THE SARA INDIANS, 1540-1768:
AN ETHNO-ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY

by

Ernest Lewis

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
the University of North Carolina in
partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Anthropology in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Chapel Hill
1951

Approved by:

[Signature]
Adviser
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CHAPTER I

THE LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND OF THE
EASTERN SIOUAN PROBLEM

In his classic monograph, "The Siouan Tribes of the East," ¹ James Mooney gives the history of the Sara Indians in as succinct, and yet complete, form as one could wish. In fact, no information that would radically change the picture he presents has been brought to light in the fifty-odd years since he wrote, though the problems implicit in his work have drawn the attention of several able scholars.

The first such problem is whether the Sara are really a "Siouan tribe of the east." Mooney's first words on the Sara are: "While we know nothing positively as to the linguistic affinity of the Sara, all the evidence goes to show that, like most of the tribes of the central region of Virginia and Carolina, they were of Siouan stock." ² All the evidence that Mooney had was (1) linguistically -- the single word "sara"; (2) geographically -- the fact that the tribe was found in a region inhabited by other tribes also assumed to be Siouan; (3) historically -- the fact that the Sara finally amalgamated with the Catawba, a Siouan-speaking tribe;

². Ibid., 56, (my emphasis).
Mooney gives no less than forty-one eastern Siouan tribes. Of these we have linguistic data amounting to more than the tribal name for only five -- the Catawba, Tutelo, Saponi, Biloxi, and Woccon. Catawba vocabularies are fairly numerous, at least three small Tutelo word-lists have been collected and published, and a Biloxi vocabulary exists in manuscript form. One hundred-ninety two Woccon words are known, as well as a few Saponi terms.3

The first attempt to classify the Catawba language was published by B. S. Barton in 1797. He states that he was unable to obtain any Catawba words, but that he had "some grounds for conjecturing that the Katahba speak a dialect of the Chickkasah or Choktah language." At the same time, he was "at a loss to know to which of the American languages, the language of the Woccon has the greatest affinity."4

Apparently, soon afterward, Barton obtained some Catawba words, for Gallatin mentions Barton's work (albeit the 1797 edition) as the source of a Catawba word list,5 and Siebert has recently referred to a vocabulary in Barton's second, or 1798, edition.6

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3. *Infra*, p. 2-5. 85-86.
Two German scholars, using Barton's Catawba words and Lawson's Woccon list, noted a close relationship between the two dialects. In 1836 Gallatin echoed both of the prior works in assigning the Woccon and Catawba to the same linguistic family, on the basis of sixteen cognates, and in stating that this distinct stock "has some affinities with the Muskhogee and even the Choctaw." Gallatin's main Catawba source was a small list given him by a Mr. J. L. Miller in 1835. In 1856, South Carolina State Geologist O. M. Lieber collected from his camp servant the largest Catawba vocabulary known to that date.

It was not until about 1870 that the possible Siouan affinity of the Catawba language was noticed. In an article published in that year, Lewis H. Morgan states:

Philologists have recognized five stock languages....

In the Southeast... the Catawba, the Natches, the Uche, the Creek, and the Cherokee.

Of the Catawba, there is but one vocabulary published, and that a scanty one. Of the existence of anything beyond this the writer is not aware. The conclusion that it is a distinct stock is, therefore, a negative one. A comparison of this vocabulary... with those of the Dakota dialects discloses strong similarities, rising in some words to the point of identity. It is not improbable that it will ultimately be found to be a dialect of that stock language.

---

8. Gallatin, op. cit., p. 87-89.
During the 1870s Hale worked with the last survivors of the Tutelo tribe among the Iroquois-speaking Cayuga, and it was probably on the basis of his findings and of work arising from Morgan's suggestion that the Reverend S. R. Riggs included both the Tutelo and the Catawba in a table of languages belonging in the Dakotan (Siouan) family. In 1883 Hale produced a well-organized proof of Tutelo's Siouan similarities.

Just prior to this publication Gatschet had collected a relatively large Catawba vocabulary, apparently the one from which Mooney obtained the word sara, "a place of tall grass or weeds," which constituted one of his bases for assigning the Sara tribe to the same linguistic stock. Although Powell states: "Mr. Gatschet was the first to call attention to the presence in the Catawba language of a considerable number of words having a Siouan affinity," Siebert has shown that Gatschet at first took a very ambiguous position on the placement of Catawba.

In 1886 Gatschet collected a Biloxi vocabulary and proved the Siouan nature of that dialect. Dorsey, an expert on western Siouan dialects, worked with Gatschet's Catawba

material and pronounced it definitely a Siouan language, while Mooney showed the Siouan affinity of some Saponi words. It was the latter's opinion after these studies had been made that all the tribes in the Carolinas that came to be allied with the Catawba were probably of the same linguistic stock. Most of these scholars, from Hale to Mooney, were also of the opinion that these eastern Siouan languages contained archaic forms which marked them as older dialects than their cognates in the West. This statement was made for the Tutelo by Hale, and for the Catawba and Biloxi by Gatschet, who writes: "These [Dialects] present striking analogies with the western dialects in phonetics, grammar and lexicon, and exhibit many forms of a more archaic character." Mooney utilized this fact in formulating his hypothesis that the home of all Siouans was originally in the East, the Plains Siouans being those who migrated westward due to pressure from Iroquois in the north and Muskogees to the south.

Leaving the problem of the Siouan homeland to one side, however, and pursuing Catawba linguistics, it is apparent that dissatisfaction about the lumping of the Tutelo and Catawba dialects together in an homogeneous eastern Siouan language soon became evident. One form of this newer opinion

18. Hale, op. cit., p. 27.
of the aberrance of the Catawba from both Tutelo and the western dialects is seen in a short note in a Smithsonian Institution report of field work among various tribes. The Bureau of American Ethnology sent Dr. Truman Michelson to the Catawba in 1913 because:

From a study of Siouan and Muskogean languages, it appeared that these stocks resemble each other morphologically as compared with other American Indian languages. It therefore became a matter of importance that Catawba, a Siouan language of the Southeast, should be investigated to determine how close these resemblances were, and whether it was possible that both stocks were derived from a common ancestor, but had differentiated at an early date.21

Dr. Michelson was unable to gather texts complete enough to enable him to make an analysis of the language structure, since "barely half a dozen persons were left who could give simple connected phrases." 22

Within this line of inquiry into inter-stock resemblances, originally suggested by Barton and repeated by Gal-latin,23 both Speck and Swanton make reference to certain relationships between the two languages. Swanton adds nothing to the research on this subject, but does offer an interesting hypothesis — that the Catawba dialect, or language, is intermediate between the more extreme languages in the Muskogean and Siouan stocks.24

Speck has apparently been the only scholar to publish

22. Ibid., p. 84.
any real evidence on this subject. He notes that "several Muskogean [tribal] names can be construed into meaning in Catawba without these, however, being in any way responsible for their origin." 25 He gives examples, using Kusa (a Creek synonym) and Yemassee, and adds, "... neither the Creeks nor the Yemassee have been known even by name to the later Catawba informants." 26 The evidence, then, consists in the fact that some Muskogean tribal names are meaningful and intelligible as names for a people in the Catawba language, without the persons who understand those names ever having heard of the tribes they denote. This line of inquiry has stopped at this point, however, and neither Swanton nor Speck, so far as this investigator has been able to ascertain, has made any reference since, either to Speck's evidence or to Swanton's interesting hypothesis.

The currently accepted theory on the linguistic position of the Catawba language is that it is an aberrant form of the Siouan language. This theory and its implications have been most diligently pursued by Swanton. On the basis of a re-study of Gatschet's material and a new visit to the Catawba, Swanton was able to state:

Almost immediately a striking difference was perceived, not merely as between Catawba and Tutelo but as between Catawba and all other Siouan languages. ... Catawba is evidently a survival of a peculiar southeastern Siouan group which took in all of the Siouan tribes of South

Carolina and probably most of those of North Carolina as well.27

He notes that Speck had reached the same conclusion, and that he, too, "feels certain that the difference had a cultural aspect."28 Swanton goes on to separate all Siouan tribes into four linguistic groups, the Tutelo and other Virginia tribes falling into the "northeastern" group, along with the Hidatsa, Dakota, Biloxi, and Ofò; while the Catawba and most of the tribes of the Carolinas were placed in the "southeastern" group.29 Later Swanton refers to the tribes in Virginia and in the Carolinas as the "northern" and "southern" divisions of the eastern Siouans,30 and in discussing linguistic similarities between various Siouan tribes, states that, "Catawba is known to have been wholly distinct."31 On this basis he surmises that "the Catawba and their allies were probably differentiated earliest from the remaining Siouans."32 In 1933 Swanton pointed out the "linguistic differences which existed between the Siouan tribes of Virginia and those of the Carolinas," named several tribes belonging to the Virginia division, and reiterated that, "Catawba is the

29. Ibid., p. 43.
32. Ibid., 68.
most aberrant of all Siouan languages." 33

Recently, because of the confusion as to the proper classification of Catawba, Siebert has done a morphological and comparative study of the Catawba language. It is his opinion that there has been "no essential advance in the linguistic classification of Catawba since Morgan's observation in 1869." 34 In his study he shows (1) that Catawba is probably less divergent from western Siouan than had formerly been thought to be the case, when morphological rather than purely lexical comparisons are made; (2) that Catawba and Tutelo have some previously unrecognized similarities, but that they are "lexically dissimilar"; 35 and (3) that Catawba does show some apparently archaic or Proto-Siouan characteristics. 36

As to the linguistically-determined linguistic position of the Sera, however, practically nothing is known. Gatesch and Mooney both state that the word sara has the meaning in Catawba of "a place of tall grass or weeds," the implication being that they were named this because of the flora of their habitat. 37 However, in the opinion of Speck, our closest student of Catawba language and culture, this translation "has value only as a guess," pointing out that we do not even know which syllable of sara was originally accented. 38 Thus, there seems at present to be no acceptable

35. Ibid., p. 103-4.
translation of the Sara tribal name, and no tribe with any form of the name was known even to Speck's oldest informants. Despite the lack of linguistic confirmation, however, Speck has never controverted the hypothesis that the Sara were a Siouan tribe and has accepted Swanton's statement that they belonged to the Catawba division of the Eastern Siouans.

With linguistic research on the Eastern Siouan problem virtually brought to a standstill by the dying out of possible informants, the dearth of really adequate texts and word lists, and the lack of interested scholars, there seems to be little possibility that linguistics can make any considerable further contribution to the solution of problems concerning Eastern Siouan culture. Linguistics has, however, enabled scholars to reach several tentative conclusions and make some hypotheses, which, taken in sum, point out the line, or lines, of inquiry which must be carried forward from the position reached by linguistic research. This position, stated informally, seems to be as follows:

1. Most of the tribes of the Carolinas and southern Virginia spoke dialects of the Siouan linguistic stock.

2. The Siouan-speaking tribes in Virginia and part of northern North Carolina spoke dialects related to one another and forming a "Tutelo" or "northern" division of the eastern Siouan-speaking tribes, the language of this division being closely related to the languages of certain western Siouan-speaking tribes.

3. The remainder of the Siouan-speaking tribes in the
two Carolinas, including the Sara tribe, spoke dialects relate to one another and forming a "Catawba" or "southern" division of the eastern Siouan-speaking tribes, the language of this division being rather different from that of the "northern" division and the western Siouan languages, and possibly related in some aspects to languages of the Muskogean linguistic stock.

4. The linguistic differences between the two eastern divisions indicate other cultural differences, as yet unknown.

At least two major hypotheses amenable to inquiry through the methods of archaeology and ethnology emerge from the foregoing statements:

1. A territorially coterminous group of tribes in Virginia and the Carolinas, speaking dialects of the Siouan linguistic stock, possessed a language and culture which differed significantly from that of other indigenous groups which bordered on it.

2. Within this group there were linguistic differences of such cultural significance that the culture common to tribes of the "northern" unit differed from the culture common to tribes of the "southern" group.

The aim of this study is to gather, synthesize, and present the available archaeological and ethnological data relating to the tribes involved, in such a way that it will serve both as a preliminary contribution to an inquiry into the tenability of the above hypotheses, and as a segment of a larger future study of the historical, archaeological,
and ethnological picture of culture content and culture change in one Eastern Siouan tribe, the Sara.

As Frank G. Speck has stated with such insight: "Cheraw... is a name to conjure with in the reconstruction of early Siouan ethnology of the Carolinas."\(^{39}\) Most of the pages to follow will be devoted to thus conjuring. The first part of the work will present the history of the Sara as completely as it can be told from the documentary sources available. Following this, all obtainable Eastern Siouan ethnological data will be organized in a form which will make the information available for easy reference by future researchers in this area of study. A Sara village site has been excavated in part and the description of the material recovered will occupy a third chapter of basic data. Finally, some conclusions will be attempted in such a way as to integrate these basic data. One part of this section will present archaeological verification of, or disagreement with, the documentary history; another will present some tentative conclusions on Eastern Siouan culture patterns, based on a synthesis of the archaeological and ethnological data, where possible.

\(^{39}\) Speck, op. cit., p. 214.
CHAPTER II

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE SARA

Hernando De Soto is thought to have landed at Tampa Bay, Florida, on May 30, 1539. From there his expedition traveled erratically northward through Timucua and Muskogee country and, near the headwaters of the Savannah River, stopped at a village which De Soto’s chronicler transcribed from his Muskogean interpreter as "Xuala". By reading the Spanish "x" as "sh" and the "l" as a Muskogean mispronunciation of the Siouan "r" sound, Mooney reaches the conclusion that "Xuala" is the equivalent of "Sara" and, from his study of the Garcilaso narrative of the expedition, states that "the Sara must then have lived in the piedmont region about the present line between South Carolina and North Carolina, southeast of Asheville, North Carolina." He cites as further evidence of an Asheville location for the Sara the fact that the Cherokee name for Swannanoa Gap, east of Asheville, was "Suwali Trail," the pass leading from the Cherokee to the "Suwali," a tribal name still known to the Cherokee at the time of Mooney's investigations.

3. Loc. cit.
Swanton has attempted to identify the site of the "Xuala" village, placing it at Towns Hill, near Chattooga Ridge, between Crane and Knox Creeks in Oconee County, South Carolina.⁴

Milling points out that this area was definitely known as Cherokee country a century later, indicating either that placing "Xuala" so far westward is an erroneous interpretation or that the subsequent eastward movement of the Sara was due to Cherokee pressure. Milling goes on to offer some possible clues as to the location of "Xuala." In the South Carolina Archives he found mentioned a "river called jouala where there is a great fall this side of the Savannah."⁵ Showing that Spanish "Xuala" and English "Jouala" would be pronounced similarly, he states that at least two falls in the area could be the one referred to as the junction point of the Jouala River. One is Whitewater Falls on a Keowee River tributary and the other is "high up on the south fork of the Saluda, which name itself bears a curious similarity to Xuala when spelled Xoada, as it sometimes is."⁶

The chronicler Garcilaso said the village was on the slope of a ridge in a pleasant hilly region, planted to corn and vegetables. A swift stream flowed in front of the village and this stream is supposed to have been the boundary between

⁴ Swanton, op. cit., p. 46.
⁵ Chaplain J. Milling, Red Carolinians (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940), p. 68, quoting Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade for the Province of South Carolina, Volume VI.
the "Xuala" and "Cofachiqui" tribes, both of which, so
Garcilaso implies, were subject to the same queen, "the Lady
of Cofitachiqui." Various chroniclers record De Soto's stay
at "Xuala" as from two to five days. Mooney gives Garcilaso's
statement of a five-day stop as evidence that the "first meet-
ing between the Sara and the white race was a friendly one." But the Fidalgo of Elvas says the troop stayed only two days,
finding native provisions scanty; while Ranjel says the chief gave
ample corn, dogs, and other food, and the expedition stayed
four days.

Wherever they were, the Sara apparently remained in
the same location for some years longer and were found again
by Spanish explorers. The Spanish had established a settle-
ment near the present Beaufort, South Carolina, which they
named Santa Elena and erected there the fort of San Felipe.
Under orders from Pedro Menendez, Governor of Florida,
Captain Juan Pardo set out November 1, 1566 with 125 men to
explore and subdue the land between the Atlantic coast and
Mexico. Traveling northeastward, he was soon retracing De
Soto's old route, reaching "Cofitachequi" and then "Xuala,"
recorded by Pardo's chronicler as "Juada" or "Joara."
Swanton believes that between the two tribal locations Pardo
was passing through Catawba territory and that this is evi-
dence that all of northwestern South Carolina was occupied

7. Mooney, op. cit., p. 57; Milling, op. cit., p. 68.
by the Catawba and related tribes at that time. 10

Near "Xuala" Pardo built a small fort and, leaving a Lieutenant Boyano in charge, returned to Santa Elena, visiting the "Guatari" (Wateree) tribe on the way. Boyano and his men soon destroyed a Yuchi town in the mountains to the north. Being advised of the Yuchi plan to revenge this incident, he set out again and, after a four-day march, is supposed to have stormed a Yuchi palisaded village and killed 1,500 Indians. Since Boyano had only twenty Spaniards with him Swanton believes it very likely that the Tama participated in the fight of the side of the Spanish, for "Catawba-speaking people and Yuchi were found to be hostile to each other at a later date." 11 This is a hazardous guess, of course, but such incidents are common in later history and could have occurred in this instance also.

Encouraged by his success, Boyano left a small garrison at his Fort San Juan near "Xuala" and after a 16-day march arrived at "Chiaha," on the Tennessee River, built a fort, and awaited Pardo's next advance on his mission to Mexico. Pardo set out again on the trail to "Xuala" and, upon his arrival, found Boyano's garrison under siege by the Indians. Pardo subdued the insurrection and proceeded to join Boyano at "Chiaha." Returning from the western trip, Pardo again passed through "Xuala." Apparently at that time the Indians were still under control of the garrison Pardo had re-established, but sometime

10. Swanton, op. cit., p. 64.
11. Ibid., p. 65.
later the Sara succeeded in destroying Fort San Juan, and other Indians destroyed Boyano's Santa Elena at "Chiaha" and the "Guatari" fort. Swanton's guess on Sara population at about this time (ca. 1565) is 1,000 people at a maximum. Mooney's estimate gives the tribe 1,200 persons in the year 1600.

The history of the Sara for a full century after this is completely devoid of documentation. It is certain that if they were in the west, south of Asheville, they must have moved eastward and northward during the next century, but the clearest evidence on this movement does not appear until the early part of the eighteenth century.

In 1672 John Lederer published a small volume which purported to be a true account of three trips he made from Virginia into the Piedmont Indian country. Some scholars have declared the whole tale to be a myth, others have rejected it only in part, and others have accepted the whole itinerary and have traced his wanderings in ways satisfactory to themselves. Cyrus Thomas shows that certain geographical features Lederer claims he saw are non-existent and:

It is evident, therefore, that all the local items mentioned in the account of this journey must have been obtained from the Indians in the section which Lederer actually visited [Virginia], and that the journey into

13. Ibid., p. 110.
the Carolinas is a myth.16

Clarence Alvord and Lee Bidgood accept Lederer's account up to the point at which he claims to visit the Sera, but say that "after he left the Saura village, no certainty can be evolved from the mass of palpable falsehood."17 Kooney has placed more faith in the account than has any other competent scholar.18 Lederer seems to have been in Virginia, at least. While there he received accounts from traders or his Indian guides, or both, and apparently fabricated a fanciful journey into North Carolina from the information he received. This does not mean that the account is worthless, however, since the information he received and wove into his tale may have been fairly accurate. The tribes he names for North Carolina are all authentic and he had most of them in their correct relative positions according to later accounts. His ethnological data may also have some basis in fact, for it checks at certain points with the findings of later explorers and scholars.19 His method, or lack of method, leaves a great deal of room for error, but some of what he wrote is probably acceptable.

According to Lederer's account, he passed southwestwardly through villages of the Saponi, Occaneechi, Eno,

Shoccoree, and Wateree. From here he states:

I departed from the Watary the one and twentieth of June: and keeping a west-course for near thirty miles, I came to Sara: here I found the ways more level and easie. Sara is not far distent from the mountains, which here lose their height, and change their course and name: for they run due west, and receive from the Spaniards the name of Suala.\(^{20}\)

On the strength of this statement, Mooney feels that "it is evident that he found the Sara about where De Soto had found them in 1540."\(^{21}\) He bases this opinion on the apparent former presence of Spanish in the "Suala Mountain" region, the position of the Cherokee to the northwest across the mountains, and the proximity of the Waxhaw and Catawba, whom Lederer says he contacted to the south-southwest three day's march from the Sara.\(^{22}\) Later, however, Mooney changed his estimate of their position somewhat, saying that Lederer "located them in the same general region \[\text{as De Soto did}\], or possibly somewhat farther N. E...."\(^{23}\) It is interesting to note that in this later writing Mooney did not give full credence to Lederer's statement that he had actually visited the Sara, stating that Lederer located them "from Indian information."\(^{24}\)

Other writers, especially Alvord and Bidgood, John R. Swanton, and Reverend Douglas L. Rights have identified Lederer's location of the Sara as on or near the Yadkin River

\(^{20}\) Lederer, op. cit., p. 19.
\(^{22}\) Lederer, op. cit., p. 20.
\(^{24}\) Loc. cit.
in the central part of North Carolina. Swanton seems also to hypothesize an intermediate location for the tribe in their migration from the De Soto position to the Yadkin River, but the evidence is purely inferential. Swanton assumes that even before Pardo appeared on the scene in 1566:

''...the Siouan peoples were probably moving toward the northeast, owing to the southward trek of the Cherokee, and this movement appears to have been accelerated by the Spanish invasions, and perhaps fear of reprisal after the destruction of the stockades.''

Spanish documents reveal no record of such reprisals for the Indian insurrections, but the combination of Cherokee encroachment and Spanish invasion is probably good enough reason for the Sara to have moved out of their former territory, the Spanish deflecting to the northward a southeastward movement due originally to Cherokee pressure. The Sara appear to Swanton to have halted and "settled somewhere east of Asheville, where Swannanoa Gap preserves their name." The only evidence for this seems to from Mooney's Cherokee data pertaining to the "Suwali Trail" leading to the Sara. Thus, Swanton places the Sara -- at a time between 1567 and 1670 -- at roughly the same place Mooney would have them in 1540, both workers using the same evidence. Of course,

Swanton's vague statement, "somewhere east of Asheville," is sufficiently vague that it cannot be called wrong, but the same vagueness makes the statement worthless for all practical purposes. He has indicated elsewhere that by "somewhere east of Asheville" he means "the neighborhood of Swannanoa Gap." 29

Taking up once again the various interpretations of Lederer's location of the Sara in 1670, most students since Mooney seem agreed that if he saw them it was near the Yadkin River. Swanton voices some skepticism about the value of Lederer's account but estimates the location given by him would place the Sara "still further toward the east i.e., east of his hypothetical intermediate location "east of Asheville"7, perhaps on Yadkin River..." 30 Alvord and Bidgood trace Lederer "to the village of the Saura, then apparently located on a northern affluent of the Yadkin...," some 74 miles from the Occaneechi village in the northwest, and 30 miles west of the Wateree village. 31

Milling implies that the Sara were on the Yadkin at this time, giving Mooney as his source. 32 However, on the page referred to, Mooney, speaking of the Wateree, says: "Lederer found them apparently on the extreme upper Yadkin, far northwest of their later location, with the Shoccoree

31. Alvord and Bidgood, op. cit., p. 68.
and Eno on the northeast and the Sara on their west."

Obviously, if the Wateree were on the Yadkin and the Sara were thirty miles to the west (by Lederer's reckoning) the Sara could not also be on the Yadkin unless the Wateree were precisely at that point on the Yadkin where it turns abruptly westward, which is very unlikely. Thus, Mooney never placed the tribe on the Yadkin, as Wissler would have him do. Rather, as already seen, Mooney means the Sara were far to the Wateree's west, near Asheville.

Rights has made what is probably the best case of those based on Lederer, for placing the Sara on the Yadkin in the 1670 period. Tracing the routes of various travelers and traders who were supposed to have used the great "Trading Path", Rights concludes that they were all using the same basic trail and that when Lederer saw the Sara they were on the Yadkin River at a place known to traders as "Trading Ford." In this territory the Sara are supposed by Rights to have given their name to the Uwharrie Mountains and the Uwharrie River; i.e., the "Sualy" and "Xualla" mountains of Lederer and De Soto, respectively; and to the Sarrah River of Needham and Arthur; all supposedly the originals of the later "Uwharrie" pronunciation. Although that writer has gone into this Sua/Sarrah equivalence in some detail, the

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result is linguistically unconvincing.35

It is Right's questionable assumption that the present highway and railroad mark the exact spot where the aboriginal trail crossed the Yadkin which causes him to pinpoint the Sara village at the "Trading Ford" location, supposedly the site of the present bridges across the river in Davidson County and Rowan County between Linwood and Spencer. If the Wateree were not on the Uwharrie as Rights believes, but rather on the Yadkin as Hooney36 and Swanton37 believe, then the Sara, being thirty miles west of the Wateree, would have been on the Catawba River, or near it. Since the Sara would have had to cross both the Catawba and the Yadkin on their trek from the west to their later habitation on the Dan River, they may well have settled for awhile near each of these major waterways.

Fortunately, there is more information than the doubtful Lederer account bearing on the question of the Sara at the 1670 time horizon. In May, 1673, Abraham Wood, a trader of Petersburg, Virginia, sent out traders James Necham and Gabriel Arthur on an expedition to the west. They apparently traveled down the "Trading Path" and probably went through the Swannanoa Gap to get to the "Tomahitans," said by Alvord and Bidgood to be Cherokees38 but identified by

36. Supra, p. 21.
38. Alvord and Bidgood, op. cit., p. 79, 81 ff.
Swanton as Yuchi in eastern Tennessee. 39

Arthur stayed there to learn the language and Needham returned to report to Wood. In September he started out again on the same trail, intending to stay with the "Tomahitans" until Spring and bring Arthur back. He left Eno Town (probably near the headwaters of the Neuse River) safely with several Yuchi and one Occaneechi Indian, John. While crossing the "Sarrah" River, one bearer let his pack fall into the water and when Needham spoke to him about it Occaneechi John became surly and threatening. After crossing the Yadkin River that evening they stopped to camp. Needham demanded the Indian's intentions, so John promptly shot the Englishman, looted the trader's goods, and made off on his horse after telling the Yuchi to go home and see that Gabriel was killed. Arthur's many adventures after surviving this attempt to have him executed are important in a general study of eastern tribes, but the crucial point here is that when he finally returned up the "Trading Path", accompanied by the Yuchi chief and eighteen bearers carrying packs of furs, they arrived at "Sarrah", where they allegedly saw the scattered goods at the place where Needham was murdered. After they camped that night four Occaneechi Indians attacked; the chief and bearers ran, but Arthur hid with one Indian boy. The next day he recovered four packs and hired four "Sarrah" Indians to carry them.

They would not go beyond the Eno village for fear of the

Occaneechi who controlled the trail to the northeast, so Arthur left the packs and made his way back to Petersburg with the Indian boy. 40

These references to "Sarrah" River, "Sarah" village, and "Sarrah" Indians would seem to indicate rather strongly that in the 1670's some Saras were living at a point well south of their later known village on the Dan River. However, there is no definite lead given as to just where the Sara village was, though Rights has used this account to place it at "Trading Ford" on the Yadkin River, near the present Linwood, North Carolina. 41 Swanton, probably referring to the same document, says Wood placed them in 1673 between the Yadkin and the Cape Fear Rivers. 42 This would probably locate them on the upper Uwharrie or on the Deep River, a western tributary of the Cape Fear, but there is no way to check this statement. Since we know that the Sara were also on the Dan River, probably in 1673 and certainly by a few years later, it is not impossible that they were no longer living in this southern location. 43 If the Yuchi band that Arthur traveled with could go to Florida; Fort Royal, South Carolina; the Kanahwa Valley; and Petersburg, Virginia -- and if Occaneechi Indians could be down at the Yadkin for various reasons -- it is not impossible that the four Sara Indians hired by Arthur could have been away from their real home on

40. Alvord and Bidgood, op. cit., pp. 210-236, reproduces a letter from Wood to his patron giving him full details of the adventures of Needham and Arthur.
43. Infra, p. 27.
the Dan and went as far as Eno for hire because they could turn northwestward from there to get back to the Dan. And, if the Sara could leave the Dan region about 1700 or earlier but still have the name "Saura Town" retained by whites for over 250 years -- and have the town of Cheraw, South Carolina, retain their name to this day -- it is not impossible they could have left a vestigial name at a temporary site near a river ford. The conclusion, then, on the basis of present documentary evidence, is that, while they were probably in the area sometime after 1600, they cannot definitely be located in the Yadkin River region in the 1670 decade. The evidence for placing them on the Dan River at that period will be presented shortly.

In 1733, William Byrd and a party were surveying land that belonged to Byrd near the junction of the Dan and Irvin (now Smith) Rivers. They forded the Dan southward about a mile and a half west of the Irvin, then rode eastward for three miles, finding high land close to the river all the way. In Byrd's words:

But then on a sudden the scene changed, and we were surprised with an opening of large extent, where the Sauro Indians once lived, who had been a considerable nation. But the frequent inroads of the Senecas annoyed them incessantly, and obliged them to remove from this fine situation about thirty years ago. They then retired more southerly, as far as the Pee Dee River, and incorporated with the Keyaweys, where a remnant of them is still surviving.44

Byrd has not only given this information but has also

provided a map of the plot of land he was surveying (Fig. 1, p. 28), which includes a conventional representation of the former Indian village. In addition he wrote an eloquent description of the village site, which provides information enabling anyone to locate their former habitation with considerable accuracy. If Byrd is correct in saying they left thirty years before his visit, the end of the occupation would be about 1703. They may actually have left earlier or later than this date, however. Lawson did not see them while on his journey through North Carolina in 1701 but this does not necessarily mean they were still on the Dan in that year. 45

The evidence for placing the Sara on the Dan by 1673 or earlier also comes from Byrd's account. Traveling eastward and northerly along the Dan, the party crossed several small creeks, one of which they named:

...Hatcher Creek, from two Indian traders of that name, who used formerly to carry goods to the Sauro Indians. Near the bank of this creek I found a large birch tree, with the following inscription cut upon the bark of it, "J. H., H. E., B. B., lay here the 24th of May 1673." 46

Byrd was acquainted, apparently, with memories of the traders and was able to fill in their names from the initials on the tree. The assumption that these traders were in 1673 trading with Sara at Dan River villages is well warranted.

The location Byrd described for the Sara village was undoubtedly not the only such habitation. While running the dividing line between North Carolina and Virginia in 1728,

My Plat of 20,000 Acres in N Carolina.
Survey'd in September 1732, by Mr. Mayo, being
15 Miles long, 3 Bread at the W. End, & one at the Est

Byrd's Lands on the Carolina Frontier

Figure 1. Byrd's "Inad of Eden," reproduced from "History of the Dividing Line," opposite p. 268.
he found signs of occupation as far as eight miles down-river from the village, and strong local traditions clearly indicate a second major village about 30 miles to the west near the junction of the Dan River and Town Fork. Swanton thinks the western village was the second to be occupied, but his reasons are not revealed. When white settlers later raised "towns" near the old Indian Fields, local traditions of the Sera Indians having been there were strong enough that two white communities were named "Lower Saura Town," at the location Byrd described; and "Upper Saura Town," at the western location. The first map to indicate an English Saura Town seems to show the western town only (Fig. 2, p. 30), but later maps give both towns. A map of 1775 shows a "Lower Saura", "Upper Saura", and a "Sawra Town Mount", a small east-west range near the "Upper Saura" town. Various maps for nearly a century after this show one or both towns, using different spellings as time went by -- "Sawre", "Sauratow", "Sawra", "Svara", "Sawara", "Sawrat", "Sawraton", "Sowraton", "Sawratown", and possibly others. At the time of Mooney's writing in 1894, the upper community, in Stokes County, was still known as "Sauratown." The "mountains" to the west are

49. Henry Rouon and others, "An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina with their Indian Frontiers, etc.," (London: Sayer and Bennett, 1775).
Figure 2. Excerpt from "A Map of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Maryland with part of New Jersey, &c," The London Magazine, XXIV (1755), p. 312.
still known as the "Sauratown Mountains."

