The Cultural Landscape of the North Carolina Piedmont at Contact

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In late December 1700, John Lawson and a party of six Englishmen and four Indians set out from Charles Town to conduct a reconnaissance survey of Carolina for the colony's Lords Proprietors. By the time he arrived at the English settlement on Pamlico Sound almost two months later, Lawson had traversed some six hundred miles through the Carolina backcountry, describing the natural and cultural geography he encountered along the way. During the first leg of his journey, along the Santee and Wateree rivers, he visited villages of the Santee, Congaree, and Wateree Indians. Next, he entered the territory of the eighteenth-century Catawba, where he encountered the Waxhaw, Esaw, Sugaree, and Kadapau. From Kadapau, Lawson's party left the Catawba-Wateree valley and headed northeast along the Great Trading Path, which ran from the James River in Virginia to the Savannah River at Augusta. Crossing the North Carolina piedmont and its swift-flowing rivers, he visited the palisaded villages of the Saponi along the Yadkin River, the Keyauwee along Caraway Creek, and the Occaneechi along the Eno River. Other tribes who lived in nearby villages, but who were not visited by Lawson's party, included the Tutelo, Sissipahaw, Shakori, Eno, and Adshusheer. Heeding the warning given him by a Virginia trader near Achonechy Town that an Iroquois raiding party had been sighted in the area, Lawson left the Trading Path and headed east toward the English settlements on the Pamlico River, a route that took him through the heart of Tuscarora territory.

LINGUISTIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION

With the exception of the Tuscarora, who were an Iroquoian-speaking people, all of the tribes encountered by Lawson have since been identified as "eastern Siouan." This linguistic identification was made late in the nineteenth century by Albert Gatschet[1] for the Catawba and by Horatio Hale[2] for the Tutelo. James Mooney, using scanty linguistic evidence for

some groups and ethnohistorical information for most others, further argued that over two dozen neighboring tribes mentioned by early travelers and explorers also were Siouan.[3] Given that no direct linguistic evidence exists for many of these groups, their classification as Siouan speakers cannot be substantiated. According to Mooney, the area of Siouan-speaking peoples during the seventeenth century extended from the upper Rappahannock River in north-central Virginia to the Congaree and Santee rivers of central South Carolina, and from the Blue Ridge to the fall line. In southeastern North Carolina and South Carolina, Siouan peoples also inhabited the lower reaches of the Cape Fear, Pee Dee, and Santee rivers as far as the Atlantic coast. To the east, the Siouans were bounded by the Algonkian-speaking tribes of the Powhatan Confederacy and the Nottoway, Meherrin, and Tuscarora, who spoke Iroquoian languages; to the west and south they were bounded by the Cherokee and Muskogean peoples.

Two separate divisions of Siouan peoples were proposed by John Swanton[4] and Frank Speck[5] based on significant linguistic differences between Tutelo and Catawba and the historical association of other groups with these two peoples. They included within a northern, or Tutelo, division the various tribes of the Manahoac and Monacan confederacies, located in central Virginia when Jamestown was established in 1607, and the Saponi, Tutelo, and Occaneechi who resided along the Roanoke River and its tributaries during the second half of the 1600s. This latter region is represented by the Dan River phase and related complexes during the late prehistoric period.[6] Archaeologically, these complexes reflect a continuation of a Late Woodland cultural tradition and show little Mississippian influence. Villages were located along streams with substantial bottomlands and were composed of simple circular or oval houses constructed of saplings and bark. These houses were arranged in a circle, facing an open plaza, and were surrounded by a palisade. With the exception of the Fredricks site, which had a large communal sweat lodge, none of the late prehistoric or historic villages excavated in piedmont North Carolina and Virginia has produced any evidence of public architecture (fig. 1).[7]

The other groups identified as Siouan, located in North Carolina and South Carolina during the early eighteenth century, were placed by Swanton and Speck in a southern, or Catawba, division. However, unlike the northern division, the usefulness of a southern division is problematic, given the cultural, geographic, and probable linguistic diversity repre-

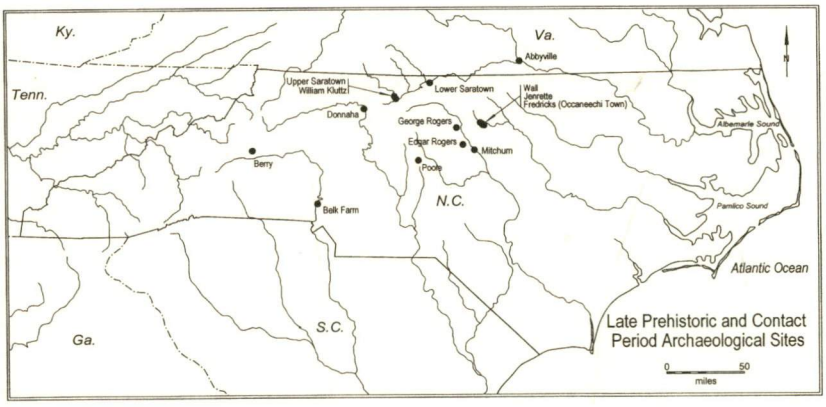

Fig. 1. Archaeological sites of the late prehistoric and contact periods.

sented by the groups contained within it.[8] Booker, Hudson, and Rankin refer to the languages of these people as Catawban and argue that they should not be called "Siouan."[9] The northern and central North Carolina piedmont was home to the Sara, Eno, Shakori, Sissipahaw, Adshusheer, and Keyauwee, while the Sugaree, Waxhaw, and groups collectively known as Catawba in the eighteenth century were located along the lower reaches of the Catawba River near present-day Rock Hill, South Carolina. Below the Catawba were the Wateree, Congaree, and Santee, and the coastal region between the North Carolina sounds and the Ashley River was home to the Woccon, Waccamaw, Cape Fear, Pedee, Winyah, and Sewee.

