25 years, and at Cahokia the average was about 18 years (Reed et al. 1968:146). This would seem to agree nicely with the period of reign for individual chiefs, although other factors may certainly have been involved.

There are several interesting features relating to the origin and growth of mounds that must be noted here. As we have already seen, mounds were accretional, and their construction often spanned three or four centuries. There are some indications that in the beginning mounds may have had little to do with elevating important personages or structures above the level occupied by commoners. Consider for instance the initial construction of mounds at sites such as Unit 37 at Hiwassee Island (Lewis and Kneberg 1946), Etowah Mound C (Larson 1971), and Cemochechobee (Schnell et al. 1981). In each case, the premound surface had been the locus of intensive activity indicated by the presence of large structural remains that in each case the excavators identified as having "ceremonial" or non-domestic functions. Indeed, the large premound structure at Mound C Etowah had been rebuilt 4 times prior to construction of the first mound stage. With the onset of mound construction, a relatively thin layer of earth was placed over what in at least some instances was an area that had been used for community ceremonial activities. In the case of the Irene Mound (Caldwell and McCann 1941), the initial mound construction stage was only a foot high, and the second stage consisted of a layer only 2 inches thick. Initial construction stages at Cemochechobee and Unit 37 at Hiwassee were only a foot or two in height.

The crucial point is that the separation between mound residents and their ground-dwelling subjects may have consisted of more than just vertical separation. It seems far more likely that in the beginning of mound construction in the Southeast, status was gained by those occupying mounds simply because their dwellings occupied locations formerly associated with community ceremonialism of an unspecified sort. One could speculate that the beginning of mound construction may be related to the change in the belief system and religious system discussed earlier. Hence, mound construction, may have been more an attempt to bury or cover over former ceremonial structures than an attempt to provide an elevated surface. Perhaps this construction is the first evidence for concern with the maintenance of purity that was to eventually become a major feature in southeastern Indian belief systems (Hudson 1976:317-318). By covering over older, "polluted" residential or ceremonial structures, one could make the same ritual space "pure" time after time. By the same token, that same space would gain added importance through time, because it was located at a place that had held an important position in religious ritual for an even longer period of time (Knight 1981).

There is an additional feature of mound construction that must be noted. If mounds indeed started out as thin layers of soil meant to bury preceeding ceremonial structures, then how did they become the locus for chiefly habitation? Because we have no historic documents dating to the time when mounds originated, and because no one has explicitly investigated mound archaeology from this point of view, we can only speculate. As we have already seen, there probably was a change in southeastern belief systems as agriculture and settled life

became increasingly important. Part of this change would have entailed a change in the responsibility of the individual for participating in, and contributing to, the ceremonial life of the community. While southeastern Indians were functioning as tribal level hunters and gatherers, the number of ritual specialists and the authority that they wielded must have been limited. Group participation in community-wide ritual would have predominated, with no single individual being elevated in the ceremonial life of the community.

With the coming of agriculture, there must have been a dramatic change in the pattern just described. With the increasing importance of maintaining a proper balance with supernatural forces, the role of ordinary people must have become more narrow. Responsibility for relations with supernatural powers would have been concentrated in the hands of a smaller number of individuals, who eventually came to occupy priest/chief roles as their authority increased. This change occurred because of the increasing importance of "control" of environmental variables. Because broad-spectrum hunter-gatherers can be satisfied with maintaining a proper balance with the supernatural, among such societies ceremonies and rituals are directed toward maintaining that balance which already provides an abundance of subsistence goods. Such societies are less affected by minor or localized variations in environmental variables, so their ceremonial life has little to do with modifying the relationship between man and the supernatural. Agriculturalists, however, are faced with a completely different set of problems.

Due in part to restricted mobility, agriculturalists are at the mercy of nature to a far greater extent than are hunter-gatherers. A rainy spring, a summer flood, or an early fall frost could have a

decided impact on agricultural societies, but the same episodes would hardly affect broad-spectrum hunter-gatherers. The rituals of southeastern chiefdoms were attempts to influence or control these supernatural forces. These attempts can be seen in the fictive kinship ties between chiefs and the celestial sun, in the blessing of seeds and first fruits ceremonies, and in the chiefly ritual of showing of the sun its proper course across the sky. It can also be seen in the rain-making rituals of southeastern chiefs. All of these rituals are concerned with fertility, celestial connections, and weather control--all important to agriculturalists.

It is possible to speculate on the origin of ritual specialists who eventually became chief/priests. As the Southeastern Indians became more and more dependent on agriculture during the prehistoric Mississippian period, there would have been a change in the manner in which ceremonial functions were performed. Gradually, more and more of the responsibility for ceremonial functions passed to the hands of ritual specialists of an unknown sort. Perhaps they were individual shamans who claimed to be able to control rainfall, or who could increase the fertility of seeds. Through time, these ritual specialists took on more and more of the responsibility for the agricultural success of their constituents. The change from responsibility of the individual to the responsibility of a ritual specialist concerned with agricultural success was under way. With increased success, the ritual specialist was able to demand payment in goods for services rendered, and through time he could begin to accumulate a surplus without ever having to perform any agricultural labor himself. If he passed how knowledge on to his son or his sister's son, and the latter in turn passed the ever

increasing store of knowledge on to his son or sister's son, then control of agricultural ritual and thereby societal welfare would gradually have been concentrated in the hands of a particular family or lineage. Because of the difference in status and perhaps wealth between the religious practitioner and his subjects, he and his family would have been accorded special privileges, including perhaps larger structures for dwelling, special dress or ornaments, and so on.