An English traveler named John Smyth visited the region after the Revolutionary War and found strong local traditions of the former presence of Sara Indians in those parts:

The Sawras, although once a considerable nation of Indians, have been long extinct: there is not even a single family or trace of them remaining, excepting these vestiges of their towns, which still continue to support their name, this being fortunately preserved as the appellation of these two settlements. The upper Sawra Towns are trifling and insignificant, compared with the lower Sawra Towns, which is an extremely valuable settlement... 51

The land owned by Byrd along the Dan was cultivated in part by squatters and in 1769 was divided into farms and plantations by the Farley family, which had purchased the tract from Byrd in 1751. 52

The Sara, then, left the Dan River either shortly before or shortly after 1700. The cause of their removal has been laid to persistent attacks by the Iroquois. This was the reason given by Byrd, who was closest to the events of the time. 53

Mooney says Lawson in 1701:

...found the large tribes living in forts and obliged to keep continual lookout spies and outguards on the lookout, for better security, while smaller tribes -- the Saponi, Tutelo, and others of Siouan stock -- were consolidating and withdrawing to the protection of the English settlements. 54

The activities of the Iroquois at that time are well known and there is little reason for seeking further for the

52. Ibid., p. 257-60, passim.
cause of the Sara's southward move. It is interesting to note that Smyth in 1783 found the area still subject to Indian attack from the north.

During the ten days of my residence at this place, we had frequent alarming accounts of the attacks, depredations, and shocking barbarities committed by the Indians on the White inhabitants, some distance beyond the Dan, about the head of Smith's River [Irvin River] which falls into the Dan on the north side, almost opposite to the Lower Sawra Towns.57

He found settlers to the north of the Dan living in log stockades and during his travels allegedly met a band of Indians on the warpath, with whom he ate and spent the night. They were armed with tomahawks and flintlocks; were painted red and black; and ate venison, hickory nuts and walnuts; all mixed with wild honey.56

As noted above, Byrd stated that the Sara retired to the Pee Dee River and joined the Keyauwees.57 Just when they joined them and where the consolidation was effected cannot be deduced from his comment. At about the time the Sarais were moving, the Keyauwees were probably not far south of the present High Point, North Carolina, according to Lawson's description of the village where he met them.58 The Sara could have moved south before Lawson passed through, or after; Lawson would have missed them in either case. Mooney has moved the migration up to 1710, but his reasons for this later estimate are not given.59 If we follow Byrd they must have moved some years earlier than this, and even Byrd's estimate

56. Ibid., pp. 268-279, passim.
may be too late.

The evidence for the incorporation of the Sara and Keyauwee rests solely upon Byrd's testimony. Mooney, in discussing the 1716 attempt of Governor Spotswood of Virginia to settle the Sara, Keyauwee, and Eno in upper North Carolina, at Enotown on the Neuse River, speaks of "the confederated Sara, Keyauwee, and Eno." However, the document he refers to does not state that they were confederated and Mooney is evidently assuming that they were on the basis of Byrd's statement. In fact, one might imply from the document that it is somewhat doubtful that they were joined in any sort of close confederacy. In the "Council Journal" recording the activities of the North Carolina Governor's Council on August 3-4, 1716 is written:

...wee are assured [by the Governor of South Carolina] that Sawraw Indians are now in Actual Warr against ye Inhabitants of that Government and we have also reason to believe that the Enoe and Keewaws are also engaged in ye Same Warr.61

If the three tribes were united in a confederacy and actually lived together as has been assumed, the Council would probably have been more positive that all three were engaged in the war. On the basis of the documentary evidence alone, it cannot be determined whether or not they were actually consolidated. Swanton attempts to get around this problem by having the Sara and Keyauwee join, separate, and

rejoin later. Accepting Mooney's date for the Sara's southward migration, he says, "In 1710 they moved southeast and joined the Keyauwee, but later the two tribes seem to have separated... In 1733 the Keyauwee, probably accompanied by the Eno and Shakori, are said to have gone south to join the Cheraw." The first junction agrees with Swanton's mentor, Mooney; the separation evidently takes into account the fact that the Sara are mentioned in both the Tuscarora and Yemassee wars while the Keyauwee are not, hence the hypothesized separation; the final date of rejoining agrees with the Byrd evidence, i.e., his statement that the Sara had gone south to join the Keyauwee may be based merely upon facts at his command as of 1733, the date of his journey to the site; while the inclusion of the Eno and Shakori agrees, in part, with Mooney's interpretation of the Spotswood resettlement plan documents. Again, however, it seems that the point cannot be settled on the basis of the evidence available in the known documents alone.

Where they lived if and when they were with the Keyauwee is not known, of course, and Byrd's indication of a Fee Dee River site is rather vague. In any case, this would involve a southward move for the Keyauwee from their 1701 village, which has been tentatively located on Caraway Creek, a tributary of the Uwharrie River in Randolph County, west of Asheboro, North Carolina. Evidence of the Sara's location is

almost completely lacking except for some census data which Milling interprets as placing them above the line between North and South Carolina in 1715:

We may assume that they were not in South Carolina at the beginning of the Yamasee War, as the census of 1715, which gives them 510 souls, places them 170 miles from Charles Town, which would thus rule out the later "Cheraw Precinct," which would have been much nearer. 64

Mooney felt the population estimate was too high, and "probably includes the Keyauwees, who still lived with or near them." 65 Milling is assuming that the census-taker's mileage estimate is correct, but such figures are not often reliable over long distances. They may well have been along the Pee Dee River in lower North Carolina at about 1710 to 1715; this is acceptable as an unproven hypothesis.

In the meantime, i.e., before Governor Spotswood's attempt to resettle them, and before the 1715 census, the Sara participated in the Tuscarora War on the side of South Carolina, in 1711-1712. In South Carolina Colonel John Barnwell gathered a force of 50 white men and about 500 Indians. The Sara, by now apparently also known as Cheraw, were in a company led by a Captain Bull, which included "Wateree, Pedee, Cheraw, and Winyah..." and some others. 66 The fact that they mustered in South Carolina and that the

64. Milling, op. cit., p. 220 footnote.
other participants are known to have been located in South Carolina and even Georgia (the Yamasee, Apalachee, and Yuchi participants) would tend to indicate that the force was a southern one and that the Sara were farther down the Pee Dee than Milling would place them. However, this interpretation is even more conjectural than Milling's and is offered simply to show the possible alternatives.

In January, 1712, the force reached the Tuscarora territory in eastern North Carolina. By the time they arrived there most of Captain Bull's Indians had deserted, and before the main Tuscarora force was sighted all of his men had deserted, as well as most of Captain Jack's company, which included the rest of the Siouans. The omission of the Keyauwee from the list of participating tribes may mean either that they did not send any warriors, or that they were so closely united with the numerically superior Sara that their warriors were simply counted as Sara men.

On April 15, 1715, the Yamasee and their confederates began making concerted attacks on South Carolina settlers. They were aided by Sara warriors making raids from the west, and the Sara were blamed for most of the depredations north of the Santee River. In July, 1715, Governor Craven, with a South Carolina force of 700 men was marching to a junction with a Tuscarora force under Maurice Moore for the purpose of making a joint attack on the Sara -- at least it was called the "Cheraw

67. Milling, op. cit., p. 119-120.
Campaign" — when an attack by Apalachee confederates of the Yamassee on the supposedly quiet southern front caused them to turn to meet the new assault instead. 69

Many other tribes participated in the Yamassee War against the South Carolina settlers, including the Catawba, Winyaw, Waccamaw, Waxhaw, and probably several other supposedly Siouan-speaking units. In April, 1716, the Catawba surrendered and the peace treaty had as one of its conditions that the Catawba should help punish the still-hostile Sera. 70

In the summer of the same year Governor Spotswood of Virginia made his proposal to resettle the Sera and other tribes in a position where they would form a barrier between the Tuscarora and the new Virginia settlements, and thus protect the latter. The Governor's Council of North Carolina decided that:

...notwithstanding the present necessity of the Government of South Carolina should oblige them to come into a peace with ye Indians yet in regard they have always been a Treacherous and Roguish people. It would be of the worst Consequence to settle them in any part of this Government. And more especially at Fnce Town it being on the very Frontiers of our Settlement where they would be Capable of Supplying our Enemies and do Offices of ye most Dangerous Consequence to this and our Neighboring Government of South Carolina. 71

At the same time South Carolina requested that North Carolina raise a force "to annoy the sawravs and other of ye Northward Indians and Enemies..." so the Council decided to send out an expedition with ten or twelve volunteers and a

number of Indians, probably Tuscaroras.\textsuperscript{72} It was undoubtedly the aim of both Carolina governments to destroy the war potential of the Sara before permitting a peaceful resettlement. The fact that the North Carolina Council felt "it would be of the worst consequence to settle them in any part of this Government" would indicate that the Sara were then based in South Carolina.\textsuperscript{73}

The whole Sara incident led to considerable ill-feeling between the government of Virginia and the governments of the Carolinas. On August 23, 1716, North Carolina formally requested that Governor Spotswood prevent any trading with the Saras or other tribes to the south until they made "perfect peace" with both Carolina governments. The reason for this request was that a party of Indians "supposed to be Sawras" had killed a white man and an Indian slave. The band being well supplied with ammunition and arms, they were further supposed to have been those who had gone to Virginia to negotiate with Governor Spotswood, at which time they had been given the arms and ammunition they were seen to carry on this raid.\textsuperscript{74}

Governor Spotswood did not halt the trading and the suspicion grew that Virginia was attempting to get rich by trading guns to Indians who then used them to kill Carolinians.

A letter of May 15, 1716, to the Governor's Council, states:

The Sarraus give out amongst the Wineaus and Norward Indians that they are ordered by the Virginia Traders to destroy this country and do their utmost Endevors to

\textsuperscript{72} Saunders, op. cit., p. 242-43.
\textsuperscript{73} \textit{Loc. cit.}
\textsuperscript{74} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 246-47.
draw those Indians with the Wacomaus to their party, they offer them plunder and threaten they will destroy all that will not side with them.75

That the Sarras were successful in cementing alliances with some of these coastal tribes is indicated by a document of August 6, 1716, in the South Carolina Records, the same paper revealing something of the nature of the trade between the Sarras and the Virginia traders:

...The Wacomaus refused to make peace with us, which obliged the Cattawbaws to fall on them. They have killed ye major part of them, the rest are fled to ye Sarras; also ye Wacomaus and those other nations bordering on ye Sea Shore to ye Northward, (ye Sarras excepted) have made peace with us, fearing the Cherokees.

The condition of ye Peace agreed upon with them is that they shall deliver up all belonging to ye White people and that they shall use their endeavours to destroy the Sarras; they are now marched with their whole Strength to put it in Execution. We knowing it was impossible the Wacomaus Should be Supplied with Ammunition from ye Spaniards, asked them how they came by it since the War. They answered that what little they had they got from the Sarras who constantly used to carry Slaves, Skins and other Goods taken from us (of which they had a large share) to Virginia, in Lieu of which they returned home with Ammunition and what Else they wanted.76

The implication is that the Virginia traders profited well in the trade for plundered skins and slaves, and it was the opinion of one writer to the North Carolina Council that:

I must judge they are willing to have us in a continual war with our Southern Indians that they may have the whole Trade with the Northern; Because it's certain as long as our War continues with any one party we cannot trade with the other.77

75. Ibid., p. 251.
77. Saunders, op. cit., p. 253, from an anonymous letter of August 16, 1716.
However, this same writer seems to absolve Governor Spotswood of guilt because "hee thinks if hee brings all of them to a Neutralitie it will be very much to our advantage. And I believe he designs no more...." But the writer goes on to show that neutral Indians ("Muters") are a great danger:

....because under that covert they will both supply and assist our enemies; then the sweat and Blood of our people will center in the coffers of the Indian trading company of Virginia (the which I think they hope for). This angry letter writer urged that the King of England proclaim a war between Virginia and the Indian enemies, so it would be incumbent upon Virginia to fight them.

That the new campaign by the defeated tribes and the Catawba who had subdued them, possibly plus some Cherokee participation as well, was unable to bring the Sara to terms is indicated by the above appeal to the King, presumably written some three weeks after the campaign began. A better indication of their failure to wreck the Sara immediately is seen in a later attempt on the part of Governor Edens of North Carolina to get Governor Spotswood to declare war against them. Spotswood declined and his Council on November 3, 1716, reaffirmed his opinion that the English were the aggressors in the latest outbreak of hostilities and that it was not advisable for the Virginia Government "to assist in a war so unjustly begun and especially considering that the Saraws are under a treaty with us ... and have the public faith for their

79. Loc. cit.
safe passage into this government for concluding a peace. 80

Just what forces finally beat the Seras is not readily apparent from the documents. The House of Assembly of South Carolina awarded Governor Edens of North Carolina its:

...best acknowledgements .../For... laboring with the greatest application and industry to engage the warlike Senekas in our cause, a people who by the power of their arms and terror of their name, are alone equal to the war, and sufficient to subdue all our enemies, and whom we may daily expect to that purpose. 81

Thus, the Seras' old nemesis, the Northern Iroquois, may have been the means of their final defeat in the Yamasee War. In any case, they seem to have surrendered shortly after the beginning of 1717. In February, a trader to the Winyah brought 600 skins to Charles Town from friendly tribes near the coast, and with him came Tom West, a Pedee Indian. West, acting on behalf of the Seras in seeking peace with the government, brought in about 80 skins which the Seras sought to restore to their owners. These were not considered sufficient and traders were forbidden "to enter upon a trade with them [the Seras and Saxaphahaws] until they have first come down hither, paid their submissions and concluded a peace with the Government." 82 Though they were apparently suing for peace, the Seras did not cease to be a power and a threat. In July, 1717, King Blount of the Tuscarora notified the English that

he was "in daily expectation of the Saras and other Indians falling upon him, they having lately taken one of his men."\(^{83}\) Blount also said Saras had killed about ten Virginia traders and pilfered their trade goods. Mooney feels that Blount was exaggerating the danger so as to increase his own importance but it is significant that it was the Sara threat that he used to frighten the whites into giving him more land, claim- he could protect the white settlements better if the tribe had a larger preserve. And, as Mooney also points out, "the remaining Tuscarora in 1717 received permission to remove from the Neuse to the northern side of the Roanoke, in order to be more secure from the southern tribes."\(^{84}\)

At the close of the war the Sara apparently lived on the Pee Dee River in what became known as the "Cheraw Precinct." The earliest map to give their location on the Pee Dee shows them with the Keyauwee at about 34° 35' on the east bank of the river, the Pedee tribe's village being on the same side at about 34° 3' (Fig. 3, p. 43). A slightly later map shows "Saraw O. T." (O. T. for "Old Town(s)") at about 34° 33', with "Keowee" farther up the Yadkin River. This map is also the first to show a "Saura" white community on the Dan River (Fig. 2, p. 30). The present northern latitude of the town of Cheraw is 34° 42', which would indicate that the Sara village was slightly below the present town, but on the opposite side of the river. From the maps and documents alone it is not possible to state with certainty whether or not the Sara and

\(^{83}\) Saunders, op. cit. p. 289.

\(^{84}\) Mooney, "The Siouan Tribes of the East," op. cit., p. 60.
Figure 3. Excerpt from "A New and Accurate Map of the Provinces of North & South Carolina & c." Emanuel Bowen, A Complete Atlas (London, 1752).
Keyauwee villages were at the same location. A map of 1761 shows the two separate, the Keyauwee village being above the Sara, nearer to the state boundary.85

Sara history from this point onward grows even more disconnected, but it is evidently a history of gradual decline and final extinction as a tribal entity, a decline and extinction marked by continual strife. Milling cites a letter of November, 1724, which states:

....the Cattabas and Cherokees are gangeling, for in the summer one of their people killed a Charraw Man and the Cattawbaws came here and demanded Satisfaction and about twenty days ago, the Cattawbas and Charraws took a Women Cherokee Prisoner, but she made her escape from them and got home again, upon which they threaten Revenge upon one another.86

This letter is one of the first indications that the Sara and Catawba were friendly once more, after the Catawba's assistance to the whites in subduing the Sara, and that the Sara were by this time under the protection of the Catawba. Some of them may have gone over to the Catawba, but the process of amalgamation had not proceeded far enough for the Sara's separate tribal identity to be lost.

A statement made at a conference in Albany in 1726 by Governor William Burnet of New York to representatives of the Six Nations indicates that the Iroquois were still raiding in the Sara habitation area. He charged that in


1723 some Senecas were at "Characks" on the Pee Dee River and took an Indian slave belonging to an Englishman. 87 Contact with southern Indians is not reported in this incident but it is very probably that the Senecas raided the Sara at the same time. The Governor of South Carolina at that time, Robert Johnson, would not have minded had the Seneca killed the Sara, but he did object vehemently to the carrying away of an Indian slave.

In 1730 a band of Catawbas, probably including some Sara Indians, ranged northward and killed a Seneca chief near the headwaters of the New River, and in 1731 the Senecas retaliated with a raid which included depredations on several white settlements and on "settlement Indians." 88 A few years previously, the Cherokees of eastern Virginia complained that the Catawba had raided them and killed fourteen persons. 89 A devastating smallpox epidemic in 1738 wiped out almost half of the Catawba population, and whether the Sara were with them or not the same epidemic probably struck them as well. 90

The decimated tribes, however, were still apparently full of fight and in the spring of 1739 a band went north to hunt their enemies, probably the Seneca again. Not finding their Indian enemies, they murdered a white family on the borders of Virginia. This evidently got the tribes in trouble.

with the South Carolina government, for in July of the same year "eleven of the chief men among the Catawba and Cheraw Indians" went to Charles Town to tell the Governor:

...that upon complaint made to them of the barbarous murder, they examined into the facts, and had put five of the ringleaders to death; and that they were determined to prosecute in the same rigorous manner any of their people who for the future should be found guilty of the like cruel practices.91

This may indicate that the Sara were in 1739 quite closely united with the Catawba and no longer living on the Pee Dee River, though retaining their tribal identity. Certainly the move to the Catawba area had been made by 1743, at least by a good part of the Sara, for Adair gives the Catawba population for that year as almost 400 warriors, speaking more than twenty different dialects. This would be a population of 1,600 to 2,000, but not all were Siouans, as the dialects listed by Adair include Catawba (the standard or "court" dialect), Wateree, Eno, Sara (here called "Chewah"), Congaree, Hetchez, Yamassee, and Coosa. The presence of many cleared fields no longer cultivated indicates that the population was previously much larger. Even at this late date the Sara and other tribal units may have had separate habitation centers, for Adair says the Wateree "make up a large town."92 On this subject, Milling has said of the Catawba and their confederates: "The proximity of their towns to one another enabled them to mobilize their entire fighting force within two hours, an advantage unparalleled among

more extensive nations. In 1754 there were six such towns, one named "Carrow" probably being the village of the Sara.

The loose confederacy was a bit shaky, however, especially because it represented a good target for attack by northern and northwestern Indians. Governor James Glen visited them in 1746 and the Catawba chief begged Glen to aid him in making the Sara stay instead of leaving the nation for a safer place, as they had threatened to do. The Governor succeeded in convincing the Sara they would be safer to stay and contribute to the strength of a united nation, and the Catawba chief then pledged his support to the English.

The Sara would probably have found greater safety in quitting the Nation, however, for in 1750 very heavy losses were suffered, so great as to cause Governor Glen to write to Governor Clinton of New York that, though the Catawba were "a very brave People" they were in danger of being totally destroyed by the numerically superior Senecas and other Indians. He told Clinton that, if they did not cease their attacks, he would publish a reward for every Northern Indian killed by friendly Indians or by any person who found them in the white settlements.

95 South Carolina Records, op. cit., XXIV, p. 413-15, cited by Milling, op. cit., p. 242-43. Gregg, op. cit., p. 11-13, cites a newspaper account in the South Carolina Gazette for his statement that it was a white trader, Brown, who appealed to Glen to preserve the Nation's unity, and that the PeeDee were also thinking of leaving.
96 O'Callaghan, op. cit., VI, p. 568.
But even this did not stop the Northern Indians, for in October of the same year the Catawba chief, all but one headman, and others of a party returning from a visit to Charles Town were massacred. For revenge the Catawba killed twenty Northern Indians a short time later.97

In the meantime, efforts toward peace were being made. Governor Glen had received a promise from the murdered chief previous to his death that he would send representatives to New York to arrange a peace with the Six Nations. Governor Clinton arranged the meeting and invited Governor Glen and the Catawbas to Albany.98 Glen replied the following spring that he could not come but was sending a Commissioner and some Catawba headmen. His letter indicates that the Sara were still a tribal entity in 1751 for, after expressing his desire that the Northward and Southward Indians become closely united, he said:

....under the name of Southward Indians I comprehend the Cherokees, the Catawbas, the Creeks, called sometimes Muscagees, the Chickasaws, and such part of the Chactaws as are in our Interest, and all the Tribes in friendship with these Nations, or that live amongst our settlements, such as Charrows, Uchees, Fidees, Notchees, Cape Fears or other Indians....99

William Bull, the Commissioner, with the new Catawba chief and five headmen, went to Albany, where a firm foundation for peace between the Iroquois and the Catawba was laid, and, incidently, a very useful united front against the

99. Ibid., p. 769.
French and their Indians was formed -- which was undoubtedly the chief reason why the English governors went to such pains.

The nation served in various ways during the French and Indian War that followed shortly. The war being newsworthy, an account of a Sara exploit in 1759 gives us one of the last mentions of the tribe, as well as a hint of its population, along with the first information that they still had their own chief. The newspaper account reads as follows:

On Tuesday last, 45 Charraws, part of a nation of Indians incorporated with the Catawbas, arrived in town, headed by King Johnny, who brought to the Governor the scalp of a French Indian, which he had taken near Loyal-Henning. He and several others that are with him here, were with Gen. Forbes during the whole expedition against Fort Duquesne. 101

If the 45 Indians were all Saras and all warriors, then the Sara population in early 1759 was at least 200 persons. This agrees well with Governor Glen's estimate that the whole Catawba Nation had about 300 fighting men. 102 Since Haiglar was chief of the Catawba Nation until 1763, the "King Johnny" referred to was probably the head of the Sara tribe.

All the tribes of the Catawba Nation suffered a population decline in the latter part of the same year, however, due to a new small-pox epidemic, the most devastating

100. Ibid., p. 717-26.
101. South Carolina Gazette (Charleston), June 2, 1759, quoted by Gregg, op. cit., p. 16.
since 1738. According to the newspapers of the time, almost half the Catawbas proper were quickly killed, and many Wateree and Sara families were down. 103 Here again, there is the indication that the various tribes still lived in separate towns. Although early population estimates vary considerably in their accuracy, the indications are that the Sara never fully recovered from the ravages of war, small-pox, venereal diseases, and liquor. A writer in 1768, speaking of the Sara, said:

These were formerly a considerable nation, but of late have been so depopulated by wars and sickness, that they have fled to the Catawbas for protection, and now live amongst them. They consist of about 50 or 60 souls. 104

The same writer gives the population of the Catawba proper as 100, which seems a trifle low. The fact that he included information about "every nation that I could gain intelligence of" but that, besides the Catawba and Sara, only the Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw were mentioned, says a good deal for the persistence of the Sara as a tribal entity.

There is no authentic documentation for Sara participation in the American Revolution as a tribal unit, even though it is known that the Catawba served on the side of the Americans in several engagements, and the whole Nation moved to Virginia at one time to be safe from Cherokees fighting for

103. South Carolina Gazette (Charleston), Dec. 15, 1759. cited by Gregg, op. cit., p. 16-17.
104. Elam Potter, "An Account of Several Nations of Southern Indians," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 1, X (1801/1809 reprint), p. 120.
105. Ibid., p. 119-121.
the English. 106 Gregg does indicate that not until the Revolution did the Sara completely unite with the Catawba, but he presents no documentation, taking his information from the slightly previous work of Schoolcraft, who, in turn, gives no documentation for this statement. At any rate, the gist of what they have to say is that, at the beginning of the Revolution, the Catawba contracted small-pox again and were so nearly exterminated that, at the end of the war, they took the advice of their white friends and invited the Sara to join with them as one tribe. These Sara, probably groups of Indians who had resisted amalgamation and remained on the Pee Dee River near the white settlements, accepted the invitation and the union was completed. 107 An estimate of Catawba population for 1780 gives them 490 persons, which indicates a population increment which could be due in part to this final influx of Saras. The writer attributed the increase to the peace established following the Revolutionary War.

Writing in 1853, Schoolcraft goes so far as to state that: "...the present nation is about equally composed of Catawbas and Cheraws. They have lived in great harmony. The Cheraws have retained their own language but ordinarily use

It seems hardly possible that Schoolcraft could have found two separate dialects as late as 1853 when Gallatin, a capable linguist for his times, discovered no such phenomena in 1836.110

Gregg states that persons still living in 1867 remembered that Sara Indians used to visit the upper Pee Dee River "to take a last look at the localities which their own traditions had identified as the homes of their fathers."111 Indians were still undoubtedly traveling about that region, but Gregg has no real basis for his claim that they were Sara. Kron writes that during the 1820's bands of Indians were seen in Stanly and Montgomery counties (both border the upper Pee Dee River) passing on their way to Fayetteville to make money by displaying their skill at archery.112 It may have been bands such as these that Gregg refers to so sentimentally.

Later ethnologists and others working with the Catawba have been unable to find any tradition of a part of the Catawba being Sara. A Special Indian Agent, C. M. McPherson, attempted to procure material on the Sara from a colleague who had worked with the Catawbas and their traditions for many years, but not even the name was known to living Catawba in-

111. Gregg, op. cit., p. 18.
Recently several scholars have taken the view that some of the "Croatan Indians," or "Robeson County Indians," are descended from the Sara, in part. Swanton first made out such a case, based partly on the basis of statements by very old Robeson County Indians that their ancestors had come from Roanoke, Virginia, and after staying in Robeson County, went to the mountains with the Cherokees. Several returned, however, because they had relatives in Robeson County. Swanton interprets the Roanoke reference to mean the Sara villages on the Dan River, the Robeson County location as being near their habitation during the Yamassee War, the trip to the mountains with Cherokees as their union with the Catawba, and their final return to Robeson as "not recorded in any history of the section...but...highly probable."

This and other evidence indicates to Swanton that the Robeson County Indians are descended in the main from Siouan tribes, especially the Sara and Keyauwee. In fact, he has reason to believe that the latter tribe contributed more of the Indian blood in the present mixed-blood population than any other, but since the Sara name is more familiar to scholars, he concludes, "...if the name of any tribe is to be used in

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114. Swanton, "Probable Identity of the 'Croatan' Indians," op. cit., p. 3-4. The original statements made by the old Robeson County Indians are found in a letter from a Mr. A. W. McLean to Special Indian Agent O. M. McPherson, published in McPherson, op. cit., p. 151.
connection with this body of six or eight thousand people, that of the Cheraw would, in my opinion, be most appropriate. 115

In later years Swanton became even more convinced, and states as fact that the Sara were one of the ancestors of the Indians of "Lumber River." 116

Rights has attempted to strengthen the hypothesis that Siouan tribes were the ancestors of the "Croatan Indians" by showing that during and after the Tuscarora War many Siouan warriors lingered about the settlements and then retreated to the swamp lands of the upper Little Pee Dee River, in which area their descendants are the "Croatan Indians" of today. 117

While this may be true in part, and while both Rights and Swanton may be correct, Right's inclusion of the Sara at this particular point in history, i.e., just after the Tuscarora campaign, does not seem to fit well with the fact of the great strength shown by the Sara in the Yamassee War. They could hardly have lost any substantial number of warriors in 1712 and still have been so strong in 1715-1717.

A statement by Kilgore gives his position on the matter, and, in its way, is a fitting end to any discussion of what finally happened to the Sara:

I have, personally, long felt that at least some of the so-called Croatian Indians in Chesterfield, Darlington, and Marlboro counties are descendants of the Cheraw,

115. Ibid., p. 5.
although this would be quite difficult to prove. 118

Thus, whatever anyone may "feel" about the latter days of the Sara, or of any other small Indian group in the Carolinas, the hypotheses will not only be "quite difficult" but, indeed, quite impossible of proof. However, on the basis of what is known, as presented in this chapter, the final disposition of the Sara is with the Catawba, and if any Sara descendants still survive they regard themselves, and shall be regarded by most, as Catawbas.

CHAPTER III

EASTERN SIOUAN ETHNOLOGICAL DATA

This chapter is so long and so unusually detailed for this type of work that a statement as to the reasons for its inclusion in this form may not be unwarranted.

It is patent that anyone attempting to "do" archaeology in a given region should first become well-acquainted with the ethnology of the tribes thought to be assignable to the archaeological sites found in that region. It is then apparent that anyone who professes to be writing a synthetic account of the culture in such an archaeological-ethnological area should make himself even more familiar with the available ethnology. For purposes of this thesis it was necessary to gather all the ethnological data obtainable on the historic tribes thought to have been Siouan-speaking, in the Carolinas-Southern Virginia area, and furthermore, to organize this material so that it could be easily referred to. This done, there seems to be no reason why the fruits of this labor should not be made available to others who might need the same data for future archaeological work in the area.

The method of presentation adopted herein is to use both the numerical system and the accompanying rubrics
developed over the past fifteen or so years at Yale University, i.e. the Outline of Cultural Materials. For each category on which material is available, a short statement is made for the trait in question; or, if a direct quotation gives the data in briefer form than would paraphrasing, such quotes are given; and the complete citations for the data discussed are listed as footnotes. The material in each category is given in sufficient fullness that the less exacting reader can grasp the nature of the trait; the footnotes provide the scholarly reader with what is hoped are all the available references to the trait in question. In cases of conflicting data, or in categories in which I have inferred traits which are not actually given in the sources utilized (e.g., Category 181 - Ethos), a summary discussion is inserted. This chapter, then, makes no pretense at providing a cultural summary; rather, it presents the materials for such a summary. It is not intended as exciting reading but as an encyclopedia. In a very real sense the footnoted source citations are more important than the text itself, although the person who reads the whole chapter should emerge with a fair grasp of the content of the culture of the area. Besides the use to which this material will be put in the conclusions of this thesis, one future use contemplated for it is somewhat as follows:

An archaeologist working in this general area finds, for example, what he thinks is a spoon made of buffalo horn. Using the Outline of Cultural Materials and this chapter, he turns either to Category 321 - Work in Bone, Horn, and Shell; or to Category 415 - Utensils; or, usually, to both -- and finds enough written here to let him know the trait was recorded for an eastern Siouan tribe, and also finds the exact source and page so that he can study the context in which such information appears.

Beyond this somewhat limited use, one can conjecture that in the future similar work will be done in the organization of the ethnology of the Cherokees to the west, the Muskhogean and Creeks to the south, and the Virginia Algonkians. Through comparisons of these works, more detailed analyses of the cultures and culture areas of the Atlantic seaboard may be made.

10: ORIENTATION

101 Identification—Mooney included forty-one tribes among the Eastern Siouans. Of these he considered eight in the Manahoac Confederacy, eleven in the Monacan Confederacy (including the Saponi and Tutelo), and twenty-two more were not assigned to larger political groupings. Of these Swanton would group those in

the two Confederacies, along with the Occaneechi of the miscellaneous tribes, in his "Tutelo Division", and the rest, being largely in North and South Carolina, in the "Catawba Division", these divisions being linguistic units rather than political or cultural ones, per se.3

In order to arrive at the determination of cultural traits which could be assigned to the Sara tribe, ethnological material from the tribes in the Carolinas will be assembled. At the time of the first work of ethnographic significance,4 the Tutelo, Saponi, and Occaneechi of the Tutelo, or Northern division were deep in North Carolina, and there is every reason to believe that they were practicing a culture very similar to that of their numerous congeners. Thus any ethnographic evidence about them will be used in deriving Carolina Siouan culture patterns. Keeping in mind Swanton's hypothesis of the Tutelo-Catawba linguistic difference implying a cultural difference, we will look for these differences in the traits of the tribes in question.5

Maps—Three maps relating to tribal locations are reproduced elsewhere in this paper. Mooney's work contains a fairly good map of the Siouan range and tribal distribution.