While the area inhabited by southern-division tribes also is much more diverse archaeologically for the late prehistoric period, many sites throughout the southern part of the region possess archaeological traits—such as evidence for public buildings and earthworks, distinctive mortuary and architectural patterns, and Lamar-style pottery—that are commonly associated with South Appalachian Mississippian.[10] The region occupied by the Congaree, Wateree, Waxhaw, Sugaree, and Catawba in the early eighteenth century approximates the territory controlled by the chiefdom of Cofitachequi during the mid-sixteenth century[11]; however, the archaeological data from this area are not sufficient to assess any possible relationship between the two. Chester DePratter has argued that the Cofitachequi abandoned the Wateree valley just before 1700.[12] To the north, the late prehistoric archaeological complexes along the middle and

upper Catawba valley, as well as within the upper reaches of the Yadkin valley, also show strong Lamar influence. David Moore believes that the peoples of this region—whom he calls Catawba Valley Mississippians—gradually moved down the Catawba valley during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and became the Catawba of the early eighteenth century.[13] Conversely, archaeological complexes associated with the Sara, Keyauwee, Sissipahaw, and Shakori—including Dan River, Hillsboro, Saratown, Caraway, and Jenrette phases—exhibit only slight South Appalachian Mississippian influence, mostly with respect to Lamar-like pottery surface treatments. This suggests that these groups are not closely related culturally to the Catawba-Wateree valley groups. Even more problematic is the likelihood that the late prehistoric Dan River phase of the upper Roanoke drainage is ancestral to both the southern-division Sara and the northern-division Tutelo and Saponi.

SIOUAN ETHNOHISTORY AND CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY

One problem that has plagued Siouan studies is the relative paucity of ethnohistoric information. As Mooney observed more than a century ago, the native peoples of piedmont Carolina and Virginia "were of but small importance politically; no sustained mission work was ever attempted among them, and there were but few literary men to take an interest in them. War, pestilence, whisky and systematic slave hunts had nearly exterminated the aboriginal occupants of the Carolinas before anybody had thought them of sufficient importance to ask who they were, how they lived, or what were their beliefs and opinions."[14] The written records that do exist present a picture of rapid culture change as native peoples sought to cope in a variety of ways with the forces of disease, trade, and conflict that were largely beyond their control.

Although John Lawson has left us with our most detailed account of the Siouan tribes of the North and South Carolina piedmont, the cultural landscape he witnessed bore little resemblance to the one that existed a century or even half a century before. Lawson recognized this, remarking that "[t]he Small-Pox and Rum have made such a Destruction amongst them, that, on good grounds, I do believe, there is not the sixth Savage living within two hundred Miles of all our Settlements, as there were fifty years ago."[15] This process of depopulation is reflected by the frequent abandonment and relocation of villages and the merging of tribes to create

new societies; unfortunately, the details of this process are vague, due to the spotty nature of the ethnohistoric literature.

The ethnohistory of the piedmont begins with the explorations of Hernando de Soto in 1540 and Juan Pardo in 1566 and 1567. These Spanish explorers penetrated the Catawba-Wateree valley at the southwestern edge of Siouan territory. Here they contacted native peoples who later became known collectively as Catawba. David Moore has recently argued that the sixteenth-century ancestors of the eighteenth-century Catawba are represented in the middle and upper Catawba valley by the Low and Burke phases,[16] and Rob Beck has identified the Berry site, a Burke phase mound center located on a tributary of the upper Catawba River near Morganton, as the village of Xuala visited by Soto and Joara visited by Pardo.[17] Beck has argued further that the Joara (Xuala) to Chiaha routes of both explorers likely crossed the mountains along the Toe River valley and not the French Broad valley as Charles Hudson and others first hypothesized.[18]

After the Soto and Pardo expeditions, there were few recorded contacts between Europeans and piedmont Indians until the mid-1600s, when English traders and explorers began to penetrate the inner coastal plain and piedmont south and west of the James River. Before this time, direct trade between the English and Indians in Virginia was limited largely to the Chesapeake Bay. Following the Second Pamunkey War of 1644–1645, which reduced the members of the Powhatan Confederacy to tributary status, the Virginia colony established forts at the falls of the James, Pamunkey, and Appomattox rivers to protect the colony's western frontier. Fort Henry, located on the Appomattox River at present-day Petersburg, quickly became a commercial center for trade with the Siouan tribes to the southwest. The earliest reported expedition out of Fort Henry was led by Edward Bland in 1650 and sought to establish a trade with the Tuscarora to the south.[19] Bland's narrative was used by Lewis Binford to identify territories and settlements of the Nottoway, Meherrin, and Tuscarora along the fall line, and it also provides the first reference to the Occaneechi residing on the Roanoke River.[20]

Knowledge of the native cultural landscape of southern Virginia and northern North Carolina greatly increased during the early 1670s with the written accounts of three separate explorations. The first of these was by a German physician named John Lederer, who sought a route across the Appalachian Mountains.[21] In 1669 and 1670, Lederer made three west-

ward journeys from tidewater Virginia. His first and third expeditions explored the York and Rappahannock valleys to the Blue Ridge; on his second expedition he traveled southwest from the falls of the James River through the Virginia and Carolina piedmont. According to Cumming, Lederer's second journey in 1670 took him to the Monacan and Mahock along the James River, the Saponi and Nahyssan on the Staunton River, the Occaneechi on the Roanoke River just below the confluence of the Dan and Staunton rivers at present-day Clarksville, the Eno and Shakori within the upper Neuse drainage, the Watary and Sara within the Yadkin or Deep River drainages, and the Wisacky and Ushery on the Catawba River.[22] Some researchers have dismissed Lederer's narrative, in large part because he described the Ushery, or Catawba, as living along the banks of a great lake of brackish water.[23] While this portion of his account probably is not based on firsthand information, most of the other villages that he visited appear to be accurately placed geographically; unfortunately, with the exception of the Jenrette site, which may be the Shakori village of Shakor, none of the other villages has been identified archaeologically, and no archaeological evidence exists for placing the Sara south of the Dan River before the eighteenth century.

The following year, Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam undertook a westward expedition from Fort Henry for Abraham Wood, the fort's commander and a trader.[24] The purpose of this enterprise was to establish a fur trade to rival the French, as well as to find a passable route westward beyond the mountains and to search for precious metals.[25] Batts and Fallam visited the Saponi village on the Staunton River that John Lederer had visited the previous year and also visited a Totero, or Tutelo, village further upriver, probably in the vicinity of Roanoke. From there, they proceeded further west and reached New River, a headwater of the Ohio. The Batts and Fallam and Lederer accounts provide our only documentary evidence for placing the Tutelo and Saponi along the Staunton River at first contact. If these groups were located there prehistorically, then they are almost surely represented archaeologically by the Dan River phase. Shortly after these two expeditions, the Tutelo and Saponi moved downstream and joined the Occaneechi near the confluence of the Staunton and Dan rivers.[26]

In 1673, Abraham Wood sponsored another expedition led by James Needham to establish trade with the Tomahittans, or Tomahitas, who lived beyond the mountains of western North Carolina, probably in eastern