At this point in our fable, only a couple of minor additions are necessary for a complete developmental cycle. Namely, a periodic ritual was instituted to assure and maintain societal welfare. This ceremony could have been an elaboration of a previously existing ritual, or it might even have been a new ritual. It probably would have looked much like the Green Corn Ceremony, its descendent, so well documented among southeastern societies in the 18th century (Waring 1968). Its concern would have been purity and the overcoming of pollution. It would have been concerned with the ceremonial renewal of society after a year in which societal purity was gradually eroded. The well-being of the chiefdom would have been enhanced by this ceremony, because it enabled each member of society once again to assume an active role in the ceremonial life of his community. Individuals, households, and lineages all had a role in this all important ceremony which was seen as a time when the well being of the community took precedence over the needs and desires of the individual. It was a time when every member of society had the opportunity to demonstrate that he or she was concerned with the welfare of their family and their community (Hudson 1976:365-375).

This ceremony, which was, as we have said, probably much like the Green Corn Ceremony, was concerned with man's relationship to the

supernatural. It gave thanks to the supernatural powers for a successful harvest and a successful year in general. It was perhaps a time when religious practitioners could take their share of the produce based on the goodwill and thankfulness of their followers.

To recapitulate, we have at this point religious practitioners gaining increasing control because of their purported ability to increase or at least assist in insuring dependable production of agricultural goods. A major ceremonial means of insuring agricultural production and maintenance of societal purity is in place, as well as a religious practitioner who passes on accumulated knowledge to family members who in turn pass it along to other family members. Now, what difficulties would have arisen with the death of one of these individuals who was the intermediary between man and the supernatural? The impact on society would have been potentially hazardous, because the tie between this world and the supernatural would have been temporarily severed. One would expect to see a great deal of ceremony and respect in the burial of one of these religious practitioners. Evidence of such ceremonialism indeed exists in the very earliest stages of many mounds in the Southeast. With the death of a religious leader, the ceremonial cycle must have been thrown into disarray. The purity that society struggled to maintain would have been shattered by the death of their main religious practitioner. Ceremonies to restore the balance, to reinstitute connection between man and the supernatural would have been necessary. Burial of the priest would have been among the first orders of business. Because he served in life as an intermediary between this world and the supernatural world, it is likely people expected him to continue in his role with the supernatural realm after death. In the afterlife, he

would need to have with him the symbols of authority, ritual paraphenalia, and subsistence goods to continue his "life." Curation of his remains in a ritually important place, i.e., the temple, would have been an important part of the continuity between the past and the future. This aspect of ceremonialism is discussed elsewhere in this volume. Burial of this religious leader would have been an elaborate rite of passage that among other things would have included transferral of his powers to his successor.

Because the death of such a powerful figure must have marked a break in a chiefdom's continuity, it would have been up to the next priest to reestablish his authority and supernatural connections. This was perhaps done through special rituals associated with the burial of his predecessor, or it may have been through entirely different mechanisms. In any event, the succession to office would have entailed doing away with the old administration and establishing the new one. Because many of the religious symbols of office held by his predecessor, and probably many wealth items also, must have been buried with him, it would have been up to the new priest chief to begin accumulating goods "against the time of his death" (see J. Smith 1819:143). At the same time, he had to re-purify the community and reestablish supernatural connections. Part of this would have involved destruction of the now polluted residence and ceremonial structures of the dead priest chief (Larant 1946:115). Once the structures were demolished or burned, then they could be covered over with a new layer of earth deposited by all members of society, perhaps in affirmation of their respect for the past and as an act acknowledging the accession of the new priest chief. The new fill layer on the mound only needed to be thick enough to cover

the old surface, because its function was as much symbolic as it was functional.

As time went on, as the authority of these priest chiefs increased, the meaning of the mounds may have subtly changed. As they grew taller through periodic construction, the mounds served more and more to separate the chief physically from his subjects. Not only did the mounds get taller, but because of the way new stages were built over old platforms, their occupied surfaces tended to grow in size also. Thus, through time more and more structures, perhaps serving vastly different functions, could be built atop the same mound. Temples, storehouses, family residences, guest houses, and perhaps other structures could all have been included. One thing that we can see from archaeologically known examples where mound construction continued over an extended period of time is that there was a frequent rearranging of the size, shape, and placement of structures found on mound summits (Caldwell and McCann 1941; Lewis and Kneberg 1946; Schnell et al. 1981). It would appear that each new chief reorganized the ceremonial and religious buildings in a new way in order to reassert control while at the same time maintaining continuity with the past.

With the establishment of specialized positions to which the members of society did not have equal access, we have the beginnings of a ranked society. Because it would be to the advantage of the new higher status group to enforce and symbolize the separation between those in charge and their subjects, one would expect to see many sumptuary rules enforced, and such is indeed the case. Even in the earliest stages of the development of ranked societies in the Southeast, sumptuary rules are

reflected in differential burial procedures, residence form and location, grave goods, and so on (Brown 1971a).

The ethnohistoric sources provide good descriptions of these sumptuary rules as they were observed among southeastern societies early in the historic period. The foremost among these are descriptions of mound residence by high status individuals. According to Garcilaso (Varner and Varner 1951:171), southeastern Indians always tried to live on high ground "and at least the houses of the lords and Caciques are so situated even if the whole village cannot be." If no high ground was available, according to the same source, then mounds were built (Varner and Varner 1951:171), and on their summits were constructed "flat surfaces which were capable of holding the ten, twelve, fifteen, or twenty dwellings of the lord and his family and the people of his service, who vary according to the power and grandeur of his state." None of the other Soto chroniclers mention multiple structures on top of mounds, but archaeological evidence demonstrates that such multiple structures were not uncommon (Caldwell and McCann 1941; Lewis and Kneberg 1946; Schnell et al. 1981). Other descriptions of chiefly residences atop mounds are reported by Garcilaso at Coosa and Chisca (Varner and Varner 1951:343, 423), by Ranjel for the village of Tuscalusa (Bourne 1904:II, 120), and by Elvas for Tuscalusa (Bourne 1904:I, 86).

