THE CATAWBA NATION:
A SOCIAL HISTORY

by

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Chapel Hill

1965

Approved by:

Adviser
To my Father and Mother,

Charles M. Hudson, Sr. and Sarah Hudson.
CHARLES MELVIN HUDSON, JR. The Catawba Nation: A Social History. (Under the direction of John J. Honigmann).

This study is a combined ethnographic and historical inquiry into the changing social position of the Catawba Indians from the Colonial era to the present day. It is a dual inquiry in that it both examines the social history of the Catawbas from the standpoint of a detached observer, and in that it examines the versions of this history which have become incapsulated into the belief systems of modern Catawbas and their white neighbors. The social history of the Catawbas begins in the Colonial era, with their being a strategically located aboriginal chiefdom in the southern Piedmont; it follows them as they were reduced to an obscure sociocultural enclave in a plural Southern society; and it ends with their terminating their status as Indians and with their assimilation into the larger society.

An analysis of the incapsulated history of the Catawbas reveals that Catawbas and whites believe in different versions of Catawba history. These two versions of Catawba history are opposed, being in agreement on major historical themes, while differing in certain details. These differences are correlated with the Catawbas and whites occupying different positions in the structure of the larger society. Moreover, the similarities and differences between the two versions of Catawba history are such that they provide an ideological framework for balanced social conflict.
PREFACE

This ethnographic and ethnohistorical study of the Catawba Indians is the product of research spread over a three year period, involving at different times field work, library research, analysis, and writing. Although the subject is narrow, I have attempted to approach it broadly, bringing together information from a variety of sources. In acknowledging the people who have helped me in this research, I shall, through a fault of memory, inevitably omit some who deserve mention. To these, I express my gratitude collectively, apologizing for my failure to mention them individually.

My greatest debt of gratitude goes, once again, to Professor John J. Honigmann. It was he who first saw in the Catawbas an opportunity to study an interesting case of cultural and social change, and it was he who obtained from the National Institute of Mental Health a small grant (MH 06903-01) to support field work and preliminary analysis. Professor Honigmann has allowed me the freedom to pursue this research independently while at the same time offering invaluable encouragement, criticism, and suggestions.

I am grateful to Professor William S. Pollitzer for giving me an entree to the Catawbas, for suggesting avenues of research, and for generously consenting to supervise my
field work while Professor Honigmann was away doing field work of his own. I owe a special debt to Professor Joffre L. Coe, Director of the Research Laboratories of Anthropology at the University of North Carolina, for his advice and encouragement, and, even more, for benefit of the substance in his published works on southeastern archaeology and ethnoogy. I also wish to thank Professor Guy B. Johnson who shared his extensive knowledge of race relations in the southeast. Finally, I wish to thank Dr. William C. Sturtevant of the Bureau of American Ethnology for a number of valuable suggestions. Having acknowledged these material contributions to my research, I emphasize that I alone am responsible for the interpretations and conclusions contained herein.

In my historical research on the Catawbas, I was ably assisted by Lauritz Pederson and A. William Lund of the Church Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah. I am particularly grateful to Mrs. Nan Carson, Librarian of the Rock Hill Public Library. Mrs. Carson generously allowed me full use of what is undoubtedly the most extensive bibliography on the Catawbas in existence. In addition to allowing me to use this bibliography, the product of several years of patient labor by her and her staff, she graciously provided other conveniences while I did research in the Rock Hill Library.

I am grateful to the National Institute of Mental Health for the previously mentioned small grant (MH 06903-01). This
grant supported field work and preliminary analysis in 1962-63. I am additionally grateful to the National Institute of Mental Health for a Predoctoral Fellowship (1 Fl-MH 19,858 - 01) in 1963-64, which supported preparation and writing of the finished work. I want to thank Professor Frederick L. Bates, Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Georgia, for facilitating my final preparation of the manuscript. Mrs. Linda Pearson has done an expeditious and expert job of typing the manuscript, and she has aided final preparation in other respects.

Finally, I want to express my warm appreciation to the Catawba Indians and their white neighbors for their kindness and cooperation during my field work. I cannot adequately express the debt I owe to my wife, Jo Ann, whose patience and understanding endured.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: FORMS OF CATAWBA HISTORY

There is, then, just one science of men in time. It requires us to join the study of the dead and of the living.¹

The majority of the people known as Catawba Indians live in South Carolina. According to their final membership roll, by their own count they were 631 in number on July 2, 1960.² Some of these, though by no means the majority, live eight miles southeast of the city of Rock Hill on the "Old Reservation," a small tract of land held in trust by the state of South Carolina. Other Catawbas live in the immediate vicinity of the Old Reservation on lands that used to be called the "New Reservation"; acquired in 1943, these lands were administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs until the Catawbas terminated their relationship with the Bureau in 1962. However, in spite of their termination, people who live in the vicinity of Rock Hill still occasionally refer to the Indians as the Catawba Nation, a designa-


tion that has enjoyed meaningful usage for over two and a half centuries.

The principal purpose of this study is to examine the "thing" to which Catawba Nation refers today and to which it has referred in the past; it is at once an inquiry into history and an inquiry into semantics. We shall see, for example, that this "thing" is not a simple referent stretching from the present back through more than two centuries of time. On the contrary, it is more properly conceived as a process or a series of "things." However, with respect to the latter, it is not to be conceived as a string of discrete structural-functional entities, but as a complex, overlapping matrix of "things" which are different in nature. "Catawba Nation" has had different meanings at different times, and to add to the complexity, it has had different meanings at the same time.

Being concerned with both living men and dead men, in this study I have tried to combine historical and ethnographic methods. My guiding assumption is that history and social anthropology differ not in aim or theory, but in minor emphases of technique and method. While running the risk of satisfying neither historians nor anthropologists, this study is motivated by the conviction that the diachronic approach of the historian and the synchronic ap-

proach of the anthropologist need to be combined. These two sciences of men are complementary; when combined, they deepen and enrich each other.

The problem to which this study addresses itself is this: How have the Catawba Indians been related to other cultural and social groups through time; and how do modern Catawba Indians and their neighbors think of their past? Thus, this study is a broadly conceived attempt to conceptualize and understand a social process rather than an attempt to formulate and test a precise hypothesis. At this point, it is appropriate that we examine the adequacy of certain basic anthropological concepts and assumptions.

A. **The Catawba Nation**

Ultimately, our use of such concepts as status, social group, and society is justified by man's universal usage of expressions like father, family, and Catawba Nation to refer to people who are in some respects distinctive. Such expressions owe their existence to man's peculiar ability to create logical categories, an act which both hypostatizes his environment and makes it manageable. In exercising this ability, man is able to include apparently diverse things into a category by regarding certain attributes of the things as distinctive and ignoring the rest.

Some anthropologists—most notably, perhaps, the "Oxford school"—feel that one of the most distinctive tasks of the social anthropologist is to examine the categories of other cultures and to "translate" them into categories that
are understood by members of his own culture. This notion of translating a basically synchronic set of categories from one culture into another has recently stimulated considerable discussion. However, anthropologists have paid less attention to the fact that people easily apply a single name to a social referent that changes through time, particularly when the change is slow with respect to the life-span of an individual. For a rather obvious example, in our society we designate each individual with a personal name that remains relatively constant throughout his life, even though he, as a social being, changes drastically between infancy and old age. At any time in the development of a person's personality, his personal name designates a configuration of knowledge, emotion, and experience; but at a later time in the development the name may designate a configuration markedly different from the first.


6. Bloch, op. cit., p. 34.
Like the names that we apply to individuals, the names that people apply to societies and to social groups often mask or ignore fundamental changes. By fundamental change, I do not mean the "ordinary" change that continuously occurs within a society, such as the birth and death of individuals, the circulation of individuals between statuses, or the multiplication of domestic and kin groups; I mean structural change, change that fundamentally alters the character of a society. To illustrate the kind of change in question, let us briefly examine past and present referents of "Catawba Nation."

In January, 1701, John Lawson encountered the Catawbas while on a journey from Charleston, South Carolina to the mouth of the Tar River in North Carolina. Having made contact with the Sewee, Santee, Congaree, and Wateree Nations while travelling on foot up the eastern banks of the Santee-Wateree-Catawba River system, he came upon the Catawba Nation.


situated a few miles from the Old Reservation of the present. The Waxhaw, Rsaaw, and Sugere Nations were situated near the Catawba Nation; all four appear to have been closely interrelated. Regrettably, Lawson says very little that applies directly to the Catawbas, but his description of the Waxhaws is probably representative of the Catawbas as well.

Upon arriving among the Waxhaws, Lawson was entertained in a "cabin" that impressed him as being unusually large and well built. The Indians of all four nations lived in villages scattered through an area at least ten miles across. Each village had a "theatre" or "state-house" that was larger in size and different in construction from the bark-covered dwellings. In these public buildings, ambassadors from other nations were received, political affairs were deliberated, and rituals were performed. Each village apparently had a governing council of elders with a presiding "king" and "war-captain," the relationships among these being governed by a precise code of etiquette. At the time of Lawson's visit, an ambassador had come from the Saponi Nation located over 150 miles to the north.

Lawson was later invited into one of the state-houses where he and his hosts feasted on "Loblolly and other Medleys,

made of Indian Grain, Stewed peaches, Bear-Venison, &c. 10."  
As they ate, they were entertained by dancers.

Presently in came fine Men dressed up with feathers, their faces being covered with Vizards made of Gourds; round their Ankles and Knees were hung Bells of several sorts; having Wooden Falchions in their Hands, (such as Stage-Fencers commonly use); in this Dress they danced about an Hour, showing many strange Gestures, and brandishing their Wooden Weapons as if they were going to fight each other; oftentimes walking very nimbly round the Room, without making the least Noise with their Bells, (a thing I much admired at).... 11

When the festivities ended there was a period of sexual license, when "every Youth that was so disposed, caught hold of the Girl he liked best, and took her that Night for his Red-Fellow, making as short Courtship and expeditious Wedding, as the Foot-Guards used to do with the Trulls in Salisbury-Court." 12

Let us now span a quarter of a millenium and consider the Catawba Nation that may be seen by modern tourists. A few miles southeast of Rock Hill - on U. S. highway 21 to Columbia - there is a small sign with Catawba Indian Reservation and an arrow pointing rather indefinitely toward a narrow

10. Lawson, op. cit., p. 34.
11. Ibid., p. 35.
12. Ibid., p. 36.
asphalt road. Tourists sometimes turn up this road in search of Indians. As they drive along the crooked road, they soon come to a similar sign pointing toward another narrow road. Following this turn, many proceed in a wide arc taking them to another intersection with highway 21 and a third sign, identical to the first two, pointing in the direction from which they have come.

An unobservant tourist may well drive through the reservation unawares. Indeed, there is little to distinguish it from other rural neighborhoods in South Carolina. The houses range from simple structures of unpainted wood to modern brick houses like those proliferating in suburbia. Physically, the people living in these houses range from blondes and redheads to a few who strongly resemble the people whom Lawson visited. To a casual observer, the Catawba Indians are not markedly different in appearance from some of the groups with Indian admixture scattered throughout the eastern United States. Most of the Catawbas have jobs in the textile industry, the backbone of the Rock Hill economy. The last speaker of the Catawba language died while they were terminating their relationship with the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Only the observant tourist notices two homemade signs announcing the existence of Catawba Indian pottery. Curiously,

this pottery is made by techniques similar to those in use at the time of Lawson's visit; but the forms in which the pottery is made are pretty thoroughly modern. Our observant tourist may also be puzzled upon seeing a neat, carefully maintained Mormon chapel; the majority of the Catawbas (and a few whites) are Mormons. Thus, modern Catawbas are distinctive in some ways, but in large, they think and live like ordinary Americans of the Southern variety.

Owing to the paucity of historical data, it is not possible to reconstruct the precise nature of Catawba culture and society at the time of Lawson's visit. However, it is nonetheless clear that his "Catawba Nation" referred to a social entity quite different from that existing today. The name has remained the same over a period of more than 250 years, but the referents are so different they are scarcely comparable.

Thus, upon being examined, "Catawba Nation" raises an interesting semantic problem. In addition, it raises even more interesting problems for social theory. Evans-Pritchard, in a discussion of the biological analogy behind such concepts as society and structure, concludes that they are perhaps as misleading as they are useful.14 These analogical concepts

imply that just as we can understand the anatomy and physiology of a horse without knowing its evolution, we can understand the structure and functioning of a society without knowing its history.

But a society, however defined, in no way resembles a horse, and, mercifully, horses remain horses - at least they have done so in historic times - and do not turn into elephants or pigs, whereas a society may change from one type to another, sometimes with great suddenness and violence.15

Now, since the Catawba Indians have obviously undergone change of this sort, several problems present themselves. For example, does "Catawba Nation" denote a social entity in existence for over 250 years? If not, what are the different denotations of "Catawba Nation", and what are the historical periods to which they apply? By what criteria can we decide that one type of society or structure has gone out of existence and another come into existence? Turning to a more general problem, can a term like "structure" be meaningful except when used as an historical expression to denote a set of relations known to have endured over a considerable period of time?16 Modern social theorists have neglected problems of this kind because of the popularity of a theory, functionalism, and because of the presumed adequacy of the method with which it is closely associated, synchronic analysis.

B. Functionalism and the Fiction of Synchronic Analysis

One often hears the complaint that anthropological theory is most inadequate when it comes to understanding social and cultural change. This is rather odd because, from the beginning of anthropology until the present, anthropologists have tried to cope with the problem of change. The founders of anthropology — scholars like Edward B. Tylor, James Frazer, and Louis H. Morgan — were deeply interested in the origin and development of social and cultural things. In the 1930's, anthropologists began doing massive research on the problem of acculturation or culture contact. More recently, applied anthropologists have attempted to induce changes in other societies and have attempted to develop theories that account for their successes and failures. In short, a glance at Felix Keesing's extensive bibliography on culture change


18. For example, Charles J. Erasmus, Man Takes Control: Cultural Development and American Aid (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961).
shows that this theoretical inadequacy in accounting for change is not due to a lack of effort. 19

The inadequacy of anthropology in coping with social and cultural change is not a failure of empirical research; it is a failure of conceptualization. We encounter problems in coping with change because we do not thoroughly conceptualize our materials of observation as phenomena having an extension in time. Paul Bohannan argues that American anthropology has only recently recognized that its materials must be studied as "event systems" because it developed in analogy to archaeology. 20 Presumably, one consequence of this analogy is that we have approached culture and society as an assemblage of relatively timeless traits or themes. Undoubtedly, there is some truth in this argument, but the real cause of modern anthropology's inadequacy in coping with change lies elsewhere, and it has affected British social anthropology as well as American cultural anthropology.

The theoretical weakness of anthropology with respect to social change is a side-effect of the great emphasis that is put on fieldwork and synchronic analysis. Modern anthropology begins not with the classical evolutionists, whose primary materials came from the hands of others, but with the


anthropologists who combined the roles of field-worker and theorist. What these early fieldworkers typically found was that the theories of their evolutionary predecessors were too remote from what they encountered in the field, or that what they found in the field disproved the theories. Since an intensive study of a single society can easily provide negative instances, it became rather easy for anthropologists like Malinowski to explode grand theories with a few concrete facts.

Because the analysis of first-hand field data yielded immediate though often negative theoretical contributions, anthropology turned from diachronic studies to an overwhelming emphasis on synchronic studies. This change of emphasis was further conditioned by two other considerations. For one thing, the study of the social life of many primitive peoples was necessarily shallow in time because written records were often scarce or unavailable. For another thing, through making field work a strict requirement for entry into the profession, anthropologists encouraged a growing corpus of primary materials incomparably richer than that gathered by


earlier, untrained observers. In view of these considerations, one can scarcely imagine how the synchronic emphasis in anthropology could have been otherwise. However, the time has come to reappraise these considerations. For some cultures and societies, particularly North American Indians, historical documents exist in abundance. Furthermore, we should at least question the emphasis on fieldwork. We are caught in a vicious circle if Evans-Pritchard is correct in saying that this "over-emphasis on field research for its own sake" has prevented anthropologists from developing the skills and qualifications necessary for historical research.24

Recognizing the contributions of synchronic analysis, we must also recognize that with these contributions have come unfortunate side-effects. These side-effects -- particularly our weakness in dealing with change -- are largely caused by a failure to recognize that the whole notion of synchronic social study is based on a fiction. The fiction is that a social state of affairs can be adequately understood in terms of its present, that no recourse need be made to history.

Apparently, the first explicit distinction between synchronic and diachronic appears in the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, a linguist.25 Basically, de Saussure argues that


synchronic linguistics as a distinct and legitimate pursuit because of the arbitrary and interdependent nature of linguistic signs. He justifies the existence of synchronic linguistics on the grounds that it is "concerned with the logical and psychological relations that bind together co-existing terms and form a system in the collective mind of speakers."26 Few would argue that language can not be thought of as a set of simultaneous mental elements; at the same time, however, it should not be overlooked that when language is acted out - whether in speech or writing - it consumes time.

In linguistics, the division of labor between synchronic and diachronic studies is tenable because, with respect to linguistic phenomena, one can justifiably adopt the principle that "there are no privileged moments; that a symmetry operates such that no time-place position requires more or less explanation."27 What this means is that although speech (la parole) varies from one speaker to another, the formal dictates of language (la langue) nevertheless operate in all cases. A general uniformity can always be extracted from the variability. Consequently, a language can be analyzed and understood wholly in terms of its present state of being.

However, when our object of study is not language, but society or culture, the principle of no privileged moments becomes less justifiable. Objections to admitting this principle in social and cultural studies may be made on both empirical and practical grounds. On empirical grounds, we know that critical historical events are often valuable in explaining present social and cultural conditions, and the importance of these events does not necessarily diminish as they recede from the present. For example, the participation of the Catawbas in the Civil War is a critical event that helps us to understand their present position in the larger society. At the same time, the Civil War had little or no effect on the Catawba language. With respect to Catawba society and culture, the Civil War is a privileged moment; with respect to the Catawba language, it is not.

On practical grounds, the principle of no privileged moments is of doubtful use in social and cultural studies because it assumes that a fieldworker can observe a reasonable number of repetitions of the "same" event. This can be achieved in linguistics because a linguist can generally persuade an informant to repeat utterances. In contrast, an ethnographer can generally observe repetitions only if he happens to be present when they occur. In addition, there are many events an ethnographer may never witness. For such

events, information must come from the testimony of informants, and as a consequence, the ethnographer must here work with the same kind of information that historians use. As Bloch points out, direct observation "is scarcely ever anything but a delusion, at least as soon as the observer has expanded his horizon only slightly. A good half of all we see is seen through the eyes of others." 29

In view of these objections, it is remarkable that anthropologists have rarely questioned the assumed adequacy of synchronic analysis. This failure is largely attributable to the popularity of functionalism, a theory of society that has become closely associated with the synchronic approach. The reasons for the development and subsequent popularity of functional theory can best be seen in the context of the history of anthropology. As we have seen, in the early decades of this century, anthropologists began to emphasize synchronic field studies. However, the value of their work was vitiated because each fieldworker felt obliged to explain his data in terms of idiosyncratic surmises or theories. Anthropology was in danger of becoming fragmented. 30

What was needed was a theory capable of relating sociological and philosophical speculation to the empirical

29. Ibid., p. 49.

needs of fieldworkers. In social anthropology, this need was met by Radcliffe-Brown's functional theory of society. Above all, this theory led fieldworkers to work out the interrelations among institutions in concrete cases; soon, the most important theoretical problem became that of explaining the nature of social integration. Cultural and social facts previously treated in a piecemeal fashion were seen to have functions; they contributed to the solidarity, endurance, or equilibrium of organized social life.

Functional theory began rather modestly as a frame of reference which emphasized that social facts must be understood in relation to other social facts. As such, it was a sort of moral rearmament for fieldworkers; it assured them that the puzzles and contradictions in their field situation could ultimately be rendered intelligible through synchronic analysis. However, through being successively refined, functionalism became less a suggestive frame of reference and more an entrenched dogma. In its ultimate form, functional theory is like a celestial machine whose bearings and gears run noiselessly and endlessly by virtue of utopian lubricants applied deus ex machina. Pushed to its limit, the func-

31. Ibid., pp. 60-61.

tional model of society becomes utopian, standing apart from history in eternal equilibrium. 33

So long as anthropologists concentrated on small-scale, relatively isolated societies, functionalism was satisfactory; it enabled fieldworkers to speak a common theoretical language, and it assured them that their synchronic studies were adequate. But as anthropologists have turned to more complicated, literate societies and to simpler societies in the throes of change, the inadequacies of functionalism have become apparent. 34 The most important failure, perhaps, is that functionalism's assumption of integration and equilibrium precludes the possibility of social change. 35

In an effort to correct this inability of functionalism to account for social change, several anthropologists and sociologists have advocated that functionalism be supplemented with conflict theory. Conflict theory assumes, for example, that change is an ubiquitous social process; that conflict is present in all societies, and that societies are held together through coercion rather than consensus or universal agreement. 36 Conflict theory is grafted onto functional

33. Ibid.
35. Pocock, op. cit., p. 72.
theory by showing that social conflict, viewed over a wider span of time or society, is beneficial to a social system. 37

In social anthropology, the most concerted effort to combine conflict and functional theory has been made by Max Gluckman. Gluckman argues that in certain African societies conflicts in one set of relationships, viewed over a wider range of society or through a longer period of time, lead to the re-establishment of social cohesion. For example, a Zulu king is ideally supposed to be impartial toward his subjects. However, it sometimes happens that he favors a particular group of subjects through self-interest—"the frailty in authority." This, in turn, causes discontent among slighted groups, who react by shifting their allegiance to a prince of the royal lineage; they then support their prince in a rebellion that aims at killing the biased king and installing their prince in the vacant office. This is rebellion rather than revolution because the Zulu do not want to change the institution of kingship; they merely want to install a new and hopefully more impartial king. Thus, Gluckman argues that Zulu rebellion, viewed over a longer span of time, is a way of re-establishing social cohesion. 38


On the surface, Gluckman's theory appears to compensate for functionalism's inability to account for change. However, two points must be made. First, although Gluckman states his theory in synchronic terms, it is obviously derived from diachronic analysis; without a knowledge of Zulu history, it is difficult to conceive how the theory could have been formulated. Second, Gluckman's demonstration that Zulu rebellions are not isolated, accidental acts of violence, but are repetitive, "normal" features of the Zulu political system is an important advance over more short-sighted analyses. However, when Gluckman pushes his theory further in suggesting that racial discrimination in South Africa, viewed over a wider expanse of time or society, promotes solidarity, his theory begins to break down.


41. Pocock, op. cit., pp. 81-82.
more one is committed to functional theory on the grounds that anthropology is a natural science, the more one falls into "moral relativity and solipsism."42

In fairness to Gluckman, we must note that he has recently rejected his earlier view that society resembles an organism, while at the same time, insisting that his analysis of rebellion has merit.

Hence I now abandon altogether the type of organic analogy for a social system with which Radcliffe-Brown worked, and which led me to speak of civil war as being necessary to maintain the system. Social systems are not nearly as integrated as organic systems, and the processes working within them are not as cyclical or repetitive as are those in organic systems.43

Instead, Gluckman says that we must "think of a field of social action - in which we can delineate certain processes set in motion by a series of customary institutions, which do largely 'hang together,' but only largely, and not perfectly."44

Thus, as anthropologists have turned their attention to uniqueness, history, and more complicated societies, the functional model has been stretched to the breaking point; and it scarcely seems advisable to try to save functionalism

42. Ibid., p. 84.
44. Ibid., p. 39.
by seasoning it with a bit of conflict. Instead, we must either become empiricists, wholly reliant on common sense, or we must fashion a new model. The first of these alternatives is preferable to a model that distorts the reality we study. In Pocock's words: "If the theory we have divides what is not divided in human experience we must return to that experience, to the common sense, in order to rectify it." However, if this alternative were emphasized too strongly, then anthropology would again be threatened with the idiosyncratic fragmentation that prompted functionalism in the first place.

Eventually, anthropology must face up to the second alternative by developing a more adequate way of looking at society and culture. Such a model must recognize that society has both temporal and atemporal aspects. An exaggerated methodological distinction between temporal and atemporal, diachronic and synchronic, does violence to our materials of observation. Furthermore, this model should be sensitive to both the standardized and the unique; it should emphasize the interplay between the two. It is the experience of everyone that events and actions occur in society that do not accord

45. With respect to the latter, see the "action model" developed by John Rex in Key Problems of Sociological Theory (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961).

46. Pocock, op. cit., p. 98.
with ideals and expectations. Social events are inevitably a combination of the standardized and the unique.

Until anthropology is better able to cope with time as well as uniqueness, it is fruitless to speak of a formal theory of social change. As Evans-Pritchard points out, what we need is a combination of functionalist explanation of the present in terms of the present with the historian's explanation of the present in terms of the past. 47 Whatever the particulars of such a model, it must take full account of a fundamental paradox or dualism in human experience: even though we may know that all events are unique, we must act as if they are not. 48 This, as Pocock points out, is what Cassirer tries to express in his view that society and culture entail a fundamental dualism: "a tension between stabilization and evolution, between a tendency that leads to fixed and stable forms of life and another tendency to break up this rigid scheme." 49

Actually, the alternatives mentioned above—empiricism or the formulation of a new model—are not mutually exclusive. The pages which follow are basically an empirical inquiry into the history of the Catawba Indians; at the same time, the form of this inquiry is shaped by the theoretical considerations just presented. Basically, it is a history;

49. Ibid., pp. 99-104; Cassirer, op. cit., p. 224.
but it is history in two distinct senses, and this distinction demands treatment in some detail.

C. *History: Universal and Incapsulated*

Catawba society, as it exists today, is a "timeless" crystallate of the actions of men in time; but the Catawba Indians have a history, and in this history Cassirer's dualism may be seen. They have an objective, "universal" history that may be studied by a student who, in order to avoid bias, carefully stands apart from his materials. Furthermore, in that they have beliefs and values with regard to their past, they have a subjective, remembered history. In contrast to the student of objective history, the student of subjective history intentionally becomes involved with the materials of his study, and the biases he encounters are often among the more valuable of his results.50

According to Marc Bloch, a universal history is the product of an inquiry into the actions of men in time, some of which can later be studied and known by the tracks they leave.51 By "tracks", Bloch means any source of information about the past, such as archaeology, geography, place names,


documents of all kinds, and so forth. The task of a historian is to examine these tracks, to judge them critically, and to integrate his findings in an analytical account, usually arranged in accordance with Western chronology.52

By "universal", Bloch does not mean an account of all the actions of all the men of a particular society, such a usage would be meaningless, because many, perhaps most, actions leave no tracks. He does not use "universal" in the sense of an account of all human social groups; a work of such scope is impossible even for a Toynbee, and it is perhaps an unrealizable ideal for the collective efforts of historians because each generation of historians rewrites the history written by their mentors. By "universal," Bloch means a study of the past that does not arbitrarily restrict itself to certain sources of information or to too narrowly conceived problems. Bloch's "universal" is virtually identical to the holism of ethnographers. That is, even though an ethnographer may be interested in a particular problem with respect to the people among whom he is working, he draws his information from every possible source, and ideally, his grasp is more inclusive than the problem under investigation demands. Thus, a universal history may be thought of as a holistic ethnography with a time dimension.

52. Ibid., p. 47.
The meaning of "Catawba Nation" can partially be revealed through a study of the objective history of the Catawba Indians. However, for a fuller appreciation of its meaning, a study must also be made of their "incapsulated" history. Not only do the actions of men in time leave tracks, they also leave traces in the memory of living people. The Catawba Indians of today — and the non-Indians who have social connections with them — have ideals and beliefs about Catawba history that differ in many respects from objective historical accounts. Not only does this remembered history exist, it is an important part of the present social context in which the Catawba Indians find themselves. Incapsulated history is a social fact, and consequently, it is a fit subject for sociological investigation.


Incapsulated history is qualitatively different from universal history. One difference is that the veracity of incapsulated history is relatively unimportant, both from the standpoint of the people to whom it attaches and from the standpoint of the sociologist. Incapsulated history often contains distortions and even mythical elements. In addition, time and change are sometimes neither present nor implied in incapsulated history. The past is, as it were, telescoped into the present. It may assume a quality of timelessness -- a quality that is also characteristic of myths.

Incapsulated history must be studied by methods that are quite different from those used in the study of universal history. That is, one is guided by sociological methods rather than formal historiographic techniques. For example, incapsulated history both attaches to different groups in a society and quite commonly varies from one group to another. In extreme cases, as among the Luapula, each sub-clan and lineage has its own history. The object in studying incapsulated history is not to iron out the disagreements and contradictions in order to produce a connected narrative or account; on the contrary, the object is to study these dis-
agreements and contradictions in the light of existing social relationships.

Finally, encapsulated and universal history have different uses. People use universal history as a means of relating themselves to the past or of relating the past to their present. Aside from professional historians, people use universal history for instruction, for satisfaction of their curiosity, and for entertainment. In contrast, people use encapsulated history to define their identity, to manage their social relationships, and to validate their rights. For example, when a Luapula recites the history of his kin group, one dominant theme is the relationship of his kin group to land. Among the Luapula, the rights of a kin group to land are validated by encapsulated history. 59

D. Methods

In keeping with the dual nature of this inquiry, the methods I have used are likewise dual, being a mixture of historiography and ethnography. The pages that follow are thus based both on library research and field research. The chapters dealing with the early history of the Catawbas are almost exclusively based on library research. Both library and field research went into the chapters dealing with the later history of the Catawbas. The chapter devoted to the

59. Ibid., pp. 14-16.
incapsulated history of the Catawbas is primarily based on field research.

My field notes come from two short periods of field work. The first period lasted from the first of August until the middle of September, 1962. In terms of concrete results, this period of field work was a mere beginning; it was, however, valuable in two ways. I succeeded in establishing rapport with several informants, and on the basis of the information they gave me, I was able to formulate a clearer picture of the research problem. Initially, I planned to do a synchronic study, but after analyzing initial data, I became convinced that there were problems in the research that would not yield to synchronic analysis.

Before beginning the second period of field work, I reformulated the problem in approximately the form discussed above. This second period of field work lasted from the first of June until the middle of October, 1963. Since the object of this field work was to learn how the Catawbas and their white neighbors thought of themselves in terms of their past, I felt that a mixture of directed interviewing and participant-observation would be the most appropriate means of acquiring this information. I consistently defined my role as that of a student of Catawba history. There were some initial difficulties in persuading everybody to accept this, but I feel that most of the people eventually accepted it as a satisfactory explanation of my actions.
In passing, I recommend an avowed interest in history to other field workers as a means of explaining their role, even when they are primarily interested in the present. Most people have some notion of what is involved in historical research, while very few laymen are aware that there is such a thing as synchronic research; consequently, it is much easier to establish communication in terms of the former. Another advantage is that, in general, people are not as threatened by questions about the past as they are by questions about the present. At the same time, it is often possible to begin inquiring into the past and gradually shift to present states of affairs, thus proceeding toward more and more sensitive information.

In the interest of keeping my role consistent with respect to particular individuals, I reserved some of my informants for intensive interviewing and others for participant-observation. Since the Catawbas are fully acculturated, and since the folk character of their society has been steadily diminishing for many years, intimate participation in community activities is rather difficult. Quite simply, the Catawbas have few community activities. A few years ago, it would have been possible to participate in "workings"—organized voluntary labor—and in a variety of forms of community entertainment and recreation.

As it was, virtually the only avenue of participation in social groupings larger than the domestic family was in
activities connected with their Mormon church. Taking advantage of what was available, I attended church services and a number of rites of passage connected with the church. Although I remained ambiguous about my intent to join the church, I feel that most of the Catawbas accepted me as a person who was genuinely interested in the Mormon religion and in their church.

In conclusion, this study is an attempt to intimately combine historiography and ethnography. Although these two methods of studying people are usually thought to be different, at no time did I feel that I was doing two distinct kinds of work. Fundamentally, the methods of the historian and the ethnographer are the same, though there are some differences in the way they acquire and sort their information.
CHAPTER II

THE ANCESTORS OF THE CATAWBAS

Everything had to belong to something and to something clearly named and historical. One could not confess failure about the early past of man; it had to be peopled by someone. They had to be nominate; they had to be named people to whom one could turn confidently.

The word Catawba first came into usage at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it began to appear in traveler's accounts and colonial records. One of the earliest uses of the word is in Lawson's account of his travels in 1700-1701. However, there is considerable evidence that the ancestors of the people visited by Lawson were settled in the vicinity of his visit considerably before the beginning of the eighteenth century. Who were these people, and what were their cultural and social affinities? Before examining the Catawbas of historic times, let us first attempt to briefly reconstruct the life of the ancestors of the Catawbas in their ecological setting.


Historical reconstructions may be based on two kinds of evidence: inferential and direct. Inferential evidence is inferred from facts that are not associated with dates or periods of time; such facts, for example, may be derived from the spatial distribution of culture traits, the evidence of physical anthropology, and linguistic relationships. In contrast, direct evidence is obtained from facts that are associated with dates or periods of time; facts of this kind come from documentary evidence, native testimony, and from archaeological research.

The standard accounts of the Catawbas and related groups are primarily based on inferential evidence. James Mooney's pioneering classification of the Catawbas as "Eastern Siouans" is purportedly based on linguistic evidence. Most subsequent accounts of the Catawbas, such as those in the writings of John R. Swanton and Frank G. Speck, rely on Mooney rather heavily, while differing in certain details. While inferential evidence is generally less reliable than direct evidence, it is nevertheless capable of producing valuable results.


However, as Sapir was careful to point out, inferential evidence must be subjected to vigorous scrutiny and methodological rigor; otherwise, it can lead to a badly distorted reconstruction, particularly in the hands of someone with a "theory." As we shall presently see, Mooney's reconstruction and the classification on which it is based are subject to this criticism.

Fortunately, enough direct evidence is available to modify these erroneous interpretations of Catawba prehistory. This does not mean that it is possible to give a simpler account than Mooney's. On the contrary, the picture is much more complicated than Mooney thought it was, and it is virtually certain to become more complicated as new archaeological and historical research is published. In prehistory, reconstruction of the past commonly begins with a few facts ordered into a rather satisfying, simple arrangement. Then, as more facts come in, the simplicity becomes strained; ultimately, it often becomes necessary to rearrange the facts in a new order, an order that is almost always more complicated than the original one.

A. The Catawbas as "Eastern Siouans"

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, anthropologists and historians had succeeded in mapping the pre-Columbian

location of nominate aboriginal groups in most of the eastern United States. The Algonquian-speaking Powhatans, who figure so prominently in early American history, were concentrated in the Virginia tidewater area. North of the Powhatans lay the Iroquoian-speaking Five Nations, a powerful and well known confederacy. To the south, the Cherokees held the southern Appalachian mountains and adjacent areas. Further south, the southern piedmont and coastal plain were dominated by Muskogean-speaking Indians, the ancestors of the historic Creek.