Tennessee. The Tomahittans occupied a heavily fortified town and apparently were a Cherokee group; however, Waselkov has suggested that they were a relocated Hichiti-speaking group living in the upper Coosa drainage.[27] Information about this expedition is contained in a 1674 letter from Wood to John Richards of London and is the only significant ethnohistoric document about English explorations into the interior that was not available to James Mooney.[28] The expedition party, consisting of Needham, Gabriel Arthur, and eight Indians, departed from Fort Henry and traveled along the Trading Path to the Occaneechi settlement on Occaneechi Island. From there, they journeyed southwest for nine days to Sitteree and then another fifteen days to the Tomahittans' town. Sitteree has not been identified, but it may have been a Siouan village in the upper Yadkin valley. In his letter, Wood remarked that Sitteree was the last Indian settlement encountered until Needham's party was within two days of the Tomahittans. This is consistent with archaeological data which indicate that the western piedmont and northwest mountains of North Carolina were largely unoccupied during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[29]

After a short stay, Needham returned to Fort Henry and left Arthur with the Tomahittans to learn their language. Wood wrote that, on the journey back to retrieve Arthur, Needham and his Occaneechi guide Hasecoll traveled from Occhonechee (Occaneechi) to Aeno (Eno) and then to Sarrah (Sara). This sequence of villages, with the omission of Shakor and Watary, corresponds to the sequence of piedmont Siouan villages visited by Lederer three years earlier. From Sarrah, Needham traveled a short distance to a Yattken (Yadkin) town on the Yadkin River, where he was killed by his Indian guide during a violent argument. Gabriel Arthur eventually made his way back to Fort Henry after traveling extensively throughout the Southeast with his Tomahittan hosts; however, his story is not of concern here.

Archaeological evidence indicates that, during the 1670s, the Sara were living along the Dan River in the area known historically as Upper Saratown, and the topographic setting of the Upper Saratown site fits well with Lederer's description.[30] Furthermore, this area is only about twenty miles northeast of the Great Bend of the Yadkin River where the Donnaha site is located. Although excavations at Donnaha did not identify a seventeenth-century component, the site does have a substantial late prehistoric occupation.[31] The identity of the Yadkin village is unknown; how-

ever, Swanton suggests on geographical grounds that they may have been related to the Sara or Keyauwee.[32]

While there are no further ethnohistoric accounts of native peoples in piedmont North Carolina until John Lawson in 1701, historic documents do exist concerning the demise of the Occaneechi during Bacon's Rebellion in 1676.[33] At the time of the rebellion, the region below the confluence of the Dan and Staunton rivers, where the Trading Path crossed the Roanoke River, was occupied by the Occaneechi, Susquehannock, Tutelo, Saponi, and perhaps others. An anonymous writer of the period remarked that Occaneechi Island was "the Mart for all the Indians for att [*sic*] least 500 miles."[34] The congregation of tribes at this location was probably due as much to the protection it afforded against Iroquois raiding as to the attraction of the fur trade.

The year 1676 was clearly pivotal in the history of relations between Virginians and piedmont Indians. During the two decades before Bacon's Rebellion, the Occaneechi established themselves as middlemen and controlled much of the trade from Occaneechi Island. Archaeological evidence, as well as historical accounts, further suggest that the Occaneechi probably were successful in restricting direct access to the trade by more remote groups.[35] Following the rebellion, the Occaneechi abandoned their island home, and southern Virginia and the Carolina piedmont were opened up to Virginia traders. As John Lawson witnessed a few years later, the exchange of furs and deerskins for European goods now took place in Indian villages along the Trading Path and not at a more distant trading center at the edge of the Virginia colony. And, because the focus of the Virginia trade was on the more populous Catawba and Cherokee, participation in the trade probably caused many smaller tribes in the intervening region to reposition their settlements along the Trading Path.

One could easily argue that Lawson's view of the piedmont's cultural landscape in 1701 is biased, since he did not deviate from the Trading Path between the lower Catawba valley and Occaneechi Town. He did not visit any villages off the trail until he left the Occaneechi and headed eastward toward the village of Adshusheer, and some other groups such as the Sara and Sissipahaw clearly did not reside along the path at this time. Still, present archaeological evidence for the central and northern North Carolina piedmont suggests that most Siouan villages were aligned with the Trading Path (either directly on the path or close to it), and no areas of significant occupation have been identified away from this trail other than

the upper Dan drainage where the Sara lived during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[36]

FACTORS OF CULTURE CHANGE

The character of the cultural landscape that Lawson witnessed was short lived due primarily to four factors: (1) depopulation; (2) the impact of Iroquois raiding; (3) changes in the fur trade; and (4) the Tuscarora, Yamasee, and Cheraw wars. Archaeological evidence suggests that significant depopulation of the Carolina piedmont did not occur until the latter half of the seventeenth century, and that the period of greatest population loss coincided with the opening of the piedmont for English traders after Bacon's Rebellion.[37] Early contact-period sites such as Lower Saratown, Mitchum, and Jenrette contain comparatively few burials, whereas sites that date to the period from about 1680 until the early 1700s, such as Upper Saratown, William Kluttz, and Occaneechi Town, reflect very high mortality rates. As an example, twenty-five burials in three cemeteries are associated with Occaneechi Town, a settlement that was probably occupied for less than a decade by no more than fifty to seventy-five people.[38] Additionally, excavations over a ten-year period at Upper Saratown uncovered about 25 percent of that site and exposed over one hundred burials. Lawson's observation in 1709 that the native population of Carolina had declined by five-sixths during the preceding fifty years probably was not too much of an exaggeration.[39] As individual villages diminished in size, their inhabitants combined with neighbors to form new communities. The Eno, Shakori, and Adshusheer had joined together by the time of Lawson's journey, and the Saponi and Tutelo at this time also were closely aligned and by 1714 had merged with the Occaneechi, Meipontski, and Steukenhocks at Fort Christanna.[40] The Sara and Keyauwee also merged sometime during the early 1700s and by 1743 were a constituent of the Catawba Nation.[41]

Iroquois raids clearly affected native peoples in the piedmont during this period, and they probably also contributed to the frequent relocation of Siouan villages.[42] Lawson was constantly reminded by Indians and English traders he met of the threat of "Sinnager" raiding parties, and William Byrd II, writing in 1733 about the Saras' abandonment of the Dan River valley, remarked that "the frequent inroads of the Senecas annoyed them incessantly and obliged them to remove from this fine situ-

ation about thirty years ago. They then retired more southerly as far as the Pee Dee River and incorporated with the Keyauwees, where a remnant of them is still surviving."[43] Even after the Saponi, Tutelo, and Occaneechi sought protection from the Virginia colonial government at Fort Christanna, depredations at the hands of the Iroquois persisted.[44] While the Albany Conference with the Five Nations in 1722 was largely successful in halting these raids, Mooney notes that Iroquois attacks on the Sara as late as 1726 caused them to incorporate with the Catawba.[45]