11: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources Processed—A complete bibliography of the sources employed appears at the end of this paper. Of these Lawson's work contains a great amount of information at the earliest level. There is room for some confusion as to what tribe or group he is speaking of in his section entitled "An Account of the Indians of North Carolina," but there is reason to believe that most of it is applicable to the Siouan-speaking tribes. Evidence for this is seen in the fact that a great many of the traits mentioned in this section are also mentioned for specific Siouan tribes in his "A Journal of a Thousand Miles Travel among the Indians from South to North Carolina." Also, he tends to point out whether he is speaking of all the tribes of his knowledge, or only of the Tuscarora (Iroquois-speaking)—with whom he was most familiar—or other non-Siouan tribes, (e.g., Meherrin, Machapungas, Chowans, etc.)

6. Supra, Fig. 1, p. 28, Fig. 2, p. 30, Fig. 3, p. 43.
7. Supra, p. 1-60.
8. Supra, p. 159-259.
9. Ibid., p. 5.
Cora. In fact, his treatment suggests a general cultural uniformity, within a range of variation, across linguistic lines. Therefore, Lawson's general section will be used (for Sicuan traits) but with caution.

A discussion of Lederer's credibility appears elsewhere in this thesis. His ethnological data will be accepted with reservation where they check with other more authentic data.

Swanton has edited Peter Martyr's account of the things related by Francisco of Chichra, believed to be a Shoccoree Indian, and this source is especially useful for traits related to religion. Various works by Speck on modern Catawbas have been consulted and traits mentioned in these works will be used with caution due to the great possibility of acculturative influences on the culture and the informants.

Informants—Lawson's main informants seem to have been the "Kings", "War-Captains", and "Doctors" of the towns he visited. He also got some information from English traders, and a little from the general inhabitants. He found most of the people very secretive about the reasons for the customs which he observed, especially their religious customs and beliefs:

"...they never acquaint any Christian with the knowledge thereof..."\(^{12}\) Byrd's chief informant was his guide and provisioner, a Saponi Indian named Bearskin. Byrd, too, must have found most Indians reticent, for when Bearskin told him about Saponi religion, he did so "with a freedom uncommon to most Indians."\(^{13}\) There is reason to believe Byrd borrowed from Lawson's work as he wrote the expanded version of the Dividing Line survey. Speck's informants were of the last Catawba-speaking members of the tribe. Their names will be found recurring through all of his works on the Catawba.

116 Texts—Practically the only texts will be found in Speck's works. These references may be found in the bibliography of this paper.

12: METHODOLOGY

121 Theoretical Orientation—Lawson was traveling specifically to see the country and the inhabitants and was very observant. He held on to his Christian ethnocentrism, however, and would not hesitate to tell his informants how wrong their beliefs were. Byrd was doing a line

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\(^{12}\) Lawson, op. cit., p. 223.

survey between North Carolina and Virginia and his references to Indians are incidental to the main theme of the account. Many of his Indian references were interpolated later as he wrote an expanded account of the trip. The later work of Speck is based upon work designed to fill in lacunae in Catawba ethnology.

Observational Role—Lawson achieved good rapport wherever he went and on one occasion helped wrap a corpse in a reed bundle so as to be able to observe a complete funeral. Speck gained rapport through his knowledge of the Catawba language and his genuine interest in the people.

Location—The best guide to the location of eastern Siouan tribes is Mooney's map. In general they ranged north of the Santee-Bread river system, west as far as Cherokee country, north to the Roanoke and Dan (for Carolina Siouans) with the exception of the Neuse River Valley, and occupied the coast from the Santee River mouth to above Cape Fear. Lawson said they did not settle far back in the heavy timber because the

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land there was too hard to clear for agriculture. 17

Mineral Resources—Of the vast supplies of minerals available to the Indians, very few were employed by the culture. Stone of various kinds were necessarily used for projectile points, cutting tools, grinding tools, and so forth, but there is no direct reference to the kinds used. Lederer found that the Sera mined cinabar for paint-making; 16 the Saponi used red ochre likewise; 19 and Lawson says the Keyauwee used lead ore for the same purpose. 20 It was Lawson's observation that the Indians never looked for minerals, being "the least addicted to delving of any People...." 21

Fauna—The best record of animal life was left by Lawson, who noted the types, their use by whites, use by Indians, and methods of capture. 22 It would be tedious to reproduce his lists, which are very complete, and most of the forms are still extant in the area. Some forms are no longer found in the Carolinas, however, and these should be noted. Buffalo were noted by Lawson as far south as the Cape Fear River in 1701, 23 and were seen by Eyrd near the Dan River in 1728. 24 Alligators were seen near the Neuse River by Lawson 25 and they are mentioned for the Santee River by Eyrd, though not from

17. Lawson, op. cit., p. 84.
19. Eyrd, op. cit., p. 164
20. Lawson, op. cit., p. 49.
22. Ibid., p. 118-162.
23. Ibid., p. 119.
firsthand information. Signs of elk were seen by Byrd near the Dan River and Lawson said they traveled the same range as the buffalo. Descriptions of huge flights of passenger pigeons appear in both Byrd's and Lawson's works. The most important fauna were the deer, bear, and turkey, and several kinds of fish. Swanton has prepared a useful table which shows the distribution of food animals in the Southeast, but it is not entirely in agreement with the early Carolina sources.

Flora—Again Lawson's lists are very complete, and too long for fruitful reproduction. He was on the scene early enough to separate the indigenous flora from the exotic and fortunately makes the distinction in his work. In another useful table, Swanton has tabulated the distribution of edible flora in the Southeast.

14: HUMAN BIOLOGY

14.1 Anthropometry—The only measurements yet made on Eastern Siouan skeletal material were done by G. K. Neumann on a series of four skulls, and one long bone, from the Poole site in North Carolina, the type site of the

32. Lawson, op. cit., p. 92-118.
Caraway archaeological culture and believed to be the 1701 location of the Keyauwee tribe. His most important measurements and indices are briefly given here:

Individuals: Two rather old males; one male about fifty; one female, 47 to 51 years old at death.

Thickness of left parietal, male: 5 mm.
Thickness of left parietal, female: 6 mm.
Glabella-occipital length, old male: 183 mm.
Maximum Width, old male: 135 mm.
Cranial index, old male: 73.77.
Auricular height (projected porion-apex height), old male: 115 mm.
Auricular height-length index, old male: 62.84 mm. moderately high.
Upper limit of orthocrany, old male: 63.
Transverse arc over bregma: old male: 309 mm.
Minimum breadth of the ascending ramus of the mandible, old male: 36 mm.; middle-aged male: 34 mm.
Stature, female: 161 cm. (based on a 247 mm. ulna).

Morphological Observations: General form evider; no artificial deformity; divided supraorbital ridges, moderate in development; glabellar prominence submedium; frontal height medium; forehead slope medium; post-orbital constriction and frontal eminences small;

forehead crest small, median crest lacking trace of sagittal elevation in parietal region; no post coronal depression; lateral walls of brain case fairly parallel-sided; temporal region submedium fullness; mastoids small to medium; prominence of supramastoid crests small to large; depression of pteryon region lacking to slight; posterior projection of occiput medium to pronounced; one bun-shaped occipital; lambdoid flattening slight to almost pronounced; Inca bone, or remnant of transverse occipital suture, absent; external occipital protruberance absent to small.

Coronal suture simple to submedium; sagittal suture submedium; lambdoid submedium to pronounced; pterion region medium long and K-shaped; median occipital fossa lacking; styloid process small, mandibular fossa depth medium; post-plenoid process small; tympanic plate thin; external auditory meatus elliptical to slip-like in form.

Facial orbit square to oblong; inclination small to medium; depth of suborbital fossa medium; zygomatic bone small, lateral projection medium, anterior flattening small; thickness of temporal zygomatic process medium; nasal sills dull; subnasal grooves lacking; moderate midfacial prognathism; palate height moderate; mandible size moderate; chin bilateral with neutral projection; gonial eversion of mandible small.
Descriptive Somatology—Lawson found the Indians of North Carolina to be "a well shaped clean-made people" of varying stature but inclined to be tall, with very straight postures, well-shaped limbs and the handsomest feet and legs. They tended to have flat bodies because of the cradle board. Eyes were black or dark hazel, red streaks in the whites. Skin color was tawny, body hair scant, few had facial hair or arm-pit hair, though all men had pubic hair. Muscalature was light: "They are not of so robust and strong bodies as to lift great burdens."

He found the Waterees and Santees, especially, to be very tall, one of the latter being seven feet high. Women had small breasts. Byrd found his Indians tall, well-proportioned and dark. Artificial head deformation was practiced by the Waxhaw and possibly also by the Shoccorees and a branch of the Catawba.

Facial Affinities—Neumann, on the basis of metric and morphological comparisons, found that "the closest affiliations of these tribes are with the Archaic shell-heap people of the Ohio and Tennessee valleys and the eastern seaboard."

Skeletal material from a Tutelo

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35. Lawson, _op. cit._, p. 181-83
36. _Ibid._, p. 183
37. _Ibid._, p. 183
38. _Ibid._, p. 200
39. Byrd, _op. cit._, p. 3
40. _Ibid._, p. 30
43. Neumann, _op. cit._, p. 2.
The site tends to support this conclusion. Neumann proposes the name Iwanid (Catawba: iswe, river, and nie, people) for this variety: "Groups predominantly of this still unnamed variety [now Iwanid] have been identified to the northeast as far as New England, to the south along the coast as far as Florida, in the southeast to Louisiana and eastern Oklahoma, and more centrally in Tennessee, Kentucky, southern Indians, and Illinois." 44

15: BEHAVIOR PROCESS AND PERSONALITY

151 Sensation and Perception--These Indians are credited with very good vision: "No people have better eyes, or see better in the night or day than the Indians." 45 Equilibrium was also remarkable 46 and tone perception and rhythm were good: "...it seems admirable how they should continue these songs without once missing to agree, each with the others note and tune." 47

152 Drives and Emotions--Various aspects of Indian temperament are mentioned in Lawson's work. Male sexual jealousy was minimal or absent; 48 they never fought amongst their own group, unless drunk; scolding and nagging were absent. 50 They were very revengeful, unless the injury or affront was done while a person was drunk, but were

44. Ibid., p. 8.
45. 1.awson, op. cit., p. 183
46. Ibid., p. 182.
47. Ibid., p. 185
48. Ibid., p. 198-99, 212.
49. Ibid., p. 188
50. Ibid., p. 34, 189, 213.
"the freest of heats and passions..." They were free from fear in the night, even though they believed in certain spirits. They were patient: "They never walk backward and forward as we do..." For their secretiveness see Category 115.

When faced with death they were stoical: "If they are taken captives and expect a miserable exit, they sing; if death approach them in sickness, they are not afraid of it; nor are ever heard to say, grant me some time."

They seemed very emotional in mourning, however—blackening faces and wailing for several nights.

Near the end of the 19th Century, Gatschet found the Catawba to be a "peaceable and quiet people, but without ambition or a manifestation of the spirit of progressiveness."

16: DEMOGRAPHY

161 Population—Lawson's estimates of the populations of some tribes now thought to be Siouan are as follows:

Woccon, 120 men in two towns; Tutalo, Saponi, Keyauwee, Ocaneechi, and Shoccoree, 750 men, women, and children.

52. Lawson, op. cit., p. 213. 53. Ibid., p. 182, also 208.
54. Ibid., p. 209, also p. 45, 224; Eyrd, op. cit., p. 221.
55. Ibid., p. 193.
57. Lawson, op. cit., p. 255.
Byrd estimated Catawba population, probably as of the late 1730's, at 400 fighting men, which would be about 1600 hundred people. For other estimates of Sara and Catawba population see pages 46-51 of this thesis.

Mooney summarized the available population estimates and guesses and, making a few guesses of his own, arrived at the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>1600 A.D.</th>
<th>1907 A.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monacan Confederacy</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manahoac Confederacy</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occoneechi</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woccon</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sara</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keyauwee</td>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shococree, Adshusheer, Eno</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>500 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sissipahaw</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>Mixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Fear Indians</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waxhaw and Sugeree</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catawba</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td>90 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedee</td>
<td>600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waccamaw, Winyaw, Hook, etc.</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>200 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewee</td>
<td>800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santee</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congaree</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wateroe</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Extinct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20,800</td>
<td>700 Mixed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The "Mixed" groups probably refer to the so-called Croatan Indians, who can no longer be regarded as bearing any significant elements of aboriginal culture, and who are much mixed with Negroes and whites. The only extant eastern Siouans are the Catawba, who still number above

a hundred. They have, however, received Cherokee, Seminole, Negro, and white admixture, and the Siouan strain is itself mixed, the dominant elements being Catawba and Sara.

164 Morbidity—The Indians were subject to a good many injuries and diseases, and suffered repeated small-pox epidemics after the arrival of Europeans. These will be taken up in some detail in Category 177—Acculturation, and Category 75—Sickness. Dental caries must have occurred, for Lawson stated: "They have several remedies for the tooth-ache, which often drive away the pain: but if they fail, they have recourse to punching out the tooth with a small cane...." 60 Venereal disease was carried to the Catawba by whites and checked population growth even after they achieved some measure of security on their own reservation. 61

165 Mortality—Lawson, having made "the strictest inquiry" found a woman, over a hundred years old. 62

167 Immigration and Emigration—The movements of the Sara tribe, traced in Chapter II of this paper, comprise a good idea of geographical mobility in this region. Lawson said: "They are a shifting and wandering people, for I know

60. Lawson, op. cit., p. 234.
some Indian Nations that have changed their settlements many hundred miles...."

17: HISTORY AND CULTURE CHANGE

172 Archaeology--See page 316 of this paper for an archaeological reconstruction of culture sequences, chronology, and relationships. Chapter V presents some historical inferences from archaeological data.

An interesting note appears in Lawson's book, making him probably the first archaeologist in America. In presenting evidence for his theory of a pre-Indian occupation of the New World, he wrote:

The next is, the earthen pots that are often found under ground, and at the foot of the banks where the water has washed them away. They are, for the most part broken in pieces; but we find them of a different sort, in comparison of those the Indians use at this day, who have had no other since the English discovered America. 64

177 Acculturation--The first contacts with Europeans came in 1540, when the Spaniards under De Soto saw the Sara and perhaps other tribes. Later contacts with the Spaniards may have caused some population shifts. In the mid-seventeenth Century Virginia traders began to make a steady contact with Siouan units, so that by 1673, at least, some Indians were carrying and using guns, and trading skins for other European goods. By the time

63. Ibid., p. 180.
64. Loc. cit.
of Lawson's observations, then, the Indians had adopted a good many European artifacts.

By 1701 the Waxhaws were using horses to carry home large game killed away from the town and the Saponi chief had several horses. Upon his return from the dividing line survey, Byrd was met by a group of Saponi "nobility", including four females; most were on horseback, the women riding astride. Lawson found guns in universal use, the men being very good shots and quite able to disassemble a musket and true the sights. Pistols and cutlasses were also possessed. Most Indians used English steel and flint for fire-making, but struck the spark onto a punk they gathered rather than on tinder. Iron draw-knives were employed in tanning operations; a nail set in cane made a good drill; small bells were used as ornaments by Waxhaw dancers; the same tribe had a huge iron pot; and the Eno made arrows from English bottle-glass.

Lawson felt the Congaree were lazy and idle because "They are very poor in English effects, several of them having no guns...." At a Waxhaw town, one of Lawson's men was able to buy sexual pleasure with a few trade beads. Both men and women were adopting English...
cloth for making their match-coats and skirts. 79

Byrd listed the main items carried by the Virginia traders going through the heart of the Siouan range, and told of caravans of up to one hundred horses, each carrying from 100 to 150 pounds of "guns, powder, shot, hatchets,...kettles, red and blue planes, Buffelds, Stroudwater blankets, and some cutlery wares, brass rings and other trinkets." 80

In sum, the Indians were exposed to a considerable portion of European material culture and were rapidly making use of many elements of a technological or ornamental nature. They entered wholeheartedly in the fur trade in order to purchase these items and even sold tar from lightwood knots they had gathered and burned. 81

However great their interest in certain material items was, however, the Indians accepted few non-material traits, at least at first. One of these was apparently a greater sense of shame or modesty, for Lawson observed that the men never took care to conceal their genitals before the English came. This required the wearing of a cloth breech-clout under their usual match-coat. 82

One non-material trait which was readily adopted was drunkenness. Many of the early references to the inroads of rum on Indian morality and longevity must be understood as coming from perhaps overly-puritanical

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observers. However, the repeated comments on Indian drinking indicate that drunkenness was one of the chief effects of European contact. Lawson had no sooner begun his journey than he began to see drunken Sewees:

Rum, a liquor, now so much in use with them that they will part with the dearest thing they have, to purchase it; and when they have got a little in their heads, are the impatientest creatures living, till they have got enough to make them quite drunk... 83

The Tuscaroras developed quite a trade, carrying rum westward to Siouan groups, when they could refrain from drinking their cargo. 84 Lawson ranked rum with the small-pox, as a cause for de-population, but this is a patent exaggeration of Indian alcoholism. 85 Byrd speaking of Siouans settled at Fort Christanna, felt that the whites had "debauch't their morals, and ruin'd their health with rum..." 86

One noteworthy adjustment made by the Indian cultures to this new element was the idea of the non-responsibility of drunken persons: "They never call any man to account for what he did, when he was drunk; but say, it was the drink that caused his misbehaviour, therefore he ought to be forgiven." 87 After the Revolution, Smyth noted the same trait, even in the case of murder. 88 This mechanism helped minimize in-group conflict and was an adjustment necessary for survival.

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83. Ibid., p. 6.  84. Ibid., p. 238.
87. Lawson, op. cit., p. 212.
The Indians clung to their own religion, however, "for they are no nearer Christianity now, then they were at the first discovery...." Contact with whites began to influence the language quite early, however, and some learned English: "...swearing their speech cannot express; yet those that speak English, learn to swear the first thing they talk of." The Catawba, however, retained their own speech for many years. In 1746, Governor Glen could speak to them only through an interpreter. A writer of 1768 says many of them were Christians by that time and sent their children to English schools when they could. As late as 1861 about a third of the population could still speak some Catawba, but they were "slowly adopting the white man's ways...." A recent note by Witthoft on Catawba acculturation and language loss is worth quoting in full:

Edward Sapir has said that no human being of normal mentality and senses exists or can exist without full and adequate use of language. However, in the most disastrous forms of the acculturation process, individuals grow up in such an impoverished intellectual environment and with such intense and deep-seated conflict that they may approximate this linguistic isolation. Speck's best Catawba informants spoke a Siouan jargon of very small vocabulary and simplified grammar, and their English was little better. The world in which they grew up had quite effectively cut them off from all achievement.

92. Elam Potter, "An Account of Several Nations of Southern Indians," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 1, X (1801 /1809 Reprint), p. 120.
Acculturation, the effects of contact with an alien group, took other forms also. The evidence that Indians were enslaved by whites in the Carolinas is abundant, and some of these were probably Siouans. Runaway Indian slaves were reported in early issues of the South Carolina Gazette, of Charleston. Some males hired themselves out to planters for the season or for shorter periods and presumably were influenced by European traits.

War, of course, and the contacts it enforces, makes for acculturation. For the history of Siouan wars, see Chapter II of this thesis. Some of the effects of war were: depopulation, loss of lands, disappearance of game, and disruption of native economy so that the Indians were more dependent than ever upon white trade and support. Following the wars, some of the tribes became almost complete wards of the states in which they were settled, several tribes being protected at Fort Christanna in Virginia, and the Catawba and their allied remnants placed on a South Carolina reservation.

Two native technological traits that resisted eradication were pottery-making and basket-weaving. Smyth noted that Catawba women of the 1780's still made baskets, mats, and pots; and Harrington and Fewkes

95. South Carolina Gazette (Charleston), No. 24, June 17, 1732.
96. Lawson, op. cit., p. 87-88.
have shown that modern Catawba pottery-makers employ mainly aboriginal techniques, yielding vessels almost identical in paste, color and surface finish with Catawba archaeological specimens, even though styles have been adapted to suit the taste of the white buyers.

The literature on the gradual acculturation, and concomitant decline of the Catawbas is rather abundant but most of it does not bear on the problem of what happened to the culture in the early years when it was still largely aboriginal in content. Two theories advanced by Speck are interesting in this connection, however. One of these holds that, even in its prime, Catawba (and thereby all Eastern Siouan) culture was unusually meager in "patterns of social performance and religion" and "rich symbolic values." Therefore, when the acculturation process began, the culture had relatively little to lose. Stated in his own words:

"...the deficiencies of Catawba recent ethnology may indicate a persistence of former cultural poverty among this people...."100

...His other theory bearing on the acculturation problem is based on the assumption that the Eastern Siouan peoples were, basically, hunters of

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big game: bison, deer, elk and bear. When white settlement destroyed their economic base they could not accept a role of hunters of small game and fish, because this would be incompatible with their big-game-hunting tradition. Consequently, they suffered economic decline, were "reduced to the lower margin of existence," and became a "supine community." 101 However, this argument overlooks ample evidence which would seem to show an agricultural base for Eastern Siouan economy, as well as the evidence showing that small game, fowl, fish, and so forth, supplied a good portion of their foodstuffs, even at an early date. (See categories in Sections 22 and 24 for citations of this evidence.)

Summary--The first effect of the European invasion upon Eastern Siouan culture was to introduce a number of artifacts which were more efficient than the native product, the most important of these being guns, metal hatchets and knives, cloth, and steel-and-flint. These were purchased mainly by the bartering of skins of large animals. The guns obtained facilitated the taking of more skins; more and more European goods were purchased, and the substituted native technology was virtually lost. Guns made wars more deadly than they had ever been, and probably increased warfare. Thus, fewer native practitioners were left to carry on the old cultural forms. Traditional re-

igious values and esoteric practices, especially native medical therapy, were maintained in the face of alien influences for a time. These finally succumbed because they no longer afforded physical or psychological security against the ravages of disease and human enemies. Dependent upon white goods but no longer having the game resources which alone would purchase those goods; with population reduced by small-pox, plague, venereal disease, war, and whiskey; and with traditional religious and magical beliefs and practices unable to halt the destructive processes or provide psychological security -- the culture, and the society which practiced it, became almost totally impoverished.

18: TOTAL CULTURE

Ethos—There are a few statements in the early accounts, principally in Lawson's work, which might be brought to bear on the problem of the Siouan ethos. Some of these statements reflect most pertinently on "Ideal Personality Type" but, since the individual most nearly expressing the ideal personality of a culture should be living most in accord with the ethos of the culture, these statements provide information on the native ethos. On the basis of this data, Eastern Siouan culture may be characterized as "masculine," "cooperative," and "non-compulsive."

1. A "masculine" culture, characterized by male dominance
and emphasis upon male abilities. In a funeral oration the priest tells, of the dead, "how stout a man he approved himself; how many enemies and captives he had killed and taken; how strong, tall, and nimble he was; that he was a good hunter..."\(^{102}\) For the good hunter and warrior Heaven will provide "the enjoyment of handsome young women, great store of deer to hunt"; for the bad hunter and indifferent warrior only "old ugly women" and poor food.\(^{103}\)

Some of Lawson's observations are quite succinct statements of the interests and values found in a culture characterized as "masculine": "...he that is a good warrior is the proudest creature living; and he that is an expert hunter, is esteemed by the people and himself...",\(^{104}\) and: "One of the fellows that has been at the wars, and has had the fortune to take a captive, returns the proudest creature on earth..."\(^{105}\)

Added to this are the facts that the men also carry on agriculture,\(^{106}\) thus appropriating to themselves the complete task of providing food for the society, and leaving little of this crucial work in female hands; that is it the poor hunters and the women who undertake secondary tasks and are the lowly burden bearers;\(^{107}\) that women are subservient to their husbands and fathers, never scolding, suffering themselves to be loaned or leased for sexual purposes;\(^{108}\) and that women receive no elab-
orate ceremonies after death, having no place in heaven "unless to wait on their dead husbands...."109 Their stoicism in the face of death, already mentioned, is another reflection of a "masculine" ethos. Speck's theory of a big-game-hunting tradition is, of course, compatible with this analysis. The emphasis was upon the male as provider, as protector of the community, as virtual owner of his wife, and ruler of the household; and those men who did not measure up fully in the manly abilities were reduced to women's work, in part, and did not receive the rewards after death that the great warrior and hunter was entitled to.

2. A "cooperative" culture, with in-group conflict minimized, communal activities and mutual aid stressed, and with status derived from ability rather than worldly accumulation. The avoidance of in-group conflict is seen most clearly in the pattern of blaming the alcohol only, when a drunken man disturbs the community, even to the extent of pardoning murder committed under such conditions (see Category 177). Women who suffered abuse from their husbands did nothing overtly that might break the serenity of the community.110 Hunting activities were largely communal, or, at least, seldom ever done by a lone individual.111 Weir-making required the work of many hands.112 Large groups, or even the whole community, often pooled

109. Ibid., p. 193. 110. Ibid., p. 34.
111. Ibid., p. 219. 112. Ibid., p. 221.
their resources and ate together.\textsuperscript{113} If anyone suffered a great loss, perhaps had his house burned down, the community would set the family on its feet again with presents and assistance. Canoes and houses were built cooperatively. A widow with children was given aid, the fields tended for her by young men who were instructed to do everything for her which she could not do herself. As Lawson says: "...yet they do not allow anyone to be idle, but to employ themselves in some work or other."\textsuperscript{114}

Competition always accompanies cooperation, of course, but in Eastern Siouan culture the only approved forms of competition for status were those which followed the "masculinity" ideals. A person could become great through hunting prowess and valor in warfare, but reward in the form of community recognition was not tendered the person who sought personal aggrandizement through the accumulation of property. A good passage by Lawson makes it clear that such a person was not highly esteemed, and may even have been derided for straining himself while others with far less in the way of goods enjoyed life far more.\textsuperscript{115}

3. While the terms "masculine" and "cooperative" cover most of the overt patterns as observed by Lawson, there is some evidence to show that the people and culture could be characterized as "non-compulsive" or "easy-going" rather than "compulsive." Lawson notes that the Waterees were a "lazy, idle people, a quality incident to

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., p. 188. \textsuperscript{114} Ibid., p. 189. \textsuperscript{115} Ibid., p. 209.
most Indians...."116 This statement is full of his ethnocentric viewpoint, but may be a reliable indication of a lack of compulsiveness. Dancing was done with considerable abandon, without any noticeable degree of stylized rigidity, and this could be evidence of non-compulsiveness.117 Lawson also claims they were relatively free from fear of spirits.118 Leath was not feared, but the extensive and intensive mourning practices might indicate some degree of compulsiveness.119 They were easy-going in sexual matters and jealousy was almost absent.120 Loss of personal property, unless it involved the death of a relative or friend, was met with laughter; the community joined in the laughter and then pitched in to help repair or replace the loss.121 Time was not highly valued, and patience was a universal virtue.122

The general picture, then, is one which favors listing the Eastern Siouan culture as "easy-going" rather than "compulsive."

19: LANGUAGE

192 Vocabulary—Only one early Eastern Siouan vocabulary was recorded, that of the Coccon, who lived near the Iroquois-speaking Tuscarora. Lawson published 192 words and/or phrases with English equivalents for all and with

116. Ibid., p. 28-29. 117. Ibid., p. 36.
118. Ibid., p. 213. 119. Ibid., p. 17, 193-94.
120. Ibid., p. 198-99, 212. 121. Ibid., p. 189
122. Ibid., p. 208.
Tuscarora and Pamlico (coastal Algonkian) equivalents for part of the list. 123 A small Catawba vocabulary was published in 1798. 124 Gallatin had a Catawba vocabulary given to him by a Mr. J. L. Miller in 1835. 125 Another Catawba vocabulary was collected by Oscar Lieber in 1856, 126 Gatschett obtained many words in 1881. 127 Tutelo vocabularies were collected by Hale, 128 Sapir, 129 and Frachtenberg. 130 Speck published his first collection of Catawba texts in 1913 131 and made continued contributions to a Catawba vocabulary through the years.

Notes on Catawba language-loss may be found in

193 Grammar—In 1900 Gateschet offered a "grammatical sketch" of Catawba, which Sapir says is "worthless," pointing out that "there is no bit of American Indian linguistic research that more urgently needs doing than the preparation— in the field, of a Catawba grammar...." P. T. Siebert has since published a small but thoroughgoing comparative analysis of the language, and Voegelin has commented on Catawba language structure. Hale studied Tutelo language characteristics rather thoroughly.

197 Linguistic Relationships—Chapter I of this thesis presents a review of Eastern Siouan linguistic relationships and the citations to that material need not be repeated here. Eastern Siouan languages have been divided into two main groups, the "Tutelo" and the "Catawba." The latter diverges somewhat from other Siouan languages and there is a suggestion of Muskogean-like elements in it, while one writer has attempted to show a Siouan-Iroquoian linguistic relationship. A note on the

134. Siebert, op. cit.
136. Hale, op. cit.
dissimilarity of dialects within the "Catawba" division is seen in Lawson's statement that the Wateree did not understand their neighbors' speech. Their neighbors on one side were the Congaree Siouans and on the other the Waxhaw, with the Catawba also close by.  

Special Languages—Among the Siouan tribes living near the Tuscarora in eastern North Carolina, the Tuscarora language served as a sort of lingua franca owing to their greater numbers and their position as trade intermediaries. At an earlier period, the Occaneechi town was the trading center for an extensive area, and Mooney claims that Occaneechi was used as a special trade and ceremonial language by several tribes.

20: COMMUNICATION

Transmission of Messages—When Lawson was traveling through the Carolinas, word of his coming was had by the Catawbas more than twenty days before his arrival. Since he arrived on the twenty-eighth day after leaving Charleston, and only twenty-two days after meeting his first Indians (except the guides, who did not leave the party) it is probable that some signal device was used.