However, an annoying hiatus lay between the Powhatans and the Creeks, and between the Cherokees and the Atlantic coast. This area, embracing the piedmont and coastal plain of the Carolinas, was known to have contained a large number of named but poorly documented aboriginal groups. The authorities of the time attempted to classify them as Iroquoians and Algonquians, but these attempts to associate them with familiar nominate groups were tentative, and in some sense, not satisfying.

The first break came in the 1870's when Horatio Hale, a Canadian linguist, obtained a vocabulary from a Tutelo who was living with the Cayuga Indians. After analyzing his data, Hale reached a rather startling conclusion. Tutelo was neither Iroquoian nor Algonquian; it was genetically related to the Siouan languages that were previously thought
to be limited to the buffalo-hunters of the Great Plains. Additional Tutelo vocabularies were subsequently collected by Frachtenberg and Sapir.

Confirmation for Hale's discovery came in 1881. At this time, Albert S. Gatschet gave a Catawba vocabulary to James Owen Dorsey, a Siouan specialist, who promptly declared that Catawba too was a Siouan language. On the basis of a short vocabulary of Woccon in Lawson's History, Albert Gallatin had previously recognized a genetic relationship


between Woccon and Catawba. Thus, toward the close of the
nineteenth century it appeared that at least three of the
aboriginal groups in the Carolina hiatus spoke Siouan
languages. Of these three languages, only Catawba was
reasonably well documented, the data being very scanty on
both Tutelo and Woccon.

Impressed by these startling linguistic correspondences,
James Mooney published his influential Siouan Tribes of the
East in 1894. Along with Catawba, Tutelo, and Woccon,
Mooney concludes that around twenty-five additional named
groups were also "Eastern Siouans." These are the Monacan,
Mahoc, Nuntaneuck, Mohetan, Meipontsky, Saponi, Occaneechi,
Sara, Keyauwee, Eno, Shoccoree, Adshusheer, Sissipahaw, Cape
Fear, Warreannuncock, Waxhaw, Sugeree, Pedee, Waccamaw,
Winyaw, Hooks, Backhooks, Sewee, Santee, Wateree, and Congaree.
The astonishing thing about this linguistic classification is
that, aside from their names, there is no direct linguistic
evidence available on any of these groups.

Actually, Mooney's classification is not linguistic; it is the expression of one of the simplifying theories that

within the United States East of the Rocky Mountains,"
Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian's

10. Mooney, op. cit.
are often encountered in early studies of prehistory. On the basis of the Siouan linguistic correspondences already discussed, and a knowledge of Plains ethnology, Mooney jumped to the conclusion that the Carolina hiatus was populated by people who were physically and culturally related to the colorful, nomadic Plains Indians. He further theorized that the original home of the "Siouan race" was in the eastern foothills of the southern Allegheny Mountains; here, they suffered from a fairly recent southern expansion of aggressive Iroquoians. Subsequently, they split into western and eastern divisions and migrated to their historic locations. 11

John R. Swanton adopts the main outlines of Mooney's classification while modifying it in several respects. 12 One modification is that Swanton thought he saw evidence for a sharp linguistic division among the Eastern Siouans: a northern or Virginia division including the Manahoac, Monacan, Nahyssan, Saponi, Tutelo, Occaneechi, and Monetan, and a southern or Carolina division including the Catawbas and their neighbors. Swanton attempted to substantiate this division by arguing that the Carolina Siouans entered their historic territory through the southern foothills of the

11. Ibid., p. 9.

Alleghenies, while the Virginia Siouans entered their historic territory along the Kanawha River.\textsuperscript{13} Like Mooney, Swanton thought that the "Eastern Siouans" migrated into the Carolinas and Virginia in relatively recent times.

The Eastern Siouan classification is, to say the least, based on very tenuous evidence. As we have already seen, there is direct evidence of Siouan linguistic identity for only three of them: Catawba, Tutelo, and Woccon. All the others are classified as Siouan on indirect evidence. For example, Mooney deduces that the Monacan and Manahoac were Siouan-speakers because William Byrd, a colonial writer, says that their languages were similar to Tutelo and Saponi.\textsuperscript{14} Similarly, Swanton bases his dichotomy of Eastern Siouans into northern and southern divisions partly on the grounds that the members of these divisions tended to align themselves politically.\textsuperscript{15} Undoubtedly, some of these groups were Siouan-speakers, but there is an equal or greater probability that others were not Siouan-speakers. The political alliances of eastern Indians, particularly when European pressure became severe, are poor indices of linguistic affinity. Some Tutelos, for example, who were presumably Siouan-speakers, eventually sought refuge with Iroquoian-speaking Cayugas.

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., pp. 379-380.

\textsuperscript{14} Mooney, \textit{op. cit.}, 1894, p. 23. Byrd did not observe this; it came to him second- or third-hand.

\textsuperscript{15} Swanton, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 374.
Furthermore, the direct linguistic evidence on which the Eastern Siouan classification is based is not as plentiful as one would wish. After a careful examination of the primary and secondary sources on three of Swanton's Virginia division Eastern Siouans — the Occaneechi, Saponi, and Tutelo — Carl F. Miller reached the conclusion that these groups were probably not Siouan-speakers. 16 On the contrary, he found some evidence pointing to their speaking languages of the Algonquian stock. Although Miller's thesis is valuable in that it throws doubt into the "Eastern Siouan" theory, he goes too far, because the Tutelo language is definitely Siouan. 17 In addition, his suggestion that the Siouan identity of the Catawba language be re-examined is hardly to the point. 18 Siebert has established the Siouan identity of Catawba with relative certainty, though it does have certain grammatical peculiarities. 19


However, even though the classification of Catawba as a Siouan language is relatively certain, this does not take us far in understanding the broad outlines of Catawba prehistory. Furthermore, if the Siouan identity of Catawba leads us to think of them as "Eastern Siouans"—in the sense meant by Mooney—it can be positively misleading. As a general rule, it is hazardous to extrapolate from linguistic classifications; with rare exceptions, one can never expect to find a simple coincidence of linguistic, cultural, and racial boundaries.\textsuperscript{20}

In studies of social or cultural history, it is better to adopt initial classifications and maps based on natural features; specifically, they should be based on natural features that are likely to have ecological value. This was Kroeber's purpose in delineating culture areas of North America as a means of understanding "culture processes as such, or of the historic events of culture."\textsuperscript{21} As Kroeber himself emphasized, his culture areas are a "momentary and


static" preliminary organization of knowledge; an organization that ultimately must be dissolved or reorganized as historical knowledge increases.22

Kroeber locates the ancestors of the Catawbas in his South Atlantic Slope area, an area that includes most of South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia.23 The northern border of the South Atlantic Slope area touches that of the Middle Atlantic Slope area inhabited by Algonquian-speakers, and that of the Lower Great Lake area, inhabited by the Iroquoian League and allied groups. To the west, the South Atlantic Slope area is bounded by the Ohio Valley area, the latter being inhabited by the Illinois, Miami, and Shawnee, and by the Appalachian Summit area, the home of the Cherokees. To the South, near the Savannah River, Kroeber wisely draws a "doubtful" boundary between the South Atlantic Slope area and the Southeastern area, the territory of the historic Creek Indians.24

Kroeber divides his South Atlantic Slope area into four subareas. The ancestors of the Catawbas were concentrated in the Piedmont subarea. This subarea, the largest

23. Ibid., p. 94.
24. Ibid., Map no. 6.
of the four, embraces the central part of the piedmont physiographic area. It includes the territory between the Appalachian mountains and the fall-line of the rivers, except where this territory tapers into a thin triangle in northern Virginia and where it broadens into the hills of northern Georgia. 25 East of the fall-line, in the Atlantic coastal plain physiographic area, Kroeber distinguishes three subareas. The Virginia Tidewater subarea, bounded on the north by the Potomac River and on the south by the Dismal Swamp, was inhabited by the Powhatan Confederacy. South of this, separated by a "doubtful" boundary, lies the Carolina Sound subarea; it includes the territory inland from Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds that was inhabited by the Tuscarora and by other less well known Iroquoian- and Algonquian-speaking peoples. South of the Carolina Sound subarea, running almost to the Savannah River, lies the Lowland subarea, by far the most indefinite and problematical of the four. 26

Although Kroeber was primarily interested in delimiting the spatial distribution of similar cultural wholes, the boundaries of his Piedmont subarea approximate the boundaries

25. The fall-line is an imaginary line drawn through the rapids of the rivers, effectively marking the zone of transition between the hilly upper country and the flat low country. The fall-line lies close to the cities of Trenton, N. J., Richmond, Va., Halifax, N. C., Columbia, S. C., and Augusta, Ga.

of an ecological area—an area whose natural characteristics shaped the history that occurred within it. The fact that Kroeber has little to say about this history is an advantage. As we have seen, the "Eastern Siouan" classification of Mooney and Swanton suffers from saying too much, Kroeber's Piedmont subarea, on the other hand, is a point of departure.

B. Prehistory of the Piedmont Area

From the time of earliest European colonization, the history of the southeastern United States has been profoundly influenced by a tripartite geographical division: these divisions are the mountains, the piedmont or "back country," and the "low country" bordering the coast. Although we must be wary of projecting the geography and ecology of one historical period back to an earlier period, there is considerable evidence that these divisions were also important in shaping the life of the aboriginal inhabitants. John Lederer, for example, reports that the "Indians" explicitly recognized these divisions.\(^{27}\) The mountains, or Poemotinok, were

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\(^{27}\) John Lederer, "The Discoveries of John Lederer," in Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bigood (eds.), The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674 (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1912), pp. 138-142, first published in 1672. Lederer seems to have obtained this information from a "Warrennuncock" informant, who probably spoke a dialect of Algonquian or Iroquoian. It is probable that "Warrennuncock" is synonymous with the "Wainoake" or "Waynoakes" in Edward Bland's account of an exploratory expedition in 1650: Edward Bland, "The Discovery of New Britaine," in Alvord, op. cit., pp. 109-130. Bland suggests that the "Wainoake" were allied with the Mottoway, who, according to Swanton, were Iroquoian-Speakers (Ibid., p. 128). According to Speck, "Wainoake" is synonymous with "Eno," whom
thought to be barren, being inhabited only by cave-dwelling bears. The low country, or Abkynt, embraced the area from the falls of the rivers to the coast. In between the mountains and the falls of the rivers lay the piedmont highlands, or Akontshuck. According to Lederer, the piedmont was inhabited by several "nations" speaking dialects of the same language. 28

27. (cont'd)
he thought could have been either Siouan- or Algonquian-speakers: Frank G. Speck, "Siouan Tribes of the Carolinas as known from Catawba, Tutelo, and Documentary Sources," American Anthropologist, Vol. 37, No. 2 (April-June, 1935), pp. 201-225.

28. John Lederer, starting from the falls of Virginia rivers, made three expeditions into the piedmont in 1669-1670. On his second expedition, Lederer claimed to have penetrated far south into the piedmont to the "Ushery," who were presumably ancestral to the Catawbas. However, on the basis of internal evidence it is most unlikely that Lederer was in either of the Carolinas, and he probably never contacted any of the piedmont Indians, except the Monacans, who were situated about twenty-miles above the falls of the James River. It is probable that Lederer's account is an imaginative re-interpretation of information given him by one or more informants. Cf. Cyrus Thomas, "Was John Lederer in Either of the Carolinas?" American Anthropologist, Vol. 5, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec., 1903), pp. 724-727; William Patterson Cumming, "Geographical Misconceptions of the Southeast in the Cartography of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," The Journal of Southern History, Vol.4, No. 4 (November, 1938), pp. 476-492. Thomas is of the opinion that Lederer's account is a fabrication based on information gained from Indians. Patterson feels that it is a mixture of fabrication, information from Indians, and information from the Mercator-Hondius map, first published in 1606. Many of Lederer's distortions probably come from poor translation. For example, his "cave-dwelling bears" probably refers to the Cherokees. Both the Mohawk and Wyandot referred to them with a word meaning "inhabitants of cave country (Mooney, op. cit., 1900, p. 183)." However, in that Lederer's account reflects the cultural perceptions of South Atlantic Slope Indians, it is a valuable document, regardless of whether his informants spoke Siouan, Algonquian, or Iroquoian.
Thomas Jefferson, writing just over a hundred years later, emphasizes the importance of the division between piedmont and low country. The Powhatans, situated between the coast and the falls of the rivers, "were in amity with one another." 29 The Piedmont was occupied by the Mannahoacs at the headwaters of the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, and the Monacans on the upper James River. "But the Monacans and their friends were in amity with the Mannahoacs and their friends, and waged joint and perpetual war against the Powhatans." 30 The three confederacies spoke languages so different "that interpreters were necessary when they transacted business." 31 Thus, although the degree to which the "Monacans" and "Mannahoacs" were culturally affiliated with the Indians of the Carolina piedmont is debatable, it is clear that the piedmont ecological area extended into Virginia.

Both Mooney and Swanton thought that the "Eastern Siouans" migrated into the piedmont area in relatively recent times. Subsequent archaeological research shows that this is an oversimplification. The societies that were present in


30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.
the piedmont at the time of European colonization were not recent migrants; they were the products of several centuries of social and cultural development.

Disregarding minor variations, the historic societies of the piedmont were products of two major streams of social and cultural development. The central piedmont -- between the northern and southern boundaries of North Carolina -- was populated by a number of hill tribes. These hill tribes were small in population, but they shared a distinctive culture that was similar in many ways to cultures situated north of them. In the southern piedmont -- roughly, in South Carolina -- the hill tribes were in contact with people whose society and culture were quite different. These were the southern chiefdoms, whose cultural affiliations were with other cultures further south and west. The southern chiefdoms were more populous than the hill tribes, and they had a more complex religious and political life.

The physical and cultural ancestors of the hill tribes, identified archaeologically as the Badin cultural complex, first appeared in the piedmont around the beginning of the


33. My use of "chiefdom" is also in accordance with Service's technical definition (Ibid., pp. 143-177).
Christian era. Their pottery, tools, and burial practices were similar to the Indian Knoll culture of Kentucky; in addition, they were physically similar to the Indian Knoll people. From the time of this entry until the early historic period, the culture of these hill tribes shows the influence of people to the north. At the same time, they were remarkably conservative or insular. The archaeological record of the cultural development of the hill tribes shows remarkable conservatism and resistance to change. For example, they never adopted the Hopewell ceremonialism that became popular with their neighbors. Through several centuries of a shifting hunting and gathering life, they gradually modified their ceramic and lithic techniques and gradually substituted the bow and arrow for the atlatl and spear.

By 1200 A.D., the hill tribes had incorporated agriculture into their ecology. The resultant culture - identified archaeologically as the Uwharrie cultural complex - was based on an ecology in which hunting and gathering was an important pursuit, while the extra assurance of agriculture allowed a more sedentary life. The cultivation of corn, beans, and

36. Ibid., p. 307.
squash enabled the hill tribes to settle down in villages. Subsequently, the Uwharrie culture became the most homogeneous and widespread culture in the development of the hill tribes; the slight areal variations of previous times were absorbed into a single style. The greater stability and security afforded by agriculture is reflected in a minor population explosion. Uwharrie villages -- clusters of small, circular houses made of saplings covered with skin and bark -- were almost invariably situated on the banks of rivers.37 These villages gradually spread along the Yadkin River, northward towards Virginia, and southward toward the tributaries of the Santee River of South Carolina, the territory of the Catawba Indians of historic times.38

The southern chiefdoms were also the product of a long stream of cultural development. Though there were cultural and linguistic differences among these chiefdoms, historical and archaeological research has turned up many basic similarities. They all made use of truncated pyramidal mounds, usually with ceremonial buildings on top. In association with the mound, there was often a plaza used for games and


ceremonies. Power was centralized in the hands of political and religious functionaries. Their religious symbolism seems also to have been similar.

Unlike the hill tribes, innovations seem to have spread rather rapidly among the southern chiefdoms. For example, in late prehistoric times, a style of pottery called Lamar was developed. Apparently originating in central Georgia, it spread throughout Georgia, into South Carolina, and perhaps into Tennessee and eastern Alabama. Thus, though there were linguistic and cultural differences between pre-Creek and pre-Cherokee chiefdoms, the rapid spread of Lamar ceramics suggests that they understood each other moderately well.

The southern Appalachian mountains and foothills were almost certainly inhabited by the ancestors of the historic Cherokee Indians throughout the period in which we are interested. Although intensive archaeological research is just beginning in this area, there is increasing evidence that the ancestors of the Cherokee were occupying it toward the close of the Archaic archaeological period, between


1,000 B.C. and 0 A.D. Lounsbury’s glottochronological study shows that the Cherokee language split from the Northern Iroquoian languages 3,500-3,800 years ago. Contrary to traditional interpretations, it now appears that the Cherokee were neither late migrants nor homogeneous in their culture. Also contrary to traditional interpretations is the virtual certainty that the Cherokees adopted the southeastern pyramidal mound complex with all that this implies in terms of religious and social organization. According to Mooney, known historic Cherokee settlements are situated south of the thirty-sixth parallel. The extent to which they ranged northward into the mountains and northeast into the piedmont can only be determined by further archaeological research. It is entirely possible that such research will provide a basis for Mooney’s assertion that the Cherokees claimed the


44. Ibid.

piedmont west of the Catawba River. Although the picture of Cherokee prehistory is likely to change in the future, it can safely be said that the Santee River drainage area was a prehistoric meeting ground for the hill tribes and the southern chiefdoms.

The boundaries of hill tribe territory are fairly clear where they bordered the Cherokees and where they bordered Iroquoian- and Algonquian-speaking peoples to the north and northeast. The southeastern and eastern boundaries are less clearly defined. From archaeological and historical sources it is known that pre-Creek chiefdoms were situated along the Savannah River and along the southern coast of South Carolina. The precise extent to which pre-Creek and pre-Cherokee chiefdoms penetrated northward into the piedmont cannot be ascertained until further archaeological research is done in the Santee River drainage area and in the low country south of the Pee Dee River.

South of the Tuscarora and the Carolina Sound Algonquians, the eastern boundary of the hill tribes is even more obscure than the southeastern border. This is again partly due to a lack of intensive archaeological research in lowland South and North Carolina. But even more, the eastern border has been obscured by an ethnohistorical error. Contrary to our

46. Ibid.
argument that the "Eastern Siouan" hill tribes were concentrated in the piedmont, Mooney includes the Carolina lowland Indians— from the Cape Fear River to the Santee River and its tributaries—in his Eastern Siouan classification. This includes the Cape Fear, Waccamaw, Winyaw, Peedee, Sewee, Santee, Congaree, Wateree, and Waxhaw Indians.

An examination of the evidence on which this classification is based shows either that the evidence is inconclusive or that the lowland Indians were culturally and linguistically different from the hill tribes. The presence of mounds along the lower Wateree and Peedee Rivers strongly suggests that the inhabitants were similar to the chiefdoms of coastal and inland Georgia. From historical evidence alone, it is impossible to determine the linguistic and cultural affinities of the Winyaw, Waccamaw, and Cape Fear Indians; the latter are not even associated with an aboriginal name. Aside from their names, there is no evidence for the linguistic affinities of the Sewee, Peedee, Santee, Wateree, and Congaree. If the distinctive -ee ending is evidence for Siouan affiliation, then the Yemasee, whom Swanton says were Muskoghean-speakers, must also be counted as Siouan-speakers.

47. Mooney, op. cit., 1894, pl. I.
Lawson's observations on the lowland Indians do not indicate that they were culturally similar to the hill tribes. On the contrary, his description of the Waxhaws definitely suggests cultural affiliation with the southern chiefdoms; they practiced head deformation and other customs similar to a chiefdom which, as we shall presently see, moved up the Pee Dee River and into the piedmont in late prehistoric times. At the same time, Lawson's account clearly suggests that the Waxhaws were politically aligned with the Catawba and Saponi at the time of his visit.

Archaeological evidence indicates that in late prehistoric times the hill tribes in the southern piedmont were becoming culturally and socially similar to pre-Creek and pre-Cherokee chiefdoms. The archaeological record clearly shows that local cultural differences began to appear as the hill tribes reached their widest expansion. These changes began earliest and were most far-reaching in the southern part of the central piedmont — the area inhabited by the ancestors of the Catawbas.

Too little archaeology has been done in the Santee drainage area to allow for secure generalizations, but a few things may be said on the basis of archaeology further north. One dramatic change in the southern piedmont was the Lamar ceramic tradition. After being adopted by the ancestors of

51. Lawson, op. cit., passim.
the Catawbas, this Lamar ceramic tradition spread to the northern piedmont area where it influenced the ceramics of the northern hill tribes. For example, it was adopted by the Sara Indians who were living on the Dan River around 1650, and by the Occaneechi Indians when they were living near the present Hillsboro, North Carolina. In addition, the Sara Indians were influenced to a lesser degree by the Fort Ancient people of the Ohio Valley.52

The insularity of the piedmont Indians ended in the sixteenth century with Spanish explorations. Between 1528 and 1567, there were exploratory expeditions led by Panfilo de Narváez, Hernando de Soto, Tristan de Luna, and Juan Pardo.53 Although these explorations were widely scattered and apparently involved little intimate contact, the Indians suffered heavy casualties, particularly from de Soto and Pardo. In 1569, the Spanish established a mission at Santa Elena, and they attempted to concentrate the Indians into permanent settlements in order to exploit them as food producers.54

After the missions were established, the Spanish did not raid the coast and piedmont extensively for slaves. However, before this time slaving expeditions occasionally

raided the coast. In 1521, for example, they raided the Indians living near Winyaw Bay and carried off about twenty, one of whom was later named Francisco of Chicora, who left the earliest lengthy description of a North American Indian group.55 Apparently, these slave raids stimulated a general movement up the rivers to safety.

This possibly accounts for the movement of the Pee Dee culture -- a southern chiefdom -- into the upper Pee Dee River around 1550 A.D., where it remained for about a hundred years. The archaeological record of this intrusive Pee Dee culture is both dramatic and clear. The bearers of this culture were physically and culturally different from the hill tribes. While the hill tribes were narrow-headed, the Pee Dee people were round-headed and practiced head-deformation similar to the Waxhaw Indians observed by Lawson. They seem to have been more reliant on agriculture than the hill tribes, and they lived in larger villages. Unlike the hill tribes, they had square or rectangular public buildings, and they built pyramidal mounds, often with religious buildings on top.56


As the Peedee culture became established, the hill tribes were apparently preempted from their home and forced to move up the Yadkin River and its tributaries.57 This pressure from outside may have forced the hill tribes to align themselves for their mutual defense. Apparently, they did not borrow from the Peedee culture. After a century of occupation, the Peedee people moved out, and the hill tribes reoccupied their recovered territory.58

In summary, the prehistoric piedmont area was the scene of two streams of cultural and social development. The hill tribe culture pattern developed in the central piedmont, from whence it gradually spread north towards Virginia, and south to the Santee River drainage area. The picture is that of a series of small tribal groups, each tribe located in a village or several villages, exploiting their territory in accordance with a seasonal cycle of hunting, gathering, and agriculture. Since hunting was important, they probably guarded their hunting territory jealously, and if conflict occurred it was as likely to be between cognate groups as with foreigners.

In the southern piedmont, the southern chiefdoms developed. These chiefdoms had much the same ecology as did the hill tribes. However, the chiefdoms were more numerous and

57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
had a more highly developed politico-religious life. In the Santee River drainage area -- the territory of the ancestors of the Catawbas -- these two streams of cultural development met. Aside from the mixture of these two cultural streams, there are no indications of foreign intrusions in the piedmont until after the Spanish explorations in the sixteenth century.59

C. Ecology and Social Organization in the Piedmont

Having reviewed the main outlines of the prehistory of the piedmont area, let us now examine the physiography of the area in more detail. This will serve as a background for a discussion of the ecological adaptation of the piedmont people to their natural environment. In turn, the piedmont ecological pattern provides clues to aboriginal social organization in the early colonial period.

The piedmont physiographic area is a narrow band of hilly land that is bounded on the west by the Appalachian mountains and on the east by the Atlantic Coastal Plain. It begins in New York State, gradually widens as it runs through Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, becomes most expansive in the Carolinas, and terminates in northern Georgia and Alabama. The most characteristic features of the piedmont are its rolling hills, varying in elevation from 100 to 1,500 feet, and its rivers that rise in the mountains, cut swiftly

through the piedmont to their rapids at the fall-line, and gradually become more sluggish and swampy in the coastal plain.

The piedmont physiographic area, being quite long from north to south, varies at these extremes in temperature and precipitation. Normal annual precipitation is 40 inches per year, except for the southern portion, where it is 50 to 60 inches per year.60 The normal annual temperature in the north is 50°F., while in the south it is 65°F.61 The most dramatic effect of these temperature variations is on the growth of plant life. In the southern piedmont, there are 50 or less days per year with little or no plant growth; in the central piedmont the time is 50 to 100 days; and in the northern piedmont there is little or no plant growth for 100 to 150 days per year.62 In the southern piedmont, corn, beans, and squash can safely be planted two to four weeks earlier than in the northern piedmont.63 This, of course, allowed for more intensive agricultural exploitation in the southern piedmont.


61. Ibid., p. 23.

62. Ibid., p. 344.

63. Ibid., pp. 348-349.
The Atlantic coastal plain physiographic area extends from the fall-line to the Atlantic Ocean; its terrain varies with nearness to the coast. Along the coast, there are flat expanses of everglades and flatwoods where the soil is waterlogged for most of the year. Further inland, the land is gently rolling but generally less than 100 feet above sea level. In general, the soil is poor because of inadequate drainage; it is decidedly swampy or marshy. The climate is somewhat warmer than in the piedmont, but average precipitation is about the same, varying from 40 to 55 inches per year.

Different topography and soils in the piedmont and coastal plain areas supported different flora and fauna. In the early colonial period, the piedmont was forested with deciduous trees — primarily oak — and a few pines. Some of these oak trees were so tall that Lawson could not kill the turkeys that perched in the tops of them, "though we shot very often, and our Guns were very good." 64 However, the piedmont was not thickly forested; on the contrary, there were great stretches of level, grassy country with widely separated trees. 65 Consequently, travel on foot or horseback was easier in the piedmont than in the coastal plain.

64. Lawson, op. cit., p. 42.
65. Ibid., p. 43.
The piedmont supported an abundance of large woodland game such as deer, bear, and elk. "They are always fat, I believe, with some delicate Herbage that grows on the Hills, for we find all Creatures that graze much fatter and better Meat on the Hills, than those in the Valleys: I mean towards and near the Sea." Of these large game animals, the deer and bear seem to have been the most important in the Indian hunting economy. There were a few bison, but these were more a curiosity than a regular source of food and skins.

The rivers were well stocked with fish, and in the spring there were large runs of herring and sturgeon swimming upriver to spawn. The piedmont people killed great quantities of sturgeon at the falls of the rivers; Indians living near the coast, for some reason, would not eat them.

In addition, huge flocks of passenger pigeons roosted in the hills, particularly, it seems, at the headwaters of the Catawba and Yadkin Rivers.

I saw such prodigious Flocks of these Pigeons in January or February, 1701-2 (which were in the hilly Country between the great Nation of the Esaw-Indians and the pleasant Stream of Sapona, which is the West - Branch of Clarendon or the Cape Fair River) that they had broke down the Limbs of a great many large Trees all over those Woods whereon they chanced to sit and roost, especially the

66. Ibid., p. 127.
67. Ibid., p. 119.
68. Ibid., p. 168.
69. Ibid., pp. 147-149.
great Pines, which are a more brittle wood than
our sorts of Oak are.70

As we shall presently see, these pigeons were an important
source of food for the Catawba Indians.

In contrast to the predominantly deciduous cover of the
piedmont, the Atlantic coastal plain was primarily covered
by longleaf-loblolly pines. The Atlantic coastal plain can
be further subdivided into four band-shaped areas that were
important in colonial history, and it is probably safe to
assume that they were important in pre-colonial times.

1) Just east of the fall-line there is a narrow string of
sand hills, remnants of a former coastline. These sand
hills, often rising quite high, were largely useless for
colonial agriculture, only supporting stunted pines and
scrub oaks.71

2) East of the sand hills, extending to about
a third of the distance to the coast, was the upper pine belt,
consisting of a sandy loam covered by pines and a few oaks.
Along its streams and shallow lakes there were cypress and
gum swamps of variable size.
(3) East of this was the lower
pine belt, consisting of flat sandy soil covered almost ex-
clusively by pine. Early settlers called this area the "pine
barrens" because its soil depleted rapidly when put to agri-

70. Ibid.

71. Ralph H. Brown, Mirror for Americans: Likeness of
the Eastern Seaboard, 1600, American Geographical Society,
Special Publication No. 27 (New York: George Grady Press,
(4) The tidewater area, with its large expanses of cypress trees lies between the lower pine belt and the coast. It varies from ten to thirty miles in width, and along the coast it includes a fringe of islands separated by salt creeks and inlets.

While there was plenty of game in the Atlantic coastal plain, it did not offer the variety and abundance of the piedmont. The main game animals were deer, though these were often poor, and turkey. While traveling through the Atlantic coastal plain, Lawson and his party primarily relied on turkey for food. These were killed in large numbers, some weighing as much as forty pounds. Lawson's palate became so "Clay'd with Turkey," in desperation he ate an opossum, which he did not particularly relish because of its hairless, rat-like tail.

The villages and fields of piedmont tribes and chiefdoms were regularly situated on the banks of rivers and creeks. This concentration along the banks of streams offers a clue to one of the causes of the strikingly low population


74. Lawson, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

75. Ibid.
of the piedmont. In colonial accounts, the fields deserted by swidden agriculturalists are called "old fields." Virtually all of the piedmont old fields were situated on the banks of rivers. Edward Bland's description of agricultural fields along the Meherrin or Woodford River is a good example: "Immediately after the passage over this River, are old Indian fields of exceeding rich land, that beare two crops of Indian corne a yeare . . . ."\textsuperscript{76} Batts and Fallam made similar observations on their expedition to the New River, a stream running north and west into the Kanawha River, a tributary of the Ohio River. "Due west, the soil, the farther we went (is) the richer and full of bare meadows and old fields.\textsuperscript{77} In addition, there is some indication that the Indians preferred the bottoms along the creeks and branches that were tributaries of the rivers. Here, they avoided the devastation of swift river floods while retaining the advantage of annual sedimentary deposits.

The reasons for this agricultural concentration in river and creek bottoms -- which we may call "riverine swidden agriculture" -- are fairly clear. Away from the river bottoms, the soil of the piedmont is subject to severe sheet and gully

\textsuperscript{76} Bland, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 120.

erosion. In the central piedmont this erosion is even greater than in the northern piedmont; in the north, the freezing of the soil inhibits erosion during the winter months, while in the south erosion occurs all year. 78 Lawson says that the soil of Carolina is "vastly rich, especially on the Freshes of the Rivers, one part bearing great Timbers, others being Savannas or natural Meads, where no Trees grow for several Miles, adorned by Nature with a pleasant Verdure, and beautiful Flowers, frequent in no other places, yielding abundance of Herbage for Cattle, Sheep, and Horses." 79 If the Indians had practiced agriculture away from the bottoms, their practice of raising two crops per year would have depleted the soil so rapidly that settled village life would have been impossible, and the clearing of heavy timber from new fields would have severely taxed their technology. 80

Drawing on both historical and archaeological data, the basic ecological pattern of the piedmont was that of year-round hunting and gathering with seasonal emphases on riverine swidden agriculture and the procurement of certain kinds of

game. The pattern of ecological activities followed a regular annual cycle.

(1) Throughout the year there was casual hunting for small game, fishing for fresh-water fish, and gathering of various fruits, berries, and roots. All of these activities were supplementary to the primary subsistence techniques.

(2) The primary subsistence techniques varied with the season. (a) **SUMMER.** In the summer, two or three crops of corn and several varieties of beans, squash, and gourds were raised. Unlike the Iroquois, piedmont agriculture seems to have been a man's pursuit. Some of the vegetables were eaten green, while the remainder were dried and preserved for the lean months.

(b) **FALL.** In the fall, there was an emphasis on gathering forest products, particularly nuts. Lawson suggests that the Indians relied primarily on hickory nuts and chinkapins, "a sort of Chesnut."

(c) **WINTER.** In winter, when the woods were dry, the main pursuit was communal hunting of large woodland game, particularly deer. Their main technique was using fire surrounds which drove "the Deer and other Game into small

81. Lawson, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-78.
Necks of Land and Isthmuses where they kill and destroy what they please." The men, accompanied by their wives, left their main villages and travelled several days away, leaving behind older people and children.

(d) Spring. The dominant pursuit in spring was the taking of sturgeon and herring that swam up the rivers in great numbers to spawn. They took them in weirs, snares, long poles with nets attached to the ends, and by other devices.

This was the basic ecological pattern for the piedmont, and with modifications, it probably holds for much of the southeast. Within this basic pattern, however, local resources often allowed for advantageous variations. The lowly passenger pigeon allowed the Catawbas such a variation. Its importance justifies quoting at length.

In some parts where Pigeons are plentiful, they get of their fat enough to supply their Winter Stores. Thus, they abide in these Quarters all the Winter long, till the Time approach for planting their Maize and other Fruits. In these quarters, at Spare-hours, the Women make Baskets and Mats to lie upon, and those that are not extraordinary Hunters, make Bowls, Dishes, and Spoons, of Gum-wood, and the Tulip-Tree, others (where they find a Vein of White Clay, fit for their purpose) make Tobacco-pipes, all which are often transported to other Indians, that perhaps have greater Plenty of Deer and other Cams; so they buy, with these Manufactures, their raw Skins, with the Hair on, which our neighboring Indians bring to their Towns, and

84. Ibid., pp. 219-220.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid., p. 221.
in the Summer-time, Make the Slaves and sorry Hunters dress them, the Winter-Sun being not strong enough to dry them; and those that are dried in the Cabins are black and nasty with the Light-Wood Smoke, which they commonly burn. 87

By exploiting the passenger pigeon as storable food, the Catawbas enjoyed considerable leisure during winter months. When the colonial fur trade began, the Catawbas were able to devote this leisure to the acquisition of hides. Consequently, they had a considerable economic advantage over people who had to hunt for food during the winter months.

While there was some variability in natural supplies of food, the population of the piedmont was largely regulated by the availability of bottom lands. In the map accompanying Lederer's account of his travels, he shows a band of "Savannah" stretching along the foot of the mountains.