Perhaps the best ethnohistoric account concerning construction of mounds is provided by LePetit, who wrote about the Natchez in the early part of the 18th century. The Natchez chiefs and their wives lived on mounds, and accounts provided by DuPratz, Dumont, and others (Swanton 1911) provide abundant descriptions of these residences and their

relationship to the rest of the community. LePetit's (Swanton 1911:102) account is as follows:

> The sun is the principal object of veneration to these people: as they can not conceive of anything which can be above this heavenly body, nothing else appears to them more worthy of their homage. It is for the same reason that the great chief of this nation, who knows nothing on the earth more dignified than himself, takes the title of brother of the Sun, and the credulity of the people maintains him in the despotic authority which he claims. To enable them better to converse together they raise a mound of artificial soil on which they build his cabin, which is of the same construction as the temple. The door fronts the east, and every morning the great chief honors by his presence the rising of his elder brother, and salutes him with many howlings as soon as he appears above the horizon. Then he gives orders that they shall light his calumet; he makes him an offering of the first three puffs which he draws; afterwards raising his hand above his head and turning from the east to the west, he shows him the direction to take in his course.

It is interesting to note that many of the large platform mounds in the Mississippi Valley (and perhaps elsewhere) have low mounds located at one corner that may have been for the chief to stand on when addressing the sun (Reed 1973).

Another of the major sumptuary rules surrounding chiefs and their families was that only they were buried in temples. Because burial in temples articulates with so many other aspects of society, it has been discussed elsewhere in this volume.

Litters, Fans, and Special Dress

When chiefs went out among the populace on special ritual occasions or when they wished to demonstrate their difference in status from the common people, they were carried upon the shoulders of their subjects. In some cases, chiefs were carried on litters and in other cases they were carried in other ways. Peter Martyr (MacNutt 1970:259), for instance, provides an account of d'Ayllon's 1521 visit to the coast of

South Carolina. Using information gathered from an Indian captive, he notes that the local chief, who was of gigantic size, was "carried on the shoulders of strong young men, who run with him to the different places he wishes to visit." Although a litter is perhaps indicated in this account, there are other cases in the literature where chiefs of important visitors were carried directly upon the backs of Indians (St. Cosme in Shea 1861:71; Butler 1934:49; Swanton 1911:134; Swanton 1942:178, 180).

Cabeza de Vaca (Covey 1961:51) encountered such a back-riding chief named Dulchancellin to the south of Apalachee in 1528. His description is as follows:

> Then on the 17th, there appeared in front of us a chief in a painted deerskin riding the back of another Indian, musicians playing reed flutes and walking before, and a train of many subjects attending him.

The Soto accounts provide descriptions of chiefs and their accompanying entourages that sound quite similar. At Coosa, in northwest Georgia, the Spaniards were greeted by a chief in the following manner (Elvas in Bourne 1904:I, 81):

> The cacique came out to receive him at the distance of two crossbow shots from the town, bourne in a litter on the shoulders of his principal men, seated on a cushion and covered with a mantle of marten skins of the size and shape of a woman's shawl: on his head he wore a diadem of plumes, and he was surrounded by many attendants playing upon flutes and singing.

Ranjel (Bourne 1904:II, 112) provides a slightly different account of the same event:

> This chief is a powerful one and a ruler of a wide territory, one of the best that they found in Florida. And the chief came out to receive the Governor in a litter covered with the white mantles of the country, and the litter was bourne on the shoulders of sixty or seventy of his principal subjects, with no plebian or common Indian among them;

> and those that bore him took turns by relays with great ceremonies after their manner.

The cacique of Tuscalusa also appears to have greatly impressed the Spaniards, because all four Soto chroniclers give very similar descriptions of him. Tuscalusa awaited the Spaniards in his town, so they did not see his litter on their arrival. Ranjel (Bourne 1904:II, 121) described the appearance of Tuscalusa as follows:

> Before this chief there stood always an Indian of graceful mien holding a parasol on a handle something like a round and very large fly fan, with a cross similar to that of the knights of the Order of St. John's of Rhodes, in the middle of a black field, and the cross was white. And although the Governor entered the plaza and alightened from his horse and went up to him, he did not rise, but remained passive in perfect composure and as if he had been a king.

Both Biedma (Bourne 1904:II, 17) and Ranjel (Bourne 1904:II, 122) indicate that the sunshade bearer accompanied the chief everywhere, and Ranjel further indicates that a cushion bearer was also present.

LeMoyne (Bennett 1968:80) described a similar situation among the Timucua of the Florida coast in the 1560's:

> Sometimes the king likes to take a walk in the evening in a neighboring wood, alone with his principal wife, wearing a deer's hide so elegantly prepared, and painted of various colors, so that nothing more beautifully finished can be seen anywhere. Two young men walk at his side, carrying fans to make a breeze for him; while a third, ornamented with little gold and silver balls hanging to his belt, goes behind, and holds up the deer's hide, so that it shall not drag on the ground. The queen and her handmaids are adorned with belts hung on the shoulders or around the body.

Although there is no mention of the chief being bourne on a litter by his subjects, the Timucuan "queen" <u>was</u> carried to the "king" on a litter prior to the marriage ceremony. LeMoyne (Bennett 1968:76) described the event as follows:

> When a king chooses to take a wife, he directs the tallest and handsomest of the daughters of the chief men to be selected. Then a seat is made on two stout poles, and covered with the skin of some rare sort of animal, while it is set off with a structure of boughs, bending over forward so as to shade the head of the sitter. The queen elect having been placed on this, four strong men take up the poles, and support them on their shoulders each carrying in one hand a forked wooden stick to support the pole at halting. Two more walk at the sides; each carrying on a staff a round screen elegantly made, to protect the queen from the sun's rays. Others go before, blowing upon trumpets... Behind follow the most beautiful girls that can be found, elegantly decorated with necklaces and armlets of pearls, each carrying in her hand a basket full of choice fruits... After them come the body-guards.