138. Lawson, op. cit., p. 28, also 239.
139. Ibid., p. 239.
142. Lawson, op. cit., p. 41.
to convey the information. Speck says on this subject:

In going to and from between villages we are told signals would be given from a distance by beating on a drum. No details of the signal beats are given nor do we know that there was any semblance of a code.\(^{143}\)

It is possible that a courier system was in operation as well, but couriers could not make a trip in one, or at best, two days, when the same distance took Lawson twenty-two days to cover. The only other possibility is that the English trader who told Lawson he had heard about his coming "above twenty days before" was mistaken, exaggerating, or lying. Actually, he delayed his own departure long after all his trade-goods were gone because of the news, so his statement probably has some validity. It is known that the tribes had drums and it is entirely possible that they had worked out a signal system.

\[^{203}\] Dissemination of News and Information—Specks informants told that the Catawba once had a tribal herald:

The office of tribal herald still remains in memory. Instructions and news of events were cried aloud in the morning by one of the chiefs. Old Dave Harris, who died in 1840 at an advanced age, was the last to follow this custom.\(^{144}\)

\[^{211}\] Mnemonic Devices—Lederer was the first to notice the

\[^{143}\] Speck, "Catawba Hunting, Trapping and Fishing," op. cit., p. 22.

use of mnemonic devices among the Eastern Siouans. The Eno used small wheels in keeping time, according to Lederer, and other tribes used knotted things or strings, pebbles, or pieces of straw or reed for the same purpose.\textsuperscript{145} Lawson tells that the Governor of South Carolina sent out "knots" to all the Indians telling each town to bring in ten skins.\textsuperscript{146} The use of bundles of reeds of different lengths with special marks on them to commemorate past events, and the time when they occurred, is also affirmed by Lawson.\textsuperscript{147} When traveling, he says, "if they meet with any obstruction, they leave certain marks in the way where they that come after, will understand how many have passed by already, and by which way they are gone."\textsuperscript{148} He found Congaree women gambling, and keeping count of wins and losses with a heap of corn.\textsuperscript{149}

Wampum, a trait diffused from New York and New England in fairly early times, was known and used in trade, but the first mention of its use as a mnemonic device by Siouans occurs in the report of the Catawbas' visit to Albany, at which time (1751) they passed out belts of wampum conveying their message of a desire for peace.\textsuperscript{150} The next year they sent belts out to groups of Pedees, urging them to come in and settle in the Catawba

\textsuperscript{145} Lederer, op. cit., p. 7-8. \textsuperscript{146} Lawson, op. cit., p. 40.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., p. 191. \textsuperscript{148} Ibid., p. 217.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., p. 21.
212 **Writing**—Picture writing of some sort was alleged by Lederer. Each nation was supposed to have its own sign; the Occaneechi had a serpent, but he does not mention the sign of any other Siouan tribe. The figures of various animals were used also to signify certain concepts, and one method for passing on tribal lore through the ages was by means of "emblems or hieroglyphicks."\(^{152}\) Lawson also tells about "certain Hieroglyphicks...so exactly performed by their Sylvan Marks and Characters, that they are never at a loss to understand one another."\(^{153}\)

22: **FOOD QUEST**

221 **Annual Cycle**—Traveling in the winter, Lawson encountered many hunting camps away from the regular towns. At most of these some women were present, carrying on food-preparing activities, burden bearing, and so forth. At most of the towns, the main population in residence consisted of old people, women, and children, the males and some of the women being away at the camp.\(^{154}\) In spring the crops were planted and the people lived off their corn and beans, with some fish and game being taken year-round to complete the diet. It is not possible, however, to maintain that the economic base was hunting,

as Speck has done. At harvest time grain and beans were stored in granaries, and when winter and hunting season came, this grain; along with dried fruits, nuts, and berries; dried peas and beans; acorn oil and pigeon fat; was taken to the camps to help support the hunters. Thus, the economy seems to have been in a balance between agriculture (along with collection of food flora) and hunting (including fowling and fishing). If anything, the balance seems to be tilted in favor of agriculture, for the agricultural season was longer, and it yielded storable products which helped carry the society through the winter hunting season.

The hunting season was the time when the women and the poor hunters worked on artifacts for use and trade -- baskets and mats; wooden spoons, bowls and dishes; clay pipes. Summer was the time for the tanning of skins by poor hunters and slaves.

Collecting--The chief food item obtained through collecting was nuts, of various kinds, but chiefly acorns. These, gathered in the fall, helped support the hunting camp through the winter season. Lawson speaks of being served roasted acorns and observes:

The Indians beat them into a meal and thicken their venison-broth with them, and oftentimes make a palatable soup. They are used instead of bread, boiling them until the oil swims on top of the water, which they preserve for use, eating the acorns with flesh-meat.
Lederer tells of the "amber-colour'd oyl" pressed from boiled acorns.\(^\text{159}\) Hickory nuts, walnuts, and chinkapins were also used as food.\(^\text{160}\) Black gum berries were used in soups, and huckleberries were dried and made into cakes.\(^\text{161}\) Peaches were used from the time of the Spanish invasion, and other fruits were also collected and dried for the winter.\(^\text{162}\) Bamboo roots were boiled in some of the more southerly locations,\(^\text{164}\) and maple sap was collected and boiled into sugar.\(^\text{165}\) The leaves and twigs of a bush Lawson calls "Yaupon" or "Cassena" were collected by coastal Indians and traded to all the interior tribes to be used as an emetic tea.\(^\text{166}\) The eggs of both loggerhead turtles and water terrapins were highly esteemed,\(^\text{167}\) as were those of the large "pied" Gull, collected near the coast.\(^\text{168}\)

223 \textbf{Fowling}--In his list of birds, Lawson tells which ones were used as food, but it is not clear whether he is referring to their use by Indians or colonists. Presumably, however, if an edible fowl was in the Indians' environment and could be taken, it would have been used. The entrance of guns into the Indian economy probably increased the amount of fowl taken. Thirty-four of Lawson's birds are represented as being edible. Chief among the land birds were the turkey, which is mentioned

\begin{itemize}
\item \(^\text{159}\) Lederer, \emph{op. cit.}, p. 18.
\item \(^\text{160}\) Lawson, \emph{op. cit.}, p. 100-2.
\item \(^\text{161}\) Ibid., p. 97.
\item \(^\text{162}\) Ibid., p. 107.
\item \(^\text{163}\) Ibid., p. 112, 220.
\item \(^\text{164}\) Ibid., p. 104.
\item \(^\text{165}\) Ibid., p. 107.
\item \(^\text{166}\) Ibid., p. 22-95.
\item \(^\text{167}\) Ibid., p. 136.
\item \(^\text{168}\) Ibid., p. 158.
\end{itemize}
very often as being shot at hunting camps; pigeons
(passenger pigeons), which were taken for their oil;

169 pheasants, woodcocks, partridges, and turtle-doves.

170 Various water-fowl were eaten; Lawson was fed a goose by
the Santee, and various ducks and other fowl listed by
Lawson as edible were doubtless taken.

171 Turkeys, ducks, and other small game were hunted
with the bow and arrow, the Indians "thinking it not worth

172 throwing powder and shot after them." Lawson did not
mention the use of the blowgun, but it is Speck's belief that
the blowgun observed in use as a toy by the Catawbas of
the twentieth century was a traditional Eastern Siouan, and
Southeastern, weapon, used mainly for fowling and for hunting
173 small animals.

Passenger pigeons were killed as follows: "The
Indians take a light and go among them in the night, and bring
away some thousands, killing them with long poles, as they
176 roost in the trees." This method survives among the
Catawba as "bird-brushing", in which a group of roosting birds
is surrounded by hunters carrying bush branches and pine

177 torches. The birds are momentarily blinded and are beaten
down with branches, the catch is divided by the organizer of
the party, thrown whole into the coals of a fire, and eaten

169. Ibid., p. 21, 56. 170. Ibid., p. 42, 147.
171. Ibid., p. 146-149. 172. Ibid., p. 11.
175. Frank G. Speck, "The Cane Blowgun in Catawba and South-
eastern Ethnology," American Anthropologist, n.s., XL (1938),
p. 198-201. Cf. also Speck, "Catawba Hunting, Trapping and Fishing,"
op. cit., p. 12; Harrington, op. cit., p. 401.
176. Lawson, op. cit., p. 42.
without being cleaned—feathers, entrails, bones, and all.\textsuperscript{177}

Lawson says wild turkeys were sometimes hatched in camp and used as decoys to bring others close so they could be shot.\textsuperscript{178}

Late Catawbas used a turkey wingbone as a "call" to bring other birds into range.\textsuperscript{179} Partridges were trapped, according to Lawson, but it is not clear whether Indians did the trapping.\textsuperscript{180}

"Water-witches," a kind of coot, were sometimes found trapped in Indian fish weirs.\textsuperscript{181} Catawbas use a two-string leather sling for hitting birds with stones.\textsuperscript{182}

\textbf{Hunting and Trapping}—Most of the fauna listed by Lawson were taken for food or other uses by the Eastern Siouans. The most frequently killed large animals seem to have been deer and bear.\textsuperscript{183} Some buffalo and elk were killed, but these seem to have been of secondary importance. In addition, smaller animals were taken, such as squirrels, possum, skunks, beaver, hares, raccoons, panthers, snakes, turtles, and alligators.\textsuperscript{184}

Lawson saw the Sewee take deer, bear, and turkeys by firing the cane swamps and then shooting the animals as they ran out.\textsuperscript{185} Other groups planned their fires so the game would be driven into small necks of land from which they could not escape. Coastal tribes used moss torches; inland tribes made them

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{177} Speck, "Catawba Hunting, Trapping and Fishing," \textit{op. cit.}, p. 13.
\item \textsuperscript{178} Lawson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 157.
\item \textsuperscript{179} Speck, "Catawba Hunting, Trapping and Fishing," \textit{op. cit.}, p. 13.
\item \textsuperscript{180} Lawson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 147. \textsuperscript{181} Ibid., p. 159.
\item \textsuperscript{182} Speck, "Catawba Hunting, Trapping and Fishing," \textit{op. cit.}, p. 11.
\item \textsuperscript{183} Lawson, \textit{op. cit.}, passim; Byrd, \textit{op. cit.}, passim.
\item \textsuperscript{184} Lawson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 168; Byrd, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 155, 292, 302.
\item \textsuperscript{185} Lawson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 5.
\end{itemize}
of bark. Byrd took part in a fire-surround hunt, presumably directed by his Saponi hunter. A vestige of this hunting pattern is seen in the "jacking" practiced by modern Catawbas, in which deer are pursued at night by men carrying pint torches. They have no knowledge of a true fire-hunting method, however.

The Catawba rabbit drive, in which several men, armed with throwing clubs and accompanied by dogs, hunt rabbits in areas of burned-over brush, may be another carry-over of the original pattern.

Another method of taking deer was more individualistic. A mask was made of the head of a buck, with the horns cut away behind for lightness, and the skin left on the head matching the deer-skin coat the hunter wears. Imitating a deer's motions, the hunter could approach very close and make his shot count. Speck says the turkey wing-bone "call" was also used to lure deer near to a hunter lying in ambush.

Snares were laid near beaver-dams to catch the builders, and wolves were trapped in deep, perpendicular-sided pits. Speck says trapping and snaring were once important in Catawba economy, and his older informants

186. Ibid., p. 219.
190. Lawson, op. cit., p. 18.
remembered a cage or coop-like trap, a log or box trap, the dead-fall, and the spring snare. These may or may not be indigenous to eastern Siouans, but it is very probable that some trapping activity was carried on in early times.

The blowgun, mentioned above in connection with fowling, was also used for taking small animals, as was the bow. In pre-contact times, the bow and arrow must have been used for taking large game, unless the spear continued in use much later than is generally believed. Speck has collected evidence which may indicate a knowledge of arrow-poisoning by the Catawba. If the early Siouans used poison on their arrows, the bow could have been used to kill game which seems too large to have fallen under the impact of the sharpened-cane, or lightly-tipped arrows in use.

There is no real evidence that dogs were actively employed during the chase in the early days, but later Catawbas used them in their deer drives. Lawson states that "wolves" (dogs), domesticated by the Indians, "would go in great droves in the night to hunt deer, which they do as well as the best pack of hounds," but the implication seems to be that they are prowling for themselves, rather than serving human hunters. Flannery cites Lawson to show that these "wolves" were used to bring home game that

195. Ibid., p. 10.
196. Ibid., p. 12.
197. Lawson, op. cit., p. 122.
Waxhaw hunters had killed, but the passage cited does not indicate this. The Waxhaw chief employed his horses for this purpose, however.

A few Siouan hunting beliefs have been noted. The Waxhaw practiced artificial head deformation in the belief that the eyes would be strengthened so that game could be perceived at a great distance and the man become a good hunter. The Keyauwees burned all animal-bone refuse so that the game would not leave the country. The Indians near the headwaters of the Neuse (probably the Eno tribe) believed in a strange animal who kept them from ever hunting near a certain lake. The young hunter must never eat the first kill he makes of each kind of animal, lest he be ruined for hunting forever. Byrd's Saponi guide insisted that if the white men continued cooking venison and turkey in the same pot, the spirit presiding over the woods would drive all the game away. Bezoar powder blown into the eyes "strengthened the eyes and brain", and was used for that purpose by great hunters.

Discussions of the position of hunting in the total culture and in the economy may be seen in Category 181-Ethos, and Category 221-Annual Cycle.

199. Lawson, op. cit., p. 35.
200. Ibid., p. 30.
201. Ibid., p. 50-51.
202. Ibid., p. 129.
203. Ibid., p. 222-223.
205. Lawson, op. cit., p. 47.
Fishing--Lawson says the Indians eat "fish" of all sorts, except lampreys, which Lawson listed as a fish. Salt-water Indians would not eat sturgeon, but tribes up the rivers "struck" them and also caught them with nets on poles. Byrd claims that an Occaneechi caught a huge sturgeon by throwing a running noose over its "jole". Since sturgeon went up the rivers in May they were probably an important food item, coming after the last of the good hunting and before the first maize matured.

Herring went up-river in March and April and were taken in great numbers. Molusca and crustaceans were also taken, especially along the coast. Inland Indians were limited to "muscles" and crawfish.

Many methods of taking fish were used. Spearing, clubbing, or bow and arrow shooting could each be inferred from Lawson's statement that sturgeon were "struck". Speck describes the use of cane fish-spears by the Catawbas. Lawson says Indians went out at night with bows and arrows, and shot fish attracted by a light-wood torch. The Catawba used ordinary arrows and a special, long fish-arrow, the size of a small spear, for shooting fish. Weirs were made on both the coast and up-river. Lawson describes a hedge-weir:

211. Speck, "Catawba Hunting, Trapping and Fishing,"
212. Lawson, op. cit., p. 222.
212. Speck, "Catawba Hunting, Trapping and Fishing,"
the savages make great warros with hedges
that hinders their passage only in the middle, where an
artificial pound is made to take them in so that they
cannot return. This method is in use all over the
fresh streams... 214

The Catawba use a baited splint basket-trap, with
a long funnel-like entrance, which is placed near the
bank in shallow waters for the taking of fish, eels, and
turtles. "Lush-netting" is also a Catawba technique,
apparently carried over from early times. A simple net
is made by tying together the twig-ends of two branches.
Two men drag the "net" upstream by pulling the butt end,
while a third wades in the creek, pushing the middle and
removing fish that get caught in the twigs. The same
tribe also knows how to use walnut bark or horse chestnut
buds to make a poison used to stupefy fish so they can be
easily caught by hand or speared. The belief that
devil's shoestring rubbed on a fishhook will bring luck
may indicate that Siouans also used this plant as a fish
poison. Speck says his modern Catawbas use a hook and
line also, but states that there is no evidence for its
use "among Southeastern Siouan peoples at a time prior
to the memory of the living informants, hence we have no
means of knowing whether the use of fishhooks antedates

214. Lawson, op. cit., p. 221.
op. cit., p. 16.
218. Ibid., p. 19.
219. Cf. Swanton, "The Indians of the Southeastern United
States," p. 342-43, for the use of this plant by Creek, Tukabahchee,
and Choctaw.
the period of European influence among the Catawba or not.Speck's summary of Southeastern fishing practices which apply to the Siouans is worth quoting in full:

In the Southeast, fishing in the rivers was carried on by the use of spears, stone-enclosures or traps, brush-enclosures (weirs), basket traps, with the bow and arrow, possibly with hooks and lines, and extensively by impregnating slowly running or still water with vegetable poisons. Nets appear not to have been invented for fishing there. All of these generalities apply to the Catawbas, our information coming from historic sources and from the survival of practice in the tribe.

One method not included in this statement is a sort of "trot-line" used in catching crawfish. Small pieces of venison were placed about six inches apart on reeds, which were then stuck into the creek bottom at intervals. The fisherman simply made the rounds from reed to reed, pulling them up and garnering the crawfish hanging onto the venison bait. One of Speck's informants told him of modern Catawba trot-line fishing; they use crawfish bait, stone sinkers, and believe rubbing the bait with wild onions will make the fish bite well.

**Fishing Gear**—The most common Catawba spear was simply a cane, sharpened when needed. Sometimes unbarbed two-pronged cane or hardwood spears were prepared in advance and the tips hardened by fire. A small cane spear of the first type was simply notched at one end to become a

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221. Ibid., p. 16.
fish-arrow, whose greater length and weight would make for better shooting into water than would a shorter hunting arrow. The basket-trap made of bent white-oak splints, woven under-one-over-one, has been described in detail and illustrated by Speck. Exit for such traps or for fishhooks was carried in gourd containers.

23: ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

231 Domesticated Animals—Eastern Siouans had only one really domesticated animal, if one uses the criterion of continued breeding in captivity. This one was the dog, Lawson's "tame wolf," which the Waxhaw and others treated so badly. Their use in hunting is doubtful and they do not seem to have been eaten, but, "The fur makes good muffs. The skin dressed to a parchment makes the best drum-heads, and if tanned makes the best sort of shoes for the summer countries." The Congaree tamed cranes, and possibly storks: "They take them before they can fly, and breed them as tame and familiar as a dung-hill-fowl." Wild turkey eggs were hatched in captivity and the grown bird used to attract others into shooting distance. After European contact, the Eno kept chickens and some tribes

had horses. 233.

237 Animal by-products—The skins of various animals were used for many products. Foremost among these were deer and bear. Possum hair was spun into "girdles" and "garters." 234. The uses of dog fur and skin have been listed in Category 231. Skin was good for making shoes, 235 raccoon fur and skin had several uses, 236 and most other fur-bearing animals were used in many ways. Deer afforded "bezoar," which the Indians used as a hunting charm and the English as a physic. 237 Rattlesnake skins, rattles, and gall were put to use, 238 and girdles and sashes were made from the skins of king snakes. 239

Bear grease had special uses. Most women were perpetually smeared with it, 240 and it was used in general to keep away "every species of vermin." 241

Buffalo horns were used for making large spoons "which they say will split and fall into pieces whenever poison is put into them." 242

24: AGRICULTURE

241 Tillage—Maize, beans, and squash were the main crops among the Siouans, as throughout the rest of the Southeast — and indeed, the whole of the Americas where

233. Ibid., p. 35, 45, also Eyrd, op. cit., p. 311, 312.
236. Ibid., p. 125. 237. Ibid., p. 46, 127.
238. Ibid., p. 134. 239. Ibid., p. 137.
240. Eyrd, op. cit., p. 311.
agriculture was known. Lawson passed many corn-fields lying fallow, and found most of the villages in the low-grounds, either in the middle of the fields or near them.\footnote{243} He says the Indians did not live in the heavy timber lands because clearing the land for cultivation was too difficult.\footnote{244} In the Waxhaw fields were "corn-stalks... as thick as the small of a man's leg, and they are ordinarily to be seen."\footnote{245} Corn-fields were supposed to have been privately owned: "They have no fence to part one another's lots in their corn-fields, but every man knows his own."\footnote{246} Only men worked in the fields.\footnote{247} Lederer claims the Eno got three corn crops each year, and the Occoeechi had such great crops they could store a twelve-months supply.\footnote{248} Kidney beans were indigenous, "being very plentiful in the Indian corn-fields."\footnote{249} Fertility rites of some sort were held each spring to seek the good spirit's blessing for the crop, and a first fruits ceremony was held, with feasting and dancing, when the corn was harvested.\footnote{250} During planting time, a well-dressed idol was placed in the field, the belief being:

...he is some famous Indian warrior that died a great while ago, and now he is come amongst them to see if they work well, which if they do, he will

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
    \item \footnote{243} Lawson, op. cit., p. 43, 48.
    \item \footnote{244} Ibid., p. 64.
    \item \footnote{245} Ibid., p. 37.
    \item \footnote{246} Ibid., p. 189.
    \item \footnote{247} Ibid., p. 188-189, 199.
    \item \footnote{248} Ibid., p. 17-18.
    \item \footnote{249} Lawson, op. cit., p. 76.
    \item \footnote{250} Ibid., p. 184.
\end{itemize}}
go to the good spirit and speak to him to send them plenty of corn, and to make the men all expert hunters and mighty warriors.\textsuperscript{251}

A similar practice, involving a somewhat greater organization and control of the community, was told of by Francisco, the Shooccree Indian.\textsuperscript{252}

There is some slight evidence that after the peach was introduced by the Spanish, the Indians took some pains to care for it, thus beginning a crude aboriculture.\textsuperscript{253}

At all events, the peach rapidly became an important item in Indian collecting activities, being preserved in various ways for use during the winter.

\section*{25: FOOD PROCESSING}

\textbf{Preservation and Storage of Food}---The Santee built corn cribs seven feet above the ground, supported by eight posts. The walls were wattle-and-daub, and a man removing grain resealed the small opening with clay.\textsuperscript{254} Each household kept its own stores and Lawson found peas, beans, corn, oil, nuts, dried peaches, and peach bread in great quantities at one hunter's hut.\textsuperscript{255} All these, as well as many fruits and berries which were dried and stored, were carried to hunting camps in the winter.\textsuperscript{256}

Lederer says of the Eno: "...to each house belongs a

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{251} Ibid., p. 184-85.
\item \textsuperscript{252} Swanton, "The First Description of an Indian Tribe in the Territory of the Present United States," \textit{op. cit.}, p. 329.
\item \textsuperscript{253} Ibid., p. 338.
\item \textsuperscript{254} Lawson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 12.
\item \textsuperscript{255} Ibid., p. 13.
\item \textsuperscript{256} Ibid., p. 226.
\end{itemize}
little hovel made like an oven, where they lay up their corn and mast, and keep it dry." 257

The Congaree dried great stores of nuts and saved them in baskets to be ground when needed. 258 Grain was preserved for long trips by parching it and then grinding it into a powder. 259

Lawson found the Oconeechee cabins hung with bear and "barbecued or dried venison." 260 The smoking and storing of fish is recorded for coastal Indians, probably not Siouan, 261 and Speck has noted for the Catawba:

Fish were not preserved by smoke- or sun-drying according to any information obtainable. It has been noted, however, that animal meat was both smoked and dried in the sun for preservation. 262

An anvil-type pounding stone was used to make pemmican for drying. 263

Food Preparation--Lawson was served boiled green corn "that is preserved in their cabins before it is ripe, and sodden and boiled when they used it...." 264 Since it was in January that Lawson visited these people, several months after harvest, what he ate may have been a form of hominy. Speck obtained a Catawba recipe for hominy from an old woman, who said she boiled it with ashes. 265 Corn was also parched and ground, then made

into cakes and soups for village use, or carried on trips in powder form (see Category 251). Lawson tells of girls grinding corn "with great long pestils in a narrow wooden mortar," but his experience may have been limited to the Tuscarora since the inland Siouan tribes he saw were noted to use grinding stones, at least for grinding nuts. The Catawba have no tradition of the upright log mortar, but do know two types of stone food grinders, one used with a small wooden trough and the other with a flat stone as the mortar.

Soups and broths were made by boiling ground-up nuts and meat, or with black-gum berries in place of the nuts. The Waxhaw chief had a full-time cook and: "The fire was surrounded with roast-meat, or barbecues, and the pots were continually boiling full of meat, from morning till night." One meat treat boiled by the Keyauwees was foetal deer, cut out of the doe's uterus and boiled in the amnion. These Indians cooked all small game whole, without removing hair or entrails.

Ears of corn were roasted in the summertime. Fish are said to have been barbecued to a crisp, and fresh-water "muscles" were boiled five or six hours to make them tender.

275. Ibid., p. 172.
The only cooking taboo noted is the dictum not to cook two different kinds of meat, fowl and beast, in the same vessel.\textsuperscript{276}

Confectionery Industries—Lawson tells how maple sugar was made from the "Sugar-tree":

The Indians tap it and make gourds to receive the liquor, which operation is done at distinct and proper times, when it best yields its juice, of which when the Indians have gotten enough, they carry it home, and boil it to a just consistency of sugar, which grains of itself, and serves for the same uses, as other sugar does.\textsuperscript{277}

Gratification and Control of Hunger—Byrd found that Indians could get along for days on a little parched corn powder, pulling their belt tighter each day so as to feel full, and could thus make very long trips. Then, "when they do meet with better cheer, they eat without ceasing, till they have raven'd themselves into another famine.\textsuperscript{278}

Lawson writes: "The Indian children are much addicted to eating dirt." They were fed roast bats to make them stop.\textsuperscript{279} Speck found that Catawba women potters would eat some clay while they were working on a vessel because they liked its taste, having begun eating it as children playing with the clay their mothers were using. They believe it is a good laxative and try to stop their

\textsuperscript{276} Byrd, op. cit., p. 178, 194.
\textsuperscript{277} Lawson, op. cit., p. 107.
children from eating too much of it. 280.

Lawson noted that Indians ate very often, "not seldom getting up at midnight to eat." 281

262 Diet—Enough has been said above, from Category 221 forward, to indicate the foods eaten by the Eastern Sioux. The chief agricultural staples appear to have been maize and kidney beans; the most often used meats the deer and turkey; the most important fish sturgeon, herring, and trout; and the most frequently collected fruit the peach. Some seasonal changes in diet are apparent. In the spring fish probably provided the bulk of the protein. Later, berries ripened and the first roasting-ears were ready. Peaches were collected for some time, and in the fall nuts were gathered. In October the last corn was harvested, and soon after that the first deer drives began. Nuts took on considerable importance in the winter economy, and the southward migration of passenger pigeons provided good stores of oil. Hunting provided the bulk of the diet until the first fish runs, complemented by dried berries, nuts, maize, and beans. Some hunting then continued all year around, but on a reduced scale compared with the winter communal drives and fire-surrounds.

In summary, it seems apparent that the Indians were very much aware of all that their environment had


to offer in the way of food and developed techniques which enabled them to utilize nearly every possible source of sustenance. They had a varied diet which was probably fairly adequate throughout most of the year, but were possibly deficient in green vegetables part of the time.

263 Condiments—Ashes and calcined bones were generally used to season foods, but "as for pepper and mustard, they reckon us little better than madmen, to make use of it amongst our victuals."262 Lederer says the Sara had cakes of white salt, which he supposed were from salt pits.263

For the making of maple sugar, see Category 257.

264 Eating—The Indians used large wooden spoons sometimes but more often simply ate with their fingers from pottery vessels and wooden bowls.284 Meals were frequent and irregular (see Category 261), and:

They make offerings of their first fruits, and the most serious sort of them throw into the ashes, near the fire, the first bit or spoonful of every meal they sit down to....265

Large families, or the whole village, sometimes ate together, and at feast times and in hunting quarters the meals were communal.266 Lederer says the Occaneechi took turns taking turns providing a feast for the group.267 A group that went bird-brushing roasted the catch whole

266. Ibid., p. 168. 267. Lederer, op. cit., p. 16.
and all ate together. One of Speck's informants told him that, after boiling a pot of parched corn, they "dance around it, and using a spoon drink it all sitting around on the ground drinking it." Men would sit around having fun flatulating, in Lawton's time, after eating a quantity of peas, "yet the women are more modest than to follow that ill custom." The Keyauwees carefully burned all animal bones after eating.

266 Cannibalism—According to Francisco of Chicora, human flesh was not eaten by the Shoccoree or other tribes in their area; even war prisoners were only enslaved, but never eaten. Swanton indicates that eating captive's hearts was practiced in the Southeast, but there is no record of the Siouxans following this pattern. The roasting alive of prisoners, however, may indicate that cannibalism was formerly practiced.

27: DRINK, DRUGS, AND INDULGENCE

271 Water and Thirst—The virtual absence of any notes on beverages indicates that plain water must have been the chief drink. Siouxan towns were always placed near good-

269. Speck, Catawba Texts, op. cit., p. 80.
270. Lawton, op. cit., p. 220.
271. Ibid., p. 50-51.
293. Ibid., p. 335.
sized streams.

272 Nonalcoholic Beverages—The statement by the Shocadoce, Francisco, to the effect that grapes were not used for wine, "for the people manufacture their drinks from other fruits," may indicate that some fruit-juice beverages were known. If so, they were probably not fermented.

273 Alcoholic Beverages—There is no indication that any eastern group had a fermented drink before the coming of Europeans. Weston LaBarre's work on native wines and beers shows that in North America the trait was diffused no farther than the nomadic tribes of the Southwest. After Europeans brought in rum, its use spread very rapidly in the last, a fact remarked upon by all the early writers.

276 Narcotics and Stimulants—Lawson indicates that native tobacco (Nicotiana rustica) was smoked so much by the Indians, both men and women, that their teeth were yellow with it. He characterized them as being "addicted" to it, and as being "great smokers," but he never saw them take snuff or chew tobacco. Congaree women smoked much tobacco in stone pipes, but clay pipes were made "where they find a vein of white clay, fit for their purpose." Fewkes learned that modern Catawba

299. Ibid., p. 220.
potters still prefer a special blue clay for pipes. 300

Coastal Indians carried their tobacco in pouches made from the leathery sac-like maw of the pelican. 301

Among the Siouans, tobacco had some religious significance, as shown by the fact that the Eno made offerings of tobacco and spit in a large, hollow stone, which they "took great notice of." 302

278 Pharmaceuticals—In Lawson's list of flora he mentions medicinal uses for a great many of the forms, but it is probable that in most cases he is referring to their use by whites. Some, however, are specified as Indian remedies and these, along with those noted on his journey, comprise a considerable list of native pharmaceuticals.

Four kinds of "Snake-Roots" used as antidotes for rattlesnake poison were known. 303 Byrd indicates that one of these, and the preferred antidote, was 304 Prenanthes serpentinaria. The beaten bark of sawarafras root was used as a poultice to reduce swelling.

"An odiferous balsamic root" was taken internally to heal belly-ache and "desperate wounds both green and old." 305 The bark of elm roots, beaten and then dried, was valued as a cure for cuts or new wounds, or any

injury not infected. An infusion made from an unidentified root was spurted into a child's mouth to ease the colic. In the Waxhaw sweathouses, the "head, temples and other parts" were rubbed with an infusion made from a silver-tassled herb, "which is reckoned a preserver of the sight and strengthener of the brain."

Rattlesnake skins were made into various medicines and charms, and the gall was rolled with clay into pellets used in fever and small-pox cases. Animal fats were sometimes used in massage.

"The "Yaupon" or "Cassena" tea mentioned by Lawson must be considered a pharmaceutical rather than a beverage because it functioned as an emetic. Although these two terms are used interchangeably by Lawson and by later writers it is now certain that at least two emetics were known, Cassine vomitoria and Ilex vomitoria. Whether the two early terms refer to each of these, or whether they are different Indian terms for only one is not clear. Lawson says the leaves and small twigs were first bruised in a mortar, then "cured" over a fire, and dried in the sun. As needed it was then used to make an infusion.

Poisons were also known. The daughter of the Tutelo chief poisoned herself with "the root of the

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311. Ibid., p. 236.
313. Lawson, op. cit., p. 93.
trumpet-plant." Lawson indicates a good knowledge of poisons on the part of the Indians. Catawba arrow poison was made by impregnating meat with the "venom from the maxillary glands of the venomous crotalida." A war party of this tribe is supposed to have covered its retreat once by setting up splinters of wood dipped in rattle-snake venom along the path.

28: LEATHER, TEXTILES, AND FABRICS

281 Work in Skins—The tanning process, as observed by Lawson involved soaking the hide in water and scraping the hair off with a bone or iron knife; soaking them in prepared deer brains or corn meal to take the water out; drying gently by working them constantly with a scraper, which also makes them soft and pliable; curing them in smoke, or tanning by boiling them with a bark infusion. Hide preparation was done by men, especially slaves and poor hunters, and the skins were usually saved till summer, so they could be dried in the sun rather than over a fire, which would blacken them. Byrd says deer skins were stretched on sticks to dry and then saved for later tanning. Deer brains were used by

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315. Lawson, op. cit., p. 207, 239.
319. Ibid., p. 221.
the Indians of his acquaintance (Saponi, Occaneeechi, Tutelo, and others) and also by the English. An early edition of the South Carolina Gazette told its readers how to tan buffalo, deer, goat, kid, and sheep hides, and the process parallels Indian practice closely. Modern Catawbas still use cow brains in tanning cow-hides for sale, dry the hides on a crude crossed-stick frame, and use a wooden "spoon" to scrape them.

Without further preparation, various hides could be used for bedding. Whatever sewing was necessary to make clothes was done with finely divided deer sinews, of "silk-grass". Deer skins were the most useful, being utilized for bedding, moccasins, skirts, match-coats, and hunting masks. However, many other skins were also used, including buffalo; hare, raccoon, beaver, and squirrel; possum; king snake; and others.

283 Cordage—Various animal hairs were "woven" into fabrics and it is probable that a first step was the preparation of threads. Byrd said of buffalo hair that it is "so
soft that it will spin into thread not unlike mohair", but it is not clear whether this was an aboriginal or European practice. Possum is clearly indicated as a source of fur for weaving.

Swanton interprets Francisco of Chicora's remark about "cotton" to mean thread from the inner bark of the mulberry. He states that the Shoccorree informant also spoke of a thread made from grasses. Lawson and Byrd both speak of "silk-grass" used to make thread for sewing, netting, and weaving.