The parts inhabited here are pleasant and fruitful, because cleared of wood, and laid open to the sun. The valleys feed numerous herds of deer and elks larger than oxen: these valleys they call Savannah, being marish grounds at the foot of the Apalataei, and yearly laid under water at the beginning of summer by floods of melted snow falling down from the mountains. 88

87. Ibid., pp. 220-221.

88. Lederer, op. cit., p. 141. It is not altogether certain that Lederer's "Savannah" were old fields because the savannahs in the southern piedmont were often caused by an Indian hunting technique which concentrated game by firing a large circle of territory. Lawson, for example, observed Sewee Indians firing a cane swamp and killing bear, deer, and turkey (Lawson, op. cit., pp. 5, 20.)
It is likely that some of Lederer's "Savanae" are the same as the "Old Indian fields" in the account of the expedition of Batts and Fallam.

If this interpretation of piedmont ecology is correct, then we need to re-examine the traditional explanation of low population in the eastern United States in terms of "insane, unending, continuously attritional" warfare. While warfare or raiding was definitely important in the southeast, early colonial references to continual Indian wars were often rationalizations for enslaving the Indians, the argument being that they were better off as slaves than tortured to death by their enemies. Ironically, in early colonial times, most of this Indian "warfare" was stimulated by Charleston traders as a means of acquiring slaves.

The low population density of the piedmont has led to its being regarded as something of a cultural sink-hole, an area marginal to the more highly developed cultures surrounding it. The tenacity of this view has led some anthropologists -- notably those who follow Mooney -- to the wholly unwarranted conclusion that the people of the piedmont almost exclusively relied on a hunting and gathering ecology.

organization and redistributive economics. According to Service, all of these are features of chiefdoms. Furthermore, Fred Gearing has argued that the Cherokee developed a form of state organization in the middle of the eighteenth century.

In addition, although the evidence is fragmentary, the historic societies along the Georgia coast and the South Carolina coast south of the Santee River seem also to have been chiefdoms. At the time Charleston was founded, the Cusabo was a loose confederacy located between the Savannah and Edisto Rivers; it may even have extended to the Santee River to include the Santee, Sewee, and other groups. However, caution is necessary here because the Cusabo—as well as the Powhatan confederacy in Virginia—could have been stimulated by Spanish contact.


While information on the social organization of the hill tribes is meagre, there are definite suggestions that they were not as centrally organized as the chiefdoms surrounding them. The suggestion is that the hill tribes were organized into stateless societies, or, in Service's terminology, into tribes. That is, they were organized into egalitarian kinship groups, their economy was governed by reciprocity rather than redistribution, and their leaders were charismatic. In short, solidarity among the hill tribes was mechanical, and quite unlike the organic solidarity of surrounding chiefdoms.

Several things lead one to believe that the hill tribes were neither very populous nor very responsive to hierarchical organization. For one thing, the hill tribes were never as important to the South Carolina colonists as were the Creeks and Cherokees, both of whom played the role of allies, enemies, and traders in skins and slaves. While the English were often able to mobilize as many as a thousand Creek Indians for punitive and slaving expeditions, Colonel John Parnwell had little success in mobilizing the hill tribes against the Tuscarora in 1711-12. Starting with

101. Ibid.
103. Ibid., passim.
two companies of piedmont people recruited in the Carolinas, only a handful remained when Barnwell reached the heart of Tuscarora country.\textsuperscript{104}

The Indians in Lawson's account are generally egalitarian, though this must be taken with the proviso that it is not always clear whether he is generalizing about hill tribes, Tuscarora, or Algonquians. "Their Tongue allows not to say, Sir, I am your Servant; because they have no different Titles for Man, only King, War-Captain, Old Man, or Young, which respect the Stations and Circumstances Men are employed in, and arrived to, and not Ceremony."\textsuperscript{105} In other words, they had words for statuses but not for positions in a prestige hierarchy. They had "slaves," but these were different from slaves in the usual sense.

As for Servants, they have no such thing, except Slave, and their Dogs, Cats, tame or domestic Beasts, and Birds, are called by the same name. For the Indian Word for Slaves includes them all. So when an Indian tells you he has got a Slave for you, it may (in general Terms, as they use) be a young Brute, a Dog, Otter or any other thing of Nature, which is obsequiously to depend on the Master for Sustenance.\textsuperscript{106}

In many cases, these slaves were probably displaced persons from shattered societies. A case in point might be the Sissipahaw slave "owned" by Eno Will, one of Lawson's guides.\textsuperscript{107}

\textsuperscript{104} Milling, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 118-121.
\textsuperscript{105} Lawson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 213.
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid., p. 57.
The hill tribe "King" seems to have been a headman, at least some of whom came into their office by matrilineal succession. He did not have coercive powers; decisions were reached through the deliberation of the "King", his "War-Captains," and "Counsellors" or elders. "After every Man has given his Opinion, that which has most Voices, or, in Summing up, is found to be most reasonable, that they make use of without any Jars and Wrangling, and put it in Execution, the first Opportunity that offers."  

Significantly, perhaps, the King of the Santees was an exception, supposedly having the power to put any of his people to death who were guilty of a crime which he thought merited execution. Among other groups, Lawson says that the usual reaction to murder was blood revenge by a kinsman of the murdered person, or by compensation. However, the Santee were both in direct contact with Charleston trappers and much reduced by disease. There is also a suggestion of nativism; in the company of the Santee King Lawson met a "Priest" or "Conjurer" who had the promise of "the white Man above" to make his people "equal with the white People in making Guns, Ammunitions, &c." Thus, the power of the

108. Ibid., p. 207.
109. Ibid., pp. 207-208.
110. Ibid., p. 16.
111. Ibid., pp. 13-16.
Santee King could indicate chiefly organization, or it could reflect nativistic charisma.

There is nothing in Lawson's account of the hill tribes suggesting redistributive economics similar to that of the Creeks. When a man's home was destroyed by fire, the people assembled and "Speakers, or grave old Men" made speeches about the virtues of reciprocity. "After this Oration is over, every Man, according to his Quality, throws him down upon the Ground some Present, which is commonly Beads, Ronoak, Peak, Skins, or Furs, and which very often amounts to treble the Loss he has suffered." When a woman with children was widowed, they made "their young men plant, reap, and do everything that she is not capable of doing herself." While successful warriors and hunters had great prestige, Lawson says that the Indians did not envy those who had wealth.

Several of the Indians are possessed of a great many Skins, Wampums, Ammunition, and what other things are esteemed amongst them; yet such an Indian is no more esteemed amongst them, than any other ordinary fellow, provided he has no personal Endowments which are the Ornaments that must gain

113. Ibid., op. cit., pp. 188-189.
114. Ibid., p. 189.
115. Ibid.
him an Esteem among them; for a great Dealer amongst the Indians, is no otherwise respected and esteemed than as a Man that Strains his Wits and fatigues himself to furnish others with Necessaries of Life that live much lower and enjoy more of the world than he himself does with all his Pelf. 116

Although Lawson says they were not envious in the manner of Europeans, there are indications that both envy and hatred were present, though suppressed by an ideology of kinship amity.

To summarize, historical and archaeological evidence indicate that the central piedmont — from Virginia to the Santee River drainage area — was an ecological niche. The people who lived in this area exploited their environment with an ecology that included hunting and gathering and riverine swidden agriculture. However, the piedmont area was inhabited by people who belonged to two distinct sociocultural traditions. The central and northern parts of the piedmont area were inhabited by the hill tribes, whose cultural affiliations lay to the north. The southern piedmont, particularly the Santee River drainage area, was inhabited by southern chiefdoms, whose cultural affiliations lay to the south.

D. Catawba Cultural Affiliations

It is possible that the southern chiefdoms were expanding northward into hill tribe territory when European con-

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116. Ibid., pp. 208-209.
tact first occurred. While chiefdoms are generally able to displace tribes through armed conflict, this is neither an automatic nor necessary process. Indeed, when chiefdoms come into contact with tribes inhabiting an undesirable ecological area, it becomes possible for the tribes to develop chiefly organization through diffusion and internal development. We have seen that temperature and precipitation vary from north to south in the piedmont; a slight difference in these could have been critical in agriculture. In other words, the chiefdoms may not have wanted to move further north, unless, of course, they were forced to do so.

There is another way in which chiefly organization could have moved north without armed conflict. Since chiefdoms are able to tolerate a limited degree of heterogeneity, they are able to stimulate the political development of tribes by incorporating them in trade relationships. Once established, these relationships could become religious and political as well.

Contrary to Mooney's and Swanton's interpretation, the bulk of the evidence indicates that the Catawbas of the late seventeenth century were culturally affiliated with the southern chiefdoms. As Lawson journeyed up the Catawba River, he successfully passed through the territory of the Waxhaws,

Esaws, Sugarees, and Catawbas, the latter being furthest north and nearest to the Cherokees. Unlike the hill tribes, all of these groups were populous. In every village, beginning with the Waxhaws, Lawson saw a "town-house" similar to those Bartram observed among both the Creeks and the Cherokees.118

Lawson says that the last town house he saw was at Saponi, situated northeast of the Catawbas on the upper Pee dee River. However, since this is in the territory vacated by the Pee dee Culture about fifty years before Lawson's journey, it is possible that the Saponi were a hill tribe merely occupying a deserted Pee dee village. Hill tribe re-occupation of deserted Pee dee sites has been archaeologically verified.119 At Saponi, Lawson first mentions seeing protective pallisades that were common in the northern piedmont.120 At the time of Lawson's visit, the Saponi were considering confederation with two other hill tribes, the Tutelo and the Keyauwhee. The three, being small, "were going to live together, by which they thought they should strengthen themselves and become formidable to their Enemies."121 It thus appears that the Catawbas and their confederated chiefdoms were on good terms with the hill tribes.

118. Bartram, op. cit., p. 357.
120. Lawson, op. cit., pp. 43-47.
121. Ibid.
Lawson made other observations suggesting that the Catawbas and their confederates shared culture traits with both the Cherokees and Muskogeans. The most outstanding Muskogean trait is his detailed description of Waxhaw head deformation. He does not mention this practice for the Esaw, Sugaree, or Catawba. In speaking of the Waxhaws, he says: "These Indians are of an extraordinary Stature, and called by their Neighbors flat Heads, which seems a very suitable Name for them."¹²² This phraseology suggests that head deformation was used only by the Waxhaws. Head deformation is known to have been used by the Natchez, Taensa, Tunica, Houma, Chitimacha, Caddo, Choctaw, and Chickasaw.¹²³ There is no historical evidence of head deformation among the (historic) Creeks, Cherokee, Quapaw, Shawnee, hill tribes, or the Algonquians of North Carolina and Virginia.¹²⁴ Later on, the Catawbas were sometimes called "Flat Heads," but this was generally limited to the Iroquois who referred to the entire Catawba confederacy by this designation. Is it possible that the Waxhaws were descendants of the Pee Dee people?

In other respects, the Waxhaws resemble the Cherokee. The dance that Lawson witnessed in the Waxhaw town-house is remarkably similar to a dance Bartram witnessed at Cowee,

¹²². Ibid., p. 30. Italics mine.
¹²⁴. Ibid.
a Cherokee town. The similarities are: (1) preliminary oratory, (2) dancing girls, (3) costumed male dancers, and (4) sexual license. The similarity extends even to the way in which the fire in the town-house was made of small pieces of wood or cane; this fuel was arranged in a circle such that it could be continuously replenished while the fire burned around it.

It is even possible to argue that the word Catawba suggests Cherokee cultural affinities. Speck was never able to satisfactorily explain the origin or etymology of Catawba.

The proper name Catawba with its derivatives has been in general use among colonial writers for two centuries and forms the basis of the names by which the tribe is known among other Indian groups of the east, yet no satisfactory explanation of its origin or etymology can be offered. To the speakers of the language it is a proper name with a fixed designation but having no interpretation of which they are conscious.

Yet, Mooney noted the similarity between "Catawba" and Cherokee "kitúhwá," an ancient settlement of Cherokees on the Tuckasegee River, near the present Bryson City, North Caro-


126. Mooney, op. cit., 1900, p. 230. The pieces of wood or cane were criss-crossed, suggesting the scales of a serpent; the fire moved on a circular path, suggesting the movement of the sun. Both the sun and the serpent are important in southeastern symbolism.

These people were the northernmost Cherokees. Perhaps for this reason, the Delawares, Shawnees, and other Algonquians collectively referred to the Cherokees as Cuttawa, Gattochwa, Kittuwa, and so forth.\textsuperscript{129}

Mooney, Swanton, and Speck could not accept this derivation of "Catawba" because they made several misleading assumptions. (1) They assumed that the Cherokees were relatively recent invaders. As we have seen, subsequent archaeological research shows that this is false. (2) They assumed that the Cherokees at the beginning of the eighteenth century were internally harmonious. As Gearing points out, this was not so. In the early eighteenth century, the Cherokees were an aggregate of politically independent villages.\textsuperscript{130} (3) They assumed that the Catawbas of the early eighteenth century spoke a Siouan language. This is not necessarily true. After 1800, the Catawbas spoke a Siouan language, as the vocabularies collected after that date show. But in 1743, the "Catawbas" included people speaking over 20 different dialects, some of which were definitely non-Siouan.\textsuperscript{131} What assurance do we have that the standard Catawba "court dialect" spoken

\begin{itemize}
\item[128.] Mooney, \textit{op. cit.}, 1900, p. 182.
\item[129.] Ibid., pp. 15, 182.
\item[130.] Gearing, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 5.
\item[131.] James Adair, \textit{Adair's History of the American Indians} (Johnson City, Tenn.: The Watauga Press, 1930), pp. 235-236.
\end{itemize}
at that time is ancestral to the language spoken after
1800? 132

The conclusion is inescapable that the Catawbas of the
early eighteenth century were culturally affiliated with the
Cherokees. It is even possible that some of them may have
spoken a dialect of Cherokee. One further point must be
mentioned. Until about 1710, the Indians living on the
Catawba River were collectively called Esaws. After this,
they were collectively referred to as Catawbas. In the
pages that follow, I will generally use Catawba in this
collective sense.

132. E. F. Albert S. Gatschet, "Onomatology of the Catawba
River Basin," American Anthropologist, Vol. 4, No. 1 (January-
March, 1902), pp. 52-55. Though his linguistics are useless
by modern standards, Gatschet's suggestion that the Catawba
language could have been influenced by both Cherokee and
the Mohican trade language deserves consideration.
CHAPTER III

THE CATAWBA NATION AS A COLONIAL SATELLITE

Benjamin Franklin had a specious little equation in providential mathematics:

\[ \text{Rum + Savage} = 0 \]

Awfully nice! You might add up the universe to nought if you kept on.¹

The history of the Catawba Indians, like that of all people who can trace descent from preliterate ancestors, recedes into a past whose forms become increasingly dim the further removed they are from the present. The Catawba Indians and their neighbors are among the most poorly documented aboriginal people of North America.² In part, this is because they, along with the Iroquoian- and Algonquian-speaking Indians of the Atlantic coast, lay directly in the path of English traders and small-scale agriculturalists. In addition, the English were worse ethnographers than either


the French or the Spanish. They neither had the missionary interests of the Spanish, nor the French proclivity for working within the framework of aboriginal politics. Even the seventeenth and eighteenth century Virginia traders who, by virtue of their long periods of residence among the piedmont Indians, knew them most intimately, only left scraps of information that are more tantalizing than informative. Consequently, primary historical material on the early Catawba and their neighbors is largely limited to a few accounts by explorers and the records of colonial governments.

From these scattered sources, however, it is possible to reconstruct a schematic account of the Catawba Nation in the eighteenth century. As we shall see, it is an account of an independent people who gradually lost their autonomy; the Catawbas became a military dependancy, a frontier satellite of South Carolina. In the last chapter, we saw that at the close of the seventeenth century, the Catawbas were socially and culturally affiliated with the southern chiefdoms. They were politically aligned with other chiefdoms, such as


the Waxhaw and Sugerees; in addition, they were in communication with hill tribes like the Saponi.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, European traders from Virginia had penetrated the piedmont to Catawba territory. The Catawbas, perhaps because of their location and their cultural affiliations, established an advantageous relationship with these traders and thereby consolidated their position over their neighbors. Somewhat later, traders from Charleston, who had already established a lucrative trade with Muskogean-speaking chiefdoms in the south, expanded their trade to include the Cherokees and Catawbas. These traders, through illegal but effective means, were able to undermine the aboriginal power structures and to exert considerable de facto power. As a means of getting Indian slaves for the low country plantations, they stimulated intertribal conflict.

This conflict gradually increased until most of the societies of the piedmont were shattered. Some of those who escaped slavery fled to Catawba territory. As this occurred, the Catawba confederation became more and more composite; eventually, it was a coalesced group of culturally and linguistically diverse people. These people, whom the colonists continued to call Catawbas, became a military dependancy of South Carolina. In this capacity, they suffered losses in intercolonial military rivalries. In addition, they suffered great losses from smallpox and other unprecedented diseases.
In 1763, even though the Catawbas were reduced to a small number of people, they were granted a reservation of fifteen square miles at the Augusta Congress under the supervision of Indian Agent John Stuart. At this time they were already feeling the pressure of small-scale colonial agriculturalists who, after the Cherokee War, moved south through the piedmont by the thousands. At the close of the eighteenth century, the Catawbas were anomalous. Although they were supposedly an independent nation, with their own territory, they were actually a handful of starving Indians occupying fifteen square miles of valuable land; on all sides they were surrounded by land-hungry Scotch-Irish, who to say the least, were unsympathetic toward Indians.

A. *Catawba Middlemen in the Virginia Trade.*

Historical sources do not reveal how long the Catawba confederacy had been in existence at the time of Lawson's visit in 1701. However, it is likely that it had only been in existence for a few decades. From Lawson's observations, it is clear that the Catawba Confederacy occupied the position of middlemen in the Virginia trade. Lawson, for example, met one John Stewart, a Virginia trader residing with the Catawba King, "who had traded there for many Years."6

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Specialization in trade is further indicated by the Catawba King having two or three "trading girls" in his cabin.7

They set apart the youngest and prettiest Faces for Trading Girls; these are remarkable by their Hair, having a particular Tonsure by which they are known and distinguished from those engaged to Husbands. They are mercenary, and whoever makes Use of them, first hires them, the greatest Share of the Gain going to the King's Purse, who is the chief Bawd, exercising his Perogative over all the Stews of his Nation, and his own Cabin (very often,) being the chiefest Brothel-House.8

One of Lawson's companions hired the services of one of these trading girls. During the night, while he was asleep, she picked his pockets and stole his shoes as well. The next morning, Lawson dryly observed "our Spark already repent his new Bargain, walking barefoot in his Penitentials, like some poor Pilgrim to Loretto."9

Several statements by Stewart show that the Catawbas had an extensive communications network. He had heard that Englishmen were coming about twenty days before Lawson's arrival. This would have been about the time Lawson made contact with the Santee Indians, above the French plantations on the Santee River. Steward had also heard that "Sinnagers" (Iroquois) were abroad in Virginia. Thus, the Catawbas were

7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., p. 32.
9. Ibid., p. 38.
informed of events occurring 125-175 miles away. 10

The unmistakable dominance of the Catawbas in 1700 was a function of their having an advantageous relationship with Virginia traders. The history of the piedmont in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century was powerfully shaped by the Virginia traders. Somewhat later, it was even more powerfully affected by the traders from Charleston.

Verner Crane has argued that the relationships between Europeans and Indians, including the Indian wars, were quite different in the southern and northern colonies. 11 The early history of the north is dominated by the competition for land between small-scale colonial agriculturalists and Indians; early southern history, on the other hand, is dominated by conflicts stimulated by Charleston traders. Crane's argument also applies to the piedmont, though the first agents of conflict were traders from Virginia, whose trade assumed only a fraction of the importance in the Virginia economy that it assumed in the South Carolina economy.

Although Virginians were interested in exploring and exploiting the piedmont early in the seventeenth century, serious exploration and trade did not begin until after

10. Ibid., pp. 40-41.

Opechancanough's massacre of 1644. After the massacre, a series of forts were built at the falls of the James, Appomattox, Pamunkey, Rappahannock, Blackwater, and Nansemond Rivers; subsequently, these forts became points of departure for exploration and trade. Using capital gained through economic concessions, the commanders of these forts organized and financed the trade to the piedmont Indians. The most successful of these traders was Abraham Wood, the commander of Fort Henry at the falls of the Appomattox River, near the site of present-day Petersburg, Virginia. From this strategic location, the Occaneechi trading path ran the length of the piedmont to the Catawbas and to the Lower Cherokees; another trading path went from Fort Henry to the Kanawha River and to yet another route to the Cherokees.  


The traders who set out from Fort Henry were Wood's servants and employees, or private traders who received their goods on credit and contracted to pay a stipulated price when they returned. For transportation, they used pack horses, each of which carried about 150-200 pounds of goods. In the piedmont, it was possible to travel on horseback about twenty miles a day. 14

It is difficult to tell when this trade assumed a significant volume. The account by Edward Bland of a trip to the falls of the Roanoke River in 1650—in the company of Abraham Wood—indicates that Virginia traders had been in the area. 15 However, their trade was apparently low in volume because few of the Indians had firearms, this being a rough index of extensive trade. For example, prompted by curiosity, the "Maharineck great men" asked members of the Bland and Wood expedition to fire their guns; when they complied, some of the people in the village fled to the woods in fear. 16 However, when a different group of Indians subsequently reported to Bland and Wood that they had heard a gun go off, their "Appamattuck" guide surmised that it had been fired by "Wainoake Spies." 17

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17. Ibid., p. 129.
Even though Virginia law prohibited the sale of arms and ammunition to Indians, in 1670 John Lederer and his companions were welcomed into a Monacan village by salutatory volleys of shot. In addition, it is clear from Lederer's account that the Susquehanna had firearms. Lederer advises traders to fire their guns as a signal before entering the villages of Indians with whom the Susquehanna were friendly; but for those with whom the Susquehanna were not friendly, Lederer says it would "affright and dispose them to some treacherous practice" because they were not familiar with firearms. In 1671, Batts and Fallam found firearms in the Saponi village then situated on the Staunton River. "Here we were very joyfully and kindly received with firing of guns and plenty of provisions." Also, while in the Tutelo village then located near present day Salem, Virginia, they gave "three or four shots of powder" to a Mohetan Indian whose people were then living on the Kanawha River.

Thus, by 1671, trade appears to have been fairly extensive among the northern hill tribes, as evidenced by the

19. Ibid., p. 169.
fact that most of them had firearms. The usual practice of traders was first to trade trinkets and small cutlery; later they traded larger tools, arms, and ammunition. While this trade was expanding in the north, the Westo, a small group living on the Savannah River, were using firearms to inflict heavy casualties among the coastal Indians. Since Spanish policy strictly forbade trading firearms to these coastal Indians, the contest was unequal. Crane infers that Virginia must have been the source of these firearms and that the Westo must have come from the north. This is plausible, but it can just as easily be explained in another way. Abraham Wood, for example, reports that the southern


23. The identity of the Westo is a matter of dispute. Swanton generally argued that they were a band of Yuchi, while Crane argued that they were not Yuchi, and that they came from the north. In a recent review of this controversy, Mason concludes that Swanton's Westo-Yuchi identification is inconclusive, and that the Westo were more likely to have been Iroquoian, Algonquian, or Siouan-speakers from the north: Carol Irwin Mason, "A Reconsideration of the Westo-Yuchi Identification," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 65, No. 6 (December, 1963), pp. 1342-1346. If the Westo were the same as the "Ricohockans" who attacked European settlements in Virginia in 1656, as Mason states (Ibid., p. 134), then they could well have been Cherokees, since Mooney lists "Ricohockan" in his Cherokee synonymy (Mooney, op. cit., 1900, pp. 183-184).


Appalachian "Tomahittans" who visited him in 1673 had about sixty guns which were not of English manufacture; they were almost certainly Spanish. Wood goes on to repeat information given by Gabriel Arthur, one of his employees who lived with the Tomahittans in order to learn their language. Undoubtedly, this was a preliminary to trade. Arthur was constrained to accompany them on several raids, and in his account of these raids, the method by which they acquired the guns is clear. On one raid, after waiting in ambush for seven days on the outskirts of a Spanish settlement, they saw "a Spanniard with a gentille habitt, accoutered with gunn, sword and pistoll. one (sig) of ye Tomahittans espieing him att a distance crept up to ye path side and shot him to death." 

It is unlikely that the Virginia traders were in direct contact with the Catawbas and their confederates before 1630, and it is doubtful that guns were generally available


27. Wood, op. cit., p. 219. Swanton felt that the "Tomahittans" were the same as the Westo, arguing, as we have seen, that both were Yuchi: John R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 73, (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1922), pp. 184-191. However, it is rather more likely that they were Cherokees. "Tomahittan" could be derived from "Tomasee", "Tennessee," etc. - Cherokee place names.
more than a decade before Lawson's visit. As late as 1701, it is clear from Lawson's account that the "Wateree Chickanee" were less well supplied than the Waxhaw to their north and the Congaree to their south, the former trading directly with Virginians and the latter with South Carolinians.

The Virginia trade to the piedmont, unlike the Charleston trade to the southern Indians, was primarily a commercial venture. The Charleston trader, like his Virginia counterpart, was primarily interested in profit, but his trade was regulated— with mixed success— by a government that was interested in arming Indians to secure their allegiance against the French, the Spanish, and their Indian allies. The Virginians were notably less interested in using trade as a means of gaining Indian allies.

28. Cadwallader Jones is said to have traded 400 miles SSW from his fort on the Rappahannock River in Virginia in 1681. However, he was apparently trading peake and roanoke for skins: Fairfax Harrison, "Western Explorations in Virginia between Lederer and Spotswood," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXX, No. 4 (October, 1922), p. 327.


30. Lawson notes that the traders "have throve as fast as any Men, and the soonest raised themselves of any People I have known in Carolina (Ibid., p. 88)."

These differences aside, the Virginia traders, particularly those who lived with the Indians for long periods of time, gained considerable power in piedmont politics. Abraham Wood, for example, tells us that James Needham, one of his employees, was allowed to pass through the Occaneechi village on his way to the Tomahittans only through the intercession of one Henry Hatcher, an independent trader who was then residing with the Occaneechi.\(^{32}\)

The power in the hands of the Virginia traders produced two interrelated effects in the political systems of the piedmont Indians. First, through his monopoly of trade goods, the trader could bestow his favor on any one he chose; consequently, he could reinforce the internal power structure of a tribe in any way he chose. In the interest of profit, the traders rewarded those who provided the most skins, whether they gained them as hunters or as entrepreneurs. Through this power, the traders were able to reinforce indigenous power structures along different lines and modify their character. In spite of what Lawson says about lack of envy, these traders must have caused considerable conflict within the Indian societies. Second, because trade goods were a source of wealth and power, neighboring Indian societies competed with each other in becoming middlemen in the trade, thus exercising some control over it.

so by the "Wainoakes," who told them "that the English would kill them or detaine them, and would not let them goe without a great heape of Roanoake middle high." Bland then told the Tuscarora that the Wainokes "had likewise spoken much against the Tuskarooed to the English, it being a common thing amongst them to villifie one another, and tell nothing but lies to the English." 

Later, perhaps after the "Wainokes" were expelled, the Tuscarora attempted to control some of the trade to the piedmont. For example, after Lawson and his party swung south of the Occaneechi village near present day Hillsboro, North Carolina, they encountered two Tuscarora Indians who told them that the English were a wicked people who would not allow the Indians to hunt. They succeeded in dissuading two of Lawson's Indian companions from going any further. Lawson adds:

These two fellows were going among the Shoccores and Achonechy Indians to sell their Wooden Bowls and Ladles for Raw Skins, which they make great Advantage of, hating that any of these westward Indians should have any Commerce with the English which would prove a Hinderance to their Gains.

35. Ibid., p. 119.
36. Ibid.
37. Lawson, op. cit., p. 57.
In addition, the Tuscarora carried rum several hundred miles to trade with piedmont Indians.\textsuperscript{38} These Tuscarora traders refused to conduct business in any language but their own, "therefore their Tongue is understood by some in every Town of all the Indians near us."\textsuperscript{39} Lawson further says that this was true of other "powerful Nations" trading with others "of fewer Numbers and less Power."\textsuperscript{40}

An even more fully documented attempt to control the Virginia trade can be seen in the history of the Occaneechi. In 1650, when Bland visited the falls and headwaters of the Roanoke River, just below the confluence of the Staunton and Dan Rivers, the islands situated below the falls were uninhabited. His "Appamattuck" guide told him that the Occaneechi and the "Nessoneicks" lived about three days journey up a branch of the river.\textsuperscript{41} Some of the Occaneechi were said to live on an island.\textsuperscript{42} In 1670, Lederer locates the Saponi - "a village of the Nahyssans" - on the Staunton River, and he located the Occaneechi to the southwest of them on an island.

\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., p. 238.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., p. 239.
\textsuperscript{40} Loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{41} Bland, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 125-126. The branch indicated seems to be the Dan, though the reference is not perfectly clear. It could have been either the Dan or the Staunton.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid.
in the Dan River. However, when Batts and Fallam set out
to visit the Saponi and Tutelo on the Dan River, they describe
their route as having traveled "from the Okenechee path due
west." Thus, by 1671, the Occaneechi had moved from their
previous home to the island that was vacant when Bland observed
it in 1650. The Occaneechi trading path led from Fort Henry
to the island village of the Occaneechi.

After establishing themselves on the trade route, the
Occaneechi dominated other Indians by controlling the trade
to the southern piedmont. We have already seen that James
Needham needed the intercession of Henry Hatcher before he
could proceed south to meet Gabriel Arthur and the Tomahittans.
When Hatcher reported this to Abraham Wood, he also reported
that an Occaneechi Indian named "Indian John" or "Hasecoll"
later murdered Needham in the vicinity of the Yadkin River,
while they were on route to the Tomahittans. Undoubtedly,
this murder was motivated by the Occaneechi's interest in
protecting their trade to the south.

43. Lederer, op. cit., pp. 152-154. Lederer may be
wrong on this.

44. Fallam, op. cit., p. 184.

45. Meyer, op. cit., p. 775.


47. Mary U. Rothrock, "Carolina Traders Among the Over-
hill Cherokees, 1690-1760," The East Tennessee Historical
In 1674, when Arthur was returning to Fort Henry in the company of several Tomahittans carrying packs of trade goods, they found four Occaneecchis waiting in the Sara village. During the night, when these Occaneecchis attempted to murder Arthur, he managed to get away and hide. Failing in their attempt, the Occaneecchis returned to their village, and the Tomahittans fled for their lives, leaving their packs behind. The next morning, Arthur returned to the Sara village and hired four Sara Indians to carry the packs deserted by the Tomahittans. They accompanied him to Eno, but beyond this neither the Sara nor the Eno would "goe forth with his packs for feare of ye Occhenechees." 48

Arthur left the packs with the Eno, and under cover of darkness, passed through the Occaneecchi territory and returned to Fort Henry. At Fort Henry, about a month later he met the "king of ye Tomahittans," his two sons, and one other companion. After the attempted murder at Sara, they had circumvented the Occaneecchi by going north through the Tutelo village at the headwaters of the Staunton River; from there they went to the James River, built a "cannoee of barke" and descended to the Monacan village. They then proceeded on foot to Fort Henry. 49 Wood sums it up in this way:

49. Ibid., p. 225.
Hee (the Tomahittan "king") staid with me a few dayes promising to bee with mee againe att ye fall of ye leafe with a party that would not be frited by ye way and doubt not but hee will come if hee bee not intercepted by selfe ended traders for they have strove what they could to block up ye designe from ye beginning. Which (sic) were here too tedious to relate. Thus endes ye tragedy I hope yett to live to write cominically of ye business. If I could have ye countenance of some person of honour in England to curb and bridle ye obstructers here for here there is no incouragement att all to be had. . . . 50

It is clear from Wood's account that the Occaneechi owed their existence to trade. They were as interested in blocking trade as the Tomahittans (Cherokees) were in securing it. It also seems that the Occaneechi were a composite group: "... they are but a handful of people, besides what vagabonds repaire to them it beeing a receptackle for rogues," 51

In 1676, the Occaneechi successfully withstood an attack by 200 Virginians led by Nathaniel Bacon, but in doing so they reportedly lost 50 men. 52 Some time between this date and 1701, they moved to a site near the present Hillsboro, North Carolina, where Lawson found them on his trip. 53 Later, they moved to Fort Christanna, Virginia along with the Saponi, Tutelo, and others. 54

51. Ibid., p. 225.
53. Lawson, op. cit., pp. 53-54.
The history of the Occaneechis parallels that of the Catawbas. In 1700, the Catawba confederacy owed its eminence to being middlemen in the Virginia trade. As we have seen, there are indications that the Cherokees were anxious to acquire European goods in the late seventeenth century. However, because the Charleston traders first took their goods to the Muskogean-speaking Indians, bypassing the Cherokees, they received few goods from Charleston until after 1717. Furthermore, the Virginia traders never succeeded in finding a convenient northern route to the Cherokees. Writing in 1728, William Byrd complains about the exhausting route through Catawba territory, wishing for "a shorter cut to carry on so profitable a Trade." 57

Eventually, the Virginian traders went through Catawba territory and made direct contact with the Cherokees. But at first, they unloaded their goods and exchanged them for skins in Catawba territory. From here, some of the Catawbas carried the goods south to trade with Indians in the Carolina

56. Ibid., pp. 13-14.
back country. Lawson, for example, met a "War-Captain" who was on his way to trade with "Congarees and Savannas." He had a Man-Slave with him who was loaded with European Goods, his wife and daughter being in company."

In addition, some of the Catawbas must have conducted a similar trade with the Cherokees to the northwest. The supposed perpetual enmity between the Cherokees and the "Eastern Siouans" has been grossly exaggerated. More precisely, there was enmity between Cherokees and Catawbas after the middle of the eighteenth century, but it is a mistake to project this back to the beginning of the century. For example, when the English in 1715 attempted to persuade the Conjurer -- a Cherokee leader -- to align his Lower Towns with the English in the Yemassee War, he sought to clear the Catawbas and other piedmont Indians of any blame for the war. In addition, the Conjurer was willing to fight the Savannahs, Yuchi, and Appalachee, but he refused to fight the Yemassee on the grounds that they were "his ancient people."

When Virginia negotiated a treaty with the Catawbas in 1756, at the beginning of the French and Indian war, Haigler, the Catawba leader, made the following statement:


60. Ibid., p. 40.

61. Crane, op. cit., p. 181. Here again we see evidence for cultural and social affiliations between Cherokees and other Indians to their southeast.
We are in perfect Amity with the Cherokees, Cowetaws, and Chickasaws. The Cherokees have ever been our Friends, and as they are a numerous Nation, we acknowledge them to be our elder Brother. 62

During the French and Indian war, when the English used Catawbas to fight Cherokees, this naturally created enmity between them that lasted for many years. Before the French and Indian War, however, they seem to have been on good terms.