Although the chief was not directly involved in this use of the litter, the description is almost identical to those of the Soto chroniclers. Laudonnière (Bennett 1975:144) provides another possible instance of the use of a litter among the Timucua in a village or province located twelve leagues north of Fort Caroline. A "queen," widow of "king" Hioacaia ruled there, and her subjects held her in such respect that "they carry her on their shoulders, not wishing to allow her to walk in the paths." A litter was probably involved, but none is mentioned.

English explorers and settlers in Virginia early in the 17th century also produced several accounts of the appearance and treatment on chiefs and their spouses, but no use of litters. Newport (Arber 1884:xlix-l), for instance, provides the following description of a chief's wife:

> Ascending a pretty Hill, we sawe the Queene of the Country comminge in selfe same fashion of state as Pawatha or Arahatec; yea rather with more maiesty: she had an vsher before her who brought her to the matt prepared vnder a faire mulbery tree, there she satt her Downe by her selfe with a stayed Countenance. She would permitt none to stand or sitt neere her: she is a fatt lustie manly woman: she had much Copper about her neck, a Crownet of Copper upon her hed:

> she had long black haire, which hanged loose downe her back to her myddle, which only part was Covered with a Deares skyn, and ells all naked. She had her woemen attending on her adorned much like her selfe (save they wanted ye Copper).

Powhatan was similarly dressed when he was visited by a delegation of Englishmen (Tyler 1907:134):

> Sitting upon his bed of mats, his pillow of leather imbroydred (after their rude manner) with pearle and white beades his attire a faire Robe of skins as large as an Irish mantle, at his head and feet a handsome young woman: on each side of his house sate 20 of his concubines, their heads and shoulders painted red, with a great chaine of white beades about their necks; before those sate his chiefest men, in like order, in his arbor-like house.

A final description is of the pomp and ceremony surrounding a Virginia chief's wife. This account, by Strachey (1849:57-58), provides a detailed description of the overwhelming display that was the right of only chief's, their spouses, and perhaps a few members of the chiefly lineage. When the wife of the chief, Pipisco, was visited, she was

> ...upon a pallett of osiers, spred over with four or five fyne grey matts, herself covered with a faire white drest deare skynne or two: and when she rose, she had a mayd who fetcht her a frontall of white currall, and pendants of great but imperfect coloured and worse drilled pearles, which she put into her eares, and a chayne, with long lyncks of copper, which they called Tapoanantaminais, and which came twice or thrice about her neck, and they accompt a jolly ornament; and sure thus attired, with some variety of feathers and flowers stuck in their haires, they seems as <u>debonaire</u>, quaynt, and well pleased as (I wis) a daughter of the howse of Austria behune with all her jewells; likewise her mayd fetcht her a mantell, which they call puttawus, which is like a side cloake, made of blew feathers, so arteficyally and thick sowed togither, that it seemed like a deep purple satten, and is very smoothe and sleeke; and after she brought her water for her hands, and then a braunch or twoo of fresh greene asshen leaves, as for a towell to dry them. I offend in this digression the willager, since these were ceremonyes which I did little look for, carrying so much presentment of civility, and which are not ordinarily perfourmed to any other amongst them.

Good descriptions of Natchez and Taensa chiefly privilege are given by DuPratz and Membre, respectively. DuPratz (Swanton 1946: 599-600) gives perhaps the most detailed description of the chiefly pomp and privilege in his account of the Great Sun on the way to the Green Corn Ceremony:

> The litter is composed of four red bars crossing each other at the four corners of the seat, which has a depth of about 1 1/2 feet. The entire seat is garnished inside with common deerskin, because unseen. Those which hang outside are painted with designs according to the taste, and of different colors. They conceal the seat so well that the substance of which it is composed cannot be seen. The back part of this seat is covered like the equipages we call "chaises." It is covered outside and in with leaves of the tulip laurel. The outside border is garnished with three strings of flowers. That which extends outside is red. It is accompanied on each side with a string of white flowers.
>
> Those who prepare this conveyance are the first and the oldest warriors of the nation. They place it on the shoulders of the 8 who are the only ones to take it out of the villages. In this way there remain only 16 of them there, because all the others have gone a little after sunrise, with their great chief [of war] and those who command the warriors under his orders. He disperses them a hundred paces apart and places 8 in each relay. For this purpose he chooses those of his warriors who are the strongest and most vigorous. The others wait at the open space with him to receive the Great Sun.
>
> The Great Sun seats himself in the litter adorned with the ornaments suitable to the supreme rank, for good sense alone has enabled these people to know that these ornaments are the mark of sovereignity, and in the ceremonies their princes always wear them, if not all, at least part. Then the 8 oldest warriors place him in this state on the shoulders of those who are going to carry him. The cries are continued from the time of his departure from his cabin until he is beyond the village.

The Natchez description compares well with those of similar situations previously described. Swanton (1946:601) dismisses the DuPratz example by saying "And so the last use of the litter was ceremonial, as might have been anticipated." The last description was,

indeed, of ceremonial occasion, but there is no evidence that it differed in any particular from other uses among southeastern Indians. The mere fact that the litter and associated pomp lasted into the early 18th century in a situation where the population of the main Natchez village consisted of only eight houses indicates its importance to the Natchez. The description of the litter and its ornamentation points to its function as a symbol of the chief's authority. The finely painted deerskins, the copper ornaments, and the use of the most vigorous warriors all would have been symbols of that authority.

Membre (Cox 1905:I, 140) provides the following description of a Taensa chief which does not include a litter:

> The chief of this nation, not content with sending him [LaSalle] provisions and other presents, wished also to see him, and accordingly, two hours before the time, a master of ceremonies came, followed by six men; he made them clear the way he was to pass, prepare a place and cover it with a delicately worked cane-mat. The chief who came some time after, was dressed in a fine white cloth or blanket. He was preceded by two men carrying fans of white feathers. A third carried a copper plate and a round one of the same metal, both highly polished. He maintained a very grave demeanor during this visit, which was, however, full of confidence and marks of friendship.