Changes in the fur trade also affected the cultural landscape of piedmont North Carolina during the late 1600s. Before 1676, the trade was dominated by Virginians operating out of Fort Henry and working through the Occaneechi as middlemen. Following the establishment of an English settlement at Charles Town in 1670, South Carolinians were quick to engage the native population in trade. By 1700, South Carolina was Virginia's chief trade rival and, because Charles Town was in a much better position geographically to conduct commerce with the Catawba as well as the Cherokee and Creek, the Virginia merchants suffered greatly. Other factors, such as depopulation from disease and the economic rise of tobacco, also affected the gradual demise of the Virginia trade. The native population occupying the piedmont between Virginia and the Catawba had been so greatly reduced by disease that trade with these groups alone was no longer profitable. As the profits from trade declined, prominent Virginia merchants, such as William Byrd I, increasingly turned to growing tobacco. With the decline of the Virginia trade, the Trading Path no longer offered the advantages it once had for settlement location, and it was gradually abandoned in favor of places nearer to the English settlements of South Carolina and Virginia.

Finally, the Southern Indian Wars of the early eighteenth century irreversibly altered the native cultural landscapes of both Carolina colonies.[46] The first of these was the Tuscarora War, which began in 1711 with the capture and execution of John Lawson and attacks on settlers along the lower Pamlico, Neuse, and Trent rivers. Between 1711 and 1713, expeditions led by John Barnwell and James Moore of South Carolina defeated the lower Tuscarora along the Neuse River, the Tar River, and Contentnea Creek. Both expeditions were composed of large bodies of warriors from the Yamasee, Cherokee, Catawba, Sara, and several other piedmont tribes. After their defeat, most of the lower Tuscarora left the southern

coastal plain of North Carolina and fled north to live with the Five Nations Iroquois.

The subsequent Yamasee and Cheraw wars of 1715–1718 had a greater and more direct impact on the Siouan peoples of the Carolina piedmont. Dissatisfied with unfair trading practices and the way they were treated by their English allies during the Tuscarora War, and having seen first-hand how weak the English plantations and towns really were, most of the Siouan tribes (including the Catawba, Sara, Sugaree, Waccamaw, and Cape Fear) who had fought under Barnwell and Moore now joined the Yamasee and Creek in their attack on the South Carolina low country. These efforts were unsuccessful and resulted in heavy losses for many of the Siouan groups. However, the wars also had a positive effect on native peoples. Channels of communication were strengthened and cooperation increased among these groups, and the Catawba emerged as the most prominent of the Siouan tribes. Merrell has argued that the effects of making war and making peace were the same: they promoted cooperation among the piedmont Siouans and permitted the subsequent consolidation of most of the remaining native population along the lower Catawba River.[47]

MAPPING THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

From the preceding discussion, it should be clear that geographical information for the North Carolina piedmont during the seventeenth century is at best vague and sketchy. Still, the combining of such data with archaeological information makes it possible to map in preliminary fashion the cultural landscape of this period. What follows is a series of eight maps which convey our present understanding of how the piedmont was populated at different dates between about 1540 and 1720. The dates selected are those about which we have sufficient ethnohistoric information to form reasonable conceptions of the cultural landscape.

Many of the spatial gaps between the phases or territories shown on these maps likely represent unpopulated areas or buffers between culturally distinct peoples; however, in some instances they may be simply a product of inadequate ethnohistoric or archaeological survey data. Likewise, territory size varies depending on the quality of available information: that is, territories defined by "good" data tend to be smaller than those defined by "poor" data. In general, archaeological survey coverage

for the North Carolina piedmont is incomplete, and the late prehistoric ceramic chronology for this region as a whole is not tightly defined. None of the maps is based on comprehensive, systematic study of all available information; instead, each can best be viewed as a first approximation.

Maps of the Cultural Landscape in 1540, 1567, and 1600[48]

Figures 2 and 3 show the locations of mid-to-late sixteenth-century cultural phases, as defined by archaeology, and the routes taken through the central South Carolina and western North Carolina piedmont by Hernando de Soto in 1540 and Juan Pardo in 1567.[49] Few sites have been excavated which date to this period, the most notable one being the Berry site on Warrior Fork in the upper Catawba drainage. Both Moore and Beck have suggested, based on the occurrence of sixteenth-century Spanish artifacts (including olive jar fragments, a Caparra Blue Majolica sherd, and a grayware sherd recovered from undisturbed mound fill and the surface), that this single-mound center may have been Soto's Xuala and Pardo's Joara.[50]

Although the Hillsboro phase Wall site on the Eno River probably had

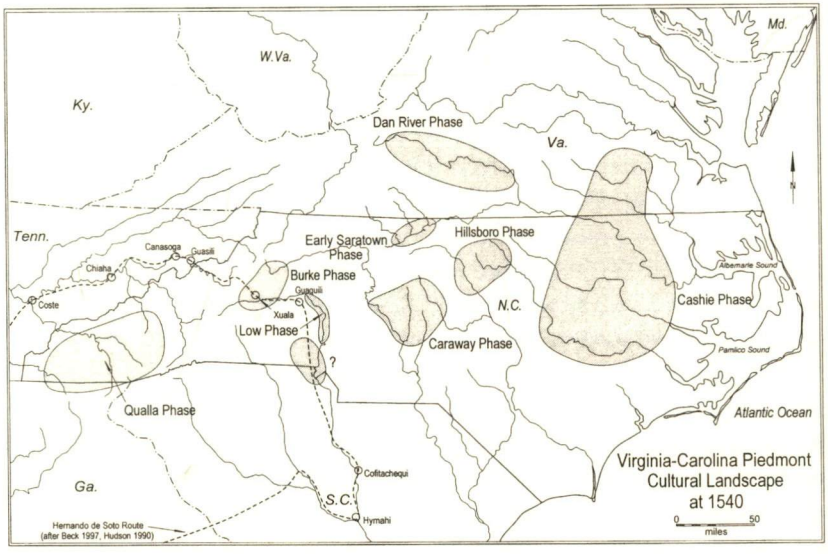

Fig. 2. The cultural landscape of the Virginia–North Carolina piedmont at 1540.