B. The Charleston Trade in Skins and Slaves

When the Charleston traders succeeded in establishing a direct trade route to the Cherokees, they undermined the position of the Catawba middlemen. In addition, the Charleston traders appear to have caused more stress among the Indians than the Virginia traders did. Byrd says that as soon "as the Catawba Indians are inform'd of the Approach of the Virginia Caravans, they send a Detachment of their Warriors to bid them Welcome, and escort them Safe to their Town, Where they are receiv'd with great marks of Distinction." 63 He contrasts the Virginia traders with the Charleston traders.

62. "A Treaty between Virginia and the Catawbas and Cherokees, 1756," op. cit., p. 241. One of the Catawba warriors present at the signing of the treaty was named "Tannasee," which, as we have seen, was a common Cherokee place - name (Ibid., p. 244).

There are generally some Carolina Traders that constantly live among the Catawbas, and pretend to Exercise a dictatorial Authority over them. These petty Rulers don't only teach the honester Savages all sorts of Debauchery, but are unfair in their dealings, and use them with all kinds of Oppression. Nor has their Behavior been at all better to the rest of the Indian Nations, among whom they reside, by abusing their Women and Entreat their Men; and, by the way, this was the true Reason of the fatal War which the Nations roundabout made upon Carolina in the year 1713. 64

Byrd, through his own trade interests, is necessarily biased against the Charleston traders; still, he is quite right in saying that they caused a great deal of stress.

Unlike the Virginia traders, the Charleston traders conducted a lively business in Indian slaves. This became so prevalent that in contemporary documents the statement that the Indians had gone to war is virtually synonymous with saying they had gone to capture slaves. According to regulations, the Charleston traders were supposed to only buy Indians who had been captured, but this regulation was frequently violated. 65 Sometimes the traders would force their own Indian slaves to go out and capture other Indians for slaves as a means of purchasing their own freedom. 66

64. Ibid.


66. Ibid., p. 23.
Another way of motivating Indians to capture slaves was to get them in debt. The Commissioners of the Indian trade tried to discourage the sale of rum on this account. The Commissioners also tried to force the traders to contract debts with Indians in the presence of their headmen or kinsmen. If an Indian failed to pay a debt, his headmen and kinsmen were liable. This, too, was often violated. Thus, the *modus operandi* of the Charleston trader was to allow Indians to become heavily in debt, often for rum, and then to force them to go out and capture slaves as a means of paying their debts.

The Virginia and Charleston traders introduced stresses and strains that exceeded the flexibility or "give" of the piedmont tribes and chiefdoms. Every form of social structure has some degree of flexibility. One source of tribal flexibility, for example, is that smaller segments will temporarily forego conflict and cooperate when faced with an external threat; the cooperation usually lasts only so long as the threat lasts. A source of flexibility in chiefdoms

67. Ibid., p. 15.
68. Ibid., p. 12.
69. Ibid., pp. 33-34.
70. Pocock, op. cit., pp. 90-98.
is that through their hierarchical organization they have a limited ability to incorporate people who are culturally different.\textsuperscript{72} However, neither tribes nor chiefdoms were flexible enough to adjust to the internal power changes and stresses stimulated by the Virginia and Charleston traders. When autocratic, hierarchical principles are juxtaposed with egalitarian kinship principles, conflicts often occur that cannot be resolved by ordinary means.

The "poisoning" that Lawson mentions several times is probably an indication of stress. Although Lawson usually described his observations in considerable detail, he gives little information on the manufacture of poison, except to say that one of their poisons was made from "a large white spongy Root, that grows in the Fresh-Marshes."\textsuperscript{73} But he is clear about their response to poisoning.

When the Offender is discovered, his very Relations urge for Death, whom nothing will appease, but the most cruel Torment imaginable which is executed in the most publick Manner that it is possible to act such a Tragedy in. For all the whole Nation, and all the Indians within a hundred Miles, (if it is possible to send for them), are summoned to come and appear at such a Place and Time, to see and rejoice at the Torments and Death of such a Person, who is the common and professed Enemy to all the Friendly Indians thereabouts, who now lies under the condemnation of the whole Nation, and accordingly is to be put to Death.\textsuperscript{74}

\textsuperscript{72} Service, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 151.
\textsuperscript{73} Lawson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 239.
\textsuperscript{74} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 207.
Lawson then makes a statement suggesting that the accusation of poisoning was probably an accusation of witchcraft.

This Accusation is laid against an Indian Heroe sometimes wrongfully, or when they have a mind to get rid of a Man that has more Courage and Conduct than his neighboring Kings or great Men; then they allege the Practice of poisoning Indians against him, and make a Rehearsal of every Indian that died for a year or Two, and say that they were poisoned by such an Indian; which Reports stir up all the Relations of the deceased against the said Person, and by such means make him away presently. 75

Enoe Will, the headman of the Eno, "Shoccories," and "Adshusheer," who guided Lawson from Occoneechi to the English settlements on the coast, once confided his fear of being poisoned. Describing him as being "always ready to serve the English, not out of Gain, but real Affection," Lawson says that he was "apprehensive of being poisoned by some wicked Indians, and was therefore very earnest with me, to promise to avenge his Death, if it should so happen." 76

When the "give" of a society is exceeded, the result may be revolution or, more commonly among primitive people, a nativistic movement. 77 Though the evidence is less than one would wish, it is likely that the "conspiracies" and

75. Ibid., p. 208.


"wars" on the southern colonial frontier in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were nativistic movements. For example, a trader resident among the Sewees told Lawson the following story.

They seeing several Ships coming in, to bring the English Supplies from Old England, one chief Part of their Cargo being for a Trade with the Indians, some of the craftiest of them had observed that the Ships came always in at one Place, which made them very confident that Way was the exact Road to England; and seeing so many Ships come thence, they believed it could not be far thither, esteeming the English that were among them, no better than Cheats, and thought, if they could carry the Skins and Furs they got, themselves to England, which were inhabited with a better Sort of People than those sent amongst them, that then they should purchase twenty times the Value for every Pelt they sold Abroad, in Consideration of what Rates they sold for at Home. The intended Barter was exceeding well approved of, and after a general Consultation of the ablest Heads amongst them it was _Nemine Contradicente_ agreed upon, immediately to make In addition to their Flueet, by building more Canoes, and those to be of the best Sort and Biggest Size, as for their intended Discovery. Some Indians were employed about making the Canoes, others to hunting, every one to the Post he was most fit for, all Endeavors tending towards an able Fleet and Cargo for Europe. The Affair was carried on with a great deal of Secrecy and Expedition, so as in a small Time they had gotten a Navy, Loading, Provisions, and Hands, ready to set sail leaving only the Old, Impotent and Minors at Home, 'til their successful Return. The Wind presenting, they set up their Mat-Sails, and were scarce out Sight, when there rose a Tempest, which it is supposed carried one Part of these Indian Merchants by Way of the other World, whilst the others were taken up at Sea, by an English Ship, and sold for Slaves to the Islands. The Remainder are better satisfied with their Imbecilities in such an Undertaking, nothing affronting them more than to rehearse their Voyage to England. 78

78. Lawson, _op. cit._, pp. 6-7.
William Byrd learned a very suggestive story from the Tuscarora who survived the Tuscarora War of 1711.

These Indians have a very odd Tradition amongst them, that many years ago, their Nation was grown so dishonest, that no man could keep any Goods, or so much as his loving Wife to himself. That, however, their God, being unwilling to root them out for their crimes, did them the honour to send a Messenger from Heaven to instruct them, and set them a perfect Example of Integrity and kind Behavior towards one another.

But this holy Person, with all his Eloquence and Sanctity of Life, was able to make very little Reformation amongst them. Some few Old Men did listen a little to his Wholesome Advice, but all the Young fellows were quite incorrigible. They not only Neglected his Precepts, but derided and Evil Entreated his Person. At last, taking upon Him to reprove some Young Rakes of the Cnechta Clan very sharply for their impiety, they were so provoked at the Freedom of his Rebukes, that they tied him to a Tree, and shot him with Arrows through the Heart. But their God took instant Vengeance on all who had a hand in the Monstrous Act, by Lightning from Heaven, & has ever since visited their Nation with a continued Train of Calamities, nor will he ever leave off punishing, and wasting their People, till he shall have blotted every living Soul of them out of the World. 79

These two instances alone are insufficient evidence for an argument that nativism was widespread among the hill tribes and southern chiefdoms, but I suspect that a further search will turn up additional evidence. Lawson's story, at any rate, is strikingly reminiscent of Melanesian cargo-cult movements. Byrd's story suggests both messianism and cultural death.

Lawson mentions several other things suggesting social dysphoria. He says that suicide was not uncommon, "as for Instance, a Bear-River Indian, a very likely young Fellow, about twenty Years of Age, whose Mother was angry at his drinking of too much Rum, and chid him for it, thereupon replied, he would have her satisfied, and he would do the like no more; upon which he made his Words good; for he went aside, and shot himself dead."\textsuperscript{80} In addition, their use of alcohol was definitely suicidal. They would relinquish their most valuable possessions for rum, then proceeding to become as drunk as possible. When drunk, they often injured or killed themselves. Lawson says that they were aware that alcohol "hurrey (many of them) into the other World before their Time, as themselves will often confess."\textsuperscript{81} According to Lawson, they had a single word for rum, medicine, and poison.\textsuperscript{82}

The situation out of which this stress and conflict arose is reminiscent of the situation that Leach describes in his study of highland Burma.\textsuperscript{83} In highland Burma, hierarchical and egalitarian principles clash when a Kachin

\textsuperscript{80.} Lawson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 214.
\textsuperscript{81.} Ibid., p. 6.
\textsuperscript{82.} Ibid., p. 252.
chief is tempted to adopt the titles and manners of feudalistic Shan royalty; when a chief becomes too overbearing, his kinsmen and followers revolt. One cannot, however, carry this analogy too far, because the hill tribes and southern chiefdoms had to cope not with a stable, feudal society, but with a rapidly changing capitalizing society—a society in which there were conflicting factions. There was no "normal" or "rational" state of affairs with which they could cope for very long.

Stress was greatest in the sphere of the Charleston traders. Unlike the Spanish, whose main link with the Indians was through their missions, the English of Charleston quickly began to trade with the Indians and to arm them. Under the Proprietary government, trade regulations were largely ineffective; the traders could easily circumvent trade regulations and proceed according to their own wishes. Not only did these traders arm the Indians against the Spanish, they took advantage of aboriginal political divisions, setting one group of Indians against others for the purpose of taking slaves. By 1708, the South Carolinians were using armed Yamasees to raid southern Florida for slaves; by 1715, Thomas Nairne claimed to have raided the Florida Keys.84

The culmination of all this stress came in the Yamasee War of 1715-16, which Crame characterizes as "a far-reaching

84. Sturtevant, op. cit., pp. 68-70.
revolt against the Carolinian trading regime, involving the Creeks, the Choctaw, and to a less extent the Cherokee, as well as the tribes of the piedmont and of the Savannah River and Port Royal districts." Although Crane and others have implied that this war was a rationally organized conspiracy, one suspects that it was at least in part nativistic. Eventually, the Yamasseees were defeated and handled very severely by the South Carolinians. The Congarees, Santees, Sewees, PeeDees, Waxhaws, and some Cusabos were said to have been "utterly extirpated." Some of the survivors went to Florida to take refuge with the Spanish, while others fled north to live with the Catawbas.

C. The Catawbas as a Satellite "Nation"

The Yamassee War of 1715-16 marked a turning point in the history of the Catawbas just as it marked a turning point in the history of the South Carolina colony. For the Catawbas, the Yamassee War can be regarded as their last political act from purely native motives and ideology; after this, the Catawbas must be regarded as a colonial satellite, a military dependancy whose affairs were shaped by the interests of various factions in the colony of South Carolina. For South

85. Crane, op. cit., p. 162.

86. Ibid., p. 170.


Carolina, the Yamassee War precipitated the overthrow of rule by the Lords Proprietors in 1719. Subsequently, as South Carolina gradually came under the protection of the crown, she enjoyed more autonomy in regulating her own internal affairs and in pursuing her own interests.

Three interests dominated South Carolina politics in the first half of the eighteenth century; the history of the Catawbas cannot be understood apart from these interests. First, the government of South Carolina was interested in encouraging settlement of the back country by European immigrants; these settlers were to serve as a bulwark between the tidewater plantations and the Indians, and to offset the alarming increase of Negro slaves. Second, the mercantile faction in Charleston was interested in exploiting the Indians through trade, and of course, in realizing as much profit as possible. Third, the planter faction in Charleston was interested in using trade to gain the allegiance of the Indians for military purposes.

Inevitably, the pursuit of these three interests caused conflict. When European small-scale agriculturalists began

89. Crane, op. cit., pp. 185-186.

settling the middle country, and at a somewhat later date, the upper country, the Indians were inexorably reduced to such a point that Indian trade became nonexistent. The deepest conflicts, however, emerged from the attempt to use trade as a source of profit and as a means of gaining the allegiance of Indians on the frontier. Even though there were laws designed to prevent the traders from cheating the Indians and from gaining too much control over them, these laws were apparently unenforceable. As we have seen, the Yamasee War, while probably not a rationally organized revolt against the Charleston traders, was nevertheless precipitated by the traders.

By 1729, the Charleston traders had successfully undercut the power of the Catawbas; only the Creeks and the Cherokees were a threat to the security of South Carolina. The Creeks maintained their position by becoming something of an "uncommitted nation," thus remaining intermediate between the Spanish, French, and English.91 The Cherokees maintained their position by living in a remote, mountainous habitat, and by remaining intermediate between the French and the English.92 We shall see, however, that the South Carolinians were at this time more worried about insurrections among Negro slaves than


92. Ibid., p. 191.
they were about Indian depredations. Negro slaves constituted more than two-thirds of the population. As a concrete example of their fears, South Carolinians would cite the "Stono Insurrection" of 1739, when fifty Negro slaves revolted, killed twenty-one whites, and fled south in an attempt to find refuge among the Spanish settlements in Florida.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the population of South Carolina was concentrated in the tidewater area, and to a lesser extent, in the lower pine belt area, where the economy had specialized in the production of rice and indigo. These commodities were produced on plantations that depended upon large numbers of slaves. To offset the Negro imbalance and to create a frontier against external danger, the government encouraged settlement of the middle country, the upper pine belt stretching to the fall-line. They did this by encouraging settlement in townships. These townships were grants of land obtained from the Crown; they were parcelled out to settlers along with tools, stock, and other encouragements. Between 1733 and 1759, ten of these townships fanned out from Charleston along the rivers and creeks of the middle country.

93. Ibid., p. 6.
95. Ibid., p. 6.
The townships that were closest to the Catawbas were the Congarees Township on the Congaree and Saluda Rivers, the Fredicksburg Township on the Wateree River, and the Queensboro Township on the Pee Dee River. Like the Indians before them, these settlers were interested in settling on the rivers and creeks; this was partly for transportation but more for the rich land along the river bottoms. Around 1737, for example, one John Thompson who traded with the Indians on the Pee Dee River "bought" their lands. His purchase included "about forty 'old fields' as the abandoned cleared lands of the Indians were called." 96

In addition to the protection offered by the townships, the South Carolina government sought to enlist the allegiance of the Catawbas and other Indians through trade. After the Yamassee War, a "fort and factory" was established and maintained between 1717 and 1722 on the Congaree River near the present city of Columbia. At this point, the trading path from Charleston branched into a trail leading to the Cherokees and a trail leading to the Catawbas. 97 As a safeguard against further uprisings like the Yamassee War, in 1716 the planter faction wrested the Indian trade out of the hands of the merchants, making it a public monopoly. After the trade

96. Ibid., pp. 92-93.
97. Crane, op. cit., p. 188.
became a public monopoly, they attempted to force the Indians to come to the factories to trade. For the Catawbas, this meant going to the Congaree Factory, where the trade was in the hands of Eleazer Wigan, and later, Captain James How. This proved, however, to be very unpopular with the Catawbas, and it gave the Virginia traders an open field. In 1717, Wigan complained that Virginians with trains of pack-horses were undercutting him by selling cheaper goods to the Catawbas; in reply, he was instructed to lower his prices even if it entailed a loss to the public. Later, a similar arrangement was made with the Cherokee Indians.

Even though it meant defeating the planters who wanted trade to be used for defense, the mercantile faction eventually succeeded in dissolving the monopoly; the trade again became private in 1721. Consequently, the South Carolinians were again faced with the problem of regulating private traders. In an attempt to do this, an act was passed in 1731 requiring that each trader be licensed to trade in a particular "Nation" or village; each trader was further required to visit Charleston once every twelve or eighteen months to renew his license.

98. Ibid., p. 193.
99. Ibid., Eleazer Wigan (sometimes spelled Wiggan) was one of the first traders to the Cherokees, who called him "Old Rabbit." He was frequently used as an interpreter (Rothrock, op. cit., p. 12).
100. Ibid., pp. 196-197.
101. Ibid., pp. 198-199.
On this license, the trader could specify the names of two white assistants.\textsuperscript{102}

The trade with the Catawbas gradually fell into the hands of traders resident in the townships. After 1735, one John Thompson traded with the "Cheraw Indians" living on the east bank of the Peedee River.\textsuperscript{103} Later traders in this area were Samuel Armstrong, Christopher Gadsden, and John Crawford, all of whom probably traded with Indians as well as with whites.\textsuperscript{104} The Wateree Township occupied the old fields used by the Wateree Indians before the Yamassee uprising.\textsuperscript{105} Even though the Waterees objected to settlement on their lands, there still was trade. The most important Wateree trader was Samuel Wyly, who established a store and inn around 1751; subsequently, he became an unofficial but effective agent to the Catawbas.\textsuperscript{106}

However, the most important center of Catawba trade was in the Congaree township, near the old garrison and factory. The most important Congaree trader was Thomas Brown, who established a trading post around 1730. Associated with him were Alexander Kilpatrick and Patrick Brown, a brother to Thomas, who became an important trader among the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{102} Ibid., pp. 198-199.
\item \textsuperscript{103} Meriwether, \textsuperscript{22} cit., p. 90.
\item \textsuperscript{104} Ibid., pp. 94-95.
\item \textsuperscript{105} Ibid., p. 99.
\item \textsuperscript{106} Ibid., pp. 103-104.
\end{itemize}
Creeks after 1740. After the Catawbas were decimated by a severe smallpox epidemic in 1738, Brown's fortunes declined; in 1747, he died heavily in debt. After Brown's death, the Catawba trade was taken over by Robert Steill and others. The center for Cherokee trade shifted to the north at a settlement known as "Ninety Six," where it was under the control of Robert Geiger; after his death, it was taken over by Robert Goudey.

Throughout the 1730's and 1740's there was a trickle of trade from Virginia, but the Charleston traders were dominant. Their power was both economic and political. For example, George Haig, a Carolina trader to the Catawbas and the Cherokees, in 1742 persuaded the Catawbas to yield one of their men who had ravished a white woman.

The Catawbas apparently began to adopt English surnames during this period. Thomas Brown had a son by a Catawba woman around 1730. This son, also named Thomas Brown, apparently lived among the Catawbas. In 1748, while George Haig and Thomas Brown's son were on a trip to the Catawbas,

107. Ibid., p. 53.
108. Ibid., pp. 57-58.
109. Ibid., p. 63.
110. Ibid., p. 58.
111. Ibid., p. 53.
they were seized by Iroquois and taken north. Conrad Weiser, the noted northern Indian agent, was able to ransom Brown's son, but he learned that Haig had tired and forced his captors to kill him.112

The means by which the Charleston traders gained control of the Catawbas can be seen in the writings of Edmund Atkin, who was once a trader himself. Drawing on his own experience, in 1755 he devised a plan to control the activities of the traders. Atkin takes pains to point out that the laws of South Carolina did not effectively control the traders. The traders usurped the power of the Indian elders by rewarding the young men, the ones who were most productive for their trade.113 The traders then gained control over these younger men by allowing them to become heavily in their debt.114 In addition, the traders were able to conceal their knowledge of Indian affairs from officials in Charleston, or even to send them misleading information.115 Atkin notes that the practice of getting Indians in debt often backfired, because they sometimes revolted as a means of canceling their debts.116

112. Ibid., p. 59. Brown is today one of the most frequent names among modern Catawbas. Could Haigler, the Catawba "King" who was killed by the Shawnees in 1763, have acquired his name through some relationship with George Haig? 113. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 29.
114. Ibid., p. 23.
115. Ibid., p. 27.
116. Ibid., p. 23.
In the 1740's, the South Carolina government considered the Catawbas to be a "nation". In contrast to small "tribes" and families living among the settlements, a nation was a group of Indians who were numerous and had lands of their own. Writing in 1746, Governor James Glen says that the Catawbas had about 300 fighting men. The Catawbas, along with the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, and Choctaw Nations, formed the western political boundary of South Carolina.

Glen gives the impression that the Catawbas were a wholly independent, organized, homogeneous people with sovereignty over their territory. That this was not the case, can be seen in the writings of James Adair, a trader. Adair's figures for the Catawba population in 1743 is about 400 fighting men. This is only a hundred more than Glen's figure; not greatly different, as early estimates of population go.


118. Ibid.

119. Ibid., p. 12.

120. Adair, op. cit., p. 235.
However, the resemblance between Adair's and Glen's descriptions of the Catawbas ends with these population estimates. Adair says that there were over twenty "dialects" spoken in the Catawba Nation. Citing the names of a few, he gives: "Katahba, is the standard or court dialect, the Watarees who make up a large town; Eeno, Chewah, now Chowan, Cangaree, Nachee, Yamassee, Coosah, &c." One wishes that Adair's list were longer. If it were, it would probably show that every major linguistic stock in the eastern United States was spoken by "Catawba" Indians. One thing, however, is clear: the Catawba "Nation" of the 1740's was a composite group made up of refugees from broken societies.

Adair describes the territory of the Catawbas as having very good soil and resources.

The land would produce any sort of Indian provisions, but, by the continual passing and repassing of the English, between the northern and southern colonies, the Katahba live perhaps the meanest of any Indians belonging to the British American empire. They are also so corrupted by an immoderate use of our spirituous liquors, and of course, indolent, that they scarcely plant any thing fit for the support of human life. South-Carolina has supplied their wants, either through a political, or charitable view; which kindness, several respectable inhabitants in their neighborhood say, they abuse in a very high degree; for they often destroy the white people's live stock, and even kill their horses for mischief sake.

121. Ibid., pp. 235-236.
122. Ibid., p. 234.
Not only were they not homogeneous, they were not self-sufficient. They depended on South Carolina, at least in part, for their food and clothing.

Edmond Atkin, writing in 1755, says that the Catawbas had about 320 fighting men. At this time, Atkin makes it clear that the Catawbas were "directed entirely by the Government of So. Carolina." In recent years they had been on bad terms with the Shawnee, Cherokee, Iroquois, and others. Although South Carolina made it illegal for surveyors to survey within thirty miles of them, this was often violated, particularly by Virginians and North Carolinians. Because they were reduced to a small number and surrounded on all sides by white settlers, the Catawbas were considering moving to the lower Creek Nation.

When the French and Indian war broke out, the Catawbas were unwilling to become overt enemies of the Cherokees, who...

124. Ibid., p. 47.
125. Ibid., p. 46.
126. Ibid., p. 48. In 1752, the Catawbas appealed to Governor Glen to strengthen them by encouraging some of the settlement Indians (Peedees) to move up and join them (Gregg, op. cit., pp. 13-14). In 1760, reduced to only 75 men, the Catawbas wanted to move nearer to the coast. They consented to remain on the frontier when the government of South Carolina promised to build them a fort. A. S. Salley, The Boundary Line Between North Carolina and South Carolina, Bulletin of the Historical Commission of South Carolina, No. 10 (Columbia, S. C.: The State Company, 1929), pp. 20-21.
were in the French interest. However, by one means or another, they were persuaded to serve under Lyttleton and Bull in their Cherokee campaigns. In Lyttleton’s expedition of 1759-60, a smallpox epidemic broke out and about half of his Catawba warriors died. In 1760, William Bull equipped about forty Catawbas and moved their families south to the English settlement at Pine Tree Hill for protection. Later in the year, the Catawbas produced a prisoner and several Cherokee scalps for payment. Still later in that same year, the province built a fort for the Catawbas on their lands, and their families subsequently left Pine Tree Hill and returned home. In December of 1761, the Cherokees signed a treaty in Charleston ending the hostilities.

As the middle country townships were filling up, a trickle of settlers also filtered into the piedmont, although their numbers were limited owing to the Cherokees and other Indians who occasionally raided them. Just before the

127. In the south, the French and Indian War was called the Cherokee War.
130. Ibid., p. 228.
131. Ibid., p. 229.
132. Ibid., p. 234.
133. Ibid., p. 240.
134. Ibid., pp. 120-123.
Cherokee war, several settlers were on Stevens Creek and in the Saluda River Valley. At a somewhat slower rate, settlers also filtered into the upper Broad River Valley. Although Governor Glen prohibited surveys from 30-40 miles from the Catawbas, this continued to be violated by frontiersmen from Virginia and North Carolina. By the time of the Cherokee War, there were around 500 settlers in the Waxhaws and about 300 in the vicinity of Rocky Creek and Fishing Creek. The Catawbas resented intrusions upon their land and, in one known instance, drove a settler from Fishing Creek and burned his home. Primarily, these back country settlers were subsistence agriculturalists who supplemented their agriculture by hunting and fishing. Apparently, the ecology of the frontiersmen was similar to the ecology of Piedmont Indians.

Because of Indian raids and the Cherokee War, the back country filled up slowly. After the Cherokee War, however, settlers came in great numbers. Between 1761 and 1765, the population of the piedmont increased by 50 per cent.

135. Ibid., pp. 117-135.
136. Ibid., pp. 147-158.
137. Ibid., p. 140.
138. Ibid., p. 142.
139. Ibid.
140. Ibid., pp. 165-169.
141. Ibid., p. 260.
Many of the settlers came from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina. The piedmont developed into a distinct region — a continuation of piedmont society in the north — with only tenuous connections with the tidewater and middle country regions. "The tidewater and back country were indeed two commonwealths, one highly developed, cultivated and confident; the other new, raw, slightly organized and uncertain of itself." The way of life of the frontiersmen was sharply different from that of the low country planters.

In 1763, the Catawbas were still regarded to be an independent nation by some. George Milligen-Johnston was of the opinion that the Indians by nature would not allow themselves to be subjects of Britain; their relationship was that of friend or brother.

... certain it is that they are not subject to our Laws; that they have no Magistrates appointed over them by our Kings; that they have no Representatives in our Assemblies; that their own Consent is necessary to engage them in War on our Side; and that they have the Power of Life and Death, Peace and War, in their own Councils, without being accountable to us; Subjection is what they are unacquainted with in their own State, there being no such Thing as coercive Power among them: their Chiefs are such only in Virtue of their Credit, and not their Power; there being, in all other Circumstances, a perfect Equality among them.

142. Ibid., p. 261.

Perhaps Milligen-Johnston was able to hold this view through living in Charleston, at a respectable distance from the Catawbas.

Under the direction of John Stuart, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the southern district, a Congress was held at Augusta, Georgia in November, 1763. Attended by the Catawbas, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Cherokees, the purpose of the Congress was to settle grievances after the French and Indian War. Because Haigler had been killed two months earlier, a Colonel Ayers was elected "King" of the Catawbas at the Congress. The Catawbas, complaining of white encroachments and a lack of hunting territory, asked for a reservation of thirty square miles. However, in the final treaty they were granted a reservation of fifteen square miles with their former hunting rights outside of that area.

Subsequently, Colonel Ayers apparently fell out of favor with the South Carolina government. Acting on behalf of Governor Bull, Samuel Wyly supervised a meeting of the Catawbas in January, 1765; in Ayer's place, "King Frow" was


145. Meriwether, op. cit., p. 245.
elected. The names of his headmen were Captain Thomson, John Chesnut, and Wateree Jenny.146

After the Cherokee War, the Catawbas were reduced to too low a number to be of much military importance. While contributing a few warriors to fight against the British in the American Revolution, the importance of their participation was rather negligible. At the close of the eighteenth century, the low country South Carolinians still considered the Catawbas to be a nation, a military dependency. Yet, it is obvious that they were of negligible military importance. The Catawba "Nation" consisted of about a hundred Indians living a furtive existence on a reservation of fifteen square miles. On all sides they were surrounded by Scotch-Irish frontiersmen whose numbers increased at an alarming rate. What these frontiersmen wanted was land, and they did not need Indians to protect them from other Indians. The conclusion is clear: at the turn of the nineteenth century, the Catawbas were socially anomalous; they were not what they were supposed to be.

CHAPTER IV

THE CATAWbas IN A PLURAL SOCIETY

Three races, naturally distinct, and, I might almost say, hostile to each other, are discoverable among (the Americans) at the first glance. Almost insurmountable barriers had been raised between them by education and law, as well as by their origin and outward characteristics; but fortune has brought them together on the same soil, where, although they are mixed, they do not amalgamate, and each race fulfills its destiny apart.1

As the nineteenth century drew nearer, the Catawbas appeared to become increasingly anomalous. They were a handful of Indians occupying fifteen square miles of valuable land; on all sides they were surrounded by thousands of land-hungry, Scotch-Irish frontiersmen whose number increased daily. We shall presently see, however, that this anomaly was more apparent than real. The social position of the late eighteenth century Catawbas seems anomalous because we have been examining the history of their international relations. We have been regarding them as an independent society that had various relationships with other independent societies,

both colonial and aboriginal. This was an over-simplification for the purpose of analytical convenience. The fact is, the independence of the Catawbas underwent gradual attrition throughout the eighteenth century, particularly after the Cherokee War.

The social position of the Catawbas in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was that of a sociocultural section in a plural society. The term plural society was first coined by J. S. Furnivall, an economist who was experienced in Far Eastern colonial affairs. As an example of a plural society, Furnivall cites the case of colonial Burma, where there was a medley of peoples that mixed but did not combine. "There is a plural society, with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately, within the same political unit." In developing this concept more rigorously, M. G. Smith has said that without the concept of social pluralism, it is difficult or impossible to make sense out of certain societies.

3. Ibid., p. 304.
of this period, it is necessary to view them as a sociocultural section within a plural society. Seen in this light, it is easier to understand why the Catawbas remained a distinctive people even when most of their aboriginal cultural patterns were gone. For example, when their culture was almost defunct, they bolstered their distinctiveness by becoming Mormons, even though local whites exerted considerable pressure to discourage them from doing so.

Not only was nineteenth century South Carolina a plural society, like the rest of the south, it was what economists now call an underdeveloped society. This was true as late as 1938, when the South was an underdeveloped area in the most developed nation in the world. At this time, the South was characterized by "inadequate housing, education and health facilities, (by) an agriculture characterized by absentee ownership, single-crop farming underemployment and per capita incomes under $200 a year."11

A. The Catawbas as a Sociocultural Section.

In 1763, when the Catawbas were granted their fifteen-square-mile reservation at the Augusta Congress, South Caro-


10. Ibid., p. 225.

11. Ibid.
lina society was composed of three cultural sections. These were Europeans, Southern Indians, and African Negroes in various stages of acculturation. These three cultural sections were cross-cut by social divisions into several distinct sociocultural sections, which, in turn, were internally differentiated into status hierarchies. It was an exceedingly complex society which, as we shall see, was neither integrated nor in equilibrium. In the following pages, I shall only discuss the sociocultural sections that are necessary for an understanding of the position of the Catawbas in the larger society.

The low country Europeans constituted the sociocultural section that had a monopoly on power. Specifically, all effective economic and political power lay in the hands of a small number of planters, who occupied the apex of the low country European status hierarchy. The prestige of a planter was measured by the number of slaves he possessed and the size of his plantation, these being indices of the amount of rice and indigo he could produce. Because planta-

12. These Europeans were primarily English, Irish, and Scotch, though there were a few French, Swiss, and Germans.

13. The sociocultural sections of a plural society may contain internal status continua, while the sections themselves need not be ranked in a hierarchy (Smith, op. cit., p. 769).

tion life was lonely and because it exposed one to malaria and other diseases, the wealthier planters lived in Charleston for part of the year. Those who could afford it lived there the year round, being absentee owners in the true sense.15

Below the planters, there was a middle class composed of professionals and merchants, many of the latter having an interest in the Indian trade. This middle class was both small and insecure, as is often the case in preindustrial societies.16 When there was a conflict of interest between the planters and the middle class, the planters usually prevailed. We have seen, for example, that the planters were able to take the Indian trade away from these merchants, making it a public monopoly. The planters regarded the middle class as necessary, perhaps, but socially inferior.

Occupying the bottom rung of the low country European status hierarchy, there was a lower class composed of a few servants, artisans, and yeomen, the latter being farmers who owned no slaves. These yeomen practiced a diversified subsistence agriculture on land that was unsuitable for the production of rice and indigo. In addition to agriculture, they commonly hunted and fished to supplement their food supply.

15. Ibid.

In addition to these low country Europeans, after the Cherokee War thousands of European settlers left Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina to settle the South Carolina Piedmont. These frontiersmen, like the low country yeomen, usually did not own slaves. They were also similar to the yeomen in practicing subsistence agriculture supplemented by hunting and fishing. Many of them were mobile. They would settle for a few years, and then move further south and west in hopes of getting better land in newer territory. Even though the European population of the piedmont quickly surpassed that of the low country, the piedmont frontiersmen at first had very little political power. All important decisions were made by the planters.17

Virtually all of the African Negroes were slaves; the main exceptions were a few free Negroes who won their manumission through purchase or meritorious acts. In the nineteenth century, manumission became increasingly difficult; finally, in 1820 a law was passed forbidding manumission.18 The social institutions of the Negro slaves were, of course, different from those of the Europeans. They were culturally heterogeneous, coming from quite diverse African cultures. Their masters made an explicit effort to keep them from

18. Ibid., p. 442.
organizing as a means of preventing insurrections and conspiracies. In 1762, for example, one estimate was that out of 46,000 slaves, only 500 were Christians. The whites were afraid that if the Negroes became their Christian brothers, they would want their freedom as well. In addition to not participating in Christian brotherhood, a slave had no economic or political power; he could not be legally married, and he could be beaten as severely as his master wished. As Elkins has vividly argued, American slavery was the severest the world has ever seen.

The third cultural section, the Southern Indians, were incorporated into plural South Carolina in three ways. First, as we have already seen, many Indians were enslaved. The Charleston traders, taking advantage of existing cultural and social differences, played one group against another as a means of acquiring slaves. Francis Le Jau, writing in 1711/12, tells of one trader who brought in around a hundred Indian slaves at one time. Primarily, these were women and children. Adult male Indians were a threat to the se-


curity of the colony because they could escape and carry intelligence to other Indians. As a consequence, adult males were generally tortured to death by their Indian captors.²²

Second, there were a number of "free" or "settlement" Indians who lived a rather furtive existence among the English settlements near the coast. Le Jau, a missionary, attempted to persuade some of these settlement Indians to live with him, "but they will not consent to it, nor part with their Children tho' they lead miserably poor lives."²³ They were always on the move in search of food.²⁵ Some of the children spoke English, while their parents did not.²⁶ Le Jau mentions some of these settlement Indians having "gone further up in the Country thro' badd usage they received from some of Our People."²⁷ The settlement Indians were detribalized, owning no land; they hunted and performed petty services for the colonists.