Heavier cordage used in construction was made from elm bark. Until recently Catawbas used bark thongs in tying baskets.

Kata and Basketry—The Sewees used mat-sails made of reeds, and reed mats were in wide use as beds. Baskets were also made of the "silk grass", probably by a netting technique. Lawson says that the Tuscarora (Iroquois-speakers) made their baskets and mats of flags and bulrushes, but the Sicoans used cane:

A great way up in the country, both baskets and mats are made of the split reeds, which are only the outward shining part of the cane. Of these I have seen mats, baskets, and dressing-boxes, very artificially done.

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334. Lawson, op. cit., p. 18, 124.
337. Lawson, op. cit., p. 95, 187.
340. Ibid., p. 188, 199.
Speck's informants knew how to make split-cane baskets, tied with bark thongs, with a white oak-splint handle, and colored with local vegetable dyes. White-oak-splint fishing baskets are still used, but splint or elm bark carrying baskets are no longer made. In immediate post-Revolution times, Smyth found them making baskets and small mats of straw, "chips", or "splits".

286 Woven Fabrics--Various articles of clothing were made from the threads discussed in Category 283. These included "cloth", sashes, girdles, and garters of possum fur; the same articles, except for "cloth" from buffalo fur; " APRONS" or skirts of "silk-grass"; and cloth from mulberry bark.

287 Nonwoven Fabrics--The Santee "Doctor" was dressed in a match-coat "made of turkies feathers, which makes a pretty shew, seeming as if it was a garment of the deepest silk shag." These coats sometimes had different colored feathers arranged so that designs or figures were produced. Others were made by sewing together

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343. Speck, Catawba Texts, op. cit., p. 72.
344. Speck, "Catawba Hunting, Trapping and Fishing,"
op. cit., p. 16.
345. Ibid., p. 7.
346. Smyth, A Tour in the United States of America,
op. cit., p. 193.
347. Lawson, op. cit., p. 18, 124.
348. Ibid., p. 119.
the green heads of many mallard ducks. Speck writes: "Among the southeastern groups noted for the exquisite art of feather embroidery, the Catawba were specifically included."  

29: CLOTHING

291 Normal Garb--Men wore a breech cloth; an overcoat, or match-coat, usually of deer hide but also of other furs or feathers; and moccasins of buckskin or buffalo hide. Jones wrote that the Saponi "commonly wear a deer-skin, putting their arms thro' the holes of the shoulders, with a flap ty'd before and behind to cover their nakedness," by which he probably meant the same sort of breech-cloth and coat recorded by Lawson. Women wore the same sort of overcoat, but their's were more usually of deerskin, the wearing of fine feather coats apparently being a male prerogative. The female equivalent of the breech cloth was an apron or skirt, also of deer skin, which hung from the waist to the knees. Some wore moccasins, and mature women also wore a wad of moss against their genitals, tied up by a string around the waist. Byrd said that some of

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353. Ibid., p. 203.
these skirts were woven from silk-grass.

Girdles, garters, and sashes were made from possum and buffalo hair, and snake skins, but it is not told how they were worn, or whether they were everyday accessories or for special occasions. Girdle or sash may refer to the belt used to hold up a breech cloth or apron.

292 Special Garments—The feather match-coat was probably worn more by medicine men than by the average person and thus possibly constitutes a special garment. Lawson remarks, "Their dress in peace and war is quite different." However, he mentions no different garments, but gives considerable information on painting and ornamentation used only for warriors.

293 Paraphernalia—Male Waxhaw dancers wore gourd masks, "wizards", carried wooden falchions, and had bells fastened to their ankles. The women dancers there had bells fastened around their legs and necks. Speck relates that the Catawba had a recollection of dances in which pieces of gourd covered some dancers' faces, and of painted musk-rat masks used by a dance leader. In his Tutelo vocabulary, Sapir includes the word for "false face".

359. Lawson, op. cit., p. 18, 119, 124, 137.
362. Ibid., p. 35.
The feather standard carried by an attendant is part of a Catawba chief's paraphernalia of rank when conducting official business.

Garment Cleaning and Repairing—How, and whether, the aboriginal Siouans washed clothes is not indicated. Recent Catawbas saved the grease scraped from hides during the tanning process and made a soap used for laundering.

30: ADORNMENT

Ornament—Various ornaments apparently in use throughout the region he knew are listed by Lawson:

Some of the Indians wear great bobs in their ears, and sometimes in the holes thereof they put eagles and other birds, feathers, for a trophy. When they kill any fowl, they commonly pluck off the downy feathers, and stick them all over their heads. Some (both men and women) wear great necklaces of their money made of shells. They often wear bracelets made of brass, and sometimes of iron wire. 367

Warriors about to depart were especially well decorated, being well painted and having "feathers, wings, rings, copper, and peak, or wampum in their ears." 368

Dancers were decorated with feathers and bells. Lederer says the Uskery (Catawba) woman loved feather ornaments.

366. Speck, "Catawba Hunting, Trapping and Fishing," op. cit., p. 8; Catawba Texts, op. cit., p. 73.
369. Ibid., p. 35.
and claims some of the men had silver plates, apparently Spanish.

While the copper ornaments may have been aboriginal, the brass, iron wire, and bells had to be European trade goods. Shell gorgets were worn about the neck on a string, especially by coastal Indians. Some of them were cut in a cross or other design.

302 Toilet—The hair of warriors was combed out before the expedition and "done over very much with bear's grease and red root." Women made a roll of their long hair and bound it with strings of roanoke (shell beads) or a leather thong. They practiced depilation of pubic hair, but men did not. Those with reddish hair could dye it black with a dye made from a certain flower seed. Facial and body hair was generally plucked out by the roots, except by the Keyauwee, who wore beards and mustaches, according to Lawson. Fingernails were allowed to grow long because they were more useful that way.

Bear's oil was used to grease the hair and the whole body, from infancy onward, in the belief that it helped fill the pores and enabled them to endure

cold weather better. For special occasions, a red powder from the root of a plant gathered far inland was mixed with the hair oil, and it was believed to kill lice.

Warriors commonly painted their faces and bodies before traveling. Lederer notes that the Sara obtained cinabar from the mountains and used it to paint their faces. The Kayauwee were partial to a face paint made of lead ore, and the Saponi apparently used red-ochre paint. Face painting was practiced throughout the Eastern Siouan territory, but body painting is not mentioned. Women never painted themselves.

Mutilation—Ears were pierced for the reception of various ornamental objects. Head deformation is attributable specifically only to the Waxhaw. The cradle board consisted of a flat board about two feet long and one wide, with a stick attached cross-ways near the middle. The infant was tied tightly to the board, and its head was held tightly to a sand bag by a special tying "roll" about the forehead. The cross-stick held a wad of moss, which was changed when necessary. Apparently many tribes used a somewhat similar cradle, but all did not use the special head apparatus or tie the infants so tightly as to achieve fronto-occipital skull-deformation (see Categories 141, 142).

380. Ibid., p. 181; Eyrd, op. cit., p. 311.
381. Lawson, op. cit., p. 17, 181-82, 204. 382. Ibid., p. 204.
Circumcision was not practiced by the Siouan tribes.³⁸⁹ Pubic depilation by women may have led to some genital mutilation, but no operations are recorded.³⁹⁰ Flannery indicates in her trait list that tattooing was practiced in Carolina, but gives no source which would indicate that it was practiced by Siouans.³⁹¹

32: PROCESSING OF BASIC MATERIALS

321 Work in Bone, Horn and Shell—Lawson mentions a scraping "instrument" of the deer's foot bone,³⁹² and Flannery lists this as evidence of a two-handed, split-leg bone beamer.³⁹³ "Peek and roncak" were made from conch shell for ornaments and as a medium of exchange. The shell was ground to shape with stones and other materials, and in Lawson's time was drilled with a nail set in the end of a reed.³⁹⁴ Gorgets were also made from conch shell.³⁹⁵ The Catawba remember the former manufacture of game-calling whistles from turkey wing bones.³⁹⁶

322 Woodworking—There is no information available on aboriginal woodworking techniques, per se. beyond Lawson's observation that the Indians cut and whittled toward themselves rather than away.³⁹⁷ For articles made of wood,

³⁸⁹. Ibid., p. 223.
³⁹². Lawson, op. cit., p. 221.
³⁹⁴. Ibid., p. 204-6; also 171.
³⁹⁵. Ibid., p. 205.
³⁹⁶. Speck, "Catawba Hunting, Trapping and Fishing,"
Ceramic technology among the Eastern Siouans is not described in the early literature. In post-Revolutionary times Smyth found Catawba women making and selling "an ill-formed kind of a half-baked earthen ware." Harrington was apparently the first to assert that modern Catawba potters were using aboriginal techniques, but he made the claim mainly on the basis of the simplicity of their tools and methods. Later, Speck observed Catawba pottery-making, took down native texts on their procedure, and reported geophagy during pottery-making. Finally, Fewkes compared the modern product with archaeological specimens collected by Coe and found that the close resemblance, technologically, "supports the view that much of the aboriginal technique is being traditionally retained."

Catawba women are the potters, but men sometimes help dig clay. After being cleaned and kneaded with the right amount of water the paste is ready for use. A complete base is modelled by hand and flattened on a board. Then the sides are built up either by adding preformed rings, or by forming rings on top of one another as the vessel wall is raised. The segments

are bonded to one another by means of smoothing with the fingers, and the vessel is given the desired shape by the same means.

A piece of gourd and a cane knife are then used to complete the bonding and scrape off excess paste, after which the walls are thinned uniformly with a mussel shell tool. A final smoothing with a rag precedes polishing operations. Pebbles retained in the family for generations are used to polished the surface, a small place being dampened and then thoroughly rubbed. Simple geometric decorations may be incised, or a corncob rocked on the surface, before the vessel is fired.

324 Stone Industry—Observations on stone-working methods do not occur in the early Carolina sources. For stone artifacts, see Categories 252, 276, 412, 526.

34: STRUCTURES

342 Dwellings—The Siouans apparently used at least two, and possibly four, types of houses. Lawson speaks of the houses of the Waxhaw chief as resembling a large, pyramidal hay rick, and thatched with sedge and rushes. It was larger than other houses of the town, required the help of all in its construction and was used as the

403. Ibid., passim.
council house and for state entertaining. He notes that "all their dwelling-houses are covered with bark," and remarks about the "nasty, smoky holes" at most of the towns he visited. This would be the standard winter, or "hot house" and he describes their manufacture. Long poles of pine, cedar, or various other wood were stripped of bark and then held over a fire so they would bend. The large ends were placed in the ground about two yards apart in a circular or oval pattern. The tops were bent in and tied together with elm bark, a few braces added, and the whole was covered with sheets of cedar or pine bark, leaving only a smoke-hole in the roof and a low doorway. The floor was unpacked dirt, with a fireplace in the middle.

He also noted open-air houses, with only a roof: "These have reed-hurdles, like tables, to lie and sit on, in summer, and serve for pleasant banqueting-houses in the hot season of the year." Since Lawson travelled through the Siouan country in the winter, he may have observed this summer house only among the Tuscarora. However, Lederer says the Eno sleep in open arbors on hot nights, and it may be that the Siouans

practiced this more southerly custom. Lederer also noted that the Eno winter houses were of wattle-and-daub construction. Swanton believes they obtained this trait from the northeastward-moving Sara, but this is not probable since the direction and distance Lederer is alleged to have traveled between the Eno and the Sara would place the latter well to the Southwest of the former, and if the Sara had wattle-and-daub the Wateree should have been the ones to first adopt the trait. The Santee, who probably never contacted the Sara, built wattle-and-daub granaries.

**Outbuildings**—Granaries have been described in Category 251. Sweat houses were found in all towns by Lawson. The Wawhaw sweat-house was an emergency structure, built by bending some reeds or small sticks like an umbrella, and covering this with skins and match-coats. Heated stones were brought in, as well as a pot of water, and ample steam was produced. The Saponi had several sweat-houses. They looked like large ovens and Lawson avers they were made of stone. What he probably saw was wattle-and-daub construction.

**Miscellaneous Structures**—That it was a general Siouan custom to build a wood palisade around the town is

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409. Loc. cit.
412. Ibid., p. 47.
evidenced by Lawson's specific mention of such structures at the Saponi, Kewawayee, Adshusheer, and Occaneecbi towns. Palisades of this type seem to have been poorly built, as a gust of wind blew down the Saponi posts while Lawson was there. However, when the Occaneecbi lived in the Roanoke their "fort" enabled them to withstand several Indian and English assaults.

35: EQUIPMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF BUILDINGS

352 Furniture—The only furniture noted is the cane benches covered with furs and deer skins, used for sitting and reclining. In some houses these extended all around the wall, except at the doorway. Even on a post-Revolution visit, Smyth found no furniture except skins and blankets in the Catawba "wigwam" he slept in.

36: SETTLEMENTS

361 Settlement Patterns—The Siouan pattern seems to have been to build a small fortified "town" in or very near

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1. Lawson, op. cit., p. 47.
2. Ibid., p. 48.
3. Ibid., p. 55.
5. Ibid., p. 47.
8. Ibid., p. 163.
9. Ibid., p. 164.
to good agricultural land, and by a fair-sized stream. This was the major settlement of the group. In late fall or early winter, the men, and such women as were needed built a temporary camp of bark-and-pole houses back in the higher hunting land, often at some distance from the main fortified settlement. It is probable that each tribe or each "town" within a tribe, had a given hunting territory in which it cycled through the years. In addition to these two main settlements some individuals apparently built separate houses, either for agricultural or hunting purposes.

362 Housing--Types of dwellings are discussed in Category 342. Lawson characterizes most Indian dwellings as "nasty smoky holes," in which the Indians nearly 422 swelter at night due to the fire in the center. They were apparently quite crowded, if Lawson's statement that several related families usually lived in one house is accurate. 423

372 Fire--Lawson tells that, before the English brought steel and flint, the Indians made fire by rubbing together two sticks of different kinds of wood. 424

\[\text{Lawson, op. cit., p. 28, 56.}\]
\[\text{Ibid., p. 185.}\]
\[\text{Lawson, op. cit., p. 215-216.}\]
two pieces were used as a plow or a drill is not indicated. After they adopted steel and flint they obtained their own punk from various kinds of trees and found it to be better than European tinder. 425

373 Lighting--Torches were made of (Spanish) moss or cypress bark, 426 or of fat pine lightwood. 427 Francisco, the early Shocceree informant, told about the latter type of torch, 428 and it is still in use by Catawba survivors. 429

38: CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES

386 Paint and Dye Manufacture--All paints and dyes noted by the sources as being used on the human body are given in Category 302. No special information is available on techniques of manufacture. In addition recent Catawbas are known to use a black dye made from walnut bark and a red dye made from "puccoon root" on their basketry. 430

388 Soap and Allied Products--Removal of the bear's oil smeared on the body (see Category 302) probably had a cleansing effect, but no early source states that it was intended as a soap. Modern Catawbas make soap from the grease scraped

425. Ibid., p. 216.
426. Ibid., p. 219.
427. Ibid., p. 222.
430. Speck, Catawba Texts, op. cit., p. 72.
off hides during tanning.

411 Weapons—Lawson says the Indians made their best bows of locust, but used mulberry when they could not get locust. Speck's modern Catawbas make their bows from a single stave of locust four to five feet long. These bows are oblong in cross-section, wide at the hand-hold and narrow at the tips, which have either a single or double notch. Arrows, according to Lawson, were made of "arrow-wood growing on the banks....It grows as straight as if plained, and is of all sizes. "Tis as tough and pliable as the smallest canes."

Speck notes that the Catawba word for arrow is also the substantive for cane, cane still being used until recently for most Catawba arrows although some were made of hickory and sourwood. The points were sharpened and then hardened in a fire. Fletching required a single feather of a swift bird, the whole quill being bound to the cane at one of the natural longitudinal grooves. Two feathers were used rarely, tied on at opposite sides of the shaft, and sometimes a feather was twisted around

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431. Ibid., p. 73; also Speck, "Catawba Hunting, Trapping and Fishing," op. cit., p. 8.
433. Speck, "Catawba Hunting, Trapping and Fishing,"
434. Lawson, op. cit., p. 102.
the shaft and bound in that position. Arrows were two-and-a-half to three feet in length, and were also used unfletched. A special four-foot cane fishing arrow was also made unfletched. It was simply sharpened at one end and notched at the other. Catawba fishing spears were identical to this, but longer and without the notch. Some fishing spears, however, were prepared in advance from cane or hardwood, split at one end so as to form two prongs, which were sharpened and hardened.

Catawba arrow poisoning is referred to in Category 278.

Catawba blowguns were made from straight pieces of cane five to eight feet long and three-quarter to one and a quarter inches in diameter. The septa were burned out with an iron rod, but a smaller cane may have been the aboriginal borer. Oak, pine, or cedar slivers, eight to ten inches long and three-eighths inches in diameter, were used as darts. These were sharpened on one end, and feathers or tufts of fur were attached to the plunger end.

Lawson notes that Waxhaw dancers carried "wooden falchions...[and danced]...brandishing their wooden weapons as if they were going to fight each other...."

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436. Ibid., p. 17.
438. Lawson, op. cit., p. 35.
Speck had throwing clubs made for him by a Catawba. These were made of hickory and are about one-and-a-half feet long and two inches in diameter. The handle end was thinned to about a one inch diameter, and from the middle to the butt the clubs had straight sides and the full diameter of two inches.

The possibility that early Siouans may also have had the sling is shown by the fact that older Catawba informants knew of the two-string leather sling being used for hurling stones at birds and small game.

Speck notes the use of a small cross-bow as a toy by the Catawba, but does not believe it has significance either in recent Catawba economy or in early Siouan ethnohistory. Flannery remarks, "The cross-bow used to be considered a purely European trait...however, the trait is so widespread in the North there is some question now as to whether it may not be aboriginal." Since early accounts do not record the instrument for this region, Speck's opinion as to its European origin is undoubtedly correct.

As has been noted in Category 177, the Siouans rapidly adopted European long guns, pistols, and cutlasses, becoming expert in their use and upkeep.

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442. Flannery, op. cit., p. 70.
Lawson reports that gannet fat was their rust-preventative.

412 General Tools—Grinding stones were put to use in preparing food and paints. Speck has provided details on two types of grinding stones known to Catawbas. One was a sharp stone used to cut and "grind" meat in making pemmican, the other being a round hammer-stone used to crush corn and beans. Deer-bone and oyster shell scrapers were used in tanning.

415 Utenals—Spoons of wood or buffalo horn, bowls, and dishes of wood, and gourd receptacles, are mentioned.

423 Real Property—The concept of private property and individual ownership of land is recorded by Lawson:

They have no fence to part one another's lots in their corn-fields, but every man knows his own, and it scarce ever happens that they rob one another of so much as an ear of corn, which, if any is found to do, he is sentenced by the elders to work and plant for him that was robbed, till he is recompensed for all the damage he has suffered in his corn field; and this is punctually performed, and the thief held in disgrace that steals from any of his country-folks.

443. Lawson, op. cit., p. 156.
444. Ibid., p. 24, 100.
446. Lawson, op. cit., p. 7-8.
447. Ibid., p. 221.
449. Lawson, op. cit., p. 220.
450. Ibid., p. 107.
451. Ibid., p. 189.
Medium of Exchange—"Renoak," "peau," "wampum," and "porcelain" are terms used more or less interchangeably by Lawson to denote "money" made from conch shell. "Wampum" was "ground smaller than the small end of a tobacco-pipe, or a large wheat straw"; each one was drilled, smoothed, and strung on a string four or five to an inch. A string of these reaching from the elbow to the end of the little finger comprised a cubit, the basic unit of value. Wampum made from the purple part of the conch shell had twice the value of the white. "Renoak" was smaller and it took about four of them to equal the length of a piece of wampum. Five cubit lengths of wampum would pay for a dressed doe skin; seven or eight, a dressed buck skin. Conch gorgets were valued even more highly, bringing from one doe skin to four dressed buck skins; eight of another unnamed shell artifact would buy a dressed doe skin.

Lawson leaves no doubt that he was dealing with true money and that, with the Indian "wampum talks";

This is the money with which you may buy skins, furs, slaves, or any thing the Indians have; it being the Mammon (as our money is to us) that entices and persuades them to do anything, and part with every thing they possess, except their children for slaves. As for their wives, they are often sold, and their daughters violated for it. With this they buy off murders; and whatsoever a man

452. Ibid., p. 171, 184, 202, 205.
453. Ibid., p. 205-206.
can do that is ill, this wampum will quit him of, and make him, in their opinion, good and virtuous, though never so black before. 454

Whether this extreme condition prevailed aboriginally is difficult to ascertain. Francisco, the Shoccoree Indian, indicated that all trade was by barter, and all tribute paid in kind. Certainly, however, the shell was highly valued. Women sought it to wear in their hair, and the agricultural idol was decorated with it.

Exchange Transactions—Francisco's statement as transcribed by Martyr, was: "All the provinces we have named pay them tribute and these tributes are paid in kind; they are free from the pest of money, and trade is carried on by exchanging goods." It is probable that barter accounted for the bulk of trade even when the wampum complex was at its height. The two Tuscaroras Lawson saw going to the Occaneechi town with wooden utensils intended to return with raw skins. In the 1670's the Occaneechi town in the Roanoke river was known as a great trade center. European trade was also carried out by barter. Lawson speaks of feasts at which "they

454. Ibid., p. 206.
455. Swanton, "The First Description of an Indian Tribe in the Territory of the present United States, op. cit., p. 331.
459. Lawson, op. cit., p. 57.
meet from all the towns within fifty or sixty miles around, where they buy and sell several commodities, as we do at fairs and markets."461

461 Labor and Leisure—Everyone was expected to do some sort of useful work and not be idle. Cooperation was demanded on large projects for the good of the society.462 Speaking of the Wateree, however, Lawson makes this observation, which would seem to controvert the above information: "They are very poor in English effects.... being a lazy idle people, a quality incident to most Indians, but none to that degree as these...."463 He had probably heard from some traders that the Wateree did not procure as many skins as the traders would like, and thus concluded that they were lazy and idle; while the Indians probably were carrying on sufficient activities to maintain the society and were not yet ready to abandon their subsistence economy in favor of dependence upon the English.

That there was a division between preferred and less preferred labor is shown by the statement that, on a hunting trip, "a good hunter or warrior.... is employed in no other business than the affairs of game and battle," while the poor hunters must do the less desired work, less desired in terms of the ethos of the culture.

Division of Labor by Sex—Summarizing material which is discussed, with references cited, in several other categories, it may be said, in general, that men's work consisted mainly of hunting, fishing, agriculture, and construction. Women collected wild foods; prepared food for storage and immediate use; carried burdens and gathered firewood; and manufactured pottery, clothing, mats and baskets. Poor hunters performed intermediate tasks to some extent, and did some women's work. They tanned hides, and may have prepared some clothing from heavier hides; ran with messages and news; carried burdens; gathered materials for construction; and manufactured wooden artifacts.

Speck and Schaeffer state that, while modern Catawba women are in a position of "lenient subordination" and have never held positions in political or public life, nevertheless, "they rule in the kitchen and the younger family circle...carry on enterprises of their own....In business transactions they make their own prices and handle their own money." This position could, of course, simply reflect the cultural milieu of the South in which the Catawba live, but nevertheless, it probably also reflects the aboriginal pattern.

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

Locomotion—In the interior, travel was mainly by foot,
but some tribes near the coast relied to a considerable extent on boats. Byrd writes:

The Indians, who have no way of traveling but on the hoof, make nothing of going 25 miles a day, and carrying their little necessaries at their backs, and sometimes a stout pack of skins into the bargain.\footnote{466}

Parched corn, "rockahominy," was carried as provisions.\footnote{467} Lawson had trouble getting an early morning start while on his journey because the Indian guides had a custom of never starting until the sun was an hour or two high and had evaporated the dew from the trail.\footnote{468}

Speck has pointed out that rivers in the Catawba country are swift, and that they flow in such a direction that travel by foot was the only alternative for trips to the north and northeast.\footnote{469}

\footnote{470} Lawson, op. cit., p. 192.\footnote{471} Ibid., p. 220.\footnote{472} Ibid., p. 183.  

\footnote{482} Burden Carrying—Burdens were carried on the Indian's backs. Lawson speaks of a belt "that the Indians carry their burdens withal."\footnote{470} This could have been either a tump-line or shoulder strap. Most burdens except those carried on long, dangerous expeditions, were carried by women or poor hunters.\footnote{471} Lawson found one blind man being used as a beast of burden, led with a bit of string by a child or woman.\footnote{472}
Routes--The Indians had several well-worn trails which were kept open by constant use. When off the regular trails they had certain direction-finding aids. Lawson says they could always find north because one type of moss grows only on the north side of certain trees. They had names for eight of the thirty-two compass points, as well as for various winds. On expeditions they marked the trails for those to follow, probably on trees, since Lawson speaks of their "Sylvan Marks." 473

Land Transport

Animal Transport--No beasts of burden were known to the Eastern Siouans. Though they had dogs, the travois of the western Siouans was not used. After European contact horses were adopted, but were not immediately used for riding, except, possibly by the Saponi. 474

Vehicles--Francisco of Chicora relates that his "Chief Dartha" was carried from place to place on the shoulders of strong young men, and Swanton says this indicates the use of the litter, "since the chiefs in all southeastern North America were commonly carried about in litters borne on the shoulders of their subjects." 475 However, it seems impossible that this could have been the Eastern

473 Ibid., p. 216-17.
474 Ibid., p. 35, 45-47; Byrd, op. cit., p. 310.
Siouan pattern or Lawson would have noticed it. At every town he was entertained by the chief and they sometimes traveled with him, but nowhere did he see one borne on a litter.

501 WATER AND AIR TRANSPORT

501 Boats—The Siouans, like most others in the Southeast made their canoes from cypress, felled and hollowed out by the use of fire. They were more used by tribes near the coast but all tribes must have had some. Lawson relates that the Sewess had large dugouts with mat sails. They probably propelled their craft by means of prickly ash poles since this is the only mode of propulsion mentioned by Lawson. When he was travelling with the Eno chief, Lawson was carried over several rivers and marshes, as well as part of Pamlico Sound.

502 Navigation—Lawson says that in foggy weather when the canoers could not see the opposite shore of a lake or side river, they would head out on the proper course and, by throwing small pieces of wood directly aft as they went, could travel in a direct line without losing their bearings.

477. Ibid., p. 9.  
478. Ibid., p. 103.  
479. Ibid., p. 59-60.  
480. Ibid., p. 216.
513 Sleeping—On sleeping accommodations and bedding, Lawson writes:

The cabins they dwell in have benches all around, except where the door stands on these they lay beasts-skins, and mats made of rushes, whereon they sleep and loll. 481

The skins specifically mentioned as bedding include panther, 482 buffalo, 483 and bear. 484 Feather match coats "when new and fresh" could also be used as a quilt. 485

514 Elimination—The only note on elimination is Lawson's observation that men would eat a quantity of peas and other food and then sit around flatulating, "it being considered no ill manners among the Indians." 486

515 Personal Hygiene—Frequent baths were the rule in warm weather:

When these savages live near the water, they frequent the rivers in summer-time very much, where both men and women very often in a day go in naked to wash themselves, though not both sexes together. 487

Bear-oil and a powdered red root were mixed, and smeared on the body to keep vermin away. 488 Lawson found that the cook to the Waxhaw chief washed her hands before she began any cooking, but he regarded this as an "unusual decency." 489 Men removed facial and some body
hair,\textsuperscript{1490} except for the Keauwsee, who grew beards and mustaches.\textsuperscript{1491} Women removed their pubic hair.\textsuperscript{1492} New born infants were washed in cold water, and the moss on the cradle was apparently changed frequently.\textsuperscript{1493}

52: RECREATION

521 Conservation--The Indians Lawson met seem to have enjoyed conversation:

for if they be going out to hunt, fish, or any other indifferent business, you may keep them in talk as long as you please, so you but keep them in discourse, and seemed pleased with their company...\textsuperscript{1494}

Tribal affairs were "discoursed of and argued pro and con, very deliberately," every man giving his opinion.\textsuperscript{1495} For a stranger to acquire a bed-partner for the night required a great deal of conversation, the impression being that the old people simply enjoyed the chance to have something interesting to argue and deliberate.\textsuperscript{1496}

522 Humor--Lawson characterizes the Santee as "a well humored and affable people," but he is probably referring to their disposition rather than their ability to create and enjoy humor.\textsuperscript{1497} He also provides one note on anal humor--the men laugh heartily about flatulation.\textsuperscript{1498}

524 Games--Early writers seem to have observed no playthings or games (other than gambling). Speck has gathered all

\textsuperscript{1490} Ibid., p. 183; Lederer, op. cit., p. 21.
\textsuperscript{1491} Lawson, op. cit., p. 51. \textsuperscript{1492} Ibid., p. 202.
\textsuperscript{1493} Ibid., p. 201. \textsuperscript{1494} Ibid., p. 215. \textsuperscript{1495} Ibid., p. 206.
\textsuperscript{1496} Ibid., p. 194. \textsuperscript{1497} Ibid., p. 12. \textsuperscript{1498} Ibid., p. 220.
the information available on modern Catawba toys and
games, but it is very difficult to decide which of
these, if any, are of aboriginal origin. Some cat's
cradles were observed and these are probably aboriginal.
The "bullroarer" they made had no symbolic purpose and
it is probably wiser not to attempt to relate it to
early Sicuan ethnology. 499

525 Gambling—When Lawson reached the Congaree town he found
the women engaged in a gambling game: "The name or
grounds of it I could not learn, though I looked on
above two hours. Their arithmetick was kept with a heap
of Indian grain."500 Francisco of Chicora mentions a
game played with "lozenges shaken on a board," which
probably refers to a form of dice game.501 Lawson speaks
more explicitly of a dice game, played with persimmon
pits: "... winning or losing depend on which side appear
uppermost, and how they happen to fall together."502
In the same place he notes a gambling game involving
some skill, in which a person holds a bundle of fifty-
one reeds, throws part of the lot to his opponent, and
immediately guesses how many are on the ground. At their
fair-like feasts, gaming was a principal amusement, and
Lawson notes of their gambling in general:

499. Speck, "Catawba Games and Amusements," op. cit.,
501. Swanton, "The First Description of an Indian Tribe
in the Territory of the Present United States," op. cit.,
p. 331, 337.
Besides they game very much, and often strip one another of all they have in the world; and what is more, I have known several of them to play themselves away, so that they have remained the winners servants, till their relations or themselves could pay the money to redeem them; and when this happens the loser is never dejected or melancholy at the loss, but laughs and seems no less contented than if he had won. 503

Speck notes that the Catawba have a tradition of the chunkee game, at which the spectators would bet on the outcome of the throws. 504

526 Athletic Sports—Lawson that at the Adshusheer town the Indians were:

....addicted to a sport they called Chenco, which is carried on with a staff and a bowl made of stone, which they trundle upon a smooth place like a bowling-green, made for that purpose. 505

Lederer says the Eno town had a field in the center where they played a game slinging stones. 506

Speck's old Catawba informants described the game as it was played in former years. One side rolled the stone discoidals down the hundred-foot-long playing field and the opposing team tried to knock these down by rolling three-inch clay balls at them. 507 This is probably a more recent form of the game as originally played, in which poles were thrown at the rolling discoidals.

Martyr notes of the Shoccoree: "They love games,

503. Lawson, op. cit., p. 186.
505. Lawson, op. cit., p. 55.
506. Lederer, op. cit., p. 16.
especially with balls... This may be the same game as the baton-and-ball game noted by Lawson. Swanton regards both statements as referring to the southern form of Algonkian lacrosse, and Speck has given details about the equipment and the game, to the extent that these were remembered by his recent informants.

Archery contests were probably held aboriginally, and hurling stones with a sling is noted by Speck as a nineteenth-century Catawba amusement. Swinging is noted as "an ancient pastime," and a form of football was probably played aboriginally.