In summary, the use of the litter or chiefly processions and their associated pomp and ceremony seems to have existed throughout the southeast during early historic times. Although evidence is limited, the distribution of litters based on the existing accounts points to its use only by the chief of the largest and strongest provinces, including Apalache, Cofitachequi and Coosa as described in the Soto chronicles, and among the Natchez in the early 18th century. The other uses of the litter among the Timucua and the carrying of the chief on a man's back may have been attempts to imitate the use of litters as seen in other

chiefdoms, or they may represent a developmental stage in the gradual separation of the chief from the populace that eventually allowed him to be carried on a litter by his subjects.

Litters were also used in funeral ceremonies. DuPratz (Swanton 1911:148-149) describes use of a litter in the funeral of the Natchez Tattooed Serpent, Dumont (Swanton 1911:151, 157) describes the same ceremony, and Charlevoix (Swanton 1911:140-141) provides an account of the litter transport of the White Woman or Great Female Sun. When one reads these accounts, the Great Mortuary at Spiro is immediately brought to mind (Brown 1975). In that mortuary were a number of large litters containing high status burials accompanied by abundant grave goods manufactured from exotic resources including copper, shell, and stone. Litters were also prominent in the elaborate burial ceremonialism found beneath Mound 72 at Cahokia (Fowler 1974). These Mississippian period occurrences of litters at a time 400-500 years prior to the available ethnohistoric accounts indicate that use of litters by high status individuals in the Southeast is old and must therefore have been an important feature of society.

Copper

Copper was one of the most important exotic materials in both the prehistoric and early historic southeastern chiefdoms. High status individuals at such major Mississippian sites as Moundville (Peebles 1971), Spiro (Brown 1971, 1975), Etowah (Larson 1971) and Cahokia (Fowler 1974) all had substantial amounts of copper buried with them. Indeed, both Brown (1971:101) and Peebles (1971:87) have noted that individuals

belonging to highest status categories at Spiro and Moundville, respectively, consistently contain copper ornaments, axes or plates.

Ethnohistoric accounts provide abundant evidence for the importance of copper as an indicator of high status. The account by Newport concerning wearing of copper by a high status female but not by her attendants has already been noted. Copper chains (Newport 1907:307; Strachey 1849:57) appear to have been worn by high status individuals in coastal Virginia and North Carolina, but plates of copper worn on the head appear to have been the most common status indicator among males.

Barlowe (Hakluyt 1953:17) describes a visit to a group living on the North Carolina coast in 1584:

> She [the king's brother's wife] and the rest of her women, of the better sort, had pendants of copper hanging in either ear and some of the children of the king's brother, and other noblemen, have five or six in either ear. He himself had upon his head a broad plate of gold, or copper, for being unpolished, we knew not what metal it should be; neither would he by any mean suffer us to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bow very easily.

Percy (1967:13-14) provides a similar description for a district chief of Powhatan:

> When we landed, the Werowance of Rapahanna came down to the waterside with all his train, as goodly men as I have seen of savages or Christians; the Werowance coming before them playing on a flute made of a reed with a crown of bear's hair colored red, in fashion of a rose, fastened about his knot of hair, and a great plate of copper on the other side of his head, with two long feathers in fashion of a pair of horns placed in the midst of his crown. His body was painted all with crimson, with a chain of beads about his neck; his face painted blue, besprinkled with silver ore, as we thought, his ears all behung with bracelets of pearl, and in either ear a bird's claw through it, beset with fine copper or gold.

The Calusa of southern Florida are also reported to have used copper

head plates as status indicators for chiefs (Zubillaga 1946:310; Goggin and Sturtevant 1964:190).

Presence of copper head plates among Carolina and south Florida groups is reminescent of the large number of copper plates, often resting on the skull, found in Mississippian burials of high status individuals (Waring and Holder 1968; Larson 1971; Hamilton et al. 1974; H. Brown 1980). And these copper plates themselves often depict high status individuals wearing copper head plates (Moorehead 1932: Pl. 14, 15; Hamilton et al. 1974: Fig. 95; Jones 1982: Fig. 6b, 7b). At both Etowah (Larson 1971) and Spiro (Brown 1971), both adults and children were found with copper plates, indicating that the status possessed by individuals was ascribed rather than achieved.

Ethnohistoric sources on the Lower Mississippi Valley in the late 17th and early 18th centuries reveal a slightly different pattern for the display of copper plates. Copper plates appear to have been displayed in prominent positions by chiefs, but there is no indication that they were worn by high status individuals on their bodies. Membre (Swanton 1946:649-650) describes a Taensa procession in which the chief was preceded by a man carrying "a sheet of copper and a circular plaque of the same material." Tonti (Swanton 1911:286) observed that the houses of both the Koroa and Taensa chiefs were ornamented with copper and brass plates. The use described for these Lower Mississippi Valley groups sounds similar to the Tukabatchee plates of the 18th and 19th century Creek discussed in detail by Swanton (1928:503-510) and Howard (1968:64-74).

One other important feature of the copper plates and of copper in general remains to be discussed. Copper, and perhaps other exotic raw

materials, was reserved for the use of chiefs and other high status individuals even in the early historic period in some parts of the Southeast, as for example among the coastal Indians of North Carolina (Burrage 1906:233):

> There came down from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, corall, divers kines of dies, very excellent, and exchanged with us: but when Granganimeo the kings brother was present, none durst trade but himselfe: except such as weare red pieces of copper on their heads like himselfe: for that is the difference betweene the noble men, and the governours of countreys, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you have understood since by these men, which we brought home, that no people in the worlde cary more respect to their King, Nobilitie, and Governours, than these doe.