²² Ibid., pp. 116, 122-123.
²³ Ibid., p. 41.
²⁴ Ibid., p. 109.
²⁵ Ibid., p. 67.
²⁶ Ibid., p. 80.
²⁷ Ibid., p. 78.
The third way that Indians were incorporated into plural South Carolina was as national Indians. As we have seen, Indians were regarded to be a nation when they were numerous and had lands of their own. The Catawbas, however, were anomalous in that they were few in number while occupying fifteen square miles of land that was wanted by thousands of frontiersmen surrounding them.

This anomaly disappears when we see that there were two reasons why the Catawbas had a position in the plural society. For one thing, the Scotch-Irish frontiersmen of the piedmont had no political power; the decision to grant the Catawbas a reservation was made by the low country planters, for whom piedmont land was of little value.

A second and more positive reason was that the low country planters had a use for the Catawbas. As we have seen, there was a great disproportion of Negroes and whites in the middle of the eighteenth century; the whites were in constant fear of slaves escaping and conspiring to do violence. The effect of this on the Indians appears as early as 1716, at a meeting of the Indian Commissioners of South Carolina.

Mr. Barthm. Gaillard informed the Board, that some of the Wineau Indians were seated at Santee, and have been found beneficial to that Part of this Province, for their Safety, by keeping the Negroes there in Awe, and desired us to take that Matter into Consideration, and proposed the Settling a small factory there, to ingage those Indians to continue among them, and further offered to manage that Trade gratis. 28

The fear of violence, conspiracies, and insurrections on the part of Negro slaves increased as time went on.

George Milligen-Johnson, writing in 1763, states the planter’s need for the Indians even more clearly.

They (the Negro slaves) are in this Climate necessary, but very dangerous Domestics, their Number so much exceeding the Whites; a natural Dislike and Antipathy, that subsists between them and our Indian Neighbors, is a very lucky Circumstance, and for this Reason: In our Quarrels with the Indians, however proper and necessary it may be to give them Correction, it can never be our Interest to extirpate them, or to force them from their Lands; their Ground would be soon taken up by runaway Negroes from our Settlements, whose Numbers would daily increase, and quickly become more formidable Enemies than Indians can ever be, as they speak our Language, and would never be at a Loss for Intelligence.29

For the planters, it was comforting to think that the Negroes were terrified by Indians, particularly by those Indians who, like the Catawbas, were situated at some distance from the settlements.

In 1769, Governor Montagu, in presenting his case for establishing the boundary between North and South Carolina, pointed out the imbalance of Negroes and whites in South Carolina. For this reason, he wanted the Catawbas on the South Carolina side of the boundary.

29. George Milligen-Johnson, A Short Description of the Province of South Carolina (1763), in Chapman J. Milling (ed.), Colonial South Carolina: Two Contemporary Descriptions (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), p. 136. In addition to indicating the planter’s need for the Indians, this passage suggests that the planters had mixed feelings toward Negro acculturation. Acculturation made them more efficient as workers, but more dangerous as enemies.
The year 1766 afforded a very strong proof of their Utility, on such services, for about the Christmas of 1765 many negroes having fled into large Swamps, and other circumstances concurring, there was a great room to apprehend that some dangerous conspiracy and insurrection was intended, and tho' the Militia was ordered on duty and were very alert on this occasion, the Governor thought it proper also to invite a number of the Catawba Indians to come down and hunt the negroes in their different recesses almost impervious to White Men at that Season of the Year. The Indians immediately came and partly by the Terror of their name, their diligence and singular sagacity in pursuing Enemies through such Thickets soon dispersed the runaway Negroes, apprehended several and most of the rest of them chose to surrender themselves to their Masters, & return to their duty rather than Expose themselves to the attack of an Enemy so dreaded and so difficult to be resisted or evaded, for which good service the Indians were very amply rewarded.

The Catawbas in the late eighteenth century occupied their social position by virtue of the role that the planters thought they played. As we shall presently see, there are grounds for doubting that they played this role effectively.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Catawbas are generally described as being a very small nation, but a very fierce and loyal nation. This was precisely what the planters wanted. Being few in number, the Catawbas could not bargain with the colonists by using threats of hostility. They were loyal, meaning they were under the de

facto control of the whites. But most importantly, they had the reputation of being fierce, thus hopefully keeping the Negro slaves in awe.

The use of Indians to intimidate slaves was only one of the devices used by slave owners. For example, when Frederick Olmsted was touring the Southern back country a few years before the Civil War, a threatening rain cloud forced him to take shelter near a house. The man of the house called seven Negro children out to see Olmsted's dog, Jude.

"Just look a here! here's a reg'lar nigger dog; have it to ketch niggers when they run away, or don't behave." (He got a piece of bread and threw it to Jude.) "There! did you see that! See what teeth she's got, she'd just snap a nigger's leg off ... it'll snap a nigger's head right off, just as easy as you'd take a chicken's head off with an ax." 31

The bloodhounds in Uncle Tom's Cabin seem to have played much the same role. Though primarily used for tracking, their ferociousness was always emphasized and often exaggerated.

It may be that the ferociousness of the Catawbas, particularly in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, was like that of bloodhounds: exaggerated. When John Smyth visited the Catawbas in the early 1780's, white people living in the area told him that the Catawbas were not like other Indians. Smyth describes them as being perhaps more docile

and servile than lower class whites. He estimated them having about 60 to 70 warriors. They lived in "wigwams," but they were well on their way to being acculturated. The Catawba "King" had an Indian name, but he was also called "Joe," probably a surname. The latter spoke English "very intelligibly" and claimed that most of the Catawbas spoke English as well as their own language.

Smyth says that divorce was easy among the Catawbas, and promiscuous intercourse was allowed. Unmarried women often committed abortions, and a woman generally had only two or three children during her life. Smyth noted that when white men lived on the reservation, even if it were only for a few months, they had a wigwam built and took an Indian woman to serve as wife and servant. These white men were sometimes adopted into the nation and given an allotment of land to use.

At the time of Smyth's visit Catawba women appear to have been more productive than Catawba men. They raised gardens and made baskets, mats, and pottery to sell to

33. Ibid., p. 118.
34. Ibid., p. 119.
35. Ibid., pp. 121-122.
36. Ibid., p. 122.
The men seem to have concentrated on hunting and fishing. When they had the means, they were reputed to drink excessive amounts of alcoholic beverages, often becoming violent when intoxicated. Smyth says that when a woman became aware that her husband was drinking, she quickly hid everything that might be used to inflict injury on another person. Men under the influence of alcohol were not held responsible for anything they did; it was blamed on alcohol.  

The details of Catawba culture at the end of the eighteenth century escape us. Most of the ethnography on the Catawbas was done after 1900. Because most of these

37. Ibid., p. 124.

38. In addition to references already cited, the following bibliography includes the more important ethnological research on the Catawbas.


cultural patterns were drawn from the memory of elderly informants, we cannot be certain when they were viable. However, we can be relatively sure that the Catawbas were still a cultural section in the closing years of the eighteenth century. In addition, one further thing is relatively certain: from Smyth's observations, we see that the Catawbas of the late eighteenth century were not as ferocious as they were made out to be. Subsequently, this became increasingly apparent, and their position in the larger society changed accordingly.

B. Ecological Pressure

The social position of the Catawbas in the late eighteenth century was partly determined by ecological factors. At that time, valuable land was land that was suitable for growing rice and indigo. Consequently, the only

38. (cont'd)

valuable land was that in the low country plantations, the
owners of which were the dominant minority in the society.
The planters who were responsible for granting the Catawbas
fifteen square miles of piedmont land probably felt that it
was a small favor. The planters owed nothing to the frontiers-
men; they did owe something to the Catawbas.

Still, the Catawbas began to feel the pressure of these
frontiersmen within two decades after they were granted the
reservation. When Smyth visited the Catawbas after the
Revolutionary War, some of them told him about their fear of
whites coming in and taking over. They were few in number,
and they were becoming even fewer. For this reason, perhaps,
they sometimes adopted white men into the nation and allowed
them to use certain tracts of land. This was probably the
way in which Thomas Spratt, supposedly the first white man to
become a permanent resident with the Catawbas, was able to
establish himself. He is thought to have settled there around
1763. Like other white men before him, Spratt subsequently
gained considerable power and influence over the Catawbas.

40. Ibid., p. 122.
41. Douglas Summers Brown, A City Without Cobwebs
(Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1953),
pp. 60-61.
In 1782, the Catawbas appealed to Congress to secure their land against alienation by force or by their own consent. Since the federal government had never signed a treaty with the Catawbas, Congress passed a resolution recommending that South Carolina secure their holdings. However, these measures did not alleviate the fears of the Catawbas. In 1791, George Washington took his southern tour. While staying at the home of a Mr. Crawford, who lived near the reservation, Washington was approached by several chiefs of the Catawbas. They again repeated their fears of being alienated from their land by whites.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, the two factors that determined the social position of the Catawbas in plural South Carolina were rapidly eroding. The image of Catawba ferociousness was changing, and the low country rice-indigo ecology was changing.

It became more and more apparent that the Catawbas were not fierce savages who could be used to intimidate Negro slaves. In one of his short stories, William Gilmore Simms


43. Ibid.

tells of Catawbas who used to come from their reservation to Charleston every spring to sell pottery. They would break up into small groups—like "European Gipseyes"—and filter down the Edisto and Ashley Rivers, camping along the way. Once in the vicinity of Charleston, they would dig clay and fire their pottery. Simms' story hinges on the attempt of a Negro slave driver, Mingo, to seduce Caloya, a Catawba woman. Mingo confronts Caloya's male companion, Knuckles, and tells him that he does not hold with Indians making their women do most of the work. He also tells Knuckles that he is not afraid of him or any other Indian.

How you talk, Knuckles! Wha make you better for fight than me! Ki, man! Once you stan' afore Mingo, you tumble... Neber Indian kin stan' agen black man, whedder for fight or work... You can't fight fair and you can't work. You aint got strengt' for it.

Mingo's designs are upset when his master, an upstanding young planter, steps in and demotes him from his job as driver. The following year, the planter allows all of the Catawbas to camp and dig clay in the "Red Gulley," a clay pit on his plantation.


47. Ibid., p. 429.
Not only were the Negroes losing their fear of Indians, the whites were also changing their ideas about them. The first half of the nineteenth century was the era of the romantic historical novelists, of whom Sir Walter Scott, James Fenimore Cooper, and William Gilmore Simms were foremost. It was also the era of Indian dramas; these were particularly popular between 1820 and 1840. The most famous of these dramas, *Metamora*, was probably seen by more Americans than those seeing *Tobacco Road* or *Abie's Irish Rose* in this century.

In the nineteenth century the whites began to speak of the Catawbas as children of nature. Having a simple and generous nature, they were unable to cope with the complexities and temptations of civilization. This was the view of Robert Mills, an articulate South Carolina surveyor.

Had the Indians of this country been of a ferocious and jealous character, their numbers would have enabled them to frustrate all attempts of Europe to colonize the country; but so widely different was their character from this, that like children of nature, (as they were,) they received the whites with kindness, gave them as much land as they wanted, and every assistance in supplying them with provisions.

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The image of the Catawbas changed from the fierce but loyal savage to the noble but childlike savage.

Mills was strongly in favor of giving assistance to the Catawbas in repayment for their generosity. At the same time, however, he argued that South Carolina should reclaim the Catawba reservation.

A right to the soil of the country was grounded upon the acknowledged truth of this doctrine, that the earth was made for man; and was intended by the Creator of all things to be improved for the benefit of mankind. The land which could support one savage, in his mode of living, is capable of supporting five hundred, under proper cultivation. These wild lands, therefore, were not the separate property of a few savages who hunted over them, but belonged to the common stock of mankind. The first who possessed a vacant spot, and actually cultivated it for some time, ought to be considered as the proprietor of that spot, and they who derive their titles from him have a valid right to the same. 51

Thus, the Catawbas, being hunters, were savages; they were different from those who could properly cultivate the soil to "the benefit of mankind."

In addition to having a changed image, the nineteenth century brought in another change that eventually alienated the Catawbas from their reservation. Cotton was experimentally grown in the vicinity of Charleston in 1785. 52

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51. Ibid., p. 106. By the nineteenth century, the whites almost universally thought of American Indians as being non-agricultural hunters. The reasons for the emergence of this stereotype are not clear. Quite probably, it is a mixture of fact and fiction. That is, Indian agriculture was de-emphasized as a function of trade, and the Indian was pictured as a savage hunter as part of the rationale for alienating him from his land.

52. Wallace, op. cit., p. 363.
However, it was the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 that reshaped the economy of South Carolina, and with it, most of the South.\textsuperscript{53} Around 1800, cotton was introduced into the piedmont. As low country planters moved inland to obtain piedmont land, many of the frontiersmen moved further west.\textsuperscript{54} These planters brought their slaves with them, and they imported additional slaves at an astonishing rate. In 1800, 15.6 per cent of the total population of the Southern Piedmont were slaves; in 1850, 35.0 per cent were slaves, an increase of 124 per cent.\textsuperscript{55}

Piedmont land was no longer regarded as land fit only for Indians and frontiersmen. In 1808, South Carolina passed an act making it "expedient" that the Catawbas should have the right to lease their lands. According to the act, their lands were to be leased for terms not exceeding 99 years. All leases were to be witnessed by a majority of five superintendents, appointed by the governor, and "signed and sealed by at least four of the head men or chiefs of the said Catawba Indians."\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., p. 364.


\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., pp. 24-25.

\textsuperscript{56} Joseph Brevard, \textit{An Alphabetical Digest of the Public Statute Laws of South Carolina} (Charleston, S.C.: John Hall, 1814), Vol. 1, title 96.
nine of whom were a family of Pamunkeys from Virginia. In recent years, the Catawbas had been "wandering through the country, forming kind of camps, without any homes, houses, or fixed residence, and destitute of any species of property save dogs and a few worthless horses." The commissioners also report that there were 500 to 600 white families living on leased land. The original tracts had been subdivided into smaller tracts, and no regular record of the transactions had been kept.

On March 13, 1840, these commissioners signed a treaty with the Catawbas. The Catawbas agreed to cede their lands in return for the following: (1) the state of South Carolina would furnish them a tract of land worth $5,000, to be purchased in Haywood County, N. C., or in some other mountainous or thinly populated region. (2) If no satisfactory lands were to be had, they were to be paid $5,000 in cash. (3) Upon removal, the Catawbas were to be paid $2,500 and the sum of $1,500 per year for nine years afterwards.

60. Ibid. A "woman" was probably a female who had given birth to children. The sexual disproportion suggests that the family structure was either polygynous or matrifocal; in view of their poverty, it was probably the latter. Cf. footnote 68, infra.

61. Ibid., p. 11.

62. Ibid., p. 12.

63. Ibid., p. 12.
Apparently, South Carolina made none of these promises good until ten or twenty years after the treaty was signed. The historical record is obscure. It is, however, clear that some person or agency at some time gave the Catawbas a reservation of approximately 630 acres of their original reservation. It is also clear that the state of South Carolina subsequently assumed the responsibility of administering this reservation, and "a number of years" before 1893 began giving the Catawbas an annual "pension" of $800, appointing agents to administer to them.

It is also known that in 1840, the year the treaty was signed, "about one hundred Catawba, nearly all that were left of the tribe, being dissatisfied with their condition in South Carolina, moved up in a body and took up their residence with the Cherokee." The motive that impelled the Catawbas to leave South Carolina could have been dissatisfaction or force, or both. It is not known whether all of the Catawbas moved to Cherokee, or only the majority of them. In addition, we do not know what motive impelled the Cherokees to accept them; perhaps the Catawbas promised them some of the money that South Carolina had promised to pay.

64. Ibid. Modern Catawbas have two traditions concerning this transaction. Some say that the Old Reservation was given to them by the state; others say that it was given to them by a sympathetic individual, a Mr. White.

65. Ibid., p. 13.

Apparently, some conflict broke out between the Catawbas and Cherokees. In 1848 the Bureau of Indian Affairs received a letter from the Catawbas at Cherokee requesting that an official be appointed to organize their removal to the west. The letter was signed by chief William Morrison and the heads of all Catawba families. Apparently, the Catawbas wanted to settle with the Chickasaws, who had once invited them to settle in their territory. The Chickasaw council, however, never reached a decision to accept them. In 1854, a federal act appropriating a $5,000 grant to settle the Catawbas west of the Mississippi River was approved, but the grant later seems to have reverted to the surplus fund of the United States Treasury. In the meantime, most of the Catawbas moved away from Cherokee, some going to live with the Choctaws and others returning to South Carolina. By


68. There are a total of 42 "heads of families". If these are actually heads of families, there is a marked sexual disproportion; apparently, only 15 of the heads of families were male while 27 were female. One of my Catawba informants told me that Morrison is believed to have been a white man.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid., p. 9.

71. In 1850, the Catawbas were 110 in number: 20 men, 43 women, 20 male children under ten years of age, and 27 female children under ten years of age. Of these, 76 were in North Carolina and 54 were in South Carolina, some of the latter living on a farm that was in "public property": James W. Covington, "Proposed Catawba Indian Removal, 1848," South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, Vol. 54 (January, 1954), p. 46.
In 1852, there were only about a dozen Catawbas living at Cherokee. In 1890, there were only two at Cherokee: the widow of a Cherokee man and her daughter.

In 1856, the geologist Oscar M. Lieber estimates that there were 50 Catawbas living on the reservation. In collecting a vocabulary of the Catawba language, Lieber says that his informant, who was working for him as a camp servant, was aware that he did not speak the language as well as his parents spoke it; still, children did not begin to learn English until they were 10 or 12 years old.

In conclusion, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the economy of South Carolina specialized in a one-crop agriculture, cotton. As a consequence, ecological pressure on the Catawbas became greater because their reservation included land that could be used in the production of cotton. Through a series of pressures, some of which were of questionable legality, the Catawbas were eventually pushed

72. Mooney, op. cit., 1900, p. 165.

73. Ibid.


75. Ibid. This was verified by one of my informants, who had heard of cases of a Catawba not speaking English until the age of 10 or 12.
onto a small tract of land that is today known as the Old Reservation. As the Civil War approached, the Catawbas were an obscure enclave in a social system that was beginning to break down. The South became more and more defensive as it expended great effort in justifying the God-given rightness of its plural social order. When the Civil War came, a few Catawbas served in the Confederate Army, thus indicating their agreement with white ideology.

C. The Crisis in Catawba Identity: Race or Nation?

In the decades preceding the Civil War, ecological pressure forced the Catawbas onto a fraction of their original reservation. The foundations of their former social position being destroyed, they were struggling to find a place for themselves. They were members of a plural society that was theoretically stable but was actually troubled by many internal conflicts and contradictions. The struggle of the Catawbas continued after the Civil War ended, but it took place in a somewhat different setting. The Civil War destroyed the legal structure of the old plural order, while leaving South Carolina with the problem of economic and political re-organization. It was a period of profound instability. Eventually, South Carolina assumed something of its old plural order backed by a racist ideology. White men were

76. The Old Reservation contains approximately 630 acres. It is situated on the west bank of the Catawba River near the site of Newtown, the principal Catawba village in the latter eighteenth century.
supposed to remain white, and black men were supposed to remain black; no one quite knew what to do with mestizos, particularly those who refused to be treated as Negroes. Consequently, the Catawbas were faced with a crisis in identity. Through having too little land, they were forced to become acculturated in order to make a living; at the same time, as they lost their culture they ran the risk of being regarded as mestizos. They were faced with a dilemma: were they to be a race or a nation?

As we have seen, ante-bellum South Carolina specialized in a cotton economy. Slavery seems to have been on its way out near the end of the eighteenth century, but the introduction of cotton gave it a new impetus. This re-emphasis on slavery cannot be explained in terms of efficiency; if anything, slaves were less efficient than free laborers. Slavery was re-emphasized because there were few free laborers available at a time when cotton planters needed a large, disciplined labor force and because the ownership of slaves conferred social prestige. Through this one-crop economy and slave labor, Southern agriculture became inflexible. Slave labor was so specialized in the production of cotton, it became virtually impossible to divert it to any other enterprise. "It appears that Southern planters, after having


78. Ibid. The inefficiency of slave labor is emphasized in Olmsted, op. cit., passim.
invited slavery for the sake of cotton, later found themselves forced to grow cotton for the sake of its slaves." Southern society was full of basic contradictions; as these contradictions became more apparent, the white minority became increasingly defensive, eventually involving themselves in the Civil War.

After the slaves were emancipated, the greatest economic problems in the post-war South were to establish a relationship between landless people and land owners, and to establish a relationship between penniless farmers and capitalists. The first problem was solved by the crop-share system; the second by the crop-lien system. In the crop-share system, a landowner provided his share-croppers with work animals and equipment, part of the necessary seed and fertilizers, and, in some cases, credit. After the crop was sold, the proceeds were divided between the share-croppers and the landowner. The landowner, of course, had considerable power, including the right to decide what crops would be grown and how his land would be used.

After the Civil War had depleted the wealth of the planters, most of whose investment was in slaves, the local storekeeper was the only one to whom one could turn for credit. In the crop-lien system, a farmer got credit from a

79. Ibid., p. 32.
particular storekeeper in the form of food, clothing, implements, and so forth. The storekeeper got from 20 to 100 percent more profit from this merchandise than he got from cash purchases. He protected his interests by taking out a mortgage on the crops of his credit customers. Thus, the local storekeeper became a powerful man in the economy. He gave credit, sold supplies, and bought cotton. In many cases, those who obtained credit in this way became virtual peons. Until they paid off their debts in full, they were under the control of the storekeeper. No other merchant or storekeeper would give them credit until their debts were paid.80

These institutions of crop-share and crop-lien gave landowners and storekeepers an inordinate amount of power over farmers and share-croppers; on the positive side, however, the crop-share system enabled landless people to use land, and the crop-lien system made it possible for poor people to get credit. They were transitional measures that made it possible for the South to resume agricultural production. The long-term effects of these institutions, however, were less desirable. Both systems, being self-perpetuating, again led the South into the "strait-jacket of cotton."81 The South became what economists now call an underdeveloped society.

80. Ibid., pp. 37-44.

81. Ibid.
Post-war South Carolina faced political and social problems that were even more serious than her economic problems. In 1865, the President of the United States appointed a governor of South Carolina, directing him to enroll eligible voters and hold a constitutional convention. The most outstanding legislation of this convention was the "Black Code," a series of statutes designed to regulate racial relationships. This code defined a Negro as a person having one-eighth or more Negro blood; and, for the first time in the history of South Carolina, marriage between Negroes and Whites was formally declared illegal and existing marriages were declared null. In addition, there were a number of additional restrictions on the freedom of Negroes. Although slavery no longer existed, the ideological assumptions that supported it remained: South Carolinians believed that Negroes could neither be trusted to work nor to obey the law without special restraints. 82

The federal government responded by vetoing the "Black Code" in 1866; somewhat vindictively, they attempted to give Negroes a political status equal to whites. Subsequently, the South was occupied by federal troops and placed under martial law in an effort to protect the rights of the Negroes. In 1868, there was another constitutional con-

vention; unlike the all-white convention of 1866, representatives in this convention consisted of 48 whites and 76 Negroes. The constitution it framed allowed interracial marriage and requested that there be no racial bias in publicly supported schools and colleges.

The whites, however, were determined to keep their monopoly on power. In 1868-70, the Ku Klux Klan was organized as a secret organization whose primary purpose was to terrorize Negroes. York County, in which the Catawba Old Reservation is situated, seems to have been the area of greatest Klan activity. Gradually, through a variety of means, the whites regained their monopoly on power. In 1879, South Carolina again passed a law making interracial marriage illegal; this time, it forbade marriages between whites and Indians as well as between whites and Negroes.

In retrospect, it is difficult to see how the marriage law of 1879 could have been framed with reference to the Catawbas, who, at that time, numbered barely a hundred. A more likely explanation is that it was designed to regulate certain enclaves of Indian-Negro-white mestizos. These mestizos are scattered throughout the eastern United States,

83. Ibid., pp. 569-586.
84. Ibid., pp. 589-590.
85. Ibid., p. 632. A third constitution was framed in 1895, sanctioning the marriage laws of 1865 and 1879; in addition, racial segregation was enforced in the schools.
but they are most heavily concentrated in the low country of North and South Carolina. When first "discovered", these enclaves were generally situated in inaccessible areas: swamps, pine barrens, and tidewater islands and peninsulas. The isolation of these people began to break down during and after the Civil War, and this trend accelerated as roads and communications were improved.

The mestizos of North and South Carolina are known by different names in different places, and they differ in other respects as well. Consequently, it is difficult to make generalizations about them. The following statements seem to hold for most of them. (1) Before the Civil War, after which most of them were discovered, they existed as extrasocial enclaves. (2) Most of them claimed some degree of Indian ancestry, but they could not satisfactorily trace descent from nominate Indian societies. (3) When first discovered, they shared the culture of English frontiersmen.


88. Berry, op. cit., p. 35.

89. Ibid., p. 34.
with little or no trace of aboriginal culture. 90 (4) After being discovered, they had to deal with whites who conceived of others as being either white, Indian, or Negro, with virtually nothing in between. 91 (5) Most of them refused to be categorized as Negroes, while the whites were in most cases reluctant to accept them as equals. Consequently, they occupied a social position that was extremely ambiguous. 92

In this social background, the Catawbas were forced into an identity crisis. The Old Reservation consisted of less than 700 acres, and only a few of these acres could be cultivated. Consequently, they were faced with two unattractive alternatives. They could stay on the Old Reservation and retain their Indian identity; but the outcome of this would have been starvation. On the other hand, they could go off the reservation and share-crop; however, this would demand that they become acculturated, and in losing their culture, they might come to have the ambiguous social status of mestizos. They were faced with the alternatives of staying on the reservation and remaining, in some sense, a nation, or with going off the reservation where they risked becoming, in some sense, a race.

91. Berry, op. cit., p. 34.
92. Ibid., pp. 36-37.
What they did was to combine the two alternatives. When Albert Gatschet visited the Old Reservation in 1881, he found that about 85 Catawbas were living on the Reservation while about 40 were farming in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina.\(^93\) When Scaife visited the Reservation in 1893-96, he too found that the Catawbas would go out to share-crop for a year or two and then return to the Reservation.\(^94\) However, even though share-cropping helped, they were extremely poor. Scaife's impression was that the Catawba standard of living was "a little below the standard of the average Southern Negro."\(^95\) They lived in small, crudely built log huts that reminded him of "the typical negro home in the farming regions of the South."\(^96\) In warm weather, they cooked outside, over an open fire.\(^97\) The only domestic animals he saw were a cow and two mules.\(^98\) Some of the Catawbas were forced to beg on the streets of Rock Hill.\(^99\)

\(^{93}\) Gatschet, *op. cit.*, 1900, p. 527. Gatschet mistakenly says they were in Muhlenberg, County. He estimates that about one third of them could speak the language.

\(^{94}\) Scaife, *op. cit.*, p. 20.


\(^{96}\) *Ibid.*


The Catawbas could not, of course, obtain credit unless they were share-croppers. I suspect that few of them became share-croppers because they were frequently cheated out of their earnings by landowners. Several of my informants told of their parents "making a crop," only to be thrown off the land before the crop was harvested. This could have been rationalized by the landowners in a variety of ways. The Indians were supposed to be indolent, deceitful, and thievish; and, after all, they could go back to the reservation. 100

However, in spite of becoming increasingly acculturated and genetically mixed with whites, the Catawbas managed to retain an unambiguous status as Indians. 101 They accomplished this by several means. For one thing, they expressed a strong antipathy for Negroes, who in turn, were supposed to be afraid of Indians: "it is said that a negro cannot be induced to go on the Indian's land." 102

Another means of keeping their Indian identity was by making and selling Indian objects. Although the Catawbas had been using guns for about 200 years, at the end of the

100. Ibid., pp. 20, 22.

101. Scipse says that in 1893-96, of the 80 on the reservation "less than a dozen were of pure Indian blood, the remainder being half-breeds or more nearly white (Ibid., p. 18)."

102. Ibid. This belief has been extraordinarily durable. While doing field work, I was told that a Negro will not go on Indian land at night. Cf. Chapter VI, infra.
nineteenth century some of the old men made bows and arrows for sale. 103 A more important source of income was the manufacture of pottery. This was made by traditional techniques, but the objects were mostly modern in form: pipes "in the form of squirrels, turtles, birds, pots, shoes, and other familiar objects," and "graceful pitchers, flower-jars, vases, and various kinds of toys and ornaments." 104

The making and selling of pottery was particularly important; unlikely as it seems, it was one of their most reliable sources of income. We recall that Smyth mentioned the sale of pottery in the late eighteenth century, and that Simms mentioned it in the early nineteenth century. This pottery was usually made by a woman with the assistance of her children. It was carried to Rock Hill and surrounding areas where it was either sold or bartered for old clothes and other necessities. 105 One informant told me that her mother used to trade pots to storekeepers for the measures they could contain of corn-meal and flour.

Another Indian way of making money was to dress up in Indian costumes for appearances at events involving entertainment or recreation. The Catawbas used to attend state

103. Ibid., p. 21.
104. Ibid., p. 19.
105. Ibid., p. 19.
fairs and similar events dressed as Indians. A few were professional Indians. One, for example, worked as an Indian in circuses and medicine shows.

In addition to these various ways of keeping their image as Indians while earning income, the Catawbas maintained a council, an internal political structure. Apparently, the structure of this council became more formalized as the Catawbas won increasing recognition and support from South Carolina. In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, when the Catawbas were given an $800 annuity from the state, they often were without a chief. However, in the 1930's, when $9,500 per annum was appropriated for the Catawbas, the council consisted of five men. These were a chief, a committee chairman, two councilmen, and a secretary.

The traditional chief of the Catawbas was their representative to the outside world. He was a man who could speak the Catawba language, or a reasonable facsimile of the language, and who could play the role that whites expected an


107. Coming from the Office of the Secretary of State, this money was spent in the following way: (1) The Indian agent received $500; (2) the doctor who administered to the Catawbas was then paid; (3) next came burial expenses for all funerals; (4) next came educational expenses, including books and a teacher's salary; (5) and the remainder was equally divided among Catawbas who were listed on a roll that was drawn up every April.
Indian to play. There is some disagreement about his power in the council. Speck says that he held the deciding vote, while my information suggests that the committee chairman was the most powerful.¹⁰⁸ One of my Catawba informants put it this way:

A long time ago, outsiders used to believe that whatever the chief said went; but that was not so. That was why they had the committee. If a person had land in cultivation, he could sell the right to another person. He cleared it up. It was a written agreement. Three of the five on the committee had to sign it. The main one to sign was the chairman. If he refused, then a meeting of the whole committee would have to be called.

The main duties of the council were to handle appropriations and to settle internal disputes. They were guided by custom in these matters. For example, one was not permitted to build a house within 300 yards of another house; this allowed space for a garden and for firewood. If a decision could not be reached in a dispute, the dispute was taken before a magistrate.

My field data suggest that the man who played the role of chief was above all a man who could represent the Catawbas as Indians. When curious whites came to the reservation, they were directed to see him. How could there be Indians without a chief? And how could a man be chief without

¹⁰⁸ Speck, op. cit., 1942, p. 566. Speck's information may be biased owing to his using an incumbent chief as his principal informant.
speaking the language and knowing Indian lore? The last traditional chief was a man of considerable ability. When he went into Rock Hill, he always wore his Indian costume, one important article being a Plains war bonnet. In this attire, he visited the State Legislature every year to make a plea for more assistance to the Catawbas. His argument was that the whites should help the Catawbas in payment for the help the Catawbas gave the white settlers in colonial times.

Until well into the twentieth century, Catawba men did not have a secure place in the economy. A few of them farmed the meager land that was available on the reservation. In winter, some of them cut cord wood and sold it to whites for fuel and to the textile mills to fire their boilers. It sold for eight to ten dollars per wagon load. Many people, both white and Catawba, told me that this used to be the primary occupation of Catawba men. If true, it was primary in the sense of being about the only occupation open to them. It could not have been very profitable. It so happens that the man who sold most of this cord wood was the last traditional chief. He took it into Rock Hill in a wagon pulled by mules; on these occasions, he always dressed in his war bonnet and costume. Thus, the sale of cord wood was probably more conspicuous than important.

A few Catawba men worked on farms for wages, but they generally went out of the Rock Hill area to do this. A few
landowners in the Rock Hill area would hire Catawbas to work in cotton, but, in general, they only hired women. The whites believed that Catawba men were good at hunting and fishing, but they were not thought to be good farmers. According to the whites, this was partly due to ignorance of farming techniques. In addition, Catawba men were supposed to be unwilling to do the labor necessary in dawn-to-dusk farming. One white man told me the following story:

The Indians used to bother me about working on my farm. One time I hired one to come help me plow. I hitched up before dawn and started, but he didn't show up until seven o'clock. He was a big, husky one. He worked about an hour and said he had a toothache. After that, I never hired another one.

At the same time, the whites seem to have been perfectly willing to hire Catawba women to work in the fields. One old woman told me about working on her father's farm and about working for a white man near Rock Hill.

I would hoe and pick cotton for wages. A bunch of us women would go and work for a man up near town. Young girls, mothers, and grandmothers. We got paid at the end of every week. The men wouldn't go out much. They weren't on public works at that time.

Because Catawba women were more employable as field hands than Catawba men, and for reasons we shall presently examine, Catawba women were more important in the household economy than Catawba men.

As a supplementary source of food, the Catawbas hunted, fished, and gathered wild food. Fishing seems to have been
the most important of these means of exploiting natural food supplies. Among the devices they used in fishing were nets, trotlines, and set hooks. A trotline is a line strung across a river or stream with a series of baited hooks attached to it by short lines; once or twice a day, a fisherman would traverse the trotline in a boat, removing fish and re-baiting the hooks. A set-hook was a six-foot cane pole attached to a three-foot line and a baited hook. These poles were stuck in the bank and checked once or twice a day. The Catawbas mostly caught catfish and "red horses", the latter being a carp-like fish.

Both men and women gathered wild fruits and vegetables. The more important fruits and vegetables were huckleberries, wild plums, poke greens, dandelion greens, and wild onions. Their beverages were sassafras tea, blackberry wine, and home-brewed beer. They also made a beverage by mixing the pod of the locust tree with broom straw or pine needles.