Rest Days and Holidays—Lawson indicates that three types of feasts were held—war, peace, and harvest. (The latter was a religious event and is discussed in Category 796.) These feasts were usually characterized by trading (Category 437); gaming (Category 525); eating; music and dancing (Categories 533, 534, 535); and by a certain amount of sexual license (Category 856).

53: FINE ARTS

Decorative Art—The Siouan artifact manufacture most nearly approaching the level of art was probably their feather embroidery. Lawson says that feather match coats

508. Swanton, "The First Description...," op. cit., p. 331.
509. Lawson, op. cit., p. 188.
512. Swanton, "The First Description...," op. cit., p. 331.
514. Ibid., p. 23.
516. Ibid., p. 36.
517. Loc. cit.
"are made extraordinary charming, containing several pretty figures wrought in feathers..." 518 Catawba ceramic decorations consisted (and consist) of simple geometrical patterns, mainly rectilinear. 519

Music—Songs were composed to suit the nature and the dances of the occasion. Lawson claims that new songs were composed for every feast by a person appointed for the purpose. Probably these "new" songs did not vary much from the songs previously used for a similar occasion. At a pre-warpath feast they danced war dances and had war-like songs "wherein they express, with all the passion and vehemence imaginable, what they intend to do with their enemies...." At a peacemaking feast, the song "relates how the bad spirit made them go to war and destroy one another; but it shall never be so again." 520

It is not clear who did the singing, but it may have been the same persons who played the crude instruments. Of the quality of their singing, Lawson writes:

To these two instruments they sing, which carries no air with it, but is a sort of unsavory jargon; yet their cadences and raising of their voices are formed with that equality and exactness that, (to us Europeans) it seems admirable how they should continue these songs without once missing to agree, each with the others note and tune. 521

520. Lawson, op. cit., p. 194.
521. Ibid., p. 185.
Musical Instruments--The only instruments noted by Lawson were the pot drum, made by tying a dressed doe skin tightly over the mouth of an earthenware vessel, and the gourd rattle, with several dried beans in it. Speck's recent Catawba informants knew how to make the pot drum, using rawhide or calf hide, and made their gourd rattles simply by letting the seeds dry inside the gourd and cutting a few holes in the wall "to let the sound out." One of the informants was able to make a type of box turtle foot rattle, worn by men dancers. The hide rattle is probably not aboriginal, at least not with the Eastern Siouans.

Dancing--Lawson says of Siouan (Waxhaw) dancing that it was "nothing but a sort of stamping motion, much like the treading upon a founder's bellows." However, he also tells of some very nimble stepping, combined with "strange gestures," "frightful postures," and "high capers." Dancing was probably the chief recreation of these people. He saw women dance for six hours straight until they were in a "lather," and knew of men to dance all night for several nights. All the dancing Lawson saw seems to have been at night and indoors, and Speck found that:

"The Catawba dances seem to have been strictly night

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522. Ibid., p. 35, 55, 185.
525. Ibid., p. 36, 184.
festivities. In the winter time and in bad weather they were
enacted inside the dwelling houses as long ago as can be
remembered."  

On Lawton’s Waxhaw: "When the dancing was ended,
every youth that was so disposed, caught hold of the
girl he liked best, and took her that night for his bed-
fellow...."  
And Speck notes: "Sexual indulgence....
was....an uninstitutionalized feature of house dances
here [at Catawba] as elsewhere in the Southeast."  

Speck gathered material on a number of Catawba
dances which seem to be direct carry-overs from aborig-
inal forms, with some probably showing Cherokee influence.
They include a masked dance, feather dance, bear dance,
horse dance (in this the name is not aboriginal but the
style of dancing is), wild goose dance, and green corn
dance. A "big man" served as leader and disciplinarian
of the dances. Speck has also studied and described
recently surviving Tutelo dances.  

54: ENTERTAINMENT

548 Organized Vice—Institutionalized prostitution seems to

526. Speck, “Catawba Religious Beliefs, Mortuary Customs,
and Dances,” op. cit., p. 47.
527. Lawton, op. cit., p. 36.
528. Speck, “Catawba Religious Beliefs, Mortuary Customs,
and Dances,” op. cit., p. 49.
529. Ibid., p. 49-50.
530. Frank G. Speck, “Tutelo Rituals: Aboriginal Caro-
olina Cultural History Revealed in Canadian Research," Bulletin
of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina, II, No. 2.
(Sept. 1935), p. 3-5.
to clearly indicated for the Waxhaw, and was probably
general throughout the area. Lawson's observations
on the Waxhaw practice are succinct and rare:

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 band, exercising his
prerogative over all the stews of his nation, and
in his own cabin (very often,) being the chiefest
brothel-house. 531

One of Lawson's travelling companions hired such
a girl and, in the morning, found his pocket picked
532
and his shoes gone.  Lawton gives further information
on the concern of the chiefs with this trade:

Our landlord was king of the Kadapau
Indians, and always kept two or three
trading girls in his cabin. Offering one of
these to some of our company, who refused his
kindness, his majesty flew into a violent passion,
to be thus slighted, telling the Englishmen that
they were good for nothing. 533

Lawson credits these trading girls with a knowledge
either of contraception or abortion and indicates that
they were free to leave their "profession" when ready,
at which time they were as acceptable as a wife as any
other woman, and perhaps more so.

532. Ibid., p. 32.
533. Ibid., p. 41.
534. Ibid., p. 193.
Byrd indicates that the "four young ladies of first quality" who came out with the Saponi headmen to meet his surveying party were available for hire:

...yet we resisted all their charms....Nor can I say the price they set upon their charms was at all exhorbitant. A princess for a pair of red stockings can't, surely, be thought buying repentance much too dear. 535

These modest ladies, however, declined to mount their horses while in view of the Englishmen.

55: INDIVIDUATION AND MOBILITY

551 Personal Names--Lawson writes of North Carolina Indians in general:

All the Indians give a name to their children, which is not the same as the father or mother, but what they fancy. This name they keep, (if boys) till they arrive to the age of a warrior, which is sixteen or seventeen years; then they take a name to themselves, sometimes eagle, panther, allegator, or some such wild creature, esteeming nothing on earth worthy to give them a name, but these wild-fowl and beasts. Some again take the name of a fish, which they keep as long as they live. 536

552 Names of Animals and Things--Byrd found that a creek with red ochre in its banks was named "Paint Creek" by the Saponi; another always had a beaver dam in it and was named "Beaver Creek"; and another was called "Jumping Creek" because fish jumped there during the spring. 537

Lawson says all pets were "slave," a generic term for anything which depended upon a master for food.

56. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

561 Age Stratification—Lawson notes that there were different titles for "Old Man," or Young Man, which respect the stations and circumstances men are employed in, and arrived to, and not ceremony." Young men take a new name when they reach the age of warrior-hood.

The old men had considerable power, probably deriving from their knowledge of religious mysteries. When the agricultural idol was carried into the field only the old men could go near it, while the young men were kept at their work. Lederer notes the power of older men and says they are very jealous of their prerogatives.

565 Classes—The "nobility", i.e., the chiefs and their families comprised a hereditary class, with descent in the female line, according to Lawson's information.

In addition, the evidence indicates the existence of two incipient classes, the good hunters and the poor hunters. These would be achieved statuses, in Linton's terminology, and the distinction was advanced for enough to show its effect in the religious ideology, as well as in other

540. Ibid., p. 206. 541. Ibid., p. 185.
542. Lederer, op. cit., p. 28.
543. Lawson, op. cit., p. 49, 207.
matters. Poorer hunters were relegated to tasks lying between men's work and women's work. The mechanism was available whereby this difference could become hereditary, for Lawson notes that good hunters always got the prettier girls, while "those of a grosser mould" were bestowed "upon the useless lubbers." Thus men who had less physical endurance and motor efficiency were mated to the uglier women, and the combination could plausibly, in time, produce a definite population statum marked by physical differences and by an hereditary occupational status. The eschatology of the people took account of the known differences between the good and poor hunters, and it was held that they would go to quite different sorts of heavens.

That there was a definite order or rank within a tribe is shown by Lawson's account of the ceremony whereby a stranger was made welcome: "...first, the king bids him welcome, after him the war captain, so on gradually from high to low; not one of all these speaking to the white guest, till his superior has ended his salutation."

567 Slavery—References to slavery are rather frequent in the literature, especially in Lawson's work. Martyr notes that war prisoners were not eaten, but enslaved.
Lawson speaks of both the servant and the slave of a Waxhaw war captain; mentions that the Eno chief, Will, had a Sissipahau slave; says that in gambling, a man might lose himself to the winner; and notes that part of a slave's work was to dress skins. On treatment of the slaves Lawson writes: "Their slaves are not overburdened with work, and so not driven by severity to seek for that relief [a day of rest]."

57: INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

574 Visiting and Hospitality—At every Siouan town he visited Lawson was received with what appears to have been a standard form of hospitality. The practice was for him to be entertained and housed at the chief's cabin, offered food immediately and also offered a woman for hire. A certain amount of wife-lending may have been part of the hospitality pattern between Indians.

A considerable amount of visiting apparently took place between individuals and tribes, especially at feast times when they would congregate at a central location, the entertainment of the guests being characterized mainly by dancing, gambling, and athletics.

550. Ibid., p. 166. 551. Ibid., p. 221.
552. Ibid., p. 253. 553. Ibid., p. 32.
554. Ibid., p. 165-186.
576 Etiquette--Lawson remarks of the Carolina Indians in general:

"They are free from all manner of compliments, except shaking of hands and scratching on the shoulder, which two are the greatest marks of sincerity and friendship, that can be shewed one to another." 555

For the Waxhaw specifically he notes that the war captain was scratched on the shoulder by one of the lesser citizens. Martyr records an entirely different salutation between commoners and nobles, which is unconfirmed by any other report.

One bit of routine etiquette was that a person speaking was never interrupted, "no man so much as offering to open his mouth till the speaker has uttered his intent...." See Category 565 for a custom relative to greeting visitors.

58: MARRIAGE

581 Basis of Marriage--Women desired that their husbands be good hunters, while men sought physically attractive and sexually experienced women, who could at the same time manage the domestic establishment well.

582 Regulation of Marriage--Age at marriage depended upon the person's having passed through the puberty rites and being

555. Ibid., p. 213. 556. Ibid., p. 39.
558. Lawson, op. cit., p. 33.
559. Ibid., p. 30, 31, 196, 198.
able to carry on adult activities. Women apparently married considerably younger than males, Lawson noting that Congaree girls "stick not on hand long, for they marry when very young, as at twelve or fourteen years of age." Lawson says, "They never marry so near as a first cousin," but that if the nation were populous they would prefer to marry someone within it rather than seek elsewhere for a mate. Speck, however, found that recent Catawbas tend to practice cross-cousin marriage on a greater than chance basis, but still retain "a rather vague sentiment against the marriage of immediate blood relatives," the belief being that defective children will result.

563. Note of Marriage—Completion of the payment of the bride price was the prerequisite for possession of the woman. The bride-price commodity is not recorded, except as "money".

564. Arranging a Marriage—Youths have ample opportunity for premarital reconnoitering, and, as Lawson records it for the Waxhaw:

...the man makes his addresses to some one of these thorough-paced girls or another, whom he likes best. When she is won the parents of both parties (with advice of the king) agree about the

560. Ibid., p. 31.
561. Ibid., p. 25.
562. Ibid., p. 197.
564. Lawson, op. cit., p. 196-197.
matter, making a promise of their daughter to the man that requires her, it often happening that they converse and travel together for several moons before the marriage is published openly. 565

In a more complete account, Lawson tells that the negotiations required two visits, the final one being a general palaver involving the older close relations on both sides, and sometimes the chief and his "great men," everyone giving his own opinion of the rightness of the match. If they approved and the girl consented, a price was agreed upon—the handsomer the girl the higher the price—and the two were betrothed. They lived together then, sleeping in the same bedding, but without consummating the union until the final payment had been made. 566

565 Nuptials—Lawson writes that other authors claim a great deal of ceremony in the solemnization of Indian marriages but that he never found that the case. The completion of the bride price payments constituted complete legalization of the union. 567

566 Termination of Marriage—Quoting Lawson again:

The marriages of these Indians are no farther binding than the man and woman agree together. Either of them has liberty to leave the other upon any frivolous excuse they can make.... 568

He still has a claim on her, however, and if she goes with another man, he will have to pay the husband

the equivalent of the bride-price. There seems to be no return of bride-price except by this mechanism.

Though divorce was easy, many marriages were marked by lifelong faithfulness. Smyth says of Catawbas he saw after the American Revolution:

"...after they marry they are remarkable for their fidelity to the objects of their choice, unless they should happen to take a dislike to each other; then they mutually agree on an immediate separation or divorce, and each party may marry again with any other person, without the smallest censure, or the least idea of impropriety."

567 Secondary Marriages—Two notes on remarriage appear in the above category. A widow whose husband died in debt is not liable, but a new husband must pay off the dead spouse's obligations. Martyr states that if the husband died a natural death the widow may not remarry, but this is not in accord with Lawson's observations, which must be regarded as more authoritative. However, Speck found that recent Catawba widows were very restricted as to social activity and could not remarry for a year.

The levirate and sororate were practiced, Lawson noting, "...an Indian is allowed to marry two sisters, or his brother's wife." Speck's later informants

569. Ibid., p. 32. 570. Smyth, op. cit., p. 190-191
573. Speck, "Catawba Religious Beliefs, Mortuary Customs and Dances," p. 45.
574. Lawson, op. cit., p. 197.
approved both practices and remembered an instance of the sororate.

Irregular unions—incestuous unions or liaisons must have occurred. At least there was a known penalty of death for the attempt: "For if an Indian lies with his sister, or any very near relation, his body is burnt, and his ashes thrown into the river, as unworthy to remain on earth...."

59: FAMILY

Residence—The only note giving any indication of the residence rule is that a betrothed girl "shall go along with him," which could mean either patrilocal or neolocal residence.

Household—Some sort of extended household is indicated by the fact that several related families used the same house and that "the victuals is common throughout the while kindred relations." Work was performed cooperatively and the richer household probably had some servants or slaves attached to it.

Family Relationships—Behavior of the spouses was characterized by the male dominance, with women remaining silent

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577. Ibid., p. 196-197.
578. Ibid., p. 188.
in the face of abuse:

'Amongst women, it seems impossible to find a
scold; if they are provoked or affronted, by
their husbands, or some other they resent the
indignity offered them in silent tears or by
refusing their meat.' 579

595 Polygamy—Among the Waxhaw and other groups Lawson found
older men with three or four wives and/or concubines.
He says:

...you may see men selling their wives as men
do horses in a fair; a man being allowed not only
to change as often as he pleases, but likewise 580
to have as many wives as he is able to maintain.

60: KINSHIP

601 Kinship Terminology—Speck presents a list of forty
Catawba kinship terms supposed to have been current
before the tribe was converted to Mormonism. Three main
characteristics noted are: (1) twelve primary or generic
terms were used in the immediate family group; (2)
these terms, when combined with modifiers or suffixes
meaning 'like', 'next-to', 'farther off', 'big' or
'little'(and others) formed a number of secondary,
derived terms, and by this means "both affinal and the
less immediate consanguineal relationships are defined.";
(3) three terms were used to denote, in indirect address,
more distant relatives, each of the terms indicating a dif-
ferent degree of "distance".

579. Ibid., p. 3k. 580. Ibid., p. 198. Cf. 31, 190-191.
581. Speck and Schaeffer, "Catawba Kinship and Social
p. 556-558.
Speck notes that the list of terms he gathered fits the definition of no known kinship system:

Attempts to equate the Catawba 'system,' as represented by modern informants, with one of the known types of kinship classification proved disappointingly unsuccessful. This was due to the unusual complexity resulting from their exaggerated use of synonymous and variable terms.

A shorter list of Tutelo terms gleaned from the poor available vocabularies reveals that the Tutelo kinship classification "conforms closely to the Dakota type, the simplest of the Siouan systems in that it lays no emphasis on either father's or mother's side, and above the first ascending generation all consanguinities are 'grandparents.'" In Tutelo, it is noted, the terms for cousin and husband are similar, possibly indicating a preference for marriage between certain kinds of cousins.

61: KIN GROUPS

611 Rule of Descent--Lawson gives considerable indication of matrilineal descent among the eastern Siouans. He stayed with the Keyauwee chief, who was a Congaree by birth:

"He got this government by marriage with the queen; the female issue carrying the heritage, for fear of imposters...." In a later passage he is more specific:

"The succession falls not to the king's son, but to his

582. Ibid., p. 558-559. 583. Ibid., p. 574. 584. Ibid., p. 574-5. 585. Lawson, op. cit., p. 49.
sister's son...."

Another less direct indication of matrilineal
descent is that in case of divorce the children always
went with the woman. A similar conclusion is to be
derived from a statement by the South Carolina
Commissioners concerned with resettling the Catawba on
the Cherokee reservation in 1840:

General Heck (Catawba headman) says he wants
to marry his woman to the Cherokees, and then,
by the laws and customs they would all become Catawbas, and in that way strengthen his tribe.

Speck records two conflicting traditions of the
descent of the chieftainship. Chief Haiglar was the last
to serve as a true chief, holding office for life.

One Catawba tradition is that he was succeeded by his
own sister's husband, which would indicate a bilateral,
or perhaps, a matrilineal rule. However, the tradition
Speck uses in his "official" list of Catawba chiefs is
that Haiglar's successor was his wife's brother.

These two traditions, and Lawson's information about the
Keyauwee "Queen" indicate that succession of the title fell
to a female offspring. If she was not married, however,
her brother served as chief; if she wed, her husband

586. Ibid., p. 207.
587. Ibid., p. 195-196.
588. Chester Howe, The Catawba Indians (Washington, 1907),
589. Frank G. Speck, "The Question of Matrilineal Descent
in the Southeastern Siouan Area," American Anthropologist,
N.S., XL, (1928), p. 8, footnote.
590. Speck and Schaeffer, "Catawba Kinship and Social
Organization with a Resume of Tutelo Kinship Terms," op. cit.
p. 565.
would be chief. Even this solution borders on conjecture, and when one attempts to figure out who would succeed a chief-by-marriage the picture becomes even more confusing. Lawson says the chief's sister's son succeeds, but this must refer only to chief's-by-sister, because if the Congaree who married the Kayauwee "queen" were to be succeeded by his sister's son, succession would then be alternating to the patri-line, and a complete stranger would be brought into rule. His sister and her son, in turn, would also be Congarees, and so on. The only other alternative for a successor to chief-by-marriage is a younger brother of the wife who carries the title, which seems to have been the rule followed in the second of the Haiglar traditions. A statement by Governor James Glen of South Carolina to the effect that he had made Haiglar king probably refers to governmental endorsement of a choice made by the tribal council from among the males eligible for chieftainship by reason of their relationship, by birth or marriage, to the female who bore the titular right. 591

The problem of the type of descent rule common to these Siouans has been obscured by the problem of whether of not they had a sib system. In a sense the two problems cannot be separated because any unilinear

emphasis tends to align ego with one set of consanguineal relations, as ever against another set equally closely related biologically. The evidence from the early sources seems to indicate some matrilineal emphasis at least in succession of chieftainship, but whether, in the absence of a matrilineal sib system, this unilinear emphasis had any greater applicability one cannot say on the basis of the available evidence. Swanton formerly maintained that the Siouans had a matrilineal sib organization. Having conceded this point, he now holds out for "matrilineal descent independent of clans." If Lawson’s work is valid to any extent, it is manifest that his references to matrilineal succession of the chieftainship makes this point, at least, quite clear, and this investigator would venture to state that the Catawba seem to have been developing a unilinear system (probably due to the influence of matrilineal societies all around them), which trend was brought to a stop and reversed by the impact of white culture. This is notwithstanding Speck’s findings that the kinship terms he gathered accommodate a bilateral classification, and that, "The results of any attempt to find evidence in Catawba institutions and traditions of a unilineal pattern of descent are simply nil." While Catawba material culture

retained, until recently, a good many aboriginal characteristics, there is evidence to show that the tribe was very early influenced religiously and otherwise by white contact. For one example, when Haiglar's successor was found unsatisfactory, a new headman was chosen by an election held under the guidance of a white friend of the tribe. This ended for all time any further matrilineal succession of the chieftainship. Again, Speck says that one of his informants whose recollections go back to about 1850 could reveal "no memory of missionary influence in the tribe, or of social modelling through contact with the surrounding whites." However, the above related election is certainly "social modeling," and a writer of 1768 reports: "They very devoutly attend worship, when among the English upon such an occasion; and are desirous to have their children trained up in English schools." It would seem that the Catawbas had ample opportunity to pick up European bilateral kinship terminology, translate the terms into Catawba, and then forget that these had originally been European terms.

597. Elen Potter, "An Account of Several Nations of Southern Indians," Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 1, X (1809 reprint), p. 120.
Sibs—The problem of sibs has been touched on in the preceding category. On the basis of Lederer’s statement about four female ancestresses of the tribes he saw, Swanton and others have asserted that the eastern Siouan tribes had matrilineal sibs. Speck, however, has shown that the terms Lederer gives as the "clan" names are Algonkian words. This fact, plus the lower cultural complexity of the Siouans as compared with their matrilineally organized neighbors, especially the Cherokee, Creek, and Yuchi, shows that they did not have a sib organization. Dorsey’s material on Tutelo clans really has no bearing on the question since that tribe undoubtedly adopted the social organization of the Cayuga Iroquois after joining them in about 1753.

In conclusion, then, it appears that the Eastern Siouans were developing a tendency toward matrilineal descent, as indicated by the evidence advanced in the first part of Category 611. This would be in line with what seems to be an increasing dependence on agriculture. The trend, however, despite the influence of powerful matrilineal neighbors, never developed to the point of producing matrilineal sibs, and with European contact the

600. Ibid., passim.
trend was dissipated. At the time of this contact the kinship terminology may have approximated the Dakota type, but in any case, European influence probably had something to do with the bilateral terminology later found by Speck.

62: COMMUNITY

621 Community Structure—The characteristic Eastern Siouan village was a permanent, palisade-enclosed settlement located on river-bottom agricultural land. The residents exploited a considerable area of surrounding territory for hunting and gathering purposes.

622 Headmen—Every tribe Lawson visited had its "king," a man with the largest house, considerable power, and many prerogatives. (For the headman's control of prostitution see Category 548; for salutations to the headman and other "nobility" see Category 576; for transportation of the chief see Category 493; for succession to the chieftainship see Category 611; for the chief's feather standard and standard-bearer see Category 293; for payment of tribute see Category 437).

There is considerable evidence to show that some Siouan chiefs wielded considerable personal power. Lederer says that the Wateree chief had three women summarily beheaded to accompany his dead son in the grave.

Lawson characterizes the Santee chief as "the most absolute Indian ruler in these parts... He can put any of his people to death that hath committed any fault which he judges worthy of so great a punishment." However, this is noted as being a rather extreme case of chiefly authority. Nevertheless, Haigler, chief of the Catawbas for a period following 1750, is recorded as having shot dead an accused murderer as he entered the village.

623 Councils—Aside from these extreme cases, the chiefs seem to have ruled with the assistance of a group of councillors or elders of the tribe. Speaking of the Waxhaw town house, Lawson writes, "In this theatre, the most aged and wisest meet, determining what to act, and what may be most convenient to omit." The advisability of making war, trade matters, and other tribal affairs were discussed by this group. When some Tutelos asked the Saponi to turn over some Seneca war prisoners to them, "the Sapona King, with the consent of his counsellors," delivered them up. Eno Will also had some "chief men." The chief and the old men were apparently the repositories of religious and ritual knowledge, for Lawson, telling of the agricultural idol, says, "the king and old men set around the image and seemingly pay a profound respect to the same." Decisions

603. Lawson, op. cit., p. 16.
605. Lawson, op. cit., p. 33.
606. Ibid., p. 45.
607. Ibid., p. 55.
608. Ibid., p. 185.
were made according to the consensus of the group of old men. Lederer, at Eno, relates: "Their government is democratic; and the sentences of the old men are received as laws, or rather oracles, by them." Women never served in these councils or in any other official capacity in political or public affairs.

**Local Officials**—The office of tribal herald has been mentioned in Category 205. The highest office next to that of the chief was the war-captain. These are noted for practically every village Lawson visited. The "doctor," or "conjurer" was also important and powerful.

Byrd makes some reference to tribal "nobility" and "kings," but his notes supply no new information pertinent to the present discussion.

**68: OFFENSES AND SANCTIONS**

**682 Offenses Against Life**—Summary execution of a murderer is noted in Category 622. Lawson says the practice in case of murder, or other great crime, was thus:

...him to whom the injury was done, or if dead, the nearest of his kindred, prosecutes by way of an actual revenge, being himself if opportunity serves his intent, both judge and executioner, performing so much mischief on the offender or his nearest relations, until such time that he is fully satisfied.

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614. Lawson, op. cit., p. 16.
However, even murder could be bought off with an adequate payment of shell money, or other valuable commodities. 

Murder committed by a drunk person was pardoned.

The very worst crime was poisoning the water supply, the penalty being slow torture witnessed by the entire nation. The body was then burned and thrown into the river, after which the merry crowd had a feast.

Sex and Marital Offenses—Swanton's generalization about the seriousness of adultery among Southeastern peoples does not seem to be applicable to the Siouans.

Lawson is definite on this subject, noting for the Waxhaw:

The husband is never so enraged as to put his adulteress to death; if she is caught in the fact, the rival becomes debtor to the corrupted husband, in a certain quantity of trifles, valuable amongst them, which he pays as soon as discharged, and then all animosity is laid aside between the husband and his wife's gallant. The man proves often so good-humored as to please his neighbor and gratify his wife's inclinations, by letting her out for a night or two, to the embraces of some other, which perhaps she has a greater liking to, though this is not commonly practiced.

The woman is considered weak and not to blame; therefore the blame falls to the man. Speck's Catawba informants told of men being formally tried and shot for adultery; women had their hair cut off for the first offense, their ears clipped the second time. The death penalty could be due to European and/or Creek influence,

615. Ibid., p. 16, 206.
616. Ibid., p. 212; Smyth, op. cit., p. 187-188.
619. Lawson, op. cit., p. 32-33, 198.
620. Ibid., p. 199.
while ear-cropping is known as a Creek and Chickasaw practice. There is a slight indication by Lawson that an adulterer who attempted to avoid paying the injured husband was in danger of his life. However, the fact that he could make the whole thing a laughing matter simply by paying up should be sufficient evidence for the conclusion that the death penalty for adultery was not the rule.

Incest was punished by death, at least for the male (see Category 586). Property offenses—Lawson found the people great petty pilferers, but this practice seems to have been directed almost exclusively against foreign visitors. Theft from another Indian was punished by the culprit having to work for the victim until adequate recompense was made. Archer indicates that theft among the Shoccoree was very severely punished.

71: MILITARY TECHNOLOGY

712 Military Installations--For palisades see Category 349.
714 Uniform and Accouterment—See Category 411 for weapons, Categories 301, 302 for special ornamentation.

624. Ibid., p. 197.
625. Ibid., p. 189.
72: WAR

For general references to wars of the Eastern Siouans, see Chapter II, pages 35-49, of this thesis.

721 Instigation of War--The chief motive for undertaking a war expedition seems to have been revenge. This masculine culture (see Category 161) could not let an affront pass. If one of their people was hurt, killed, or carried off, the chief and his council immediately deliberated about when to send out a party for revenge. When the decision was reached the warriors selected to go were properly painted; a night war dance, with songs of valor and victory, was held; parched corn was prepared as emergency rations; and the band, lead by war-captains, set out in one or more small parties for the enemies' country. Even greater victory was achieved by bringing back captives then by killing them in the field.627

726 Warfare--Pitched battles were apparently never fought; the aim, rather, was to cut off a few hunters or travellers, or ambush a rival war party.628

727 Aftermath of Combat--Enemies killed in the field were scalped.629 Those captured were often tortured by the method of tying them to a post and sticking lighted splinters of fat pine into their bodies.630 Lawson himself

627: Lawson, op. cit., p. 184; 204; 208; 210; 212; 217; 239.
was later executed, possibly by this same method, at the hands of the Tuscaroras. Not all prisoners were executed, however, since some were undoubtedly enslaved and there are indications that exchanges of prisoners sometimes took place.

728 Peacemaking—Lawson tells of a peacemaking feast in which the two groups sang special songs together and promised to intermarry with each other and maintain the peace. The long-continued struggle between the Iroquois and the Eastern Siouxens was settled by a joint conference held at Albany under white sponsorship, in 1751 (see Chapter II, p. 48-49, this thesis).

751 Preventive Medicine—Lawson found that the Indians took little or no protective measures: "The Indians are very careless and negligent of their health; as, by drunkenness, wading in the water, irregular diet and lodging, and a thousand other disorders...." They did keep away body vermin by the use of a bear oil and pawpaw root salve. Their "jaupon tea" was drunk probably in anticipation of its having a salutary effect on the health. Pitch-pine smoke was supposed to help preserve and strengthen the

632. Lawson, op. cit., p. 115.
633. Ibid., p. 184.
635. Ibid., p. 17, 181; Byrd, op. cit., p. 276.
752 Bodily Injuries--An infusion made from elm bark was used to heal a fresh cut, and a certain "odiferous balsamic root," chewed in the mouth, was supposed to heal bad wounds, new or festered. Rattlesnake bites were cured with any one of four root antidotes, the favorite being Frenanthes serpenteria. Sprains and contusions were treated by scratching the injured place with a comb set with rattlesnake teeth, spurring warm water on the swellings, and then applying a poultice made of powdered sassafras bark. Animal fats were sometimes used in massaging a stiff joint of sprain, but were never used when the skin was broken.

753 Theory of Disease--Lawson's conjurers and doctors claimed that "all distempers are the effects of evil spirits or the bad spirit...." Recent Catawbas believed illness was caused by evil spirits and ghosts of the dead, and umbilical cords and placenta were burned immediately to prevent retroactive evil influence.

754 Sorcery--Catawba tradition holds that witches perform in the guise of screech owls which leave spells in people's

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638. Ibid., p. 16. 639. Ibid., p. 133; Ermd, op. cit., p. 158.
642. Ibid., p. 227.
644. Speck, "Catawba Religious Beliefs, Mortuary Customs, and Dances," op. cit., p. 36.
homes, the nearness of a screech owl is a sign of impending disaster. 645

755 Magical and Mental Therapy—The blending of magic and medicine was so complete among the Siouans that nearly all curing practices will be discussed in this category. Even herbs which may have actual medicinal qualities were administered with a large dose of magic ritual. The treatment of sprains (Category 752) is an example. The poultice finally applied by the doctor probably has some actual effect in reducing the swelling, while the rattler-teeth scarification and the water blowing are purely magical. But the possibly beneficial poultices could not be applied without these preliminaries.

Small-pox was a great scourge among these Indians, but their treatment of pox cases only increased the death toll. Pills made of rattlesnake gall and clay were fed the victims, who were then rushed to a running stream at the height of their fever. 646 Lawson indicates that some venereal disease was also present and that this was treated with vegetable medicines. 647 By 1795 "the venereal distemper" was noted as a check on Catawba population increase. 648

Lawson gives the complete routine of a cure he saw, probably among the Tuscarora. However, some of the details in this account are also given under his discussion of the the Siouan tribes he saw on his journey, so it is probable

that the whole routine was also practiced by Siouan shamans. After consulting with the good spirit, the doctor began his treatment. A bowl of water was brought to his side, and the use of a rattle in some phase of the curing is also indicated. The doctor muttered some words, then smelled, or blew on (?), the patient's navel. After scarifying the sick person in various places with a flint or rattle-snake-teeth comb, he sucked blood and serum from the gashes and spit it all into the bowl of water. More incantations followed, with dancing and clapping of hands around the patient, the shaman working himself into a state of high excitement. At the end he gave his prognosis and an assistant secretly buried the blood and water. 649

Speck is able to verify many of these points through Catawba tradition. Scarification, sucking the incision, blowing medicines from the mouth onto the wound, purification in running water, incantations while administering medicines, and singing and dancing around the ill person were all remembered by his informants. 650 Some specific remedies recalled included daddy-long-legs rolled in dough for chills and rattlesnake rattles hung above the head to cure headaches. 651 Herbalists had to practice special precautions when gathering their medicines in order for them to be efficacious. 652 While Lawson's curers were all men,

651. Ibid., p. 191. 652. Ibid., p. 183.
Speck indicates in his data on herbalists that women were involved in at least this phase of curing. martyr writes: "...they never consult doctors except experienced old women, or priests acquainted with the secret virtue of herbs." 653

Psychotherapists—As indicated in other categories in this section, the Siouan curer was part psychotherapist, or shaman, and part herbalist, with a wide knowledge of beneficial herbs, and in their cures they utilized both methods. The practitioners stood high in the town and tribal hierarchy, and lawson indicates that they were the same as priests— in fact, the only Siouan officials who could in any wise be regarded as professional religious people. They appealed to the good spirit, their chief deity, during cures, served as funeral orators and in other more purely religious capacities. 654

Medical Therapy—Certain herbs and practices may have had an actual therapeutic effect, aside from the religious psychotherapy that usually went with them. An herb given to lawson by the Santee chief was good for stopping stomach aches, 655 and the Congarees made a root infusion that would ease an infant's colic. 656 Sweat baths may well have had some beneficial effect, and "yaupon " tea was an effective emetic (see Category 278 for other Indian herbs).