In a similar manner, Powahatan controlled the copper trade in Virginia (Strachey 1953:138) and the chieftainess of Cofitachequi controlled it in central South Carolina (Varner and Varner 1951:254, 310-311). Consideration of documents pertaining to the Powhatan has led Turner (1976: 200) to conclude that trade in and use of not only copper, but also antimony, puccoon (a dye or pigment), pearls, beads, and some shells and furs, was limited to chiefs and their families.

Other Sumptuary Rules

Other rules governed dress, behavior, and rights of use that separated chiefs and their families from the common people. Most of these occur in only one or two sources, so it can not be stated with certainty that any one of them was present in all southeastern chiefdoms at all times. They are presented here as a group to indicate that a wide variety of sumptuary rules were in effect, but information on their overall distribution is lacking.

DuPratz (Swanton 1911:106-107) describes an elaborate feather crown worn by the Natchez chief, a headdress that sounds similar to a crown worn by the chief of Coosa nearly 200 years earlier (Bourne 1904:I, 81). Archaeological specimens representing copper and feather headdresses have been found at Etowah, Moundville, and elsewhere (Webb and DeJarnette 1942:297-298; Larson 1959).

Access to the temple and to the chief's house were strictly limited to the chief and his family. De Montigny (Swanton 1911:93) provides the following account concerning the chief's cabin among the Natchez:

> They spoke to him [the great Sun] always with great respect. A woman or a child never dared to enter his cabin; only the old men and the most important of the nation could enter there; everything in his words as in his maintenance witness to the great respect in which he was held. No one would be permitted to sit on his bed, to make use of his goblet, to pass between a cane torch or flambeau which was lighted every evening in order to illuminate his cabin.

Penicaut (Swanton 1911:100-101) provides additional information concerning respect and deference shown the Natchez chief:

> His house is very large; it can hold as many as 4000 [?] persons. This grand chief is as absolute as a king. His people do not come near him through respect. When they speak to him, they are four paces distant. His bed is at the right on entering the cabin... Only his wife has the right to sleep there with him. Only she, too, can eat at his table. When he gives the leavings to his brothers or any of his relatives, he pushes the dishes to them with his feet. On rising, all the relatives or some old men of consideration approach his bed, and raising their arms on high, make frightful cries. They salute him thus without his deigning to notice them.

The frightful cries made by visitors were most likely the cry "hou" repeated several times in unison. LePetit (Swanton 1911:102) visited the Natchez Great Sun and made the following observations concerning the use of howls:

> There are in this cabin a number of beds on the left hand at entering; but on the right is only the bed of the great chief, ornamented with different painted figures. This bed consists of nothing but a matress of canes and reeds, very hard, with a square log of wood which serves for a pillow. In the middle of the cabin is seen a small stone, and no one should approach the bed until he has made a circuit of this stone. Those who enter salute by a howl, and advance even to the bottom of the cabin without looking at the right side where the chief is. Then they give a new salute by raising their arms above the head and howling three times. If it be anyone whom the chief holds in consideration he answers by a slight sigh and makes a sign to him to be seated. He thanks him for his politeness by a new howl. At every question which the chief puts to him he howls once before he answers, and when he takes his leave he prolongs a single howl until he is out of his presence.

In another previously cited passage by LePetit, he described how the rising sun was greeted by the chief using the same howling, and the chief used a similar series of howls in greeting new corn at harvest festival (Swanton 1911:115). As a matter of fact, we find the use of howls to greet high status individuals to be one of the more widespread features to be considered here. Peter Martyr (Swanton 1946:648) recorded the same type of behavior on the coast of South Carolina in 1521:

> It is quite laughable to hear how the people salute the lords and how the king responds, especially to his nobles. As a sign of respect the one who salutes puts his hands to his nostrils and gives a bellow like a bull, after which he extends his hands toward the forehead and in front of the face. The king does not bother to return the salutes of his people, and responds to the nobles by half bending his head toward the left shoulder without saying anything.

Although this account comes from a more lengthy and sometimes garbled interview with a Carolina Indian, it is clear that the same type of chiefly respect was being shown here as was seen among the Natchez.

Chiefly greetings are also described for the remainder of the Southeast. Among the Timucua, Laudonnière (Swanton 1922:374) said that the chief was greeted every morning in council by cries of "Ha, he, ha," and LeMoyne (Swanton 1946:93) records the same series of sounds as "Ha, he, ya, ha, ha." Among the Taensa, the greeting was variously recorded by Tonti (Swanton 1911:259) and LaSalle (Swanton 1911:262) as "Ho! Ho! Ho!" and "Hou! Hou! Hou!", respectively. Powhatan was also greeted with a series of shouts (Swanton 1946:642).

As a final point on the subject, DuPratz' (Swanton 1911:93) comments pertain to the greeting afforded to nobles other than the chief:

> When the great Sun speaks to anyone [of the common people] he (the latter) is obliged to salute him with three hous as soon as he has finished speaking. If a simple Sun is spoken to he is saluted with one hou only, but it is necessary that this be out of the presence of the sovereign. The Suns themselves salute him every time he speaks to them and every morning they go to pay their respects to him with this salutation of a single hou. Even his brother (the head war chief) was not exempt, but he did it in a very low tone, which sufficed for the rest of the day.

The great respect with which the chief and to a lesser degree their kinsmen were treated impressed all European observers, because French, English, and Spanish accounts all refer to the widespread greeting practices.

Chiefs had certain foods reserved for their use (Swanton 1922:387), and also special dishes from which to eat (Swanton 1911:259). The Natchez chief had servants who provided for his needs in both his sacred and secular roles. LePetit (Swanton 1911:142-143) provides an excellent description of the services these servants provided:

> ...as soon as an heir presumptive has been born to the great chief, each family that has an infant at the breast is obliged to pay him homage. From all these infants they choose a certain number whom they desire for the service of the young prince,

> and as soon as they are of a competent age they furnish them with employments suited to their talents. Some pass their lives in hunting, to furnish supplies for the table; others are employed in agriculture, while others serve to fill up his retinue. If he happens to die, all these servants sacrifice themselves with joy, to follow their dear master.