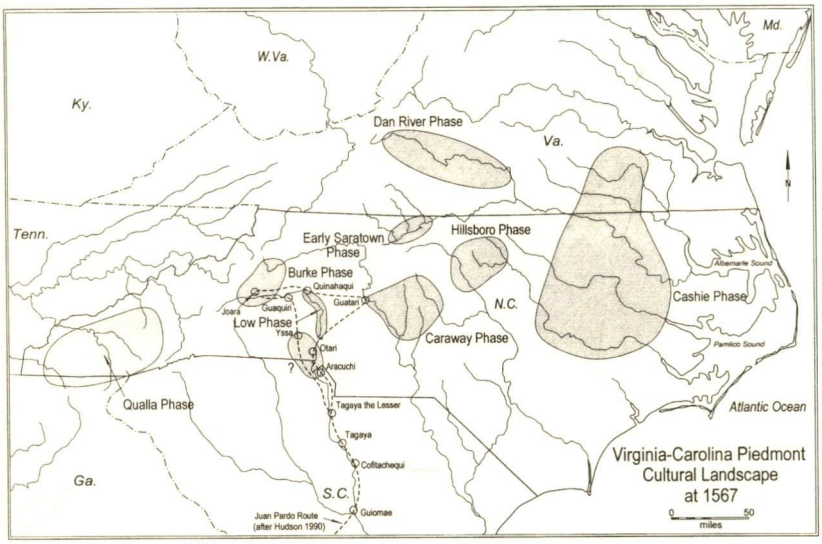

Fig. 3. The cultural landscape of the Virginia–North Carolina piedmont at 1567.

been abandoned by the mid-1500s, it appears to be typical of protohistoric settlements of the northern Carolina piedmont. It was a small, circular, palisaded village that covered about 1.25 acres and likely had no more than 150 residents. Other related Hillsboro phase sites, such as the George Rogers and Edgar Rogers sites in the nearby Haw River drainage, are located along smaller streams and represent clusters of scattered households.[51]

Figure 4 shows the piedmont cultural landscape at about 1600, based on archaeology and ethnohistory at earliest contact with the English. At this time, the northern-division Siouans, including the Manahoac, Monacan, Tutelo, and Saponi, were located in central Virginia, and the southern-division Siouans, with the possible exception of the Occaneechi, occupied piedmont North Carolina. The placement of the Occaneechi within the Hillsboro phase is at best tenuous, being based solely on general ceramic similarities between Hillsboro pottery and known Occaneechi pottery made nearly a century later. Archaeological evidence suggests that the resident populations of the Roanoke and Catawba-Wateree drainages were substantially larger than the population of the intervening Yadkin-Pee Dee, Cape Fear, and Neuse basins. And the upper Catawba val-

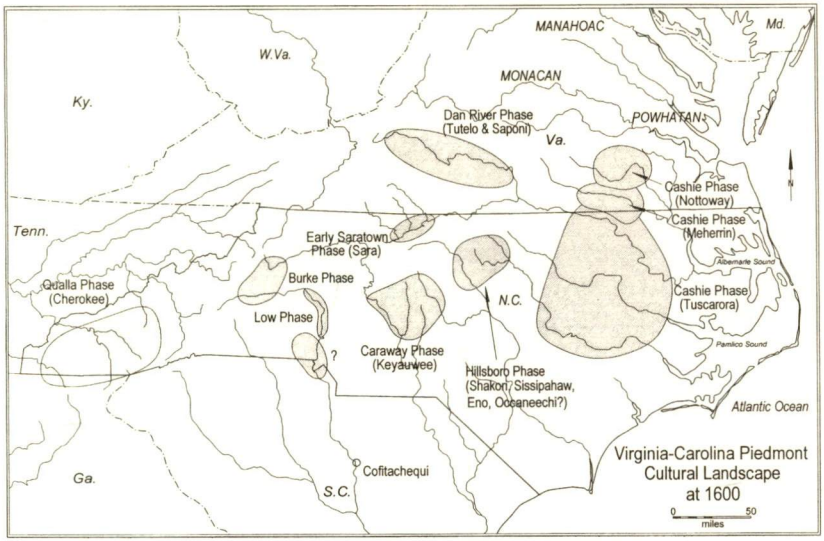

Fig. 4. The cultural landscape of the Virginia–North Carolina piedmont at 1600.

ley may have been largely vacant by 1600. The Siouan tribes of the southern North Carolina coastal plain and South Carolina have not been mapped because of insufficient information.

Map of the Cultural Landscape in 1650[52]

Figure 5 shows the piedmont cultural landscape at about 1650. The only ethnohistoric source for this period is Edward Bland, who traveled south from Fort Henry along the fall line and either encountered or mentioned the Nottoway, Meherrin, Tuscarora, and Occaneechi.[53] The placement of Siouan groups to the west is based on the occurrence of archaeological sites with small quantities of presumed early English trade goods (e.g., copper ornaments and certain glass bead types)[54] and the correspondence of these sites with places associated by John Lederer twenty years later with specific tribes.[55] The identification of the Iredell phase and a yet undefined phase along the middle and lower Catawba River is based on Moore's analysis of pottery samples from those areas.[56] The placement of the Occaneechi, Eno, Shakori, Sissipahaw, and Keyauwee along the corridor traversed by the Trading Path likely reflects the growing importance

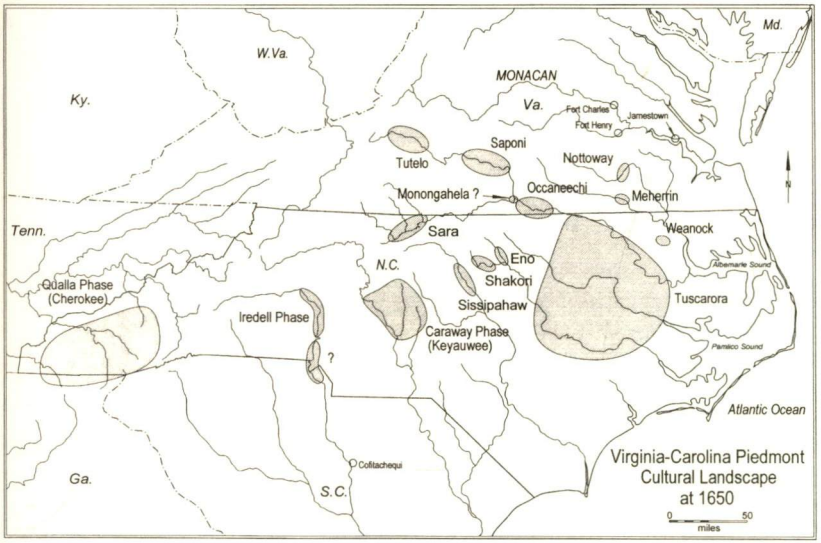

Fig. 5. The cultural landscape of the Virginia–North Carolina piedmont at 1650.