655. Ibid., p. 16.
Toothaches were alleviated by the use of herbs and roots, and the Indians were adept at punching out a bad tooth.

Medical Care—The Santee, and probably others, are recorded as following a special regimen in the case of deep wounds. This included a light diet, restricted movement, and drinking of fountain water (again the idea of the purifying effect of running water).

76: DEATH

Life and Death—Speck notes what he terms as "love-fear complex" in the Catawba attitude toward the dead. They buried their dead under the house so that the dead would be with them always; but at the same time they felt that ghosts of the dead went about causing disease. The conclusion reached by Speck is that burying the dead nearby and cherishing their memories is a form of propitiation by which they hoped to ward off the effects of the disease-causing ghosts.

Something of the attitude toward death is seen in the stoicism already noted. They faced death unflinchingly, knowing that if they had been good hunters and warriors they would go to a new world of good hunting.

and beautiful women.

762 Suicide--The daughter of a Tutelo chief is said to have committed suicide by taking a poison made from the "trumpet plant."

763 Dying--See Category 152 for a quotation and citations on Siouan attitudes toward death and their composure while dying. Speck records that when a Catawba is dying all his friends and relatives gather at his house and do what they can to help. A huge, star-shaped fire is kept going outside and games and pastimes cease; the people there are avowedly waiting for the person to die.

764 Funeral--While at the Santee village Lawson saw several tombs and learned the method of interment. The body was laid out in the sun a day or two on a piece of bark, having been rubbed with the powder of a red root. After this it was placed on a low platform and anointed with a mixture of bear oil and this red root. For three or four days following mourning was carried on around the body and the man's earthly goods were brought near him. When the flesh rotted it was removed and burned, the bones were cleaned and oiled, then wrapped in a "cloth" woven from opposum hair and placed in a wooden box made for

661. Speck, "Catawba Religious Beliefs, Mortuary Customs, and Dances," op. cit., p. 44.
the purpose. This was kept in a small "house" built atop a low mound of earth. Each year the bones were taken out, oiled and cleaned, and replaced in the box.

Another type of tomb consisted of stones heaped over the place where the body was lain. These are mentioned by Lawson for the Santees and he also saw such heaps while traveling from the Kadapau town to the Saponi village, his guide placing an additional stone on each of seven such graves. Martyr describes a mourning feast held at the time of the exhumation and secondary burial of the dead, supposedly among the Shoocoree. Speck's description of recent Catawba practice is as follows: The corpse was left lying in the death bed for three days and lecanomancy was practiced to see if the soul had departed peacefully. After this the body was buried in a grave dug by women who were usually not the deceased's relatives. Cold embers from the hearth fire were placed about the head, but no goods were put in the grave. Graves used to be dug in the floor of the house but the dead are now interred in a reservation cemetery.

Mourning—Among the Santee one relation of the dead one was chief mourner. He wore only moss (probably Spanish moss), had his face blackened with pitch-pine smoke.

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663. Ibid., p. 18, 41, 43.
665. Speck, "Catawba Religious Beliefs, Mortuary Customs, and Dances," op. cit., p. 34-35.
666. Ibid., p. 42-46.
and bear oil, and carried a stick. He kept up a
"mournful ditty," telling all about the greatness of
the deceased. *Lawson* writes that, though the various
tribes he met differ in their burial practices

Yet they all agree in their mourning, which is
to appear every night at the sepulchre and howl
and weep in a very dismal manner, having their
faces daubed over with light-wood soot...and
bear's oil...If the dead person was a grandee,
to carry on the funeral ceremonies, they hire
people to cry and lament over the dead man....
It is the dead man's relations by blood as his
uncles, brothers, sisters, cousins, sons and
daughters, that mourn in good earnest....* 668

_Martyr_ describes the women as chief mourners at

the time of Shoccoree secondary burial.

The Santee's recleaning and oiling of the bones
each year indicates a certain amount of cultism
connected with the dead. The Catawba, of course, hold
the belief that the ghosts of the dead hover around and
cause disease (see Categories 753, 761.)

_Speck_ found that the Catawba have certain taboos
which had to be followed in order not to hinder the
soul from departing peaceably. For three days after
death the dead person's name may not be spoken, the
corn-crib may not be opened, nor may the fire-place be
cleaned out. Some believed the name should not be
spoken for a whole year, and sometime during the year

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667. _Lawson, op. cit., p. 17._
668. _Ibid., p. 193-194._
669. _Swanton, "The First Description of an Indian Tribe
in the Territory of the Present United States," op. cit.,
p. 330._
some of the deceased's relatives gathered at the grave and cried. The Tutelo reclothing ceremony observed by Speck is not known to the remaining Catawbas.

Deviant Mortuary Practices—Lederer notes that the Wateree chief had warriors go out and kill three women to accompany his dead son in the grave. Martyr says that the shamans carried on special rites about the bedside of a dying chief, "performing some secret jugglery which makes him appear to vomit sparks and ashes." This is not recorded for other Siouan tribes, but Baron de Graffenried is said to have seen the same thing done among the Tuscarora.

In his description of the Santee funeral, and also in the account of general mourning practices, Lawson indicates that higher ranked men rated special funerary practices. At the same time women were not accorded any of these rites.

Social Readjustments to Death—A widow with several children who was unable to care for them was aided by the community, the young men tilling her husband's land, and doing other work for her. Widows could remarry soon

670. Speck, "Catawba Religious Beliefs, Mortuary Customs, and Dances," op. cit., p. 3-5.
674. Lawson, op. cit., p. 16, 190, 193.
675. Ibid., p. 189.
after their spouse's demise, however (see Category 587).

77: RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

771 General Character of Religion—Siouan religion was characterized by a belief in two main spirits, good and bad, which approximate the position of supreme beings in other religions. There were also a number of lesser spirits, presumably of an animistic sort. The body had a soul, which went after death to one of two heavens, depending upon how good the person had been in life. There was also the possibility of reincarnation, whereby evil people could come back to earth and have another chance to live a good life. Idols figured in the religion but their actual position is not clear.

Speck believes the eastern Siouan religion was not very highly evolved and was especially weak in symbolic values compared with other American tribes. By 1768 many of the remaining Catawbas were practicing Christians.

772 Cosmology—No picture of the aboriginal conception of the structure of the universe is given in the early accounts. Discussing sun and moon symbolism, Speck believes, "there is enough evidence to indicate that the luminaries held

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676. Ibid., p. 194, 197-198.
678. Potter, op. cit., p. 120.
a high place in southeastern Siouan cosmology."
He would accord them a position just below the supreme
being, and feels that they received some adoration as
a source of life, linked with fire-life symbolism.
One of Speck's informants told him that the sun was
female and the moon male, and that the upper universe
contained four heavens in vertical succession.

773  Mythology—Eyrd's Saponi guide gave him an account of the
creation of the world, as follows:

He told us he believ'd there was one supreme
God, who had several subaltern deities under him.
And that this Master-God made the world a long
time ago. That he told the sun, the moon, and
stars their business in the beginning, which they,
with good looking after, have faithfully perform'd
ever since.

That the same power that made all things at
first has taken care to keep them in the same
method and motion ever since.

He believ'd God had form'd many worlds before
he form'd this, that those worlds either grew old
and ruinous or were destroyed for the dishonesty
of their inhabitants. 681

Speck obtained a culture hero myth about the
comet from Catawba informants, as well as a flood narrative.
The latter may be due to Mormon missionary influence,
which came to the reservation in the 1880's, but it is
interesting to note that Lawson was given "a very
curious description of the great deluge," by Waxhaws

679. Speck, "Catawba Religious Beliefs, Mortuary Customs,
and Dances, op. cit., p. 38.
680. Ibid., p. 28, 30.
682. Speck, "Catawba Religious Beliefs, Mortuary Customs,
and Dances, op. cit., p. 29, 30.
at a time when they had had little white contact, and no missionary contact.

774 Animism--A belief in the individual soul was universal among these tribes. It has been noted that the ghost of the dead could cause disease (Category 753). One indication of the nature of the soul is given in Speck's note that the Catawba name for soul also denotes a personal shadow, and "refers to the 'spirit' of a person in a wide range of sense...." Mooney states that the Saponi had a belief that if a person was hung his soul would be defiled for having to leave the body by the anus, but this is based upon a misreading of Byrd's original narration of the hanging of a Saponi chief, wherein he credits the above belief to Muscovites but not to Indians.

775 Eschatology--Three early accounts of the Siouan afterworld are available, each corresponding in general form, if not in detail, with the others. Martyr, relating Shoccoree belief, tells that souls first expiate their sins under the master of a region of perpetual snow and cold. Later they go to a sunny region, where a sweet

683. Lawson, op. cit., p. 36.
684. Speck, "Catawba Religious Beliefs, Mortuary Customs, and Dances," op. cit., p. 28.
685. Mooney, op. cit., p. 49.
and generous-dispositioned spirit reigns. Here they are
given every attention and "enjoy a thousand delights;
young girls sing and dance, old grow young and every-
body is of the same age, occupied only in giving
himself up to joy and pleasure."

Lawson related that the soul of a good man goes
to a country which, though far away is in this world
and is shone upon by the same sun. Here the souls
"have the enjoyment of handsome young women, great
store of deer to hunt, never meet with hunger, cold or
fatigue, but everything to answer his expectation and
desire." Those that are lazy, thievish, and poor
hunters and warriors, however, go to a world of "hunger,
cold, troubles, old ugly women for their companions,
with snakes, and all sorts of nasty victuals to feed on."

Byrd's guide's account of the next world includes
most of the points in the above beliefs. The souls of
both the good and bad are conducted under strong guard
along a wide road. At a fork in this road a lighting
flash separates the good from the bad, the good being
then led down a level road to a gate where an old man
gives them a final check to see if they are qualified.
Inside is a "land of delights" where everyone is young,
the year is always like springtime, and the women are

687. Swanton, "The First Description of an Indian Tribe
as "bright as stars, and never scold." Fat and gentle game abounds and fruit trees are loaded all the time. Corn grows from the ground spontaneously.

The bad ones leave the fork by a rough and stony road. At the end of the path a terrible old woman, her head covered with rattlesnakes, is seated upon a toadstool. She sentences those before her to a life of woe, and turkey buzzards carry them off to a land of perpetual winter, where the ground is covered with snow and the trees bear only icicles. Here everyone is hungry, for the only food available gives them the dry gripes and causes stinking ulcers to cover their bodies. The women are old and ugly and expect constant lovemaking. Their incessant and shrill voices torture the ear-drums of the damned. This torment goes on for periods of time corresponding to the guilt of the person, after which they are sent back to their former world to try to live a life that will enable them to go to the warm heaven.

776 Spirits and Gods--Lawson records a belief in a good spirit and a bad spirit. The good one they believe created the earth and the people on it. He provides food and has taught man how to hunt and fish. The bad one lives

689. Byrd, op. cit., p. 200-202. In Byrd's Secret History the souls are not carried off by turkey buzzards, but are thrown over the solid rock wall which surrounds this hell by the old woman, who flings them with her thorny twenty-cubit long tongue.
apart from the good spirit and causes sickness, hunger, and misfortunes. The good spirit is appealed to for good corn harvests, and to make men good hunters and warriors. Other spirits abounded, but Lawson says they were not troubled by fear of them at night.

Byrd records that there was a belief in one supreme being and several lesser beings subordinate to him.

Animal spirits of a malevolent nature are reported by Speck for the Catawbas. The only parallel animal-monster belief in the early accounts was the panther-like animal which haunted a lake near the Neuse headwaters and frightened all hunters away.

Sacred Objects and Places—The use of idols in ceremonies designed to obtain good crops are recorded by Martyr. Lawson saw a similar ceremony, in which the idol was said to be a great warrior returned to act as an intermediary between the people and the good spirit. If he saw that they worked hard he would tell the good spirit...

The Eno Indians Lawson traveled with for awhile made a tobacco offering in the hollow of a large boulder; which may have been thought of as the home of some

695. Lawson, op. cit., p. 129.
spirit.

The Catawba regard the feathers of great birds with considerable sanctity. The house is purified by sweeping it with feathers, and the chief has a feathered staff.

78: RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

782 Propitiation—The Eno kept European chickens, chiefly cocks, for sacrifices to the bad spirit. See Categories 276 and 775 for offerings of tobacco by the same tribe. First fruit offerings were also made, some people placing the first spoonful of each meal into the ashes by a fire. See Categories 622 and 766 for human sacrifice.

783 Purification and Expiation—See Category 778 for purification of dwellings by feather-sweeping; Category 755 for purification in running water; Categories 278 and 751 for the "yaupon tea" emetic, probably taken ceremonially. Sweat lodges also probably have played part in ritual purification.

784 Avoidance and Taboo—Lawson records taboos against a young hunter eating the first of any animal form he kills,

698. ibid., p. 56.
701. ibid., p. 252.
against a fat woman eating the first catch from a fish weir, and against killing snakes. Byrd notes the Saponi belief that turkey and deer, or any combination of winged and hoofed animals, should not be cooked together. Speck found recent Catawba parallels for the first kill taboo, the mixed cooking taboo, and snake-killing taboo. The Catawba form of the latter is that the snake must not be killed on one's own land. Other Catawba taboos required that: a widow not cut her hair, speak to a non-relative, or marry within a year after her husband's death; a new umbilical cord and placenta be buried immediately after birth; that a dead person's name not be mentioned for a year; and that, just before the new moon, sassafras wood should not be burned, new fires should not be set and fires should not be caused to smoke.

Revelation and Divination—Lawson obtained an account of Indian clairvoyance from an English trader. A Santee "conjurer" was able to tell the tribe the location and condition of its faraway warriors. This was apparently done by working himself into a state of hysterical ecstasy during which he was able to obtain visions. Speck found that Catawba practiced lecanomancy.

as a part of their post-mortem observances. Ripples appearing of the surface of water in a vessel meant the soul had departed peaceably. Smoke movements were watched in another type of divination and pyromancy was used to get answers to personal questions. 706

Some Catawba omens were: comet — misfortune, especially war; owl hoot — witchcraft abroad; snake — premonition of evil being worked by an enemy; the aurora — impending disaster. 707

Speck's conclusion on Catawba divination is that it was an "informal rather than a consciously formal element of religious performance." 708

Magic—Lawson relates that when a sudden wind storm (probably a tornado) knocked down the Saponi town palisade, the chief, who was also a conjurer, ran to the middle of town, practiced a bit of necromancy, and the wind stopped within two minutes. The Devil (bad spirit) had caused the wind and the chief had to deal with him in order to stop it. 709

79: ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION

Priesthood—As far as may be discerned from the early accounts, there was no priesthood, per se, apart from the

706. Speck, "Catawba Religious Beliefs, Mortuary Customs, and Dances," p. 34-35.
707. Ibid., p. 30, 36-37, 40.
708. Ibid., p. 34.
709. Lawson, op. cit., p. 47.
"doctors," "conjurors," and so forth, who combined in their persons some purely religious activities, some healing activities (using both sacred and secular methods), some divinatory powers, and some magic ability. These then, were religious shamans, whose capabilities ranged from sheer legerdemain to direct intercession with the deities. They seem to have been old men, exclusively. They were closely allied with the chiefs, and sometimes chiefs had some of the same powers.

796 Organized Ceremonial—At least two annual ceremonies were held, both intimately connected with maize agriculture. At planting time a ceremony was held in which idols were carried into the fields and the people beseeched the good spirit for a plentiful yield (see Categories 241, 778). Then, in the fall, when the harvest was in, a ceremony was held in commemoration of the previous plentiful yield, and supplications were made for a good crop in the forthcoming year. The ceremony of this type observed by Lawson among the Waxhaw was held in mid-January.

80: NUMBERS AND MEASURES

804. Heights and Measures—The only standard measurement noted

710. Lawson, op. cit., p. 33; Speck, "Tutelo Rituals; Aboriginal Carolina Culture History Revealed in Canadian Research," op. cit., p. 5.
is that a length or "cubit" of wampun is enough to reach from a man's elbow to the tip of his little finger. Five such lengths buy a doe skin, seven a buck skin, and so forth.

Ordering of Time--Martyr says the Indians divided their year into twelve months, to which Swanton adds that this was really considered two periods of six months each, to which a thirteenth month was intercalated as needed to correct the calendar. Lawson says the Indians name the months according to the foods that become available at that time; e.g., herring month, strawberry month, mulberry month; or according to the trees that blossom during the month; or according to certain animal habits, e.g., the month when the turkeys gobble. He says they understand the "age" (phases) of the moon, and make accurate guesses of the time of day by looking at the sun. People's ages they reckon as so many winters.

Ethnometerology--Each wind was named according to the sort of weather it brought, e.g., the north wind was called the cold wind. Evil winds which did damage

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711. Lawson, op. cit., p. 205
713. Lawson, op. cit., p. 252-253.
714. Ibid., p. 216.
were sent by the bad spirit because something had angered him. By dealing with him such winds could be controlled. Thunder and lightning were caused and controlled by a man-like being, and the rainbow was thought to be the road of the dead. For various meteorological phenomena considered as omens see Category 787.

823 Ethnogeography—Eight of the compass points were named, and it was believed that a certain moss grew only on the north side of trees, thus constituting a sure direction-finder.

824 Ethnobotany—See Category 137 for references to lists of flora; Category 222 for flora collected as food; Category 241 for agricultural plants; Category 278 for plants used as pharmaceuticals; Section 28 for uses of fibres; Category 342 for plants used in dwellings; Section 37 for plants used in fire-making and lighting; Categories 411 and 415 for weapons and utensils made from plants; Section 75 for use of medicines.

825 Ethnozoology—See Category 136 for references to lists of fauna; Section 22 for fauna taken for food; Category 231 for domesticated fauna; Categories 281, 291, 513, 534

715. Ibid., 47.
717. Lawson, op. cit., p. 216.
for uses of animal skins; Category 776 for animal spirits.

Speck notes that the Indians classify animals according to "external features and habits of motion rather than by morphological distinctions."

826 Ethnoanatomy—See Categories 302, 515 for ideas about body, hair, and nail care.

827 Ethnophysiology—See Categories 264, 514, 522 for ideas about flatulation; Category 831 for male and female difference in sexual vigor.

828 Ethnopsychology—See Category 152 and 181 for emotions and drives; Category 831 for ideas about sex.

83: SEX

831 Sexuality—The eastern Siouans were characterized by very open attitudes toward sex. Organized prostitution was carried on, and it was apparently nothing for the man and his hired woman of the night to consummate the bargain before the company assembled. Abundant premarital intercourse made a girl more desirable for marriage, for, as Lawson says, "The flos virginis, so much

719. Lawson, op. cit., p. 38.
coveted by the Europeans, is never valued by these savages."

In his account of the betrothal period, in which the man and woman sleep together but without intercourse, Lawson notes that the men are not impatient or vigorous in their love (making), but that the women are quite different, "and those Indian girls that have conversed with the English and other Europeans, never care for the conversation of their own countrymen afterwards." In a similar vein he says that women were credited with less sexual self-control than men. Yet the women apparently kept their desire to a sexual level rather than a romantic one: "They never love beyond retrieving their first indifference..." One might wonder if the belief that in the bad heaven (see Category 775) there are women who demand a great deal of "cherishing" and claw men who slight their passion, is not a reflection of sexually demanding women in the Indian culture.

General Sex Restrictions—Lawson says that though they were great libertines, the women would refuse to deal with a man who boasts about his intrigues, for "they retain and possess a modesty that requires those passions never to be divulged." The sexes bathed separately,

720. Ibid., p. 31. 721. Ibid., p. 197.
and the women must have been modest about revealing their genitals. Byrd notes that the women wore their short woven aprons "with so much art, that the most impertinent curiosity can't in the negligentest of their motions or postures make the least discovery." 726

It was probably also for reasons of genital concealment that the Sapini women would not mount their horses in sight of the Europeans. 727

835 Kinship Regulation of Sex—See Category 582 for regulation of marriage by kinship; Category 587 for the levirate and sororate; Categories 588 and 684 for incest and its punishment.

836 Premarital Sex Relation—(See Category 548 for prostitution) Lawson writes about premarital sex among the Waxhaw:

The girls, at twelve or thirteen years of age, as soon as nature prompts them, freely bestow their maidenheads on some youth about the same age, continuing her favors on whom she most effects, changing her mate very often, few or none of them being constant to one, till a greater number of years has made her capable of managing domestic affairs, and she hath tried the vigor of most of the nation she belongs to. 728

According to Lawson, the youths went from house to house at night, and the girls would freely tell them whether they would sleep with them or not. 729

726. Byrd, op. cit., p. 266.
727. Ibid., p. 311, 312.
728. Lawson, op. cit., p. 31.
729. Ibid., p. 198.
See Category 535 for sexual indulgence at dances. Smyth noted in the 1780's that the Catawba "consider a promiscuous intercourse between the sexes before marriage as no disgrace, nor does it prevent a girl from obtaining a husband afterwards."

837 Extramarital Sex Relations—See Categories 586, 595, 684 for adultery, faithfulness and wife-lending.

838 Homosexuality—Lawson writes, "Although these people are called savages, yet sodomy is never heard of amongst them, and they are so far from the practice of that beastly and loathsome sin, that they have no name for it in their language."

84: REPRODUCTION

841 Menstruation—Lawson observes that the women were secluded and did no cooking during their menstrual period. Mature women wore a wad of moss against the pubes.

842 Conception—Byrd tells of a cure for barrenness and sterility; presumably practiced by the Saponi:

...if any Indian woman did not prove with a child at a decent time after marriage, the husband, to save his reputation with the women, forthwith entered into a bear-dyed for six weeks, which in that time makes him so vigorous that he grows exceedingly impertinent to his poor wife and 'tis great odds but he makes her a mother in nine months.

730. Smyth, op. cit., p. 189
731. Lawson, op. cit., p. 197
732. Ibid., p. 200-201
Lawson knew of no barren women, however, but says the trading-girl prostitutes had "an art to destroy conception" which they employed so as not to have children while in that station. Whether this was done by true contraception or by abortion cannot be determined.

Childbirth—Relying on Lawson again, it is noted that Indian women had an easy time at birth. They could carry on unattended but were normally assisted by midwives and "doctors" who specialized in delivery, and have medicines which both expedited and eased birth. The mother could get up the same day, but though she had no more pain, she still looked weak. The baby was immediately washed in a cold stream and smeared with bear oil. The umbilical cord and placenta were burned without delay. Speck has recorded the last vestiges of a couvade belief, or at least a belief in "a sympathetic relationship between the father and a newly born infant" among the Catawba.

Difficult and Unusual Births—Lawson relates that twins were sometimes born. He notes no extra delivery trouble or special beliefs concerning the phenomenon.

734. Lawson, op. cit., p. 201. 735. Ibid., p. 198.
736. Ibid., p. 200-201, 181.
737. Speck, "Catawba Religious Beliefs, Mortuary Customs, and Dances," op. cit., p. 36.
738. Ibid., p. 33.
Postnatal Care--After giving birth, women stayed away from men for forty days. Martyr says they were given special foods which gave the child extra strength when it nursed. The child was kept in a cradle board made by the father (see Category 304).

Abortion and Infanticide--Smyth notes that unmarried Catawba girls of the 1880's used medicines to induce abortion, thus rendering themselves susceptible to miscarriages the rest of their lives. (See Category 842 for a trading-girl practice that may be abortion.

Illegitimacy--Though no stigma was ever attached to pre-marital intercourse, the prostitutes of Lawson's time, and unmarried girls of Smyth's time sought to prevent conception and birth (see Categories 842 and 847). If illegitimate children were born they were always kept by the mother, even if the father wanted them.

85: INFANCY AND CHILDHOOD

Infant Feeding--Lawson says that even young mothers seemed to have plenty of milk, though no Indian women were large-breasted, and the milk was good enough to keep

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740. Ibid., p. 201.
the children from getting rickets or other malnutritional disorders. The infant sucked until "well grown" unless the mother became pregnant too soon, in which case the child was then weaned. In case the mother was sick or died a wet nurse was hired.

854 **Infant Care**—The infant was carried about in its mother's back, lashed to the cradle board in such a position that it faced away from the mother's back. A piece of moss on the cross-stick received the excreta, and was changed frequently enough to "keep all clean and sweet." The infant was also greased at intervals with bear oil.

855 **Child Care**—The available material is so scanty that it will all be placed in this category rather than scattered through Section 86—Socialization.

Lawson says they were "extraordinary tender and indulgent" with their children, and that he only knew of one very unusual woman who even corrected a child, "for they do not practice beating and correcting children as we do."

When Lederer was at the Sara village a boy shot an arrow at his horse, and another shot at him. The older people attempted to stop "by treaties and prayers, not commands," leading Lederer to make the observation

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745. Ibid., p. 201.
746. Ibid., p. 181.
747. Ibid., p. 213.
748. Ibid., p. 258.
that "These Indians are so indiscreetly fond of their children that they will not chastise them for any insolence or mischief."  

Speck notes the same sort of parental attitude among modern Catawbas. The elders recognize that two of their most serious problems are the lack of firewood and the poor soil on their limited reservation. However, one of the boys' favorite pranks is to set fire to the woods, destroying not only trees but potential humus, "And yet their parents do nothing to restrain them in their careers of devastating mischief."

This sort of permissiveness seems to result in nonaggressive personalities. Lawson notes that, "the children of both sexes are very docile...." The lack of intra-group fighting and scolding has been noted, as well as the near absence of jealousy (See Categories 152, 181). What aggression did exist was channeled against outside groups, and while it was part of the masculine ideal to be a great warrior, it was also completely masculine for a man to be indulgent with his children and cooperative with his neighbors.

68: ADOLESCENCE, ADULTHOOD, AND OLD AGE

Puberty and Initiation -- There is slight indication in

749. Lederer, op. cit., p. 20.
750. Speck and Schaeffer, "Catawba Kinship and Social Organization with a Resume of Tutelo Kinship Terms," op. cit., P. 571.
751. Lawson, op. cit., p. 66.
Lawson's work that the Sicuans had some sort of ceremonies connected with puberty. Relating their marriage customs, he writes:

When a man and woman have gone through their degrees, (there being a certain graduation amongst them,) and are allowed to be housekeepers, which is not till they arrive at such an age, and have passed the ceremonies practiced by their nation, almost all kingdoms differing in the progress thereof.... 752

Elsewhere Lawson describes a very severe initiation which is believed to apply to the Tuscarora, and he seems to be saying in the above passage that the ceremony of the tribe he was with at the time (Waxhaw) is not like the other ceremony he was familiar with, the Tuscarora "husquesnaw." 753

Other indications of adolescent passage rites are the taking of a new animal name by a youth when he reached the age of about sixteen, and the attention paid to the first kills of a young hunter. 755

888 Status and Treatment of the Aged--Aged men generally held high positions in Indian society. They sat on the chief's council and their opinions were very important in the management of tribal affairs (see Category 623). Lawson notes specifically the veneration in which they

752. Ibid., p. 51.
753. Ibid., p. 253-254.
754. Ibid., p. 206.
755. Ibid., p. 222-223.
were held:

In this theatre [council house], the most aged and wisest meet...Old age being held in as great veneration among these heathens, as amongst any people you shall meet withal in any part of the world.

Whosoever an aged man is speaking, none ever interrupts him,...the company yielding a great deal of attention to his tale with a continued silence and an exact demeanor, during the oration. 756
CHAPTER IV

AN HISTORIC SARA VILLAGE SITE

The Site

The site to be described in this chapter was excavated by Joffre L. Coe in the Spring of 1938. It was found by means of following Byrd's route and stopping at a place which filled the description of the Sara site as given by him more than two centuries ago. (See page 26 for Byrd's description.) Comparison of an aerial photograph of the Dan River from Irwin River to Sauro Creek with Byrd's map of the same area (see Fig. 1, p. 28.) shows unmistakably that this site and Byrd's location are identical and in all probability represents a Sara village.

The ground is a rich, slightly clayey loam deposited by the river as it meandered northward centuries ago. The plateau formed there is fairly high and usually safe from floods, but has been covered in historic times.

Natural soil stratigraphy was followed in the excavation. The plowed soil is a mixture of loam and artifacts, which has been turned over many times in the course of more than a century and a half of cultivation. Level One is a thin black layer representing the remainder of the undisturbed cultural deposition. Level Two represents the original
PLATE I
AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH OF THE RKv1 AREA
humus containing mainly intrusive cultural material from Level One. It reaches to the completely undisturbed subsoil of sterile sand. These Levels may be seen in Figure 4, p. 209, and Plates II and III, pp. 210 and 211.

Features

The features found during the course of the excavation consist mainly of refuse pits. Most of these were grouped in and around two large clay areas which probably represent the floor of a house. For the location of the features to be discussed below see Figure 4, p. 209.

Feature I. This small pit contained a mass of fresh-water mussel shells.

Feature II. This large pit was roughly three and one-half feet in diameter and was located east of the clay area. The contents included 150 potsherds, 1 chipped stone projectile point, 1 stone drill, 1 fragment of a clay handle, over 2,250 fresh-water snail shells (30 ounces), 160 fragments of mussel shells (16 ounces), 4 bone awls, 1 fragment of a turtle shell cup, 1 serrated shell tool, and five pieces of chipped stone. The pit seems to have been a general catch-all for all sorts of domestic refuse.

Feature III. This find consists simply of a nearly-whole net-impressed vessel of small size. Plate IV, p. 212, illustrates this vessel. The broken part had projected into the Plowed Soil.

Feature IV. Almost four feet in diameter, this pit was located on the northern edge of the clay area. It
Figure 4. Excavated Portion of the Site, Rk'1
PLATE II
NORTH TRENCH, REV. 1
PLATE IV

DAW RIVER POTTERY, NET-IMPRESSED VESSEL

[Image of a pottery vessel with net-impressed design]
contained 51 potsherds, 1 pottery disc, 1 fragment of a clay effigy, 1 clay pipe, 101 animal bones, 85 mussel shell fragments (11.3 ounces), 99 snail shells (1.1 ounces), 3 bone awls, 1 fragment of worked bone, 1 chipped stone projectile point, 1 stone scraper, 6 fragments of charred wood and five stone chips.

Feature V. This small pit under the clay floor was devoid of archaeological materials.

Feature VI. This refuse pit lay west of the clay area and was just over three feet in diameter. It contained 21 potsherds, 10 mussel shells (0.8 ounces), 1 bone awl, 1 antler flaking tool, 1 bird bone pendant, 51 animal bones, and three stone chips.

Feature VII. An oblong disturbance about two and one-half feet long and a bit over one foot wide, this pit contained 24 potsherds, 94 animal bones, 27 mussel shells (2.0 ounces), and 112 snail shells (1.4 ounces).