In addition to earning money by working in white-owned cotton fields, Catawba women continued to manufacture and sell pottery.

When I was growing up it was a necessity to make pottery. That's the way we got our clothes and part of our groceries. There was never any farming to amount to anything. In the last few years they have started gardening. When I was growing up we had corn, but I don't remember any gardens. There were eight of us children. We didn't play; we just worked in clay - that was our living. I can remember three or four families getting clay across the river at one time. Most of my mother's pottery was taken to the mountains
for sale - to Cherokee. They got it for almost nothing.

While some men made a few pieces of small pottery, women made the great majority of it.

Although my informant did not remember kitchen gardens, they were, in fact, grown, and most of the work was done by women. A man would plow the garden and prepare it for planting. After that, women did most of the remaining work with the assistance of her children. None of the produce was sold, but a family would often share their surplus with needy families. Some of the vegetables were canned for use during the winter.

Women were definitely pivotal in the household economy. Consequently, there is a strong suggestion that the family structure was matrifocal. Unable to rely on a single man for steady income, a woman often had relationships with several men in succession. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, when a woman gave birth to a child by a white man, the child was given the surname of his father, "so they would know not to marry back into his family." Thus, it was possible for a woman to have children with different surnames. Later, it became the custom for a woman to give her illegitimate children her own surname. One of my informants told me

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that before 1910 Indian status could only be obtained through an Indian mother. Thus, the children of a white man and a Catawba mother would be included on the tribal roll; the children of an Indian man and a white woman would not.

A woman was most reliant on her husband in the early years of their marriage; however, even then she could appeal to her relatives for aid. Later, when her children were older, she could rely on them for a certain amount of income. I was told of one case where a mother hired out her son when he was 12 years old. This was called "working for wages." He lived and worked with a white farm family for a year. In compensation, he was given room and board, and, at the end of the year, he was paid a sum in cash, which he subsequently turned over to his mother.

Even though the Catawbas had several means of maintaining a semblance of Indian identity, the fact remained that in the late 1800's and early 1900's they were steadily losing their culture. In 1900, less than a dozen Catawbas could speak the language. As a means of increasing their separateness from non-Indians, while at the same time realizing other advantages, the Catawbas made a bold decision: they became Mormon converts.

The Catawbas requested that a Christian missionary be sent to them as early as 1773, but none was sent.110 Sub-

sequently, they attended several of the churches built by whites near the Old Reservation, but never in great numbers. However, when the first Mormon elders arrived, the Catawbas were greatly interested.

Founded in 1830 by the prophet Joseph Smith, the Mormon religion is the only major religion that gives American Indians a place in their scriptures. According to the Book of Mormon, a group of Jerusalem Israelites came to the New World around 600 B.C. Subsequently, they split into two antagonistic factions: the Nephites, who were generally in God's favor; and the Lamanites, who became degenerate pagans cursed with having a dark skin. In the fourth century A.D., the Lamanites succeeded in killing all the Nephites in a great battle at the hill of Cumorah in New York State. The descendants of the victorious Lamanites are the American Indians, who, at the time of first European contact, were thought to be nomadic, non-agricultural, and degenerate.

However, The Book of Mormon contains a prophesy that these Lamanites will be brought back into the fold, whereupon they will become "a white and delightsome people." From the first, the Mormons were dedicated to reconvertting the Indians. However, they were prevented from doing this in the

111. Book of Mormon (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1950), 2 Nephi 30:9.
western United States because it antagonized frontier whites.\textsuperscript{112}

In the Southern United States, they also met resistance, but of a different sort. The Mormons were a "peculiar people," suffering persecution from the outset of their movement. In the 1870's, organizations of gentile ladies all over the United States denounced the "Asiatic church," sending missionaries to Utah to convert them to other religions. The Federal government began exerting considerable pressure on the Mormons in the 1880's to cease the practice of polygamy. All of this was widely publicized in the newspapers and in church literature. In the South, suspicion towards these peculiar people was compounded by the recency of the Civil War and Reconstruction; outsiders were not welcome.

Under these circumstances, elders Charles E. Robinson and H. Miller first made contact with the Catawbas in May, 1883.\textsuperscript{113} The first meetings were apparently held in Fort Mill, South Carolina, some five miles from the Old Reservation. The Catawbas were clearly interested in becoming converts: "they seem very much taken up with us."\textsuperscript{114} The attitude of the whites, however, was quite different.


\textsuperscript{113} History of Southern States Mission, Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. Entry for June 9, 1883 quoting the \textit{Bear Lake Democrat}.

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid.
We find it the hardest to get a place to stop over night. We find the ministers the worst of all, for they have an influence over the people. One preached last Sunday openly that we ought to be mobbed out of the country. 115

In September of the same year, elder Robinson died of "chills, fever, and yellow jaundice." 116

Shortly afterwards, elder Miller was joined by elder Joseph Willey, who had just returned from having made first Mormon contact with the Cherokees. 117 He had no success with the Cherokees because only a few could speak English, and "the Baptists, Methodists and Quakers had made it their business to tell them we were bad men." 118 The Catawbas were different. "They all talk the English language . . . . and are healthy, industrious and law-abiding citizens." 119 On November 11, 1883, elders Willey and Miller baptized the first 5 Catawbas. 120 Subsequently, Willey and Humphrey baptized 17 Catawbas and 4 whites; they also organized a Sunday school. In May, 1884, Willey tells of "holding meetings every Sunday, talking by the fireside every night, and have the promise of a coat of tar and feathers." 121

115. Ibid.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
Apparent ly, elders Willey and Humphrey were forced to leave. Later in the month, their replacements, elders Franklin A. Fraughton and Wiley G. Cragun, were mobbed by whites while on the reservation. Fraughton was caught and horse-whipped; Cragun escaped into the woods under a hail of gunfire, suffering a slight flesh wound in his chin. Subsequently, the whites threatened to kill the next elder they caught, but the elders continued secretly to go to the reservation and hold meetings even though they sometimes had to hide "while a crowd of drunken men caroused around in the Nation making the night hideous by their whooping and yelling." Hampered in not being able to visit the reservation openly, the elders organized a Sunday school with "one of the Lamanite brethren to superintend it." 

One motive of the Catawba converts to Mormonism was to emigrate West. The dominant themes in nineteenth century Mormonism were association of the church with land (Zion, i.e., Utah, Colorado, etc.), separatism from civilization (i.e., the United States), and the gathering of the faithful in


123. *Deseret Evening News*, Salt Lake City, Utah, March 31, 1887.

124. Ibid.

125. Ibid., May 17, 1887.
Zion. In February, 1887, eight Catawbas emigrated to Colorado, "and the rest would gladly follow their example, had they the necessary means." Apparently, few additional Catawbas emigrated, but the elders persuaded some to move near Spartanburg, South Carolina, where Mormons were more tolerantly received. Those remaining on the reservation appear to have worshipped secretly. Scaife, for example, says that in 1893-96 there was "neither a church nor a school on the reservation - it is a shame that in a Christian country they never hear the Gospel preached. In our ardor for foreign missions let us not pass by and neglect the heathen in our midst."

Regardless of the dominant motives of the first Catawbas to join the Mormon church, their identification with the church was a source of alternative values. At a time when

126. O'Dea, op. cit.

127. Deseret Evening News, Salt Lake City, Utah, March 31, 1887. In January 1896 the Office of Indian Affairs received a petition signed by P. H. Head and twenty-five other Catawbas, embracing six families living near Sanford, Colorado. They requested permission to settle among the Utes on the Uintah Reservation in Utah. They did not succeed in this, possibly because the government policy of the time was to abolish all relations with Indians: The Catawba Tribe of Indians, op. cit., p. 11.

128. Deseret Evening News, Salt Lake City, Utah, May 17, 1887.

129. Scaife, op. cit., p. 22.

they were becoming physically and culturally like whites, it both set them apart from whites, Mestizos, and Negroes and made them feel that they were, in some sense, a chosen people. It was a source of self-esteem. The first elders, for example, felt that the whites did not want the Catawbas to become Mormons because it might interfere with their having sexual relations with Catawba women. 131

The majority of them (The Catawbas) have embraced the Gospel, but it is hard, under the influence of so-called civilization, to get all of them to refrain from the evil habits which had such a hold upon them when the Gospel found them. When the Elders first went in among them, the neighboring whites had, in "The Nation," as they call it, a regular place of resort for lewd purposes. As soon as the principles of the Gospel were taught them, and they were made to sense their condition they ceased their evil practices and accepted the truth.132

Both the Mormons and the Catawbas thought of themselves as being in conflict with "so-called civilization"; they embraced a religion that both made this conflict explicit and provided a source of self-esteem.

132. Ibid.
CHAPTER V

ASSIMILATION IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

And then shall they rejoice; for they shall know that it is a blessing unto them from the hand of God; and their scales of darkness shall begin to fall from their eyes; and many generations shall not pass away among them, save they shall be a white and delightsome people.  

The Civil War ended slavery and invalidated many of the legal underpinnings of the plural order of South Carolina society. Nonetheless, founded in a racist ideology that could not easily be legislated out of existence, the society retained its plural character into the present century. It was an ideology whose fundamental premise was that the world was made up of naturally different kinds of people, and that these people should be kept apart. Racial mixture was thought to be a violation of natural order, an order that was presumed to be divinely ordained.

We have seen that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the structure of South Carolina society exerted conflicting pressures on the Catawbas, forcing them into a dilemma. They had to become acculturated in order to

make a living, but as they became increasingly acculturated their status as Indians came into doubt. They had to choose, as it were, between being Indians and being mestizos. The Catawbas solved this problem by becoming acculturated while at the same time resorting to a number of devices that maintained their Indian image. For example, they engaged in a number of "Indian" occupations that provided them with a small income. In addition, their conversion to the Mormon religion, while not an "Indian" trait, effectively set them apart from other sociocultural sections. In this way, the Catawbas managed to have their cake and eat it too: they admitted change while keeping a tenuous hold on their place in society.

However, as the South became increasingly industrialized in the early decades of the twentieth century, the plural character of Southern society began to slowly erode. In the late 1930's, when economic development began in earnest, sweeping changes were set in motion which would eventually alter the structure of Southern society. When the Catawbas began to increasingly participate in this changing society, they began to be faced with a new dilemma: they could remain a sociocultural enclave or they could become assimilated into the larger society. They had to choose, as it were, between being Indian and being white.

One of the most important immediate effects of economic development on the Catawbas was their increasing employment
taxes, they were hampered in not being able to borrow money, unless they were exceptionally good credit risks.

In addition to increasing conflict between the Catawbas and outsiders, conflict also increased among the Catawbas. In 1943 South Carolina purchased additional reservation lands for the Catawbas which were turned over to the Office of Indian Affairs to be held in trust and administered. In place of the old informal tribal council, the Office of Indian Affairs instituted a formal council of elected officials who had precisely defined duties in the management of Catawba affairs. It was an attempt to institute an impersonal bureaucratic system among a small primary group, any one of whom could trace kinship connections to most of the others. The members of the tribal council were thus placed in the position of having to make decisions in terms of two contradictory sets of principles and values. According to their traditional principles and values, they were supposed to favor their relatives and friends; but according to the new principles and values, they were supposed to be impersonal and impartial. Consequently, the members of the tribal council were often caught in double binds; frequently, there was no way they could decide an issue without being criticized in terms of one or the other of their sets of principles and values.

In the first five decades of this century, the Catawbas experienced a series of changes which were, in Firth's term-
technology, organizational. More and more Catawbas were employed in industry; more Catawbas went to school, and those who did went for a greater number of years; and the number of marriages between Catawbas and whites steadily increased. These were changes in degree or extent; they occurred within an overall structural constancy. While these changes occurred, the Catawbas remained, in some sense, "Indians."

In the 1950's, however, the contradictions in Catawba norms and values and the conflicts in their internal and external social relationships became even more pronounced than they had previously been. In the words of one of my Catawba informants, the Catawbas became "restless": they acquired new values which were in contradiction to old values, and some of them aspired to a new way of life with others remaining content with the old way. These contradictory values stimulated social conflicts which could not be resolved within the existing structure of Catawba society; social opposition became, in the Wilson's terminology, radical, being produced by disagreement over basic values and principles.  


Eventually, these organizational changes with their attendant contradictions and conflicts caused so much strain and "muddling," the Catawbas embarked, perhaps out of desperation, on a course of action which re-shaped their social structure. In late 1959, the Catawbas held a meeting in which the majority of those attending voted to terminate their status as Indians with respect to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Informal, organizational changes had proceeded to such a degree that the structure of Catawba society became unworkable; it had to be changed. Catawba termination can be interpreted in several ways. It is an example of structural change precipitated by organizational changes; it is an example of social assimilation; and, in the realm of meaning and purpose, it meant that the majority of the Catawbas did not want to be Indians any longer, that the prophecy in The Book of Mormon was indeed coming true.

A. Economic and Cultural Development.

In 1900, the town of Fort Mill -- a small community situated a few miles north of Rock Hill -- celebrated the beginning of a new millennium. To commemorate the event, the


5. Loc. cit., supra.
townspeople erected several stone monuments, each containing a series of inscriptions. Reading these inscriptions, I thought it curious that they were oriented toward the past instead of toward the future. The inscriptions announce, as it were, the existence of three kinds of people: whites, Negroes, and Indians. The whites are depicted as the dominant people; the people who settled the country and civilized it through Christianity and agriculture. The Negroes, descended from slaves who did not really want the freedom that came after the Civil War, are depicted as friends of paternalistic whites. The Catawbas are depicted as the "remnant" of a once powerful, warlike nation who were "ever friends of the white settlers," having aided them both in the Revolution and in the Civil War; shorn of their former glory, the Catawbas lived as wards of the state. Reading these inscriptions, I felt that the people who sponsored the monuments thought that things would never change.

Actually, by 1900 the seeds of change had already been sown. We have already seen that Fort Mill was the place where the Mormon elders first made contact with the Catawbas. In addition, a more sweeping source of change was present — industry. In 1881 the first textile mill in the vicinity of Rock Hill opened its doors, and by 1900 the number of mills had increased to half a dozen. After a hydroelectric dam was

built on the Catawba River in 1904, Rock Hill rapidly developed into one of the industrial centers of the southern piedmont. 7 Between 1900 and 1940, the total value added by manufacture in the southern piedmont increased from $11,846,196 to $105,322,861, a relative growth of 789 per cent. 8

However, even though industrialization was underway, the South did not enjoy true economic development until the late 1930's and early 1940's, during the era of the New Deal and wartime prosperity. In 1929, for example, agriculture supplied around 26 per cent of the South's "earned" income; in 1961, it supplied less than 9 per cent. 9 A more vivid index of economic development is that there are 1,400,000 fewer tenant farmers today than there were in 1935. 10

In the early decades of this century, the Catawbas continued to live pretty much as they did in the closing decades of the last century. In addition to farming and cutting cord wood, some of the Catawbas continued in occupations that were either associated with Indians or peculiar in

7. Ibid., pp. 242-244.
10. Ibid., p. 229.
other respects. One man, for example, was an expert with high-powered rifles; for a while, he was employed by the Winchester Company demonstrating their rifles. One of his favorite demonstrations was to shoot at a blank target, outlining an Indian head with bullet holes. He also worked briefly for a local automobile dealer who sold Pontiacs. Undoubtedly, he got this job because at that time Pontiacs were emblazoned with Indian head symbols.

Apparently, the first Catawba to earn regular wages for non-agricultural work was a man who began operating a ferry across the Catawba River in 1916. The following year, the Catawba River flooded and washed out the bridge on the road between Rock Hill and Charlotte, North Carolina. While the bridge was being rebuilt, another, Catawba, who was at that time the chief, operated a second ferry. The second ferry was temporary, but the man who operated the first ferry was succeeded by his son who continued to operate it for over 30 years. Toward the end of his service, several articles about him appeared in local newspapers, their theme being that he had faithfully served the whites just as the Catawbas of old had served the first colonists. Thus, while operating a ferry was not an "Indian" occupation, it was nonetheless a peculiar occupation.

So long as the structure of the larger society remained the same, the scope of Catawba social change was necessarily restricted. As we have seen, the sociocultural sections in
a plural society are kept distinct by formidable social barriers which are maintained by powerful internal pressures. These social barriers and pressures did not appreciably weaken until industrialization and economic development accelerated, at which time the plural character of South Carolina society lessened, and the Catawbas began to experience a new kind of social change -- assimilation. As we shall presently see, through a series of informal decisions by particular individuals, a few Catawbas began to realize privileges that had previously been limited to whites. The three main avenues of assimilation were employment in industry, education, and intermarriage with whites.

The first Catawba to be employed in industry was hired in 1918. He had been working on a farm for a man who was also a superintendent in a textile mill. Not only did the superintendent set a precedent by hiring a Catawba to do mill work, according to some reports he also accepted him into his home in Rock Hill as a boarder. Being perhaps the first Catawba to be clearly in competition with whites, he encountered initial resentment and hostility stemming from a basic contradiction in the social position of the Catawbas.

When he started, they said, "Who is going to learn this Indian to work?" The superintendent said, "We all are." They didn't want to teach him because he was an Indian.

We had a lot of trouble with the whites at first. They didn't want the Indians to work because the state furnished money for us -- our houses and doctor bills. They didn't want our kids to go to white schools. They would try to block us from going in the mills.
This was a beginning for the Catawbas, but few additional Catawbas were hired by the mills until the late 1930's and early 1940's. Like the landowners who hired Catawbas to work in the cotton fields, the mills at first seem to have hired more women than men. "In the early days, it was the women who worked in the mills -- not men."

Paradoxically, the religion that at first set the Catawbas apart from other people later became an important medium of assimilation. This was particularly true in education, where the Mormon religion benefited the Catawbas both directly and indirectly. A direct benefit was that the Mormons believe that man has an infinite capacity for improvement; accordingly, they place high value on free will, rationality, self-improvement, and education.11 Mormon teachings instilled a desire for education in the Catawbas, but their aspirations were at first blocked locally because the whites would not allow them to attend public schools. A few of them took advantage of the alternatives that were available. Five or six of them went to the Indian School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and a few went to the school at the Cherokee reservation.

The Catawbas used voluntary labor to erect a school building of their own in 1897-98. At first, they seem to have been unable to find a teacher, but eventually this need was met through one of the indirect effects of Mormonism. After it became clear that the Catawbas were seriously interested in Mormonism, other religious groups became interested in their spiritual welfare. Several Protestant churches began sending in missionaries to try to win Catawba converts. One consequence of this was that the first teachers among the Catawbas were a Presbyterian man and his wife. They taught regular classes in the day school and attempted to convert the Catawbas to Presbyterianism on Sundays. Few Catawbas became Presbyterian converts, but several of them attended the day school with considerable enthusiasm. Many of the first students were adults. My informants told me about one man who spoke no English until he was eighteen; but once the school was available, he attended regularly, and even when he was in his forties, he occasionally attended.

After the Presbyterian couple discontinued their work because of their failure to win converts, the school was

12. In 1899-1900, the Catawbas used voluntary labor to build their first church. A second church was built in 1928. Unfortunately, this second church was built on the pattern of flat-roofed Mormon churches in the arid Western United States. It eventually developed leaks and rotted. Construction on their third church began in 1950. The second and third churches, like the first, were built through voluntary labor. We shall presently see that voluntary labor was an important symbol of community solidarity for the Catawbas.
occasionally taught by Mormon missionaries. In the absence of a teacher from outside, one of the Catawbas who had become literate taught school. Eventually, South Carolina provided annual funds for a professional school teacher. For many years, the education of the Catawbas ended with the elementary school on the reservation; they were not allowed to attend the all-white high school in Rock Hill.

Like mill work, Catawba education was at first an organizational change of limited scope; neither mill work nor education appreciably altered the internal structure of Catawba society nor their position in the larger society. Thus, in the early 1930's, most of the Catawbas continued to be employed in small-scale farming, cutting cord wood, hunting and fishing, and various "peculiar" occupations. The only differences were that they were getting an elementary education, and a few of them were working in textile mills. But in most respects, they continued to live as they had. The traditional chief, for example, continued visiting the legislature every year to plead for more state assistance to the Catawbas.

In the late 1930's and early 1940's, however, two things accelerated social change among the Catawbas: the New Deal and the labor demand in World War II. In asking

13. The Catawbas requested a Mormon missionary to teach Sunday school and day school as early as 1908. At that time, about 85 per cent of the Catawbas were members of the church, and "the rest were believers." Journal History, Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1908, July 29, p. 5.
the Catawbas when the greatest change occurred in their way of life, their unanimous answer was 1940 to 1943. This was when many Catawba men worked for the WPA, and when both men and women started working in the textile mills in large numbers. At this time, farming had steadily been declining for several years. Members of the younger generation began basing their aspirations on "public works." One Catawba said this:

Farming started going out in 1935, during the hard times. That was when Hoover was in. Most of the Indians worked on the W. P. A. Some few of them worked in textiles before the W. P. A. The W. P. A. was the first big public works that they were on.

Employment by the W. P. A. marked the first general acceptance of the Catawbas in public works, but the Catawbas attribute their progress to mill work. Another Catawba said:

About the time I was born, they couldn't work in the plants. Some of them started in World War I, but most of them started in World War II. Work in the mills improved them. When people are held down and then get a chance to work, they will improve. Since 1943 they have built up tremendously. Before that, they had no electric lights or water pumps. There was only one well on the whole reservation.

While they were winning acceptance as disciplined, responsible workers, they began to win acceptance in other ways.

14. Curiously, the Catawbas regularly use "they" instead of "we" when talking about their recent history. We will consider the implications of this usage in Chapter VI.
At the same time the Catawbas began to be employed in large numbers by the W. P. A. and the textile mills, their children began to attend the Rock Hill High School. According to the laws of South Carolina, this was illegal. They were admitted into the high school the same way they were first admitted into the mills; a single white man, the superintendent of the school, had the courage to ignore tradition and admit them. Around a half dozen began attending high school between 1935 and 1940. They were not, however, allowed to ride the school buses; they caught rides with Catawbas who commuted each day to work in the mills.

From the time the first Catawba started working in the textile mills until the early 1940's, the Catawbas broke one social barrier after another, gradually and without ostentation. In the words of one of my Catawba informants:

There was trouble at first. They (the whites) didn't want the Indians as competitors. But they kept it up. They didn't go about it in an overbearing way. Between 1925 and 1930 they couldn't eat at certain places. The whites have changed a lot, but there are still a few that won't associate.

By the 1940's, the Catawbas were fully committed to employment in the textile mills. There could be no turning back.

Even though the Catawbas were at last becoming assimilated, they doggedly continued visiting the legislature every year to plead for more assistance from the state. Finally, in 1941 South Carolina appointed a committee to negotiate with the Office of Indian Affairs and the Federal
Farm Security Administration for the purpose of giving aid to the Catawbas. After several conferences, the Federal agencies agreed to "rehabilitate" the Catawbas, but the proceedings were interrupted by the onset of World War II.  

In March, 1943 the Office of Indian Affairs reopened negotiations, and South Carolina appointed another committee. Later in the year, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed by the State of South Carolina, the Catawbas, and the Office of Indian Affairs. In this Memorandum, South Carolina agreed to allocate $75,000 for the purchase of additional tax-exempt lands; if any of this money remained after the purchase of lands, it was to be turned over to the Office of Indian Affairs. This land, along with the Old Reservation, was to be given to the Office of the Indian Affairs to be held in trust. In addition, South Carolina gave assurances that the Catawbas would be made citizens of South Carolina and that they would be allowed to attend public schools, high schools, and institutions of higher learning.

Officials from the Office of Indian Affairs agreed to appropriate annual funds for the Catawbas under the Johnson-O'Malley Act. They also agreed to provide trained people to


16. The Office of Indian Affairs did not, however, accept responsibility for the Old Reservation; it continues to be held in trust by South Carolina.

assist the Catawbas in developing arts and crafts and to make
loans and grants for their economic development. In addition,
they agreed to provide general medical treatment as well as
the use of Indian Service hospitals for serious psychiatric
and physical illnesses.\textsuperscript{18}

In February, 1944, the committee submitted its report
to the House and Senate of South Carolina. The members of
the committee report having purchased 3,432.8 acres of land
at a total cost of $70,132.50, an average value of $20.43 per
acre.\textsuperscript{19} This land was selected by the committee in consulta-
tion with the Office of Indian Affairs.\textsuperscript{20} In the spring of
1944, some of the Catawbas began to move on the "New Reser-
vation" under the supervision of the Office of Indian Affairs.

The ostensible motive of South Carolina in this trans-
action was to repay the Catawbas "for patriotic service their
forefathers had rendered and the financial obligations like-
wise due them because of the unscrupulous methods employed by
white citizens in business transactions with them, especially
in acquiring title to most of their lands."\textsuperscript{21} However, a
more practical motive can be seen in the following passage

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{19} This land was purchased in several tracts, some of
which were not contiguous with the Old Reservation or with
each other. They were named the Friedham tract, Springstein
tract, Catoe-Fewell tract, Spencer tract, and Dabney-Ratterree
tract.

\textsuperscript{20} Bradford, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., p. 13.
In the last half century tax money running into hundreds of thousands of dollars has been appropriated from the State Treasury for the maintenance of the Catawbas, and that would seem another potent reason why South Carolinians should be interested in the Indians.22

For South Carolina, this was an opportunity to allow the Federal Government assume responsibility for the Catawbas. For the Catawbas, the New Reservation was a mixed blessing. It was an advantage in that it gave them room for improvement; the drawback was that most of the Federal aid they were promised was conditioned upon their practicing agriculture.

In upper South Carolina in recent years thousands of white people have moved from the farms into towns to seek other ways of making a living. Will the Indians follow the example the whites have thus set them, or will they settle permanently on the land the State has bought for them and cooperate with the Federal authorities in the effort that will be made to help them to independence as farmers? If the answer should be in the negative in response to the latter prong of the question, a regrettable situation will be brought about. Thence on, neither the State nor Federal Government would likely look favorably upon any suggestion of further aid for the Catawbas.23

With respect to Catawba history, the acquisition of the New Reservation was an ironic afterthought. At the very time the Catawbas were increasingly being assimilated into an industrial society, they were given land which they were expected to farm.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., pp. 29-30.
In addition to assimilation through education and industrial employment, the Catawbas were also being assimilated through intermarriage with whites. Under South Carolina miscegenation laws, marriages between Indians and whites were illegal. In spite of this, however, a few Catawbas married whites in the early 1900's. Like industrial employment and education, the Catawbas were enabled to marry whites through the decisions of particular individuals; when a Catawba decided to marry a white, he knew of one or two officials in the state who would perform the ceremony. In the 1940's, the frequency of Catawba-white intermarriage increased sharply, many of the married couples subsequently moving into Rock Hill to live. I spoke to one woman who has even cautioned her children not to marry Cherokees, "because you never know what you are marrying into (i.e., they could be distant kin)."

B. "Restlessness."

As the Catawbas became increasingly assimilated into the larger society, they acquired new values and expectations which contradicted old values and expectations. In the following pages we shall see evidence that these contradictions, through making incompatible demands on the Catawbas and the people with whom they had dealings, produced social conflict. Although social conflict is difficult -- perhaps impossible -- to quantify, my impression is that social conflict increased among the Catawbas in direct proportion to their assimilation
into the larger society. In trying to explain some of the changes that occurred after 1940, one of my informants told me that the changes were prompted by "restlessness."

The thing that has made the difference with us is mixing in with others and getting new ideas. Restlessness is the desire to see what other jobs and places are like. This began about 1938. This was working on the people who asked for the changes. They wanted to get under the Federal Government so they would have more chances. They were tired of cutting cord wood; tired of having no water; tired of the same old teacher in the same old school house.

My informant used "restlessness" to refer both to new values and expectations and to the social conflict they engendered. From 1940 until the early 1960's, the Catawbas were increasingly at odds with themselves and with outsiders.

Social conflict between Catawbas and outsiders commonly occurred in two social situations. The first situation in which conflict was frequent occurred when Catawbas tried to secure the rights of white citizens while retaining the considerable privileges of being Indian, the most important of which was being exempt from property taxes. The second situation occurred when external agencies attempted to help or assist the Catawbas in a way that demanded communal cooperation. In general, outsiders expected them to be more "Indian" than they were. Thus, the Catawbas came into conflict with outsiders when they tried to be too "white," and they also came into conflict when they were not "Indian" enough.
When the Catawbas first began working at the mills, we saw that white workers tried to keep them out on the grounds that they paid no property taxes. Similar conflict arose when the Catawbas began attending white schools, when they began riding on the school buses, and when they registered for voting. In all of these cases the Catawbas were assisted by Office of Indian Affairs officials who persuaded local officials to accept the Catawbas on the same basis as whites.

In the forties, a government man told some of the Indians to go up to the store and register to vote. But the people at the store wouldn't let them register, so they came back and told the government man. Then he went up to the store and made them allow them to register. But not many of the Indians vote today.

Some of my informants perceived an ulterior motive behind denial of rights because they paid no property taxes. When I asked one of my informants why the whites wanted to keep the Indians out of the public schools, he said: "The whites were just prejudiced; they wanted to hold the Indians back."

However, regardless of what the real motives were, one source of conflict between Catawbas and whites arose through the Catawbas pressing for the rights of whites while retaining the privileges of Indians.

Another situation involving conflict occurred when outside groups and agencies tried to "do something" for the Catawbas. These outsiders typically had good motives, but their efforts to help usually failed. In general, the Ca-
tawbas resented interference from the outside. One outsider, who had long experience with the Catawbas, said: "You have to work slowly with the Indians; the door is either open or closed, and if it is closed you are just out of luck."

Outsiders typically expected the Catawbas to be naturally close and cooperative. An organization in Rock Hill, for example, once tried to set up a shop on the reservation to serve as an outlet for Catawba pottery. One of the potters summed it up this way:

They've tried several times to set up a shop for everybody, but it never worked out. No one wanted to be responsible for the pottery of other people. Some didn't finish their's well, and it couldn't be sold for the same that the others sold it for. Some didn't burn it well enough. There are several problems. Some didn't want to sell at that shop. Some are careful and some are careless. Those that didn't burn it well enough -- the pottery melts and this hurts the sale of the other potters.

At the time of my fieldwork, the pottery shop, a small rough building, stood deserted.

The Office of Indian Affairs inevitably encountered the same sort of conflict with the Catawbas. Because the Office of Indian Affairs hold their land in trust, the Catawbas felt they did not have to cooperate if they did not wish to. "The Federal Government couldn't just come in and tell us what to do. We wouldn't toe the line for them." A few Catawbas, for example, continued to cut cord wood, Christmas trees, and pulp wood even though this was prohibited on the New Reservation. After a series of such incidents, the Office of Indian
Affairs withdrew their agent from the Reservation and administered the Catawbas from the Cherokee agency. One woman who worked for a social agency in Rock Hill said: "The people the Federal Government sent here just didn't understand the Catawbas."

In addition to conflict caused by contradictory expectations, there were other sources of conflict as the Catawbas progressively moved out into the white world. Some of it was clearly due to prejudice on the part of the whites. In one case, there was a white school bus driver who caused trouble.

He would stop for the white children, but he wouldn't stop for the Indians. Sometimes he would stop and sometimes he wouldn't. He would pull my little girl's pony tail when she got on the bus. I went and complained to an official. I started crying -- and when I cry I am ready to fight. He wouldn't do anything about it. Then I went to another official and took several mothers with me. He looked into it, and in a little while we had a new bus driver.

In other cases, the cause of conflict was not so much with white prejudice, but with sensitivity on the part of the Catawbas. They often expected whites to be unsympathetic or hostile.

The Indians want to be left alone. They don't like whites to interfere. I have seen this towards me and towards others. They think the whites look down on them. They know that they are a different color, and they think the whites look down on them.

This sensitivity is more characteristic of the older generation than of the younger generation. "Indians are not as
friendly as white folks -- this is mostly true of the older ones who went to all their school here. The ones that are now going out to school will be easier to get along with."

Hand in hand with increasing conflict between Catawbas and outsiders, the Catawbas experienced increasing internal conflict. Like any small, relatively closed community, the Catawbas were beset with a series of smouldering, petty feuds; the slightest incident could touch them off, igniting the community with open conflict. In this respect, the Catawbas were an example of Simmel's dictum that the closer the social relationships, the more intense the conflict.24 Moreover, this internal conflict was further intensified by two contradictory value systems. On the one hand, the Catawbas traditionally valued communalism, emphasizing cooperation, generosity, and community solidarity.25 On the other hand, however, as the Catawbas were increasingly assimilated, they began to value individualism, emphasizing advancement in their jobs, thrift, and conspicuous consumption.

In accordance with the traditional value system, in the years following 1940 the Catawbas continued to think of


themselves as an Indian community with strong solidarity. My
informants frequently illustrated their belief in community
solidarity by telling me about "workings," a form of voluntary
labor. One man, for example, told me about an incident where
voluntary labor developed spontaneously.

When somebody builds something, everybody
pitches in. I started building a home for my
mother one morning, and by the end of the day
20 or 30 people were helping.

Another informant gave me an example of community solidarity
involving a man whose ancestors had left the reservation in
the late nineteenth century. This man, a descendant of the
Catawbas who emigrated to Colorado under the influence of
Mormonism, returned to the reservation some years ago and was
immediately accepted back into the tribe. My informant said
that "anyone would have taken him in." Subsequently, this
man's brother left Colorado and came to the reservation where
he was accepted into the home of a "sixth or seventh cousin."

The Catawbas still retained their traditional belief
in community cooperativeness and solidarity at the time I did
field work. However, in the light of what I observed, their
believed in state of affairs was at variance with their real
state of affairs; most of their cooperative endeavors failed.
For example, I once attended a "social" which was organized
for the purpose of raising funds for the church. As planned,
the social was to feature entertainment by musicians, and
money was to be raised by the sale of food and beverages. As
it turned out, however, the musicians failed to appear, and the food and beverages sold slowly; even though prices were later reduced, most of it remained unsold when the social ended. On several occasions I overheard people discussing plans for picnics and workings, but these discussions often ended with no definite plans being made or with the decision to delay making plans until some future time. While I did field work, the Catawbas succeeded in organizing only one working, and it was a rather unenthusiastic affair. One discussion of plans for a picnic ended with: "It seems like they don't want to get together any more." Several whites who worked for organizations that tried "to do something" for the Catawbas told me that they were exceedingly difficult to organize: "the least spirit of cooperation you'll ever find."26

Beneath their traditional value system, Catawba society contained a series of feuds and animosities that were both deep and long-standing. Conflict was particularly apt to break out between families.