of this trail during the mid-seventeenth century. Perhaps the most interesting and intriguing aspect of this map is the placement of the Monongahela at the junction of the Staunton and Dan rivers, just upstream from Occaneechi Island. Evidence for this placement comes from the Abbyville site, excavated by members of the Archeological Society of Virginia in the late 1960s. Although the excavators believed that the site was a Susquehannock village dating to the period of Bacon's Rebellion, the pottery and trade artifacts from the site have been identified as Monongahela and as dating between about 1635 and 1650, following their dispersal from the upper Ohio valley at the hands of the Seneca.[57]

Maps of the Cultural Landscape in 1670 and 1676[58]

Figure 6 depicts the piedmont cultural landscape as seen by Lederer, Batts and Fallam, and Needham and Arthur.[59] With the exception of the Sara, most of the Siouan groups in North Carolina at this time lived in villages near the Trading Path, and all were engaged in the fur trade. Excavated archaeological sites that date to this period include Upper Saratown (Sara) on the Dan River, the Jenrette site (Shakori) on the Eno

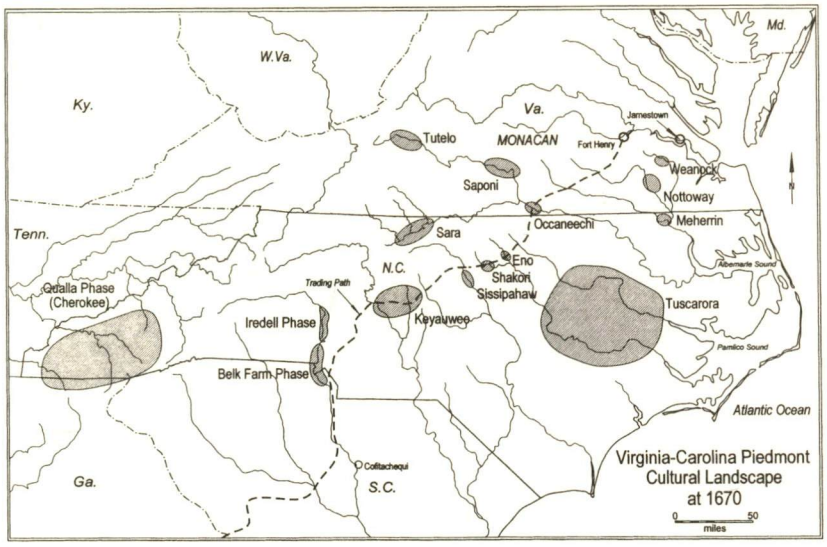

Fig. 6. The cultural landscape of the Virginia–North Carolina piedmont at 1670.

River, the Mitchum site (Sissipahaw) on the Haw River, the Poole site (Keyauwee) on Caraway Creek, and the Belk Farm site on the Catawba River. Excavations were sufficiently large at Upper Saratown, Jenrette, and Mitchum to reveal a circular arrangement of houses surrounded by a palisade.[60] While the Sara appear to have lived in multiple villages, there is no evidence to suggest that other Siouan communities of the central North Carolina piedmont were composed of more than a single settlement, and these communities probably were made up of no more than 150–200 individuals.

Figure 7 shows the period of Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 and reflects the consolidation of the native population in southern Virginia near the Occaneechi trading center. The Susquehannock moved into the area in 1675, after being driven out of the upper Chesapeake by Maryland and Virginia militias, and their subsequent attacks along the Virginia frontier precipitated the rebellion.[61] It is not known if the Tutelo and Saponi joined the Occaneechi before or after their massacre at the hands of Bacon's militia; however, Mooney, citing William Byrd II, places them on the two islands above and below Occaneechi Island "some time between 1671 and 1701."[62] This time bracket reflects the facts that these two

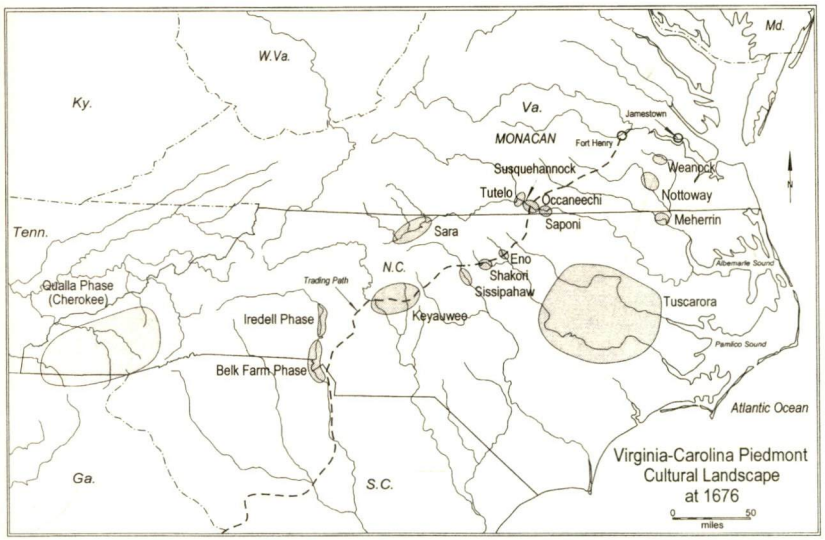

Fig. 7. The cultural landscape of the Virginia–North Carolina piedmont at 1676.

groups were encountered by Batts and Fallam along the middle and upper Staunton River in 1671 and were living along the Yadkin River when visited by John Lawson three decades later.

Map of the Cultural Landscape in 1700[63]

Figure 8 shows the cultural landscape of piedmont North Carolina and South Carolina that John Lawson saw. A comparison with the two preceding maps (see figs. 6 and 7) shows the substantial changes that occurred during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. These changes relate to effects on the fur trade that resulted from Bacon's Rebellion, the impact of depopulation as the exposure of piedmont Siouans to European-introduced diseases increased, and the consolidation of peoples along the lower reaches of the Catawba River.