Penicaut (Swanton 1911:100) adds that the great Sun was served by up to thirty regular servants (tichon) and many other servants referred to as Great Sun servants (Oulchil tichon). Servants were also present among the Calusa (Swanton 1911:389) and the Caddo (Swanton 1942:173).

Summary and Conclusions

It should be apparent from the foregoing that chiefs and their families were separated from the lower status members of southeastern chiefdoms by many sumptuary rules, only a few of which have been discussed here. In their roles as both political and religious leaders, chiefs were accompanied by servants and retainers who provided for their needs. Chiefs wore copper head pieces, crowns, or other material items that symbolized and reasserted their high status. They were treated with great deference by their subjects, many of whom had only limited access to the chiefly presence. The chief and some of his family members lived on mounds that grew larger and higher with each successive generation, eventually leading to a greater vertical and probably social separation between chief and subjects. The ultimate separation between chief and commoner came in the sacred role of the chief. He was thought to be descended from the celestial sun, and he was viewed as a spirit. Burial in the temple was the final stage in symbolizing the close relationship between the chief and other spirits. It is therefore not surprising that the chief and his family were treated with such respect and deference.

CHAPTER IX

RISE AND FALL OF SOUTHEASTERN CHIEFDOMS

Whatever the causes for the development of individual chiefdoms in the Southeast, it is certain that all of the chiefdoms represented in the archaeological and ethnohistorical records from the Southeast did not originate simultaneously, nor were chiefdoms identical, whether in degree of political centralization, warfare pattern, level of social stratification, or degree of cultural elaboration. These observed differences in content can be explained in part by the relative stage of development of the individual chiefdoms involved (Steponaitis 1981; Carneiro 1981). Some chiefdoms--the best available examples of which derive from the ethnohistorical record--were only slightly developed and had not reached their fullest potential for growth and expansion, while others--with the best available examples deriving from the archaeological record--were more fully developed and had perhaps reached the apex of their development. The next step in their growth would have been statehood had circumstances allowed their continued growth and development.

Inherent in the preceding discussion of the origin and development of chiefdoms is the assumption that chiefdoms were not static entities. They did not emerge full blown from ancestral tribal level groups, but instead represent only a portion of an evolutionary socio-political continuum which ranges from a slight degree of centralization of

political authority at the lowest level to more highly developed centralization of authority approaching that of the state. The evolutionary path of ever increasing complexity and chiefly authority was not necessarily the same for all chiefdoms, but the general direction was the same. In each chiefdom, then, political centralization, social stratification, cultural elaboration, and territorial expansion occurred at a rate determined by factors such as subsistence, population pressures, competition and warfare, among others.

At this point in the discussion, a dilemma arises. If chiefdoms are part of an evolutionary continuum which leads ultimately to a state level of socio-political organization (Carneiro 1981:67), why then, did states not develop in the southeastern United States as they did in nearby Mesoamerica or South America? Fowler (1974), Sears (1962; 1968), and Olah (1975) have all argued that states did in fact exist in the Southeast, but none of those authors suggest that they even approach the fully developed states found farther south, and all were probably describing highly developed chiefdoms. In each of these cases, large archaeological sites such as Cahokia, Kolomoki, Moundville, and Etowah (which represent political centers of either chiefdoms or incipient states) show evidence of decline following long periods of development. As Sheldon (1974), Fowler (1974), and Seckinger (1977) have shown, the decline of these centralized societies is marked by a shift away from a hierarchy of settlement types to numerous smaller, undifferentiated settlements. A decline in the number of statuses represented in mortuary practices, and the loss of most of the other indicators of cultural elaboration such as mound residence and temple burial for chiefs, human sacrifice, trade in exotic raw materials, and other

attributes also occurs at the same time. The reasons for the decline at these major archaeological sites is not fully understood. Fowler (1974) has suggested that over-exploitation of local resources as a result of over-population led to the decline of Cahokia, but it is possible that the reasons behind the decentralization may be more complex. Palerm and Wolf (1957) and Leach (1954) using data from Mesoamerica and Burma, respectively, have suggested that environmental variables, such as suitability of an area for irrigation, amount of precipitation, or changes in relative population density may have resulted in continued centralization in some areas and a decline in others. Baker and Sanders (1972), on the other hand, have suggested that increasing population puts increasing pressures on the kin-based integration of society found at the chiefdom level, and unless new forms of integration, such as formal legal sanctions, are developed, then chiefdoms will fragment into less centralized tribal level groups. Similar "cycles" of centralization followed by decentralization have been noted for Mesopotamia by Adams (1974) and Gibson (1974). Thus, for whatever reason, not all chiefdoms developed into states. Instead, some chiefdoms developed up to a certain level, and then began a period of decline. Except in cases where the decline was precipitated by military conquest or some other cataclysmic disaster, it is likely that such decline took the form of a reduction in the authority of chiefs, decrease in number and complexity of sumptuary rules associated with chiefly positions, and a return to a more egalitarian society. Fried (1967) has suggested a similar process for the decline of pristine states.

At present, it is not possible to trace the development and decline of any of the dozens of chiefdoms which occupied the Southeast between A.D. 900 and 1700. It is likely, however, that through a combination of archaeology and ethnohistory, we will some day be able to reach that level of understanding. For the present, we must be satisfied with recognizing that the variation existed, and we must employ that recognition in our attempts to interpret the southeastern chiefdoms.