Kinship was one of their biggest problems. That was why they began to intermarry with others (i.e., whites). They were too close kin. It would go to aunts, uncles, and even to cousins. They

26. This failure in communal activities is reminiscent of the state of affairs in the Welsh village described by Ronald Frankenberg in Village on the Border (London: Cohen & West, 1957). The Welch villagers organize activities that symbolize their desire to be a community, but these activities regularly fail when pre-existing personal feuds break out into the open.
were closer than people on the outside. If one was sick, even if it was a cousin, they would go and sit as if she was their own sister. They thought that their family could do no wrong. They were ready to fight if anybody said anything about their family. There's plenty of examples of even cousins (causing conflict). This is not true for cousins now. They have moved out a lot.\footnote{27} Given these feuds and animosities in the context of a closed community, almost anything could precipitate open conflict, even violence.

They used to try to settle their own disputes. Fist fights, cutting scrapes. Drinking started it. Sometimes one family would have a grudge against another. The church settled a lot of disputes. The elders would talk to the people. They would fall out about things — like pitching horseshoes.

Conflicts also occurred within families, and these conflicts ramified into other social situations. A Catawba who was active in the church gave me an example: "When two sisters quarrel, one of them will quit coming to church to take it out on the other one." Another informant told me that she was reluctant to assume responsibility for a Sunday school class because if the children misbehaved she would have to report them to the branch president of the church; their parents, of course, were likely to be her kinsmen. Another woman told me that she dreaded the beginning of school because the children fought on the school buses, and this could cause trouble between their parents.

\footnote{27} That is, the range of relatives included in the Catawba "family" has shrunk; cousins are not thought to be as close as they previously were.
It is probable that traditional Catawba society, being a small, closed community, had no more internal conflict than any other community with similar characteristics. However, when the traditional, communalistic value system began to be challenged by a new, individualistic value system, the embers of conflict were fanned into a conflagration. The new values were not wholly unprecedented: "The Indians always wanted things; they just didn't know how to get them." And they did not adopt the new values overnight.

My husband used to say that what was good enough for his parents is good enough for us. It wasn't until our children were almost grown that we realized that this wasn't true. When something becomes a part of you, it is hard to get rid of it.

The traditional value system persisted not through habit, however, but because it was fundamental in the organization of Catawba life. Social prestige, for example, was gained through being generous and helpful toward one's kinsmen and neighbors. A leader or a successful man did not set himself apart from his followers through conspicuous consumption; everybody was supposed to be more or less alike. The last traditional chief, for example, is remembered as having been a paragon of generosity. Before 1940, when a Catawba died he would always volunteer to haul the corpse into Rock Hill.

to an undertaker; he never charged a fee for this, "he always tried to help."

The traditional value system, encouraging everybody to be on a par with everybody else, was sanctioned by means of invidious gossip. When somebody became too ambitious, the others would say that he was "big-headed" or that he "thought he was better than everybody else." With economic development and the individualistic value system, invidious gossip increased.

In the old days there was nothing to be jealous about. They barely had enough to eat. It is different now. A lot of them will fuss about one having a big car or a new house or getting something on credit.

Several of my informants told me that where a white will compete with his neighbor in conspicuous consumption, an Indian will "talk him down," i.e. resort to invidious gossip.

Where whites will try to keep up with each other, the Indians will talk. They will say, "She acts like she is too good to talk to me." The Indians would be better off if they would try to keep up with one another instead of talking somebody down. I've heard a lot of them say that an Indian doesn't like to see another Indian get ahead.

Thus, as economic development and assimilation proceeded, the Catawbas came to hold two contradictory value systems. When a Catawba, impelled by the individualistic value system, began to show signs of material success, his kinsmen and neighbors "talked him down" in terms of the traditional, communalistic value system. In some instances, the Catawbas accused successful people of getting ahead at their expense,
the implication being that the successful ones had somehow advanced themselves by cheating the unsuccessful ones.

In this conflict-ridden situation, the Office of Indian Affairs attempted to institute a tribal council structured as an impersonal bureaucracy, with formally elected officials having specific rights and duties. In the traditional political system, the council had been composed of elected officials, but their terms in office had been somewhat indefinite; once elected, a man stayed in office until he was "put out." In the traditional system, the elections had been informal, usually having the appearance of being unanimous.

They didn't much want to be elected. They wouldn't push hard. They used a hand vote. It didn't matter how many people were there. There was seldom any opposition. One man wanted to be chief, but he got in trouble and his people wouldn't support him.

Apparently, the council also resolved issues by informal means. When they could not decide an issue, they took it to an outside magistrate for settlement. The magistrate then advised the Indians about the matter, usually encouraging them to return to the reservation and try to settle it among themselves. If this failed, they again took it to the magistrate who then handed down a decision.

In place of this informal system, the Office of Indian Affairs instituted a council governed by a formal constitution and by-laws. The preamble to the constitution reads:
We, the members of the Catawba Indian Tribe of South Carolina, in order to set up a more effective tribal organization, to improve our social and economic welfare, and to secure to ourselves and our posterity the benefits of organization, do hereby establish and ordain this constitution and by-laws for the Catawba Indian Tribe.29

Under the constitution, the Catawba tribal council consisted of five officers: a chief, an assistant chief, a secretary-treasurer, and two trustees. The first council took office in July, 1944; subsequently, elections were held in the July general meeting of every even-numbered year.

The council was empowered to negotiate with the local, state, and federal governments. It was responsible for passing and enforcing ordinances pertaining to the supervision and management of reservation lands, and it was responsible for protecting the wildlife and natural resources on the reservation. The council, for example, passed a regulation making it illegal to cut timber on the New Reservation except for use as fuel and building materials; the cutting of timber for sale as cord wood, pulp wood, and Christmas trees was specifically prohibited.

The old tribal council had settled issues informally; in the new council, elected officers were required to enforce regulations in formal meetings whose proceedings were recorded

by the secretary-treasurer. Through being required to take definite stands on issues and decisions, the members of the council were often caught in double binds. According to the traditional value system, they were supposed to support their relatives, but according to the constitution and by-laws, they were supposed to reach decisions impartially, even when their relatives were involved. Thus, the officials were frequently accused of being partial to their relatives.

Jealousy and greediness, to speak plainly. You would put in a group of executives and they would aid their people instead of being fair to all. You will start thinking that a person is not treating you fair, and soon you believe that it is real. At one time, there were three on the council from one family: an uncle and two nephews. That was it right there. They would create jobs to suit their own family needs.

In addition to charges of being partial to relatives, the officials were often charged with acting out of self-interest. One informant explained how the charge of self-interest disrupted things:

They had problems before they divided up the land. When it came to doing something for the tribe they would just think of themselves. They couldn't get together. If someone suggested something, they would say that it was just for him and not for the tribe. They were afraid that another Indian might get ahead.

The councilmen never worked for the tribe. They were always for themselves. When the new land was bought, some of them got tracts of land with houses on them. Others just got tracts of land. The councilmen got houses and the others didn't. That put them ahead right there.
The Catawbas could not easily conceive of impersonal, disinterested decisions; in their way of thinking, decisions were likely to be prompted either by self-interest or partiality towards kinsmen.

The two issues that divided the Catawbas most deeply were the cutting of timber on reservation lands and the communal cattle project. As we have seen, one of the traditional occupations of Catawbas had been cutting and selling cord wood and Christmas trees. Under the new regulations, however, this became illegal. Nonetheless, several Catawbas continued to cut timber on reservation lands, the last traditional chief being perhaps the most frequent offender. He and others who cut the timber felt that the regulation was unreasonable, their argument being that the people who cut the timber were needy.

They (the tribal council) seemed like they owned the reservation and everybody on it. They seemed to tell everybody what to do. A lot would tell you what you could and couldn't do. Some Indians just won't let another Indian tell them what to do. These people never did like for anybody to tell them what to do.

Like when that council member stopped them from selling trees. They were saying that they belonged to the Federal Government, but they didn't. They were held in trust for the Indians. One man that cut them was sick, on welfare. Several of them cut a few cedars to get toys for their children. The council member met the man in town and told him that the trees were off of Federal property; it scared him to death.

On at least one occasion, members of the tribal council called in law officers to prevent some of the Catawbas from selling
Christmas trees that had already been cut. This reliance on external officials to sanction a purely internal problem was an admission, as it were, that they had internal conflicts that they could not resolve by existing means.

The communal cattle project was another source of conflict that "strained" the structure of Catawba society. When it became apparent that the Catawbas were not going to take up individual farming, the Office of Indian Affairs sponsored a communally operated cattle project. The tribal council was empowered to appoint one or two men to take care of the cattle. After the cattle were sold, the profits were to be equally divided among all the Catawbas. Although the project eventually became economically sound, it stimulated a series of disputes. The Catawbas disagreed over who could decide to sell the cattle and when they were to be sold. Almost inevitably, members of the tribal council were accused of self-interest in filling the jobs of tending the cattle.

It benefited four or five families and none of the others. The chief benefited off of the cattle. We voted to sell them and he didn't do it. I asked him why, and he said the prices were low. He went out to take care of them. Another man used to take care of them because he was down in health. The chief just pretended he was looking after them; he didn't, but he still got paid. He was working at the mill at that time. I think that different families should have taken turns in taking care of them.

These two issues above all the others demonstrated to the Catawbas that there were serious contradictions and conflicts
in their social structure. In the words of an old Catawba man, "Everybody got divided up."

C. Termination.

Economic and cultural development introduced a series of organizational changes in the Catawba way of life, and it introduced an individualistic value system. Although these changes generally improved their standard of living, the Catawbas paid an initial price. As we have seen, the changes both intensified existing conflicts and introduced new sources of conflict. Disputes and misunderstandings mounted in intensity until they exceeded the structural resources of Catawba society. Issues arose that could only be resolved by firm decisions on the part of the tribal council. Yet, regardless of what decision the council reached, the council members were criticized as being either partial or self-interested, and it was not at all uncommon for a council member to be accused of both. Eventually, the tribal council was disrupted by a series of resignations. For example, two out of the last three Catawba chiefs resigned after serving short terms in office. Resignation was their only means of escaping the double binds that were intrinsic to their offices.30

30. Resignations were common in the Welch village described by Frankenberg (op. cit., p. 19).
To make matters worse, neither the state of South Carolina nor the Office of Indian Affairs were clear about their responsibilities toward the Catawbas. For example, by the late 1950's, many of the Catawbas had acquired automobiles; however, the usefulness of these vehicles was hampered because the dirt roads on the reservation became impassable in wet weather. When the Catawbas tried to have paved roads put on the reservation, they found that neither South Carolina nor the Office of Indian Affairs were sure that it was their responsibility to pave the roads.

This conflict was caused by contradictions in Catawba social structure; the only way they could reduce it was to change the structure of their society, and this is what they did. On January 3, 1959, the Catawbas passed a resolution requesting that a bill be introduced to Congress allowing them to divide their assets and terminate their status as Indians. Their way of reducing conflict was to divest themselves of that which required them to cooperate. However, because some of the Catawbas said that they had not been informed of the meeting in which this resolution was passed, they decided to hold a second meeting and take another vote.

The Catawbas who were opposed to termination argued that although termination was inevitable, the people were not prepared for it. They predicted that if the Catawbas got title to their land, it would all be sold within six months. Some of the Catawbas argued that they could not afford to
give up the advantages of free medical services and tax-free lands. Still others said that if the lands were sold, anybody could move in and "build houses on top of each other," a practice which would irritate Catawbas who were accustomed to living in rather widely spaced houses.

The arguments of those who were in favor of termination were somewhat more positive. The most prevalent argument in favor of termination was that if they had deeds to their lands, they could borrow money to improve their homes. Others said that they were "fed up" with being wards of the government; they wanted to pay taxes like everybody else so they "could hold up their heads and look the world in the face."

In March, 1959, the Catawbas held a second meeting which was attended by representatives from the state, officials from the Office of Indian Affairs, representatives from other interested organizations, and 60 eligible Catawba voters. When a second vote was taken to introduce a termination bill to Congress, it passed by a margin of 40 in favor to 17 opposed, 3 voters abstaining.

Before a final tribal roll could be compiled, the status of Catawba-white marriages had to be clarified. Under the South Carolina miscegenation law of 1879, marriages between Indians and whites were illegal and the children of such unions were not legitimate. However, in spite of this law, we have seen that Catawba-white intermarriage increased sharply
after 1940. One of the officials of the Office of Indian Affairs had raised this marriage issue in 1958, when he reported that 120 out of 162 Catawba families contained one white spouse.31 South Carolina lawmakers introduced a bill making the marriages legal to the House of Representatives and the Senate; the bill became law in April, 1960.32

The final tribal roll was closed out on July 2, 1960. This roll includes all surviving Catawbas who were on the July 1, 1943 roll drawn up when the New Reservation was purchased. It also includes the Catawbas who were residents of South Carolina but were absent through service in the armed forces on July 1, 1943. Finally, it includes the children of these two categories of people who were residents of South Carolina when their children were born. The final roll includes 631 persons in all.

The actual division of the reservation was governed by the following rules. Every Catawba on the roll had the right to choose his portion of the settlement either in land or money. The head of a family could decide whether his minor children would receive land or money. (1) First choice


32. Code of Laws of South Carolina, 1962, Title 20, Chap. 1, Article 1, Sections 20-27, pp. 120-121. The new law applies specifically to Catawbas. The miscegenation law still prohibits marriage between a white on the one hand, and a "mulatto, half-breed, Indian, Negro or mestizo" on the other.
to particular tracts of land went to Catawbas who had land assignments. That is, they could choose to take the land on which they were living, provided, of course, that it did not exceed their share. (2) Catawbas who decided to take their settlement in land could choose any unassigned land. When several members of a single family chose land, they attempted to select contiguous tracts. (3) The Catawbas who chose a money settlement were to receive a share of cash from the sale of land that was not claimed by other Catawbas. (4) Finally, the Catawbas who wanted to purchase tracts of land could do so by meeting the highest bid on the tract of land in which they were interested.

According to Bureau of Indian Affairs figures, there were 3,434.3 acres to be divided. From this, a 35 acre tract of land on which the school, church, and playground were located and a 100 acre tract that included a fish pond were set aside. These 135 acres were given in trust to the Catawba Mormon church. Out of 631 on the roll, 262 selected a money settlement, the remainder choosing land. In June, 1962, the 1,433 acres of unclaimed land were sold and the proceeds equally divided among the Catawbas who chose money. Termination proceedings were final on July 1, 1962.

When I asked the Catawbas about the effects of termination, I encountered a variety of appraisals. Some of them feel that termination was clearly beneficial; for the first time, many of the Catawbas own their homes and have the
means to make repairs and improvements. One man said that since termination was inevitable, they were wise in having done it when they did: "If we had waited much longer before dividing up, there wouldn't have been much to go around."

Some took a more moderate view, saying that termination had benefited the young, but that it had adversely affected some of the old people.

Some of the Catawbas feel that termination was a mistake. In particular, they feel that having to pay for medical services is going to be a hardship for many people.

This is the first time in a hundred years that there is no doctor. It is going to be a hardship. Doesn't seem so right now, but it will be. Good many got land, and some got money. But they'll find out after a while that they have no money and no doctor.

Some of those who feel that termination was a mistake emphasize that many of the Catawbas who chose land have now sold it.

A lot of them sold their land before they had the deeds. I was in town putting our children's money in the bank, and they were walking up and down the streets spending theirs. They didn't speak to us until after they had spent their money.

It is perhaps significant, however, that some of those who feel that termination was a mistake do not feel that there is a need for reorganizing a tribal council. Most of the Catawbas, whether they were for or against termination, do not feel that the tribal council should be reorganized.

In explaining why termination occurred, many Catawbas emphasize the role of outsiders -- strangers. They say that several whites came in and expressed their opposition to
termination because "they were afraid we would get out and get something." Some say that they terminated because they "got too close to the whites." By a variety of means, many of the Catawbas attempt to deflect responsibility for termination on outsiders. This is, of course, particularly true of the Catawbas who feel that termination was a mistake. As we shall presently see, strangers were useful to the Catawbas in several ways.

The two things that still serve to hold the Catawbas together -- albeit tenuously -- are the Old Reservation and the Mormon church. The 630 acre Old Reservation is still held in trust by South Carolina. Several Catawba families continue to live on the Old Reservation just as they did before termination. For others, it is a source of security. In an emergency, such as prolonged illness, they could move back to the Old Reservation where they would at least have a place to live. Some families who managed their settlement poorly have already moved back.

A more important social bond is the church. There are, however, some indications that the church is now less influential than it was in the past. "I can remember when everybody went to church; now they say they can take it or leave it." One factor in the decline of church membership is the establishment of a second Mormon church in Rock Hill in 1962. The membership of the two churches is divided by U. S. highway 21. All of those to the west of the highway go
to the church in Rock Hill, while all those to the east go
to the Catawba church. Both Indians and whites go to the church
in Rock Hill, but because the reservation lies to the east of
highway 21, the Catawba membership is largely Indian.

For the church on the reservation, the most important
loss caused by this division in the congregation was not the
numerical loss of members; it was the loss of outsiders. A
member of the Catawba church explained it this way:

There used to be quite a few white members
here who came in from town. They were the leaders;
they were very active. After they divided the
church, they had to attend in town. After the
whites left, our Relief Society dropped off a lot.
There were two or three whites and two or three
Indians, and they worked together. Now, all they
have are Indians. They can't work together.
There's always some beef. I can work with any of
them, but a lot of them can't. A lot of them
won't attend if there is one leader they don't
like.

Here is but another expression of the fundamental contradictions
in Catawba society. The same forces that led to termination
are now producing dissention and poor attendance in church. 33

33. In Frankenberg's book, strangers played precisely
the same role they played for the Catawbas. They were people
without kinsmen, and they were to some extent exempt from
gossip (op. cit., pp. 152-155).
CHAPTER VI

THE RESIDUE OF TIME

White informant: "The Catawbas are a disappearing nation."

Catawba informant: "The Catawbas have come a long way the hard way."

In the introductory pages of this study, I said that we would be concerned with two distinct kinds of history. This study is first of all a social history of the Catawba Indians, being primarily concerned with their changing position with respect to other social entities. In preceding chapters, I have reconstructed, within the limits of available data, the social process which began with the Catawbas as an obscure, aboriginal society; which saw them subsequently incorporated into the plural structure of South Carolina society; and which ended with their terminating their status as Indians with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Standing apart from the materials in the interest of detachment, my aim has been to objectively represent a series of human actions and events within the conceptual framework of existing social theory.

Turning now to the second part of this study, in this chapter we shall examine the encapsulated history of the
Catawbas, the residue of human actions and events in the minds of living people. This chapter, like the previous chapters, is based both on documentary sources and on first hand observation. But unlike the preceding chapter, in which I was primarily concerned with actions (the "real" state of affairs, as seen by a detached observer) and values (the ideal state of affairs, as seen by actors), I am in this chapter primarily concerned with beliefs (the state of affairs as it is represented by actors). Since any of these analytically distinct levels of social reality can change independently of the others, it is even more necessary to include all three levels of analysis in a study of social history than it is to include them in a study with a shallow time dimension.

Being concerned with the memory of the past rather than the past itself, the account in the following pages is in several respects different from universal history. While universal history takes the form of narrative, or, at least, a series of events anchored in chronology, encapsulated history takes the form of a series of themes analytically derived from empirical data. These themes are general propo-


2. Ibid., pp. 245-246.
tions about the past which are logically prior to the beliefs, perceptions, and actions of living actors. 3

Moreover, I have not verified the historical beliefs presented in this chapter in the way universal historical statements are verified. Being social facts, the role they play in the social context in which they occur is more relevant than the accuracy with which they represent the past. We shall presently see that the historical process set forth in preceding chapters has left residues in the minds of Indians and whites that do not precisely mesh. That is to say, the Indians and the whites agree on the broad outlines of Catawba history, but they do not agree about the details, and for the student of society, the differences are as relevant as the similarities. To an omniscient observer, Catawba history is a single, unique process; but to the descendants of the people who participated in this history, it has been refracted by social structure, as it were, into two differently colored versions.

A. **Catawba History: White Version.**

The version of Catawba history that has become encapsulated in the minds of whites can be analyzed into three general themes: (1) the Catawbas are descended from Indians; (2) the Catawbas were friends of the colonists; and (3) the

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Catawbas are the remnant of a once great nation. These themes do not, of course, exhaustively account for all details of the white version of Catawba history; they are general in that they are logically consistent with many of the things that whites say about the Catawbas, with many of their actions with respect to the Catawbas, and to some extent, with their perception of the Catawbas.

1. The Catawbas are descended from Indians. The most fundamental theme in the white version of Catawba history is the belief that the ancestors of the Catawbas were Indians. I do not use "Indian" here in a technical sense. Indeed, it is doubtful that the term can have a technical sense, except in a very general way. The aboriginal inhabitants of the New World were diverse in every respect — racially, linguistically, culturally, and socially. They were so diverse that the word Indian can have no precise meaning. Nonetheless, in the minds of Americans the word designates a meaningful historical crystallate — a stereotype.4

The white neighbors of the Catawbas believe that the ancient Catawbas lived in much the way that most Americans believe Indians lived. They believe, for example, that the ancient Catawbas were members of a discrete, nominate social

group. They were a self-contained, independent nation. One white informant, for example, told me in all sincerity that this was true until very recently.

No enforcement officer could set foot on that reservation to arrest any one. They just began to do it several years ago. If a man committed a crime, all he had to do was reach that place. It was an Indian Nation -- no enforcement officer could go there. We used to be woke up at two or three o'clock in the morning by some criminal looking for the reservation. They have only had an agreement with enforcement officers for about fifteen or twenty years.

This is, of course, an exaggerated expression of the belief that modern Catawbas retain something of the independent national status that their ancestors enjoyed in full measure, but many whites hold this belief to a lesser extent.

The whites believe that the ancient Catawbas, like other Indians, vested authority in males and that they were led by a powerful chief, a venerable old man. This belief colored their perception of Chief Blue, the last of the traditional Catawba chiefs. In turn, Chief Blue was undoubtedly aware of these beliefs, using them as points of reference in shaping his "Indian" role for the benefit of outsiders. A white informant gave me the following description of the image Blue projected.

You should have known Chief Blue. By being put out on their own, a lot of them don't know what has happened. Chief Blue was liked by everybody. He would come in on a horse; visiting around. He liked to talk. He was a very dynamic person. He could lead them -- that is what they lack now. When Blue sold cord wood, he made friends he never forgot.
Chief Blue was the one. You would see him come into town with leather trousers and a head-dress. His wife would follow him like a puppy dog. If you asked her a question, she would say "ask my husband."

Because Chief Blue was the last speaker of the Catawba language and because he reputedly had a large number of children, the whites thought of him as the "last of the ancient Catawbas." For this reason, they thought that the other Catawbas respected him to a man, following his advice and decisions without reservation. This, of course, was not true, particularly after the tribal council was re-organized in 1943.

In many ways, whites thought of Chief Blue as a living symbol of their version of Catawba history. While the Catawbas were in the process of termination, whites in Rock Hill produced a historical drama dealing with the relation between the Catawbas and the colonists. Chief Blue appears in the opening and closing scenes of the drama as a venerable old man entertaining a group of children with stories about the ancient Catawbas. When a quarrel develops among the children over which of them are his grandchildren, he explains, in accordance with the white stereotype, that he is probably grandfather to all of them, because he fathered no less than

twenty-three children. According to the genealogy I collected, Blue fathered ten children, only seven of whom produced grandchildren.

The whites believe that the ancient Catawbas were superior in their physical characteristics, but child-like in their intellectual capacities. More precisely, they are thought to have been physically superior not in their capacity to do hard work, but in such pursuits as hunting and athletics. The whites firmly believe that the ancient Catawbas were hunters rather than agriculturalists.

The most mistaken idea is that the reservation land is poor. It is not. They kept the trees down for fuel. When we set the Negroes free, they knew how to farm, but the Indians could only hunt and fish. They never stayed in one place long enough to build homes. The only thing they could do was make pottery, and they can't make very good pottery.

This belief explains why the Catawbas did not farm the New Reservation lands. When I told one white man that Adair had seen a large Catawba corn field in the eighteenth century, he could not believe it.

The Negroes lived along with white men and learned their agricultural techniques, while the Indians were shut off. In this way, the Negroes got ahead. The Federal Government expected the Indians to become farmers, but they did not know how to farm. They were working in the mills. Individual farming didn't work. Then they tried collective farming, and that didn't work either.

As further confirmation of this incapsulated belief, whites told me about two or three Catawba boys who have been out-
standing football players. The athletic ability of these boys is beyond doubt; all were offered substantial athletic scholarships by universities. However, I feel that their being Indians gave them an aura of ferociousness that a white athlete of equal ability would not have had.

An example of belief in the limited intellectual capabilities of Indians was given me by a white man who once led a Boy Scout troop including both whites and Catawbas. He explained to me that the Indians made excellent campers, but they were limited in their ability to master the Boy Scout Manual. None ever got past the second grade of scouting. The belief that the Indians were not adept in intellectual matters explains why they cannot manage their money well. "They give money to their children for candy when they should spend it on clothing. They drive cars while living in shacks and carrying their water."

The belief that ancient Indians are ancestral to modern Indians, the former shaping the stereotype of the latter, is probably held in some degree by most Americans, but the white neighbors of the Catawbas have an additional belief that is probably a Southern phenomenon. That is, they believe there has historically been a natural antipathy between Catawbas and Negroes. Undoubtedly, this belief is a residue of the social position of the Catawbas in plural South Carolina. On numerous occasions, whites told me that there has always been a natural antipathy between the Catawbas and Negroes.
The Catawbas are believed to have always had a natural distaste for Negroes, always keeping socially distinct from them. The Negroes, on the other hand, are believed to have always been naturally terrified of the Catawbas.

This belief frequently comes into play when the "racial purity" of the Catawbas is, for some reason, questioned. The belief was, for example, part of South Carolina's justification for giving aid to the Catawbas. The following passage is from the report to the South Carolina Senate describing the acquisition of the New Reservation.

Not now, nor at any time in the past, has there been social intermingling between the Catawbas and negroes (sic). An aged Indian says that so far as he knows, not a drop of negro blood has ever flowed in the veins of a Catawba Indian. When asked how the Catawbas and negroes got along, this Indian replied: "Fine. We have nothing to do with them, and they have nothing to do with us. There hasn't been a negro on the Reservation in five years." Very few full-blooded Indians are left among the Catawbas. Most of them are half-breeds.

White admixture was deplored, perhaps, but admixture with Negroes would almost certainly have disqualified the Catawbas from receiving state aid. The social position of the Catawbas depended upon their being descended from Indians and upon not being mixed with Negroes.

2. The Catawbas were friends of the colonists. The white neighbors of the Catawbas, like most Americans, believe that there were two kinds of Indians in the Colonial era: friendly and hostile. The whites believe that the Catawbas, of all the southeastern Indians, were the best friends the colonists had. The Catawbas violated this friendship only once, when, during the Yemassee War, they attacked the colonists. In Kah-Woh, Catawba, however, even this was atoned for when one of the white characters in the play explains to President Washington how the whites gained possession of the territory of the Waxhaw Indians.

This area at one time belonged to the Waxhaw Indians. It's a very interesting story. The only time the Catawba Indians ever sided against the whites was during the Yamassee War, and then for only a short while. It seems that they were so ashamed of this one action against the whites that they withdrew and went to Charleston to ask for forgiveness. The Governor told them they would be pardoned if they would do something about quieting the Waxhaw Indians and try to make them stop molesting the whites. Well, the Catawbas came here and wiped out the Waxhaws almost to a man. 

Afterwards, so the story goes, the whites began to settle Waxhaw territory, all the dirty work having been done by shame-ridden Catawbas.

To a detached observer, this belief in the friendship between whites and Catawbas is curiously unrealistic in its not being reciprocal. The whites always got more out of the

relationship than the Catawbas. This belief, for example, explains how the first white man came to settle on Catawba land.

The Catawba Indians found him ... and "they got around him and strongly persuaded, and almost forced him to set his stakes there. They told him they would give him all the land he wanted ... and finally prevailed upon him to remain on the spot where he had camped that night."8

This belief in friendship also accounts for the aid the Catawbas gave the whites in the American Revolution and in the Civil War. The implication of the belief is that the Catawbas, perhaps regarding the whites as their "brothers," spontaneously and naturally assisted them, demanding little or nothing in return.

Believing, as they do, in the selfless friendship of the Catawbas, it is at first curious that the whites do not feel guilty or even responsible for having taken away their land. Actually, the whites have two ways of deflecting responsibility away from themselves. One way of doing this is to argue an evolutionary theory.

The wild land belonged to him who was most willing to cultivate it for its greatest usefulness. The hunter must give way to the herdsman, and the herdsman to the cultivator of the soil. This had proved to be the law of progress, and the laws of civilized nations accepted its immutability. It is a law of nature.9

9. Ibid., p. 54.
Thus, even though the Catawbas trusted the whites, extending to them their friendship, the whites were inevitably to take their land. Being governed by a law of nature, the dispossession of the Catawbas was untempered by morality; it was nobody's fault that they lost their land.

Another way of deflecting responsibility is to argue that the Indians lost their land because they were incapable of managing it, having the mentality of children, and because there were a few unscrupulous whites who took advantage of their ineptness. This is what is supposed to have happened after the Catawbas took control of leasing their lands.

But in the course of time they were allowed to take the collection of rents into their own hands; then all went into chaos and confusion. Many, like Sam Scott, for instance, would take a bottle of whisky for their whole year's rent, and many white men would do business with them in that way until it became an intolerable disgrace to the country.  

Thus, the whites admit that some whites -- "white trash" -- were guilty of cheating the Catawbas, but they themselves, not being descended from "white trash," are immune from guilt.

In recent years, the whites have invoked this belief in past friendship as a justification for giving aid to the Catawbas. Various associations in Rock Hill, for example, occasionally thought it would be a good thing to repay past favors by "doing something for the Indians." In addition, we have seen that the ostensible motive of South Carolina in

10. Ibid., p. 62.
buying the New Reservation was to repay the Catawbas for favors they did for the whites in the past. 11

The whites expressed this belief even more vividly when they staged *Kah-Woh, Catawba.* 12 The basic theme of the play is the friendship between the Catawbas and the colonists. As the play closes, President Washington is confronted by one of the Catawba headmen who recounts the help that the Catawbas had given to the Colonists. The Catawba then complains about illicit white encroachments onto their reservation. Washington, suddenly taking the role of bureaucrat, says: "This is a matter to take up with the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for this area." He then gives the Catawba a medal, saying: "Kah-woh, Speaking not only for myself but for all the people of these United States, I should like to say, 'Kah-woh, Catawba'". Washington's final utterance is supposed to mean, "thank you, people of the river." 13

3. **The Catawbas are the remnant of a once-great nation.** The whites believe that modern Catawbas are a remnant, having declined from an aboriginal condition of greatness and power. Thus, the whites believe that Catawba history, from the colonial era to the present, has been shaped by decline or

decadence. This belief explains why modern Catawbas are so different from stereotypical Indians. It also explains why few of the Catawbas have "pride." According to white informants, Chief Blue was about the only Catawba who was "proud."

Chief Blue had the good will of a lot of people. He would go to the legislature every year. He was always willing to dress up in his furry headgear and show you how they used to look. The others wouldn't do it. Last Christmas we made costumes for the Indian children for a float. It would have stolen the show. But one of the Indians said that they should be in school or on the playground. The least spirit of cooperation you'll ever find. I don't know what will become of them.

Saying that the Indians have no "pride" means, I think, that they do not want to behave the way whites expect them to behave. Chief Blue was different; as we have seen, he played an "Indian" role to further the interests of the Catawbas and his own interests as well. A white woman said: "He did a lot to keep the Indians together; he took a lot of pride in being Indian. A lot do not -- they want to get out and act like anybody else (i.e., like whites)."

Decline or decadence is a major theme in Kah-Woh, Catawba. In the conversation between the Catawba headman and President Washington, the headman says:

I have tried to encourage our people and to rebuild something of the past, but my people are beaten down and depressed. Our once great nation of many thousand warriors has dwindled to a mere handful, due to many epidemics of smallpox, fighting other Indians to help protect ourselves and our white brothers, drinking the poisonous liquors sold
to our people by the white man. We have lost everything in our attempt to live in a White man's world, according to his ways.

Some of the whites interpret termination as perhaps the final step in the long decline of the Catawbas. One white person told me that if Chief Blue had been alive, the Catawbas would not have terminated. Actually, Chief Blue was in favor of termination, because, in the words of a Catawba informant, "he just didn't like the Federal Government."

To summarize, these three themes are general propositions about Catawba history encapsulated in the minds of whites. They do not, of course, account for all of the beliefs that whites have about Catawbas, nor are they held to an equal degree by all whites. Some whites, for example, told me that the Indians, far from declining, have improved greatly in the past 15 years. One man confided that he did not think that Chief Blue was quite as "Indian" as most people thought he was. Another told me that the Catawbas were not as naively friendly and helpful as they are made out to be, explaining that they sided with the Confederacy in the Civil War only after a white man told them they would be killed if they did not enlist. In spite of these differences of opinion, I feel that the preceding pages contain a fair representation of the way whites view the Catawba past. In addition, I have tried to show how these themes have influenced

the way whites have perceived modern Catawbas, and how they have influenced white attitudes and actions in the recent past.

B. Catawba History: Catawba Version.

We have just seen that the whites have "selected" certain aspects from the stream of Catawba history, encapsulating them into their belief system. We shall now see that the Catawbas have likewise "selected" aspects of this history, encapsulating them into quite a different belief system. The dominant themes in the Catawba view of their own history are: (1) the belief that they are descended from Lamanites; (2) the belief that they were too friendly toward the white colonists; (3) the belief that the Mormon missionaries were the first Christians who helped them; and (4) the belief that they have progressed.

1. "We are descended from Lamanites." Like the whites, the Catawba believe that their ancestors were members of a discrete, nominate Indian society, and they likewise deny the possibility of Negro admixture, however slight. There is no way of determining whether these beliefs developed independently among whites and Catawbas, or whether one borrowed them from the other. However, some of the Catawba's beliefs that are closely associated with these beliefs are clearly borrowed from whites. In some cases, the Catawbas have gotten these
ly, this story first appeared in the work of Henry Schoolcraft. 16 I recorded one particularly elaborate version of this story:

According to tradition, the Catawbas came from Canada. Like other people, they were looking for a better place to live. They found the Carolinas from the mountains to the ocean full of game to feed themselves and their families. Their main trade was in pottery. They made this pottery and traded it to other Indians for blankets, bows and arrows, baskets, and anything else that was useful. It was made so well that it could be used to cook in. It would hold water.

There was a Catawba brave who took some pottery (to another tribe) to trade for bows and arrows. This chief (of the other tribe) had a beautiful daughter, and the Catawba brave fell in love with her, and she likewise fell in love with him. When the Catawba brave left, she asked her father for a bow and arrow. She shot it in the air in the direction the brave went, and then she went to get it. She kept shooting it in the air until she caught up with him.