While Bacon's Rebellion brought about the abandonment of the Roanoke valley by the Occaneechi, Tutelo, Saponi, and others, these tribes continued to engage in trade with Virginia. With the Occaneechis' elimination as middlemen in that trade, Virginians could now trade with individual tribes along the Trading Path and without restriction. By the 1690s,

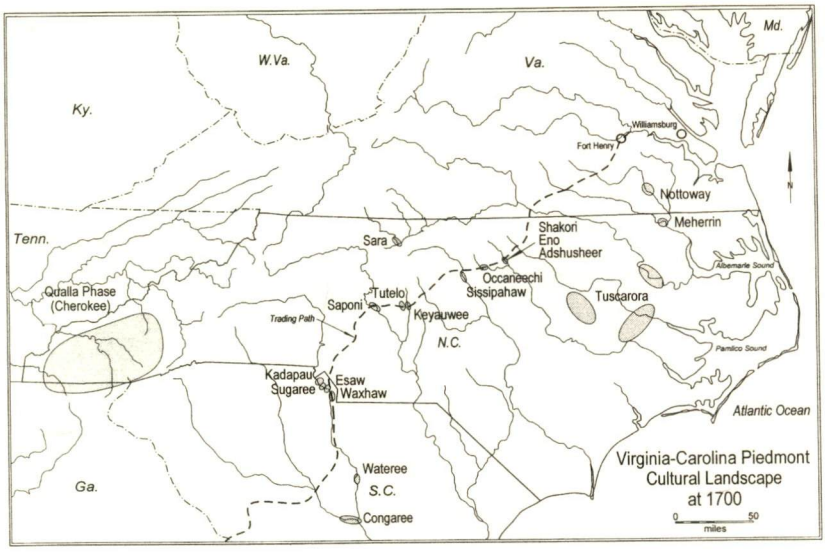

Fig. 8. The cultural landscape of the Virginia–North Carolina piedmont at 1700.

the Trading Path's crossing point over the Roanoke River had been relocated thirty miles downstream to Moniseep Ford, where it bypassed the Occaneechis' former territory altogether.

The kinds and quantities of trade goods found on sites of this period clearly reflect the extent to which the piedmont Indians relied on the trade.[64] Whereas before the 1670s the Trading Path was largely a trail that connected the population centers of the central North Carolina piedmont, after that time it became a commercial link to Virginia that attracted the native population. It is little wonder that Lawson encountered the Saponi, Tutelo, and Occaneechi while traveling along this path.

Archaeological evidence from sites such as Upper Saratown, William Kluttz, and Fredricks (i.e., Occaneechi Town) shows the impact that disease had on the late-seventeenth-century piedmont. All three sites contained large numbers of burials relative to estimated village size and settlement duration, and all represent smaller populations than late prehistoric and protohistoric sites located nearby.[65] Also, Lawson's journal indicates that a process of population coalescence and consolidation had begun along the lower Catawba River—with the Waxhaw, Sugaree, Esaw, and Kadapau living in nearby villages—and in the upper Neuse drainage

where the Shakori, Eno, and Adshusheer now lived in a single village.[66] The coalescence of these latter three tribes at Adshusheer most likely was brought about by depopulation and the constant threat of Iroquois raiding.

Map of the Cultural Landscape in 1720[67]

The process of coalescence and consolidation evident at the beginning of the eighteenth century accelerated during the two succeeding decades, and by 1720 the North Carolina piedmont was largely vacant (fig. 9).[68] By 1713, remnants of Siouan tribes that Mooney identified as belonging to his northern, or Tutelo, division had moved north and resettled at Fort Christanna on the Meherrin River in southeastern Virginia.[69] There, the Tutelo, Saponi, and Occaneechi joined the Meiponski and Steukenocks, two tribes who formerly were part of the Manahoac or Monacan confederacies, and became known collectively as the Saponi, or Fort Christanna, Indians.[70]

Other Siouan tribes who once lived in central North Carolina, including many who fought against the English in the Yamasee and Cheraw

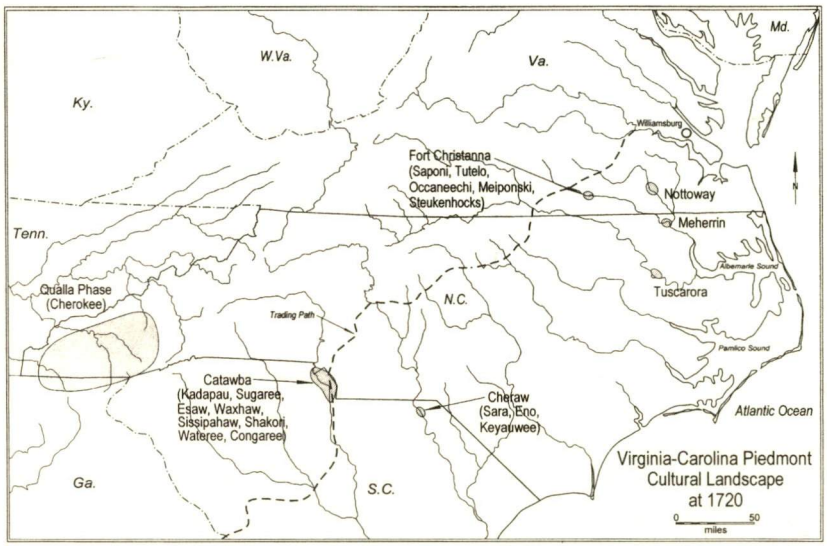

Fig. 9. The cultural landscape of the Virginia–North Carolina piedmont at 1720.

wars, moved south to the Catawba and Pee Dee valleys. The Sissipahaw and Shakori joined the Kadapau, Esaw, Sugaree, and other tribes who were now known to the English as Catawba, while the Sara, Eno, and Keyauwee moved to the Pee Dee River in South Carolina. By the 1740s, they too had joined the Catawba.[71]

CONCLUSION

One problem that has long plagued anthropologists studying the native peoples of the Carolina piedmont at contact is the apparent contradictions in cultural geography offered in the written accounts of early Europeans who traveled through the region.[72] For example, the accounts of Lederer, Batts and Fallam, and Needham and Arthur in the 1670s contain inconsistencies that have led some researchers to discount their validity, and by 1700 many of the tribes mentioned by Lawson or placed on contemporary maps were far removed from their earlier territories. As archaeological and ethnohistoric research into the contact period has progressed, it has become increasingly clear that many of these piedmont villages were occupied only briefly and, as European-introduced diseases took their toll on the native population, new societies were formed from the remnants of old ones. The economic transformations brought about by the fur trade, the persistent threat of Iroquois raiding, and finally the disruption of native life caused by the Southern Indian Wars of the early 1700s also contributed to a more fluid and ever-changing cultural landscape than existed previously. When viewed in this context, these geographical contradictions of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are not contradictions at all; rather, they are clear evidence for the processes of culture change that affected all of the piedmont tribes.

108. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. LIX, p. 145.
109. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. LXII, p. 209.
110. Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, map 7.
111. Drooker, *View from Madisonville*, pp. 93, 101–103, 204–207, 209–210, 213, 282; Hanson, *Buffalo Site*, fig. 27.
112. Pollack et al., "Preliminary Study."
113. Drooker, *View from Madisonville*, pp. 204–207; tables 4-2, 4-5, 4-11.
114. Drooker, *View from Madisonville*, pp. 206–209.
115. Raymond C. Vietzen, *Riker Site*; Janice K. Whitman, "An Analysis of the Ceramics from the Riker Site, Tuscarawas County, Ohio."
116. Baker, "Neale's Landing"; Carskadden, "The Bosman Site"; Carskadden, "Fort Ancient"; Carskadden et al., "Scenes," p. 60; Drooker, *View from Madisonville*, pp. 74–75.
117. Drooker, "Fort Ancient and the Southeast"; Drooker, *View from Madisonville*, pp. 4, 337.
118. Drooker, "Exotic Ceramics"; Drooker, "Pots and Pipes."
119. Drooker, "Madisonville Metal," fig. 8-14.
120. Knight, *Tukabatchee*, pp. 17–27.
121. For example, see Perrot, *Indian Tribes*, p. 226; Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, pp. 377–379; Knight, *Tukabatchee*, pp. 24–27.
122. Drooker, "Madisonville Metal."
123. Martha L. Sempowski, "Early Historic Exchange Between the Seneca and the Susquehannock."
124. Clark, *Shawnee*, p. 18.
125. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, pp. 138–143.
126. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, p. 138.
127. For example, see C. Wesley Cowan, "The Dawn of History and the Demise of the Fort Ancient Cultures of the Central Ohio Valley," p. 16.
128. Cf. Drooker, *View from Madisonville*, pp. 209–210.
129. Drooker, *View from Madisonville*, pp. 109–110, 153, 200–202.
130. Drooker, *View from Madisonville*, pp. 335–337.
131. Mildred M. Wedel, "Oneota Sites on the Upper Iowa River"; Mildred M. Wedel, "The Ioway, Oto, and Omaha Indians in 1700"; Mildred M. Wedel, "Peering at the Ioway Indians Through the Mist of Time: 1650–circa 1700."
132. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, p. 138.
133. Temple, *Indian Villages*, pp. 175–176.
134. For example, see Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois*, pp. 325–346.
135. Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, p. 91.
136. Anthony, "Migration."
137. Anderson, *Relation of Henri de Tonti*, pp. 111, 113; Anderson, *Relation of the Discoveries*, p. 259; Callender, "Shawnee," p. 630; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, pp. 124–125.
138. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, pp. 138–143, quotation from p. 139; Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois*, pp. 200–202, 206.

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by R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.

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4. John Swanton, "Early History of the Eastern Siouan Tribes."
5. Frank Speck, "Siouan Tribes of the Carolinas."
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9. Karen M. Booker, Charles M. Hudson, and Robert L. Rankin, "Place Name Identification and Multilingualism in the Sixteenth-Century Southeast," p. 410.

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11. Chester B. DePratter, "Cofitachequi: Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Evidence."

12. DePratter, "Cofitachequi."

13. David G. Moore, *Late Prehistoric and Early Historic Period Aboriginal Settlement in the Catawba Valley, North Carolina*.

14. Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, p. 6.

15. John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina by John Lawson*, p. 232.

16. David Moore, *Late Prehistoric*.

17. Robin A. Beck, Jr., "From Joara to Chiaha: Spanish Exploration of the Appalachian Summit Area, 1540–1568."

18. Beck, "From Joara to Chiaha; see also Charles M. Hudson, Marvin T. Smith, and Chester B. DePratter, "The Hernando De Soto Expedition: From Apalachee to Chiaha."

19. Edward Bland, *The Discovery of New Brittaine*.

20. Lewis Binford, *Cultural Diversity Among Aboriginal Cultures of Coastal Virginia and North Carolina*.

21. John Lederer, *The Discoveries of John Lederer*.

22. Lederer, *Discoveries*.

23. See Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650–1674*, p. 68.

24. Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, pp. 183–205.

25. Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, pp. 59–61.

26. Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, p. 38; William Byrd, *The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover*, p. 384.

27. Gregory A. Waselkov, "Seventeenth-Century Trade in the Colonial Southeast," p. 118.

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29. Moore, *Late Prehistoric*.

30. Jack H. Wilson, Jr., *A Study of Late Prehistoric, Protohistoric, and Historic Indians of the Carolina and Virginia Piedmont: Structure, Process, and Ecology*.

31. J. Ned Woodall, *The Donnaha Site: 1973, 1975 Excavations*.

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33. Warren M. Billings, *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century*.

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38. Elizabeth I. Monahan, R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., and H. Trawick Ward, "Piedmont Siouans and Mortuary Archaeology on the Eno River, North Carolina."

39. Lawson, *New Voyage*, p. 232.

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49. After Beck, "From Joara to Chiaha"; Hudson, *Juan Pardo Expeditions*.

50. Moore, *Late Prehistoric*; Beck, "From Joara to Chiaha."

51. Davis and Ward, "Evolution of Siouan Communities."

52. Sources of information for the map of the cultural landscape in 1650 are Beck, "From Joara to Chiaha"; Binford, *Cultural Diversity*; Bland, *The Discovery of New Brittaine*; Boyce, "Iroquois Tribes"; Davis and Ward, "Evolution of Siouan Communities"; Dickens, "Origins and Development"; Lederer, *Discoveries*; Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*; Moore, *Late Prehistoric*.

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54. H. Trawick Ward and R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., *Indian Communities on the North Carolina Piedmont, A.D. 1000 to 1700*.

55. Lederer, *Discoveries*.

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70. Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, pp. 21, 37.
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Notes to RECONSTRUCTING THE COALESCENCE OF CHEROKEE COMMUNITIES IN SOUTHERN APPALACHIA
by Christopher B. Rodning

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5. Lance K. Greene, "The Archaeology and History of the Cherokee Out Towns."
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7. G. Gary C. Goodwin, *Cherokees in Transition: A Study of Changing Culture and Environment Prior to 1775*, p. 113; Charles M. Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*, pp. 191–194.
8. Duane Champagne, "Symbolic Structure and Political Change in Cherokee Society," p. 56; Hudson, *Southeastern Indians*, pp. 237–238.
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