A possible indicator for the development and decline of political centralization can be seen in the temporal distribution of council houses (or large earth covered structures) in the Georgia-Carolina area. In that area, council houses have two periods of occurrence separated by an interval during which such structures appear to be lacking. At sites such as Wilbanks (Sears 1958), Tugalo (Kelly and DeBaillou 1960), and Garden Creek (Dickens 1976), earth lodges were encountered in the lowest levels of platform mounds which contained subsequent construction stages used for chiefly residence or as temple substructures. The implication is, that, as centralization developed in each area, there was a shift from control by councils (such as one might expect during the early stages of unification of kin-linked autonomous villages) toward more powerful chiefs deserving of mound residence, temple burials, and greatly increased social status. A similar trend can be seen on the Macon Plateau in central Georgia (Fairbanks 1946). There, the earliest earth lodge has a raised clay platform for the three highest ranking individuals with clay "seats" for 47 others. Subsequent earth lodges lost both the clay platform and seats, and eventually the earthlodge became just another ceremonial structure located between the two platform mounds on the site. It is

likely that this change reflects the shift from decision making by councils of clan elders to increasing power in the hands of a strong chief. Councils may have continued to exist but perhaps only as advisory bodies which met with the chief in his house or elsewhere on the residence mound and not in a specialized council structure.

By the time the Soto expedition passed through the Southeast in the 1540's, there were few if any councils or council houses operating in the chiefdoms visited. Instead, descriptions or even mention of councils are rare and descriptions of council houses are almost totally lacking. The only mention of a chief actually conferring with a council is a meeting between Tuscalusa and his "war council" at Mauvila. In two other cases, at Chiaha and Chicaca, Elvas (Bourne 1904;I, 75, 103) describes the chief as saying that he must confer with his council before he can provide bearers, but in the first case the chief and the entire village population fled, and in the second the Indians attacked immediately. Ranjel (Bourne 1904:II, 72) mentions "a very large cabin with a large open court in the middle" seen at Aquacaleyquen (Caliquen) in central Florida, providing a description for a possible council house. When Soto met with Tuscalusa at his main town, Elvas (Bourne 1904:87) says that they sat and talked in a piazza located on the summit of the chief's residence mound. The meeting was also attended by the chief's principal men who placed "themselves around (him), some way removed, so that an open circle was formed about him, the Indians of the highest rank being nearest to his person," which suggests that at least some persons were included in major conferences.

Council houses were more common in marginal areas of the Southeast during the 15th and 16th centuries. Laudonnière (Bennett 1975:14)

observed functioning councils among the poorly centralized chiefdom controlled by Saturiona at the Mouth of the St. Johns River, but it is not known if they also existed in the more developed neighboring chiefdom controlled by Outina. Functioning councils were also observed among the Caddo in the early 18th century (Swanton 1942). At Irene on the coast of Georgia, a platform mound for chiefly residence was in use until A.D. 1350, but after that data a rotunda (or council house) was built and the platform mound abandoned.

By the early 18th century, all of the southeastern chiefdoms had suffered periods of decline, and only tribal level groups, sometimes organized into loose confederacies, were present (Swanton 1928a, 1928b; Hudson 1976). Detailed descriptions of councils and council houses are provided for this time period by numerous writers including Lawson (Lefler 1967), Dickinson (Andrews and Andrews 1945), Timberlake (Williams 1927), Romans (1962), Adair (Williams 1930), Bartram (Haprer 1967) and others.

The archaeological evidence, then, indicates that council houses were present in the Southeast by ca. A.D. 1000, but little evidence exists for their presence during the interval between A.D. 1000 and 1600. Council houses do appear to have been present in areas marginal to the core Southeast or in weakly centralized chiefdoms. Historical accounts indicate that council houses were common throughout the Southeast in the 18th century, and they were often constructed on the summits of preexisting mounds. This pattern of council house presence, disappearance, and later reappearance in the Southeast corresponds to the pattern of rise, existence, and decline of chiefdoms being proposed here. Councils which advised the chief or controlled his decisions may

have been present during the early stages of the development of a chiefdom, but as the chief grew stronger, the councils apparently grew weaker and eventually disappeared altogether in most southeastern chiefdoms.

The level of socio-political organization was not the same in all parts of the Southeast in the early historic period. Some chiefdoms were at a level of development just above the tribal level, while others had developed to a point approaching state level. The archaeological record indicates that southeastern chiefdoms had been developing and declining since approximately A.D. 900, and they were continuing to do so into the historic period. Some chiefdoms may have been quite stable once established, however. An anonymous letter written in 1704 (Swanton 1911:185) indicates that the Natchez could court forty-five or fifty chiefs who had "succeeded each other successively," while during a time of "sickness," nine Great Suns died within a period of four years and still the Natchez chiefdom continued to function (Du Pratz in Swanton 1911:172). Not all groups in the Southeast were at the chiefdom level, however, even in the 16th century. Ranjel (Bourne 1904:II, 132) says the following of a group near Chicaza: "Caluca is a province of more than ninety villages not subject to anyone, with a savage population, very warlike and much dreaded...", indicating a lack of centralization. Elsewhere, Elvas (Bourne 1904:I, 70-71), Ranjel (Bourne 1904:II, 102-103), and Biedma (Bourne 1904:II, 14-15) give descriptions of Chelaque, Xuala, and Guaxule (Guaquili) located in western North Carolina which indicate that those "provinces" may have been tribal groups subject to the chieftainess of Cofitachequi.

In any event, most groups within the core Southeast were chiefdoms in the 16th century when Soto passed through. Descriptions of the Luna expedition (Priestley 1928) indicate that chiefdoms in Alabama may have been weakened by the passage of Soto and other southeastern chiefdoms may have been similarly affected. Chiefdoms lasted at least into the first quarter of the 18th century in the Lower Mississippi Valley, and may have lasted that late in other parts of the Southeast although descriptions are lacking. By the mid-18th century, the chiefdoms were gone, and all southeastern groups were back at the tribal level due to the loss of all the elements which have been described here as being characteristic of chiefdoms (Bossu 1962; Harper 1967; Williams 1930; Williams 1927). The final decline of the southeastern chiefdoms was not caused by a single factor, but was instead probably the result of several factors including disease, disruption caused by Europeans (i.e., Soto, Pardo, Luna) and trade for European goods (which changed the whole economic structure).

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