This caused trouble and a war between the two tribes. The other tribe must have been Cherokees. The chief claimed that the Catawba had stolen his daughter and the bow and arrow. Naturally, this caused a lot of bloodshed and sorrow for both tribes.

The Catawba chief had the first peace pipe made from pottery with four stems. 17 The two chiefs that were at war and two other chiefs smoked the pipe. There are Indian heads on both sides of the pipe. These represent the two chiefs.

The boy and girl went off to themselves. They raised a lot of children which were very small and dark and wild. They lived in holes in trees. At night they would come out and scare the other Indian women and children. Then there was a flood in 1916, and this killed all the wild Indians.

16. Ibid., p. 69.

17. These "peace pipes" are still made by Catawba potters. They are made in the form of a large bowl supported by three short legs; around the bowl, there are four stems arranged like the cardinal points of a compass.
Although several Catawbas told me origin stories, my impression is that they are not greatly concerned about their origin. For example, the informant who told me the above story carefully emphasized its being a "fairy tale," something not to be taken seriously.

With respect to their origin, the one thing on which virtually all Catawbas agree is that their ultimate ancestors were Lamanites, a group of apostate Hebrews who came to the New World, subsequently becoming differentiated into the Indians of American history. This belief is, of course, one of the tenets of Mormon theology. Still, even though most of the Catawbas share this belief, they do not elaborate upon it. One Catawba informant, who was particularly bored with the question of origin, said: "I've heard that they belonged to another tribe. The Six Nations, I think. I guess the old ones knew where they came from."

For the social anthropologist, the most significant thing about Catawba origin beliefs is their relative lack of interest in them. In contrast, some of the mestizos mentioned in earlier chapters of this study have a marked interest in their own origins. This is particularly true of the mestizos who are trying to gain recognition as Indians. For example, the mestizos of Robeson County, North Carolina have changed

their account of their origin at least four times in the past fifty years; with each change, they have adopted a different name. I shall take up this topic in more detail a few pages hence.

2. "We were too friendly toward the whites." As we have seen, an important theme in the white version of Catawba history is the unselfish, even naive, friendship of the Catawbas for the white colonists. The Catawbas agree that their ancestors were friends of the white colonists, but they in contrast say that their ancestors made the mistake of being too friendly. A Catawba informant explained why the Federal Government did not give the Catawbas the aid they promised when the New Reservation was acquired.

Because the Catawbas fought with (i.e., were allied with) the United States, they never signed a treaty. The other ones, like the Cherokees, fought against the United States; they signed a treaty and now they get better schools. Some say that the Catawbas would be better off if they had fought against the United States.

Like the whites, the Catawbas believe that their ancestors were friendly toward the white colonists, but unlike the whites, they emphasize the one-sidedness of the relationship.

The Catawbas invoked this historical belief when they visited the South Carolina Legislature to solicit more aid. They began by recounting their unreciprocated friendship

toward the colonists and their having been cheated out of their land by whites; they ended by saying it was high time the whites reciprocated their friendship and atoned for the wrongs done by unscrupulous "white trash."

Moreover, this belief in unreciprocated friendship is a rationale for the Catawba's feeling of separateness, and, in some cases, their hostility toward the Federal Government. I heard several stories about Catawbas who publicly expressed their resentment toward the Federal Government, subsequently getting into trouble. One story, for example, was about a man who in World War II said that the Catawbas "would be just as well off under Hitler as under the Federal Government." As a consequence, so the story goes, he was fired from his job.

3. "The Mormon elders were the first Christians who came in to help us." The beliefs we have just examined refer to events and conditions in the remote past. The coming of the Mormon elders is a more recent event that has left an important residue in the belief system of modern Catawbas. In their remembered history, it is perhaps the most crucial single event in their past.

My grandparents on both sides were among the first members of the church. My mother had a picture of the first elders to come here, but it is gone now. I don't remember the names of the first elders to come here. They would come here and stay with the people. They would also go out and work with neighboring whites. But they came
among the Indians first; there were no Mormon churches in South Carolina at that time. They were the first Christians to come in and try to do anything for the Indians.

The Catawbas believe that the Mormons were the first Christians who were genuinely interested in their welfare. According to tradition, before the elders came a few Catawbas attended a Methodist Church near the reservation. "But they weren't treated well. They had to sit on back seats or stand outside."

In their account of the coming of the elders, the Catawbas recognize that they defied local whites in accepting Mormonism, but their motive for accepting it was not defiance. They accepted Mormonism because the Mormons were the first to take an interest in their spiritual and moral condition.

When the outsiders found that the missionaries were here, they fought them. They didn't bother the Indians, just the missionaries. My father and mother said they mobbed the first elders who came in here. They caught them and whipped both of them. They tried to make them drink some whiskey. They brought the elders to the line and sent them back to the reservation after they whipped them and made them promise to leave the next day. They tried to get them to promise not to come back, but they would not promise. They did leave the next day, according to promise.

I don't know how long they were gone, but they came back disguised, and the Indians had to meet them. Two Indians met them above Rock Hill near a Presbyterian church. They brought them back to the reservation. I don't know how long they stayed. As soon as outsiders found they were here, they sent a mob in here to run them out. The mob went to where the elders were staying, and the elders ran into the woods to prevent another whipping. They shot at them when they ran. One was sprinkled a little, but
the other one was not hit. They ran in separate directions. The mob waited for them to come back, but they did not. Some time in the night, the elders got together and came back to the house. Then they left again for a while. But the elders kept coming back to the reservation until the church was built.

The whites just didn't want the Mormons to get established. Some Indian women had children by white men. They came in here to find the Indian women because they couldn't get out and ramble. That was the only reason the whites came in here.

They soon found that they couldn't keep the Indians from becoming Mormons. I don't think any of the whites around here belong. The whites still say things about the church that is not true, Polygamy has been done away with. They don't believe in the Prophet Joseph Smith; they say they would accept it if we would leave him out. They say the Bible is all we need.

In previous chapters we saw that the conversion of the Catawbas to Mormonism had several functions, one of which was to increase social distance between the Catawbas on the one hand, and whites, Negroes, and mestizos on the other. This may have been a latent function; it is not, at any rate, reflected in their incapsulated history.

However, Catawba historical beliefs do reflect the bearing of their conversion to Mormonism on social conflict. Before they became Mormons, their conflict with whites was diffuse; after conversion, conflict was focused into an "acceptable" area.

We have always had people to come into the Mormon church to try to convert people, but they have never succeeded. A Presbyterian couple came in, and somebody built a house for them. Somebody else built a building which was used for school and a Sunday preaching service. She taught school
and regular ministers came in to do the preaching on Sunday. The ones who had gone to the Methodist church went into this church.

In 1912 the Baptists came in. The Mormon church shared time with them. We had our meeting at three o'clock, and they had their's after that. The members that wanted to stay stayed, and the rest went home. The ones who were Presbyterian went to the Baptist church. It wasn't long before they joined the Baptist church.

They didn't get enough members. They just had two families who were drifting from church to church. Most of the Catawbas joined the Mormon church because they felt it was the right church. I don't know why the others didn't join. I don't know why they drifted from church to church.

When the Catawbas became Mormons, they also became Christians. To the whites, however, they became the wrong kind of Christians, and the whites were obligated to allocate some of their missionary zeal toward converting Catawba Mormons to a more acceptable kind of Christianity. Consequently, the conflict between whites and Catawbas became religious conflict, a form of conflict which is allowable, being a part of the ideological fabric of American society. By becoming Mormons, the Catawbas put the whites in the position of trying to persuade them to renounce Mormonism in favor of some other Christian religion.

Turning now to the positive side, we see that in belief as well as in fact the Mormon religion provided the Catawbas with an alternate value system, a source of self-esteem, and a source of solidarity. Moreover, the Catawbas recognize a positive social and cultural increment from Mormonism.
One of the biggest things to the Indians was the Mormon church. The jobs were not as important as this. The church gives them everything a young person needs. Good music, good dress, and so forth. They teach square dancing, ballroom dancing, drama, sports, how to prepare for marriage.

As we shall presently see, the Catawbas see a discontinuity in their past, and they largely attribute this discontinuity to the influence of Mormonism. They see themselves as having progressed in just the way that is prophesized in The Book of Mormon.

4. "We have progressed." When the Catawbas talk about their past, the one belief that takes precedence over all the others is their belief in having changed. The Catawbas think of themselves as having progressed and as being progressive. They told me many examples of their progress. One man, for example, said that several Mormon missionaries have told them that they are more advanced than other Indians. A Catawba woman, whose grandson went to Chile as a Mormon missionary, learned from him that the Chileans live today the way the Catawbas used to live on the Old Reservation.

Some of the older people told me about life as it used to be on the Old Reservation, contrasting it with the way things are now.

Yes, a lot has gone on since 1943. Around 1930 to 1943 they had dances at home. That was back on the Old Reservation. Old and young would come, even children. A few of the little ones would dance. It was mostly square dances. They'd have a banjo or a banjo and a guitar. Sometimes outside people came in and played. They had the
dances to stay close to one another and for amusement. It would shift from one home to another.

They used to have a big dinner once a year -- usually on the Fourth of July. They'd have beef soup and fish stew. Different ones would bring fried chicken. They would start cooking the beef and fish early in the morning. They would make lemonade. They didn't do it this year. They don't do it like they used to.

They used to announce it in church that someone needed a house. They built a lot of log houses. They were a lot more friendly towards each other. Now they are living far apart from each other and they are not as friendly. The branch president would announce it. A group of men would go work on the house and the women would do the cooking. After the house was built, there would be a big dance. They don't do this much now.

It looks to me that now the older ones just sit around. We have a lot of grandchildren who would rather stay home and watch TV than go play somewhere. I'll tell you one thing: some of the younger people are bad about taking an automobile ride on Sunday afternoon. All of this is since 1940.

The old man who told me about these changes rather sadly concluded that "everybody is in a hurry now."

The notion of change is even reflected in the fragmentary mythology that remains alive in Catawba memory. The most widely known stories are about "little wild Indians," of whom we have already seen an example in an origin myth recounted a few pages back.20 These little wild Indians, are, I feel, a

condensation symbol, a concept developed by Edward Sapir.21

It is as if the Catawbas condense all their beliefs and feelings about Indianness into a compact form -- into small, darkish Indians who roam abroad during the night. Here is another story about them:

My mother always said that there were little wild Indians who used to run around at night. If any of them touched your children's clothes, your children would get sick. The old people would not leave their children's clothes out at night. Even if the children played in the dirt, they would brush away the tracks. A wild Indian could tell all about the children from the marks in the dirt. My grandmother said that they took her brother away and kept him for a while. My mother really believed in them. She never saw any of them, but she believed in them. She said that they were all washed away in the 1916 flood.

When I was told about little wild Indians, the story regularly ended with their being washed away in the 1916 flood, the storyteller assuming an attitude of anxious humor. Each time I heard the story, I felt that the storyteller was obliquely saying that the 1916 flood washed away the "Indianness" of the Catawbas.

For some Catawbas this belief in having changed is reflected in a new self image.

Some of the ones who live in Rock Hill don't think they're Indians any more. When we terminated, the chief asked the agent if they wouldn't be Indians any more after the sale of the land. The agent said: "If you're not an Indian, what are you?"

Some of the Catawbas clearly regard themselves as being white; some are perhaps not sure precisely what they are; and some think of themselves as being Indians. But one indication of change is evidenced by virtually all of them. When talking about their history before 1940, and in some cases their more recent history, they use "they" instead of "we." In their choice of pronouns as well as in their beliefs, their remembered history has a break in it.

C. Opposed Histories.

To an omniscient observer, the Catawbas and their white neighbors are heirs to a single history. More precisely, before Europeans began colonizing the southeastern United States, the ancestors of modern Catawbas and whites belonged to two different socio-cultural traditions; their histories were separate, distinct. But beginning with colonization, and continuing to the present day, the Catawbas and the whites have increasingly participated in the same history, a unique succession of events occurring over the course of almost three centuries. Summarizing the social history of the Catawbas presented in the first part of this study, at the time of colonization the Catawbas were a strategically located chiefdom, having cultural and social affiliations both with southeastern Indians and with piedmont hill tribes. As colonization proceeded, the Catawbas were drawn into a plural South Carolina, becoming a socio-cultural segment in a society dominated by a
white minority. However, as this plural society was transformed through industrialization and economic development, the Catawbas became increasingly assimilated into it, eventually terminating their Indian status with the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

However, even though the actions of the Catawbas and their white neighbors merge into a single objective history, this history has left encapsulated beliefs in the minds of Catawbas and whites that are only partially similar. The two sets of historical beliefs are similar in their choice of themes, both including themes accounting for (1) the origin of the Catawbas, (2) the traditional relationship between Catawbas and whites, and (3) a "principle" governing Catawba history from the colonial era to the present day. But given these similarities, the two sets of beliefs contain significant differences of detail.

Like societies with colonial experience in other parts of the world, the Catawbas and their white neighbors have opposed historical beliefs.22 By "opposed," I mean that the two sets of beliefs contain broad areas of agreement within

which there are differences of detail, emphasis, and interpretation. From the standpoint of social structure and social history, these differences are as important as the similarities, perhaps more so. In the remainder of this chapter, I shall attempt to explain the social significance of the oppositions between Catawba and white encapsulated history.

Superficially, the similarities and differences between the two versions of Catawba history can be explained in terms of selective remembering. Neither the Catawbas nor the whites, for example, remember the composite nature of Catawba society in the eighteenth century, when the Catawba Nation was composed of refugees from a large number of shattered aboriginal societies. These complications have been obliterated from memory in favor of belief in descent from a single, discrete, nominate group. Moreover, in both versions historical time is telescoped into a small number of relatively timeless themes. Furthermore, the differences between the two sets of themes or beliefs are such that they flatter the self-image of those who hold them. Thus, the two versions of Catawba history are analogous to the memories that two individuals have of a mutual experience; they each remember the same experience but with inevitable differences caused by the experience being sifted through two different personalities.

This analogy from psychology is suggestive, but for a more adequate explanation of the similarities and differences
we must examine the two sets of beliefs in their social context. The two sets of beliefs are held by two social categories who are members of a single society, a society whose plural structure has recently been transformed by economic development. This, above all, accounts for the similarities, because, as the Wilsons have cogently argued, unless different categories in a society share some agreement on concepts, beliefs, conventions, and rules, the basis for organized social life ceases to exist.\textsuperscript{23} At the same time, however, the Catawbas and whites occupy different positions within this society, having, as a consequence, different values and interests. The whites, being dominant, have traditionally espoused rather conservative values and interests, generally emphasizing the status quo. The Catawbas, in contrast, being a minority group with rising expectations, have, as we have seen, recently acquired "progressive" values and interests which co-exist with traditional values and interests. With these different values and interests in mind, let us now compare the two versions of Catawba history in some detail.

The two versions of Catawba history are most similar in accounting for the origin of the Catawbas. Both agree on the Catawbas being descended from stereotypic Indian ancestors, and both agree on the Catawbas having no Negro admixture.

This belief gives the Catawbas a clear place in the social universe. One slight difference in accounting for origin is that most of the Catawbas believe that they are descended from Lamanites; but even this belief is shared by whites who belong to the Mormon church. A further difference is that the whites appear to be rather more interested in the origin of the Catawbas than the Catawbas are. This differential interest in the origin of the Catawbas is partly conditioned by white conservatism, by their interest in keeping Indians in their place. The lack of interest on the part of the Catawbas is conditioned, I think, by their putative descent from a known, documented, nominate Indian group. Parenthetically, this is precisely what is lacking among the mestizos who are actively trying to achieve Indian status. What the mestizos are trying to prove is for the Catawbas a fait d'accompli.

The two versions of Catawba history are in essential agreement in accounting for the remote past, but when they account for events and conditions nearer to the present, they begin to diverge. In both belief systems, the traditional relationship between Catawbas and whites is represented in terms of friendship, but the precise nature of the friendship is depicted differently. According to the whites, the Catawbas were the best friends the colonists had; the Catawbas gave aid to the colonists spontaneously, as children of nature, asking little or nothing in return. The Catawbas agree that their
ancestors were friendly toward the colonists. In fact, the Catawbas are quick to emphasize, they were too friendly; the whites not only took advantage of their friendship, but robbed them of their land and resources as well.

The significance of these different versions of Catawba-white friendship becomes clear when we see that they provided an ideological framework for "ordinary opposition," i.e., they were a set of beliefs which made it possible for conflict to occur within an overall structural constancy.²⁴

For example, these beliefs made it possible for the Catawbas to visit the South Carolina legislature to solicit state aid on the grounds that the colonists had violated the friendship of their ancestors; consequently, the whites owed them something. The whites, however, could rebut this argument on the grounds that the Catawbas lost their land through an inevitable evolutionary process, or on the grounds that the Catawbas were cheated out of their land by "white trash" who lived outside the moral universe of law-abiding white citizens. Thus, by virtue of the traditional friendship between Catawbas and whites being encapsulated in two different versions, it was possible for the Catawbas and whites to debate. It was an ideological framework within which the Catawbas could pursue their interests, and the whites could deny them, while,

at the same time, leaving themselves a justification for giving aid to the Catawbas at a convenient time.

The two versions of Catawba history are most dissimilar in characterizing the "principle" governing Catawba history from the Colonial era to the present. In the Catawba belief system, their history has been governed by progress, and this they largely attribute to the influence of Mormonism. Taking an opposite view, the whites believe that the Catawbas have declined. Once "great," the Catawbas are now a "disappearing nation." Moreover, the Mormon religion has no place in the white version of Catawba history. One white informant, who is supposed to be a local "authority" on the Catawbas, told me that the Catawbas have been Mormons for only "ten or fifteen years." As we have seen, the first Catawbas were converted over seventy years ago.

The Catawbas and the whites are utterly at variance in characterizing the principle that has determined the "shape" of Catawba history. In part, this difference is probably caused by a difference in values, the whites taking a conservative view of things and the Catawbas a progressive view. Also, the difference is partly attributable to a difference in literacy: the whites, having a long literate tradition, are able to "freeze" the past; the Catawbas, having been literate for only fifty years or so, naturally emphasize events in the recent past.
To appreciate the social significance ofincapsulated history, we have to picture it not as a fragmentary recol-
lecion of a hazily remembered past, but as a part of the social context in which it occurs. Remembered history has been of use to both whites and Indians. The whites have used history to explain the social condition of the Catawbas in the recent past and to justify some of their transactions with them. Moreover, the whites value their own history, and their history articulates with the history of the Catawbas. Just after the Catawbas voted for termination, the York County Historical Commission decided to build a museum that "would be a handsome and fitting memorial to certain parts of Catawba culture." The purpose of Kah-Woh, Catawba was to raise funds for this museum. While doing field work, I sometimes felt that some whites regarded the Catawbas almost as relics of their own history. If this impression is true, they must have been disconcerted by the Catawba's determination to behave and live "like anybody else."

In the recent past, the Catawbas have valued their history even more highly than the whites have valued theirs. They are quite aware that historical arguments have played an important role in winning rights and concessions from

whites. On several occasions Catawbas told me that they "have a good history." They know that books and articles have been written about them, and they know that a photograph of one of their chiefs hangs in the Capitol in Washington. One Catawba told me that he feels the whites do not want a history of the Catawbas published because of the possibility that their title to the fifteen square miles held by the Catawbas before 1840 is of dubious legality.

Whether the Catawbas continue to value their history depends, I think, upon the degree to which they become assimilated in the larger society. I saw some evidence that they are beginning to devalue their history. Several of them complained to me about whites who still expect them to live and behave like Indians. For example, when white tourists visit the reservation, they usually ask where "the chief" lives. The Catawbas have no ready answer to this question because they have not had a formal chief since termination. As a further example, one man told me about an experience he had while serving food in a military mess hall:

I knew a boy from Missouri in the service. He was shocked to see an Indian cooking and serving. In fact, he was afraid. He came up to me one day and said: "Chief (that's what they called me), the schools have got us confused. We are taught that Indians are savage, but you are just like we are."

In conclusion, it can safely be said that assimilation of the Catawbas into the larger society will accelerate. As this
occurs, the Catawbas will become culturally, socially, and genetically "white," a process which the Catawbas fully anticipate. It is, after all, the fulfillment of a prophesy in The Book of Mormon. In a newspaper article, the last traditional chief is quoted as having said that the "Book of Mormon promise to the Indians is coming true (,) and ... the younger generation of Indians are now very light." When the Catawbas succeed in becoming a "white and delightsome people," their incapsulated history will no doubt assume a different form. Perhaps they will escape from it entirely.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS: HISTORY AND SOCIETY

Regarded as a special kind of historiography, that is as one of the humanities, social anthropology is released from . . . essentially philosophical dogmas and given the opportunity, though it may seem paradoxical to say so, to be really empirical and, in the true sense of the word, scientific.1

In the Introduction I said that this study was to be at once an inquiry into semantics and an inquiry into history. Actually, in this study the two inquiries have proved to be indissociable. In examining the social history of the Catawbas, we have seen that they have occupied different social positions at different times. Consequently, from the standpoint of a detached observer, "Catawba" has meant different things at different times. In this final chapter, I discuss the role of words and meaning in social continuity, and I conclude by considering some of the uses to which history can be put in social anthropology.

A. History and Social Continuity

The word "Catawba," as we have seen, has been a meaningful term since the latter part of the seventeenth century.

designating for almost three hundred years a social "thing."
The fundamental question which has guided this inquiry is what is the meaning of "Catawba", or to put it another way, what is the nature of the "thing" Catawba designates. Like other questions which have prompted scientific investigation, this question can be resolved by a number of "obvious" common sense answers. For example, one common sense answer is that "Catawba" refers, of course, to the modern Catawba Indians who are descended from members of the Catawba Nation visited by John Lawson in 1700. But this answer, though having an appealing simplicity, omits certain complications; it is a folk explanation, not a scientific explanation.

One of the fundamental axioms of common sense is that words mean today what they meant in the past. Without this axiomatic faith in a firm, relatively enduring nexus between words and their meanings, our social universe would become unstructured and, as a consequence, unmanageable. At the same time, however, this axiom can lead people to see the world wrongly. It does so when it leads people to assume that "Catawba" retains something of the meaning it had in 1700, thus implying some kind of unity or continuity over the years.

It is of course true that from the standpoint of a detached observer one can see a strand of continuity in the social history of the Catawba Indians. That is, the Catawba Indians, regarded as a social entity, have occupied a social
nitches vis à vis whites from the time they were first contacted by traders until the recent past. During this time, however, far reaching changes have occurred both in Catawba society and in the "surrounding" white society. Consequently, in order to conceptualize Catawba society as a continuous entity, we have to think of it as a continuously changing social structure within a social field that is likewise constantly changing. It is possible that a truly adequate theory of society would represent change in this way. That is, perhaps social structures are made up of parts which change not by leaps, as it were, but by slow shifts and accretions. If this is so, then the only sense in which "Catawba" denotes continuity is in the sense of continuous change.

Perhaps Catawba society has changed continuously, without leaps. However, because of the nature of the conceptual tools used in historical analysis, which are, for the most part, ordinary words and concepts used precisely, it is very difficult to conceptualize a continuous process and to represent it on paper. Consequently, even if social change is a continuous process, it is more convenient to conceptualize and represent it in discontinuous terms, i.e. as structure A at time 1 followed by a different structure B at time 2.

Moreover, one may argue on grounds more compelling than mere convenience that certain aspects of social change must be represented as being discontinuous. My grounds for saying
this is that a social relationship (and the social structures
made of such relationships) is made out of two kinds of
materials: action and belief.\(^2\) Action, being the behavior
of persons with respect to other persons, is a continuously
variable, observable phenomenon; it can appropriately be
represented in terms of continuous mathematics, such as
statistics. Belief, in contract, being the means by which
actors represent and idealize their social and cultural
situation, is neither directly observable nor continuously
variable; it can appropriately be represented in ordinary
language or in terms of discontinuous mathematics, such as
symbolic logic.\(^3\)

Now, either of these two aspects or levels of a social
structure may, within limits, change independently of the
other. Moreover, the character of change at the two levels
may differ. Gradual shifts and re-alignments may occur in
the realm of action with few accompanying changes in the realm
of belief. This may proceed to such a point that theory and
practice no longer agree. Eventually, however, if the society

\(^{2}\) John Beattie, *Other Cultures: Aims, Methods and
Achievements in Social Anthropology* (New York: The Free Press
of Glencoe, 1964), passim.

\(^{3}\) Cf. Claude Levi-Strauss' distinction between "statis-
tical" and "mechanical" models of society in "Social Structure,"
in A. L. Kroeber (ed.), *Anthropology Today* (Chicago: Univer-
is to make sense to the people who live in it, beliefs and values must be reinterpreted to fit the facts of life, and this reinterpretation may occur in a relatively short period of time. For example, we have seen that in the first half of this century several fundamental organizational changes occurred while the Catawbas were being assimilated into the larger society. Many of their beliefs and values, however, persisted even after they were obviously incompatible with these organizational changes. Then, in the years preceding termination, these beliefs and values were reinterpreted in a rather dramatic fashion. The point is, these changes in fundamental social beliefs and values occurred in a short enough period of time to allow us to say that they constitute a discontinuity in Catawba society. Furthermore, we should recall that the Catawbas themselves explicitly recognize a discontinuity in their recent history. Thus, my analysis of discontinuities in Catawba social history -- their occupying different social positions at different times -- is grounded in more than mere analytical convenience.

These are my grounds for having approached the social history of the Catawbas the way I have. With respect to the social history of the Catawbas, "Catawba" has been used to designate three distinctly different states of affairs in three periods of time, which, for the convenience of the reader, I will presently summarize. It would, I think, even
be possible to argue that "Catawba" has had more than three referents, because the three referents to which I have just alluded are separated by transitional periods at their interstices. However, in the interest of simplicity, I shall omit these complications in the following summary.

In the opening chapters of this study, we saw that in the seventeenth century the Catawbas were a chiefdom occupying a strategic position in the southern piedmont. As a consequence of inadequate historical documentation, the details of their aboriginal culture and society will never be known. However, using what is available we have seen evidence that at the end of the seventeenth century the Catawbas had cultural affiliations with Cherokee- and Muskogean-speaking chiefdoms to the south, and political affiliations with hill tribes in the northern piedmont. Whatever the precise nature of their social structure, we know that in the seventeenth century they enjoyed a measure of autonomy; they were, perhaps in a true sense, an aboriginal nation.

However, the Catawbas began to lose their autonomy with the advent of European trade in the late seventeenth century. For a time, the Catawbas held on by becoming middlemen between European traders and some of the more inaccessible Indians, but as the volume of trade increased in the eighteenth century, the Catawbas lost their position as middlemen and came under the de facto control of traders. This transitional period
was a time of disorganization and unrest. As the Catawbas absorbed more and more refugees from shattered aboriginal societies, they became increasingly amorphous in their social structure. During this transitional period, the Catawbas became more and more anomalous; they were an independent nation in theory but not in fact.

When a fifteen square mile reservation was granted to the Catawbas at the Augusta Congress in 1763, they were still technically a nation. In our examination of their history, however, we have seen that the real state of affairs was at variance with the believed in state of affairs. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, the Catawbas were structurally transformed into a sociocultural section in a plural society. They were a group of Indians in a society that also contained whites and Negroes, each of the three sociocultural sections occupying clearly defined structural positions. The Catawbas continued to occupy this position throughout the nineteenth century and, in an attenuated sense, they continued to occupy it into the early years of this century.

Catawba social structure went through another transitional period in the early decades of this century when the plural character of Southern society began to change through industrialization and economic development. Once again the social situation of the Catawbas became muddled. It was, as we have seen, a period characterized by "restlessness,"

changing values, social conflict and ultimately, termination of their status as Indians.

Today the Catawbas occupy a social position different from the position they occupied in the early decades of this century. The Catawbas are well on their way toward being fully assimilated into the larger society. No longer corporate, they are Indians without a chief. Socially, they are perhaps comparable to other ethnic groups which are more or less assimilated into American society.

Ignoring the transitional periods in Catawba history, "Catawba has been used to designate three distinct social entities: 1) an aboriginal Southern chiefdom, 2) a sociocultural section in a plural society, and 3) a highly assimilated ethnic group in a modern industrial society. We now see that this inquiry into a question with an "obvious" answer (What is the meaning of "Catawba?") turns out to require an answer that is not at all obvious. Indeed, the referents of "Catawba" are objectively so different, it is little short of astonishing that a single word has been used to refer to all of them. The reason for this semantic oddity lies, of course, in the fact that social change is slow with respect to the life-span of individuals. Societies, as Nadel has noted, "appear to be fully concrete and to have a certain crude solidarity" essentially because of "the fact that they
have names, and that the names which people invent for themselves continue to be borne by successive populations.\(^4\)

Nadel has emphasized the importance of names in making social groups visible and in expressing an awareness of belonging, e.g. "I am an Englishman."\(^5\) Along with this, I would emphasize the importance of names in social continuity. Groups change, but people continue calling them by the same name. Recalling Evans-Pritchard's burlesque of the organic analogy, in the realm of human society, horses do change into elephants or pigs, but people, through their peculiar ability to use categories, continue to call them horses, and sometimes they continue to think they are horses.\(^6\)

**B. The Uses of History in Social Anthropology**

I have until now been primarily concerned with interpreting a body of information derived from historical and field research. In these concluding pages, I shall discuss some of the more general implications of this study. Specifically, I shall use this study to illustrate some of the advantages that accrue to anthropology from adding an historical dimension.

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5. Ibid., pp. 147-148.

to field research and from doing strictly historical research. Evans-Pritchard has discussed in general terms the consequences of not doing historical research in anthropology.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 50-57.} I hope to supplement his general conclusions by showing what would be missing in this study had it not been historically oriented. Using this study as a concrete example, I shall argue that anthropologists would profit from doing research into universal and encapsulated history both as a supplement to field research and as research endeavors in themselves.

Aside from reductionistic explanations, there are two sources of causal explanation in social anthropology.\footnote{Nadel, op. cit., pp. 191-221.} In the first instance, we explain a social institution in terms of functional causes when we can demonstrate that the social institution in question "makes a difference" with respect to other social institutions. In the second instance, we explain a social institution in terms of historical causes when we can demonstrate that the social institution in question is linked to historical antecedents.\footnote{Beattie, op. cit., pp. 49-56.} It is an error to assume that functional explanation and historical explanation are mutually exclusive: they are not. It is equally erroneous to assume that functional explanation somehow obviates the
need for historical explanation. Indeed, functional explanations are always enhanced by historical explanations.

I have tried to show, for example, that the Mormon religion is perhaps the most important single source of social solidarity for modern Catawbas. This is functional explanation in the strict sense, implying as it does the contribution of a social institution to an ulterior social end. However, this explanation does not account for why the Catawbas adhere to the Mormon religion as opposed to other equally available religions. One can, of course, point out the fact that the American Indian has a place in Mormon theology, and that this should be an attractive impetus to conversion; the fact is, however, that the Catawbas are rather exceptional because Mormon missionaries have not been conspicuously successful in missionizing American Indians. The reasons why modern Catawbas are Mormons must be sought in their history. In approaching this question historically, I have tried to show how the Catawbas, through becoming Mormons, found a source of values and self-esteem, and how they were able to make their conflict with whites "acceptable" by placing it in a religious context. Moreover, this historical explanation is a kind of functionalism in retrospect: it relates Catawba conversion to Mormonism to other co-existing social facts.

Social anthropologists are perhaps most interested in universal or objective history — history that is written from
the standpoint of a detached observer -- when it can be used as a source of causal explanation for why a social institution is the way it is. That is, social anthropologists are most interested in history when it illuminates or explains a present social state of affairs. History in general is perhaps most relevant to social anthropology in this capacity.

However, anthropology also stands to profit from historical research in its own right, regardless of whether it clarifies or explains a present social situation. That is, research into universal history contributes to our understanding of social and cultural change. I do not refer to the use of historical materials, because these are used in virtually all studies of social and cultural change. What I am suggesting is that ordinary historical methodology, through having an "open-ended" conceptual framework, can turn up insights into cultural and social change that more narrowly conceived approaches miss. For example, Catawba cultural change can be examined from the standpoint of existing acculturation theory. But research into acculturative processes would not, I think, have led to the formulation that the Catawbas were once a sociocultural section in a plural society. Indeed, we have seen evidence that some of their aboriginal and pseudo aboriginal culture traits persisted because the Catawbas were Indians in a plural society. In other words, these culture traits outlived their "life expectancy" through

10. Evans-Pritchard, op. cit., p. 60.
becoming symbols of Indianness. This insight would not, I feel, have been suggested by a narrowly conceived acculturation study.

The rewards of research into encapsulated history are not quite as general as the rewards of research into universal history, but research into encapsulated history clearly belongs within the universe of discourse of modern social anthropology. Perhaps the most basic "rule of procedure" in modern social anthropology is that social institutions must be analyzed both as modes of action and as modes of belief. We take it as a given that a social institution is not adequately represented unless we see it from the "inside", as the actors themselves see it. Consequently, encapsulated history, being sets of beliefs which symbolize or bear upon existing social institutions, is a legitimate object of study.

For example, a study of the Catawbas with a heavy emphasis on action could easily lead one to conclude that the Catawbas occupy the middle position in a "caste" system. However, our examination of the encapsulated history of the Catawbas and their white neighbors shows that their historical beliefs, which are, as we have seen, used to place themselves with respect to each other, are not at all caste-like. Unlike caste ideology, which contains unmistakable repetitive or cyclical themes, their encapsulated history has a beginning,
a middle, and an end. 11 Although the Catawbas represent themselves as having progressed while the whites represent them as having declined, the two versions of Catawba history are alike in being linear.

Furthermore, there are more general grounds upon which anthropologists should be interested in encapsulated history. Belief and action, the two faces of social institutions, are only partially articulated; that is to say, large areas of belief systems appear to be self-contained, having little apparent relation to social action. For this reason, beliefs about history are promising objects of study because they both refer to social events in the past and bear upon social events in the present. We have seen, for example, that both the Catawbas and their white neighbors believe that "friendship" prevailed between Catawbas and whites in the Colonial era; the difference is that the whites believe that the Catawbas were naive partners in the friendship, while the Catawbas believe that the whites did not reciprocate their friendship. We have also seen that this difference provided part of the ideological framework for "ordinary" opposition, i.e. conflict between Catawbas and whites within an overall structural constancy.

Thus, it is possible that research into incapsulated history could lead us to a clearer understanding of how human events, which occur in time and space, are shaped into institutionalized beliefs, which are, as it were, spaceless and timeless. Moreover, it should be possible to approach this research comparatively; it makes sense to expect to find similar types of incapsulated history in similar types of societies.
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Map 1. Old and New Catawba Reservations.
Map 2. Culture Areas of the Eastern United States, Showing Selected Nominate Indian Groups around the Year 1650. Compiled from Kroeber and Swanton.