None of these features had any characteristics of special significance for an interpretation of the culture. Most of the pits contained various items of food refuse, as well as bone, stone, and clay artifacts. They were associated with the house structure and probably had been used as storage pits, which were later filled with culturally homogeneous domestic refuse. For analysis of the material contained in these pits, see the appropriate section in this chapter.
**Pottery**

The pottery from RKV amounts to 5,320 sherds, including both the excavation and the surface collection from the immediate area. Mrs. Gertrude Stevens began the classification and tabulation of the material in 1948 and worked through nearly forty percent of the specimens. The basic groupings of the sherds according to surface finish which emerged from Mrs. Stevens’s examinations were found to hold good for the remainder of the material. It was found desirable, however, to make a more minute analysis of the decorated sherds and rim sherds than had been made originally; therefore, those special sherds already tabulated were reviewed. This resulted in minor changes in the tabulation of the decorated body sherds, and a totally new count on the rim sherds.

Methodologically, the first step was to examine the sherds from a single unit of excavation, and place them in piles according to their surface finish. No rigid preconception of categories or types was adhered to; rather the nature of the material itself determined the number of piles and the contents of each pile. On five by eight inch cards the results were recorded in some detail for future reference, and the data were also entered on large tabulation sheets. Briefly, the breakdown according to surface finish was as follows:

1. Net-impressed "A". Surface impressions clearly made by netting of a loop type.

3. Net-impressed "C". Impressions made by net, the kind used not being clear due to blurring during manufacture, weathering, superimposed multiple impressions, etc.

4. Net-impressed "D". Impressions which appear to have resulted from the use of a kind of woven net.

5. Roughly smooth. The surface gives the appearance of having been smeared or smoothed in a rough fashion, and feels rough to a finger passed across the surface.

6. Smoothed or burnished. Surfaces appear to have been deliberately smoothed and polished, according to both visual and tactile evidence.

7. Corncob-impressed. The surface is rough and looks as if it were lightly punctated by myriad fingernails. Impressions in clay, and tests with archaeologically-recovered corncobs, prove that the impressions result from the use of corncobs.

8. Brushed or scraped. Surface has a striated or serrated appearance.

9. Cordmarked. Surface finish is the result of the use of the well-known "cord-wrapped paddle."

10. Complicated stamped. Surface appears to show marks made by a crude complicated stamp, but the sherds were not assignable to known trade-sherd categories.

11. Miscellaneous known types. Sherds whose surface and paste characteristics allow them to be recognized as trade sherds of previously described types. Each was tabulated according to its type.

The number of sherds of each group found in each excavation unit is shown in Table I, p. 216.

It is important to remember that this preliminary classification does not represent pottery types, per se, but
### Table I

**Distribution of Total Pottery, by Group**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Flowed Level</th>
<th>Level One</th>
<th>Level Two</th>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Net Impressed &quot;A&quot;</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Impressed &quot;B&quot;</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Impressed &quot;C&quot;</td>
<td>1370</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>2040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net Impressed &quot;D&quot;</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total: All Net</strong></td>
<td><strong>(2327)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(855)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(229)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(188)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(3599)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roughly Smoothed</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>1174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordmarked</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corncoab Impressed</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brushed</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complicated Stamped</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Pieces^b</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total: Local ware</strong></td>
<td><strong>(3407)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(1164)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(321)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(289)</strong></td>
<td><strong>(5181)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillsboro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple Stamped</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillsboro Plain</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pee Dee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complicated Stamped</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pee Dee Plain</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Careway Plain</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roanoke Cordmarked</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catawba Burnished</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burnished Ware</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified^c</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3501</strong></td>
<td><strong>1197</strong></td>
<td><strong>330</strong></td>
<td><strong>292</strong></td>
<td><strong>5320</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^a Net "C" group includes all Net Impressed rimsherds

^b One strap handle; one bird-head effigy

^c Includes rimsherds too small to classify
is merely a classification according to surface finish, a first step in the attempt to arrive at a definition of types.

In recording the number of sherds in each of the first ten "piles" above a further breakdown was made, the specimens being tabulated as having either "scraped" or "smooth" interior surfaces. This quality is a matter of degree, since apparently every vessel interior was scraped in some way as a step in the potter's technique. As a further step some vessel interiors were smoothed over, partially or wholly obliterating the previous serrations. Those sherds which still showed clear serrations were tabulated as "scraped", those not showing clearly visible serrations as "smooth", a breakdown unfortunately somewhat dependent upon subjective judgment. Obviously, some aboriginally "scraped" sherds were tabulated as "smooth" due to the obliterating effects of weathering. Tabulations on the work sheet and on the cards show both smoothed and scraped sub-totals, as well as the sum of these sub-totals, for each "pile" in each excavation unit. The tabulations themselves appear in two ways. The first forty percent of the tabulations are by count, but the remainder are both by count and by weight, in ounces. It did not seem practicable to go through all the previously tabulated sherds and reclassify them for the purpose of obtaining weights. It was hoped that since the two investigators who worked on the material were both supervised by the same person, this fact, and the fact that a priori
"pigeon-holes" played no part in the classification, would act as controls by means of which the tabulations of both investigators would be uniform. After the tabulations were finished it was found that the correlation between the count of the first worker and the count of the second worker was .943. An additional correlation was determined between the second investigator's count, and his totals in ounces. The correlation between count and weight was found to be .967. This latter high correlation shows that tabulations by count are measuring sherd quantities almost the same as tabulations by weight, and thus justifies the use of tabulations by count throughout. The rather high correlation between the counts of the two workers further justifies the use of the first worker's figures.

Paste and temper characteristics were not analyzed so rigorously as were the surface characteristics, though a fairly high degree of quantification is possible through the use of both refined scales for testing hardness and of elaborate color charts. The hardness, color, tempering material, size, and quantity, and other paste characteristics were not determined for each sherd while the classification and tabulation were in progress. Rather the investigator sought to acquire, somewhat subjectively, a "feel" for the paste under examination to determine whether all the sherds were of the same ware, or whether several wares were present. This "feel" was supplemented by putting to one side samples
of each "pile" for use in determining and writing type descriptions. These samples added to the description based on "feel" by permitting measurement of thickness; examination and measurement of tempering materials; and determination of hardness, texture, and color.

Decorated body sherds were examined concurrently with the undercoated body sherds and were tabulated according to surface finish, interior treatment, and type of decoration. On the five by eight inch cards was written a very brief indication of the decoration of each sherd, sometimes supplemented by sketches if the decoration was complicated, atypical, or otherwise difficult to describe in two or three words.

Rim sherds were tabulated so as to show the number according to general vessel form, rim and lip shape, lip treatment, surface finish, interior treatment, decoration, and curvature. Any special characteristics were also noted. Profiles of all rim sherds of appreciable size were drawn on five by eight inch cards for permanent future reference.

Basal sherds were not tabulated separately from the rest of the undecorated body sherds, but profiles were drawn for use in analysis and as a permanent reference.

The value of the permanent reference cards is that at any future time investigators may make ceramic comparisons in a much shorter time than would be required if they had to search from scratch through all five thousand-odd pottery sherds.
It was apparent from the continuing observations made of paste characteristics that piles numbered one through ten above, with the exception of group number six, "smoothed or burnished", contained material with fairly uniform paste characteristics. Thus, these groups presumably represent the dominant ware at the site, the material made locally in the local cultural tradition. The various known types represented here as trade sherds are easily separable from this material and will be described separately. The burnished or smoothed material presents a problem, in that, judging from its atypical and somewhat heterogeneous paste characteristics, all of it cannot be considered as locally made ware, and at the same time it does not readily fall into line with known types from sites within trading distance of Rkvi. In the discussion to follow, then, we will be dealing only with pottery definitely made at Dan River sites, presumably by the Sara tribe. The burnished ware will be treated separately at the conclusion of this discussion (see pages 261 to 264).

Table II indicates the percentage occurrence of each Dan River group by levels. An error is introduced by reason of the fact that net-impressed rim sherds were not identified according to type of net used, with the result that in the mass tabulation all have been placed in the "Net-impressed C" category, the indeterminate "pile". This does not change the relationships, however. There were 310 net-impressed
### TABLE II

PERCENTAGE OF EACH SURFACE TREATMENT GROUP ACCORDING TO LOCATION WITHIN THE SITE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surface Treatment</th>
<th>Plowed Soil</th>
<th>Level One</th>
<th>Level Two</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Net &quot;A&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Net &quot;C&quot;</td>
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<td>35.8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net &quot;D&quot;</td>
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<td>Roughly Smoothed</td>
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<td>18.0</td>
<td>21.5</td>
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<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corncob Impressed</td>
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<td>3.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
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<td>3.6</td>
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<td>Cordmarked</td>
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<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Brushed</td>
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<td>1.2</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.2</td>
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<td>Complicated Stamped</td>
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<td><strong>99.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.1</strong></td>
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* Less than 0.1
rim sherds. On the basis of the percentages holding for body sherds, roughly half of these would be in the "C" group, one-fourth each going to "A" and "B". If we add seventy-five or eighty sherds each to "A" and "B" and leave the remainder in "C", the relative order of occurrence is unchanged, "A" and "B" still following in third and fourth place behind the roughly smoothed group, with "C" still in first place.

Even if an attempt had been made to identify the kind of net used on rim sherds the result would have been that most would be placed in "C". It was apparent from the nature of these sherds that few of them could be identified positively as to the kind of net used, and most of them would have to be placed in the indeterminate class anyway. This is probably due to the greater probability of the rim region being smeared accidentally during manufacture (e.g., during notching of the lip), and deliberate smearing or smoothing before the application of decorations, which occur in the rim and neck region. Rim sherds comprise just under ten percent of all sherds from the site, but rims account for over twelve percent of the roughly smoothed group, whereas on a strictly chance basis rims should comprise less than ten percent of the sherds in this group.

Dealing with the body sherd figures at first, we note few significant changes in occurrence through time. The largest changes percentagewise are the decreases in both net-impressed "A" and net-impressed "B" in the plowed soil as compared with levels one and two, with a concomitant
increase in net-impressed "C" and roughly smoothed. These changes are probably to be explained chiefly on the basis of the difficulty of identifying the material in the plowed level (which includes surface material). Weathering of the material would have a tendency to increase both the roughly smoothed and indeterminate net groups. Thus, the drop in the occurrence of net-impressed "A" and "B" is probably not of cultural significance.

Between level one and level two there is a slight tendency for loop type net-impressions to increase in percentage of total sherds, and for knotted type net-impressions to decrease. The "weathering effect" again causes confusion, however, since in the plowed level "A" and "B" show nearly the same percentages, the previously increasing "A" now being slightly lower than "B". For all net-impressed sherds taken as a group there is an increase in level one, followed by a decrease in the plowed soil. Thus, it appears impossible to state any definite trends in the use of the various net types, the conclusion being that net-impressing was used rather uniformly and continuously throughout the occupation.

Among the minority groups some trends appear but the figures are rather too small for significance in most cases. Cordmarking nearly doubles level one compared with level two, but decreases in the plowed level to a frequency near that of level two.

The use of corncob in surface treatment remained almost constant throughout the occupation as did scraping or
"brushing". The general conclusion to be drawn from the percentages for the various groups from level to level is that there is very little change of any sort between levels and no consistent trends of increase or decrease in the use of the various kinds of surface treatment throughout the occupation. The cultural conclusion to be drawn is that the occupation sampled by excavation was an homogeneous one, or, in other terms, the probability is that a single people lived at Rkvl for a relatively short period of time.

### Interior Scraping

In his discussion of the Poole site, Coe advanced the hypothesis of "developmental relationship" between the archaeological culture called Uwharrie and the later cultural manifestations attributed to the historic Siouan Keyauwee tribe, this relationship to hold also between Uwharrie and other Siouan sites. One of the chief distinguishing characteristics of Uwharrie ware is a very high percentage of interior scraping, while the Keyauwee material is characterized by smooth interiors. Dan River material, being attributed to a time period between these two archaeological cultures, should, therefore, reveal its intermediate position ceramically, i.e. by having interior scraping intermediate in frequency as compared to the earlier Uwharrie and the later Keyauwee material (known as Caraway, archaeologically). Furthermore, if the hypothesis is to hold, Dan River material should show a decreasing frequency of scraping through time.

---

Table III presents the percentage of interior scraping on a large sample consisting of the 4,188 undecorated body sherds which were found in the three levels. A single glance at the percentages will suffice to show that the frequency of interior scraping is intermediate between the 65 to 100 percent of Uwharrie ware and the interior burnishing and smoothing typical of Caraway ware. The decreasing frequency of interior scraping during the occupation at Rk V1 is not as easily seen, but is nevertheless demonstrable.

For Net "A" a significant decrease through time is noted, a decline in scraping more clearly seen, however, in the percentages for Net "B". Figures for the indeterminate net group are irregular, but the percentage for the Plowed Soil is lower than for either lower level. Taking all net-impressed sherds as a whole, the decline in interior scraping is regular and significant.

The percentages of scraping for roughly smoothed pottery are again not consistently downward, but the Plowed Level frequency is lower than either previous level. Cordcobb impressed sherds show an increased frequency of scraping in the plowed level, a fact at variance with the hypothesis. Cordmarked pottery decreases in the Plowed Level as over against Level 0 ne, but in Level Two there were no scraped interiors in the four sherds of the sample. That the small size of the sample is the probable cause for a zero percentage is seen in the fact that one-third of the cordmarked sherds found
in features show interior striations. Brushed sherds show an increase of scraping in the Flowed Level, and a zero percentage in Level Two. Here, again, the two sherds of the sample are probably not representative, since three of the four brushed sherds found in features have scraped interiors.

For all sherds the percentage of scraping in the Flowed Level is lower than for either previous level. While the evidence is mixed, the hypothesis that interior scraping decreased during the occupancy of the site does receive some support.

Table III also tells us something of the potters' mental patterns concerning their work. For brushed pottery there is a very high percentage of interior scraping and for roughly smoothed pottery an unusually low frequency of interior scraping, which may indicate that there was a pattern which called for consistency between interior and exterior treatment. The investigator would hesitate to carry this hypothesis to its ultimate conclusion concerning other aspects of culture and the mental characteristics of the bearers of the culture, but the fact should be noted. The low percentage of scraping on corncob impressed pottery may thus indicate that, functionally, the corncob was a smoothing tool, the marks it left being incidental to the act of smoothing the vessel exterior so as to have it consistent with the relatively smoother interior.

Table III also contains information which may bear in another way upon the question of a Uwharrie-type ancestry,
### TABLE III

**PERCENTAGE OF INTERIOR SCRAPING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surface Treatment</th>
<th>Plowed Soil</th>
<th>Level One</th>
<th>Level Two</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Net &quot;A&quot;</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>36.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Net &quot;B&quot;</td>
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<td>39.5</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net &quot;C&quot;</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Net</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roughly Smoothed</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corncob Impressed</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
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<td>26.8</td>
<td>0*</td>
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<td><strong>All Sherds</strong></td>
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<td><strong>30.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>27.5</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Four sherds in sample.
** Two sherds in sample.
culturally speaking, of later Sicuan cultures. The net used on Uwharrie net-impressed pottery was exclusively knotted. Knotted-net-impressed ware at RkVl begins in Level Two with a high percentage of Uwharrie-typical interior scraping, while the apparently more recent innovation of looped-net-impressing starts in Level Two with a lower percentage of interior scraping. This may be added as a slight bit more evidence of developmental relationship between Uwharrie and Sicuan ceramics.

Decoration. The kinds of decorative elements found at RkVl and their distribution, both by actual count and by percentage within a location unit, are shown in Table IV. This table includes all decorated body sherds and decorated rimsherds, a total of 390 specimens. While decoration appears on only 7.5 percent of all sherds in the groups under discussion, a special count of all rimsherds representing the area from just below the neck up to the lip of the vessels from which they came suggests that about one-half of all vessels were decorated.

Comparisons of the frequency of the various decorative modes from level to level are made difficult by the small size of the Level Two sample. However, between Level One and the Plowed Soil a general uniformity prevails, at least among the five dominant modes. The distribution of these five decorative elements, represented in all location units, combined with their high frequency percentagewise, indicates

2. Ibid., unpaged.
TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF DECORATIVE ELEMENTS BY PERCENTAGE AND ABSOLUTE COUNT (COUNT IN PARENTHESES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decorative Element</th>
<th>Flowed Soil</th>
<th>Level One</th>
<th>Level Two</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>All</th>
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<td>Punctate Band</td>
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<td>(87)</td>
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<td>(118)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(70)</td>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(94)</td>
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<td>(11)</td>
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<td>(64)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>(31)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band of Short Incised Lines</td>
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<td>8.9</td>
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<td>8.7</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Punctate Band, combined with Horizontal Incising</td>
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<td>(2)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Curvilinear Incising</td>
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<td>4.3</td>
<td>.8</td>
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<td>(2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punctate Band, combined with Short Incised Lines</td>
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<td>.8</td>
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<td>(3)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Incised Lines, combined with Zoned Punctuation</td>
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<td>.3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Incised Lines, combined with Horizontal Incising</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>.3</td>
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<td>.3</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
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<td>(1)</td>
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<td>99.7</td>
<td>99.7</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.1</td>
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<td>(276)</td>
<td>(67)</td>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>(390)</td>
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</table>
that they were the basic design techniques of the culture. Each combined design found is made up from these basic elements, the only decoration not being either a dominant mode or a combination of these modes being the three examples of curvilinear incising.

The other major fact to be seen in Table IV is that in the material from the Plowed Soil there is a relatively great proliferation of combined-element decorations. This is probably related to a slight tendency for a greater emphasis on decoration in the Plowed Level, the ratio of decorated sherds to total sherds being higher in the Plowed Soil than for any other location unit.

Punctations are made in various sizes with different tools, but a fairly large oblong impression, vertically oriented, and placed as a single horizontal band at the neck of the vessel, seems to predominate. Besides being the most frequently used design element in this arrangement it is the element most frequently used in combined-element decorations (Plate V, Figs. f-k).

Horizontal incising, the second most frequent design element, is always placed at the neck and upper shoulder of the vessel so decorated. Four, five, or six lines occur, but five lines is the most frequent variation. The tool used seems generally to have been rather blunt and narrow. On the best example available (Plate VII, Fig. j) five lines are seen, evenly incised five-sixteenths of an inch apart, centered about 2 3/4 inches below the lip. For other examples
PLATE V

DAN RIVER POTTERY, DECORATIVE ELEMENTS

Figs. a-e. Horizontal Incised.
Figs. f-k. Punctated.
Figs. l-q. Finger Punctated.
Figs. r-u. Oblique Incised.
Figs. v. Short Incised Lines.
Figs. w-y. Zonal Punctate.
Figs. z-dd. Design Combinations.
Figs. ee, ff. Scraping.
Fig. gg. Pottery Lug.
Fig. hh. Strap Handle.
see Plate V, Figs. a-e.

Three different finds of finger punctation are seen on the pottery from this site. One is the pinching technique, whereby a small amount of paste is pinched between the potter's finger-tips. Both sides of the small node resulting show fingernail impressions (Plate II, Figs. m, n, p, q). The second finger-punctation technique at Rk V I is that of finger-tip punctation, whereby a single finger is "poked" into the paste on a slant. The resulting node shows an impression of a single fingernail underneath it. This kind often looks like finger-pinched punctations, except that it does not have an impression of the opposing "pinching" finger (Plate V, Fig. 1). The third technique, little used on this pottery, could be called fingernail punctation. The fingernail alone is pushed into the paste perpendicular to the vessel wall and no node is raised. The result looks similar to short, fine, incised lines (Plate V, Fig. o).

The tool used for making long oblique incised lines appears to have been the same as was used for horizontal incising. These parallel lines are either alternating or non-alternating, and six such lines appear to be the modal variation, statistically (Plate V, Figs. r-u).

The least frequent of the dominant decorative elements is the band of short incised lines. These incisions are vertical to slanted and vary from very fine, evenly spaced lines to deeply gouged, irregular ones (Plate V, Fig. v).
The relationship between surface finish and decoration is shown by percentages and count in Table V. Columns for Net "A", "B", and "C" include only decorated body sherds of those groups of surface treatment, since net-impressed rim sherds were not classified as to type of net. The "All Net" column includes the sherds in the first three columns, plus the net-impressed, decorated rim sherds, and the single specimen of decorated Net "D".

Here again is seen the emphasis on the five basic decorative elements, expressing in another way the homogeneity of the pottery being considered as locally made ware. The table requires no special comment at this time, but provides data for the type descriptions to be presented later.

Various forms of combined-element decorations are shown in Plate V. Figures w, x, and y are zoned punctations; Figs. z and aa show combined punctations and oblique incised lines; and Figs. bb, cc, and dd combine punctating and horizontal incising.

Vessel Form. By taking measurements of the curvature of larger rim sherds in horizontal and vertical planes one is enabled to approximate the form and size of vessels. A differential count of all rim sherds then shows the frequency of the vessel forms thus reconstructed, and enables one to discern any relationships between given vessel forms, or rim variations, and given kinds of surface finish. The simplest breakdown of rim sherds reveals that both jar forms and bowl forms are present, jar rim sherds accounting for
TABLE V

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DECORATION AND SURFACE FINISH BY PERCENTAGE AND ABSOLUTE COUNT (COUNT IN PARENTHESES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decoration</th>
<th>Net &quot;A&quot;</th>
<th>Net &quot;B&quot;</th>
<th>Net &quot;C&quot;</th>
<th>All Net</th>
<th>Roughly Smoothed</th>
<th>Impressed</th>
<th>Cord-marked</th>
<th>Brushed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punctate Band</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>33.1</td>
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<td>(42)</td>
<td>(89)</td>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal Incised Lines</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>25.3</td>
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<td>(21)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finger Punctuation</td>
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<td>7.8</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>(37)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
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<td>(2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Long Oblique Incising</td>
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<td>15.1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>(38)</td>
<td>(13)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Band of Short Incised Lines</td>
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<td>14.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>7.8</td>
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<td>(8)</td>
<td>(21)</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(1)</td>
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<td>(5)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Punctate Band, combined with Horizontal Incising</td>
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<td>3.9</td>
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<td>5.0</td>
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<td>(5)</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Curvilinear Incising</td>
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<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punctate Band, combined with Short Incised Lines</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Incised Lines, combined with Zoned Punctation</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Incised Lines, combined with Horizontal Incising</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punctate Band, combined with Long Oblique Lines</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99.6</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>99.8</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>99.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>(36)</td>
<td>(64)</td>
<td>(126)</td>
<td>(269)</td>
<td>(86)</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Decorated, net-impressed rim sherds appear only in this column.
86 percent of all rim sherds, and bowl forms the remainder.

Rim and Lip Treatment. The most frequent type of lip treatment is the bluntly rounded lip, found on slightly over 50 percent of jar rims and on 65 percent of bowls. The flat lip is seen on about 12 percent of the jar sherds and on almost 20 percent of bowl rim sherds, while the percentages for the thinned-lip treatment are 36 percent and 15 percent, on jars and bowls, respectively. Two jar rims (0.5 percent) were flat and thin, and two showed a folded rim treatment, two types of rims not found among the bowl form specimens. Thus there is a basic similarity in the rim form of jars and bowls, the statistical difference perhaps indicating certain cultural preferences as to the type of rim treatment which should be associated with a given form of vessel. These slight differences are seen further in the incidence of notching. On jars, 67 percent of all rims were notched, but only 46 percent of bowls were so treated. Table VI shows the relationship between lip form, percentage of notching and vessel type.

TABLE VI
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NOTCHING, LIP FORM, AND VESSEL TYPE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lip</th>
<th>Percent Notched</th>
<th>Jars</th>
<th>Bowls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flat</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Round</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thin</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A further difference is seen in the fact that on jars 58 percent of the notching that occurs is corner-notching, while on bowls only 29 percent is of this type, the preferred notching for bowls being the transverse cut, either straight or slanted.

On both jars and bowls the most preferred lip form has the highest incidence of notching, the second most preferred form (thin for jars, flat for bowls) has the second highest percentage of notching, and the least preferred lip form is also least notched.

A complete breakdown of jar rim sherds according to rim form, lip treatment, and surface finish is given in Table VII. Similar data for bowls appears in Table VIII.

Reconstructed Forms. No whole pots were recovered at Rk V1, but one nearly complete vessel was found, which gives us almost full information on one form of vessel. Other evidence is supplied by large rim and body sherds, and by segments of vessels formed by fitting broken sherds together. The form and size of the nearly complete jar are seen in Plate VI, Fig. h, and the vessel is illustrated in Plate IV. Many of the rim sherds from this site show similar curvature and thickness so it probably is a fairly common vessel form for the culture. In addition, many sherds with similar vertical form but less curvature on the horizontal plane and greater thickness of body wall occur, indicating that the same basic shape will be found for some larger vessels. Large, thicker
### TABLE VII
#### JAR FORMS: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RIM AND LIP TREATMENT AND SURFACE FINISH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rim</th>
<th>Surface</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Net</td>
<td>18 9 11 2 27 74 17 21 34 38 21 8 2</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rough</td>
<td>9 4 2 16 21 17 9 11 17 3 4</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corkcub</td>
<td>1 1 9 5 5 2 9 2 1</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cord</td>
<td>1 1 2 1 3 1 2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brushed</td>
<td>1 6 1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>29 14 14 2 55 102 39 32 61 60 26 15 2</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE VIII
#### BOWL FORMS: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RIM AND LIP TREATMENT AND SURFACE FINISH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rim</th>
<th>Surface</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Net</td>
<td>5 4 9 8 2 1 2</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rough</td>
<td>1 2 3 6 7 8 1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corkcub</td>
<td>3 1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cord</td>
<td>1 1 2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brushed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>6 7 15 15 9 2 10 3</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
basal sherds, however, are more rounded and less sharply conical than the base of the above vessel, indicating some difference in form for larger vessels.

Vessel forms are depicted in Plate VI. Figure 1 was reconstructed from a very thin rim section of an apparently quite well-made jar. The presence of several similar sherds indicates that this form was often made. Figure 6 shows a rare jar form, drawn on the basis of the only rim of its kind in the collection. The paste is somewhat harder than is typical in the groups under discussion, but otherwise the sherd is definitely locally made. The hardness and atypical form may indicate a transition specimen. While no other rim sherds of this kind were found, a few neck sherds have a similarly sharp break and may represent the same sort of jar form.

Figure 7 illustrates a medium-sized jar with a pronounced flare while in Fig. 8 is seen a large jar without flare. This latter form is similar to the most common jar form of the Uwharrie series and probably stems from the same tradition.3

The sherd from which the jar in Fig. 9 was reconstructed had scars indicating that a strap handle similar to the handle specimen to be discussed later (see page 294) had been broken off. The form of the vessel is the same as in

PLATE VI
DAN RIVER VESSEL FORMS, RECONSTRUCTED

Jars

a

b
c
d
e

f
g
h
i

Bowls

j

k

l
Fig. f, but is much larger.

The jar indicated in Fig. e is somewhat shallower than other jars with a similar oral dimension, the shallowness being indicated by the greater curvature of the sherd below the shoulder. Figure b illustrates a jar somewhat similar to that seen in Fig. g, but with a much greater outward flare and considerably greater size.

The largest vessel form reconstructed by means of measurement of sherds is seen in Fig. a. It is characterized by a shoulder so long and straight that the neck is formed only one-half inch below the lip, with a very slight flare and an everted and corner-notched lip. The quartz temper is very large, and interior striations are especially marked, both Uwharrie characteristics. The loop net-impressions and the long oblique decorations, however, mark it as a specimen of the local ware, a good transitional piece showing the developmental relationship between Uwharrie and Dan River ceramics.

Bowls were more difficult to reconstruct because of a lack of large bowl rim sherds. Assuming a sub-conical base, since such bases are the only kind found at the site, the three bowls shown in Plate VI, Figs. j, k, l, are all basically similar, the main difference being in the straight-sidedness, inversion, or eversion of the rim region. Straight-sided vessels predominate overwhelmingly, there being only two everted, and three inverted bowl rim sherds in the collection.
Profiles were drawn of over 200 rim sherds, but a study of these drawings revealed no new basic vessel forms for which large sherds were not available for measurement and reconstruction purposes.

**Pottery Type Descriptions**

The usual form used in describing pottery is to present the "types" represented at a site. The type description presents ideal patterns which seem to represent the central tendencies apparent in the ceramic material. Types will be presented here, but an additional descriptive concept will be employed -- the "series". According to Sears and Griffin: "The term 'series' is used to apply to a group of pottery types which occur on the same ware and which are the product of a cultural group at a particular period of time." This is a relatively new concept and thus far its use seems to have been limited mainly to statements of this sort in archaeological reports: "The types described herein fall within the _____ Series", without any attempt being made to describe the common characteristics which are the reason for the grouping. Under the term "series" below we shall present the characteristics which define the Dan River Series. The type descriptions that follow will then be limited to short descriptions of the variations of surface finish

within the series. "Series" used in this way corresponds in some ways with the "ware" descriptions of other writers.

Dan River Series:

**Manufacture**: Several coil fractures are available for study. These show that the vessels were formed by means of annular segments. Whether these rings were formed on the vessel as it was being made or were pre-formed it is not possible to say.\(^5\) Coil fractures on one specimen were 10 mm. apart. The fillets were probably smooth-welded by hand alone before the paddle was used. Almost all coil fractures show that welding was equal on both the exterior and interior. One sherd that broke at the coil, however, shows an excess of paste on the interior. While even welding is characteristic of Uwharrie pottery, Caraway series coil fractures typically slope downward on the interior surface.\(^6\) It is possibly significant that while the paste of this sherd falls within the range of the Dan River Series, it is somewhat harder than the average, and the shape of this rim sherd is unduplicated elsewhere at the site. Thus this sherd may be somewhat transitional in manufacture, paste, and form between "classic" Dan River and later forms, which presumably would tend to approach Caraway or Catawba pottery.

Coil fractures are in general gritty and rough rather than smooth.

---


\(^6\) Coe, *op. cit.*, unpaged.
Examination of the eight basal sherds reveals no definite coil fractures, indicating that the base was formed from a lump of paste rather than by coiling. The generally thick and rough appearance of most basal sherds supports this interpretation.

**Paste:**

**Temper:** Aplastic material used as "temper" in this pottery varies considerably. The most generally used aplastic is crushed quartz, often in large amounts. Most of the particles are from 2 mm to 4 mm. in size, but many pieces are over 5 mm., and some are as large as 10 mm. in length. In some sherds a single piece of quartz is visible on both interior and exterior surfaces. In a high percentage of sherds no large pieces of aplastic occur, but small quartz fragments and considerable amounts of coarse sand are seen. Some small mica flakes occur, probably as accidental inclusions in the paste. A little crushed rock which is red and crystalline appears in some sherds which also contain the usual crushed quartz and sand.

Two sherds from a single vessel probably of local manufacture are shell-tempered. Crushed quartz occurs in the same sherds in very small amounts. Both surfaces are pitted through leaching-out of the shell.
Texture: Rough and gritty. Even fairly smooth interiors have a sandy feel. In section the paste is sometimes flaky but is more often fairly compact and hard.

Hardness: Exterior hardness is between 2.5 and 3. Although some sherds are quite weathered the paste does not crumble very easily under pressure.

Color: Core color is almost uniformly light grey. A few reddish cores occur and some could be called grayish-tan, but grays predominate. On exteriors grays also predominate, but the range of color varies from buffs and tans to dark gray, with an occasional orange or red-earth. Many sherds show practically uniform gray on both the core and interior and exterior surfaces, while at the other extreme three or more quite different colors or shades may be represented on one sherd. The general color impression of the pottery as a whole is that of a dull brownish-gray. True black does not occur on this pottery, though some firing clouds occur, especially on the upper part of the vessels.

Surface Finish:

Exterior: The kinds of exterior treatment have been suggested on pages 214-15 and will be recapitulated more fully in the type descriptions below.
In general it may be stated that most exteriors are paddled with a fabric-wrapped paddling implement, then either left with the fabric impressions still showing or scraped over so that the impressions are smeared or obliterated. This scraping takes two forms—the scraping may be left as is, presenting a serrated appearance, or may be smoothed over roughly. Therefore, all exteriors are rough to some extent, none being well-smoothed or burnished.

Interior: Interiors are also characterized by roughness; a large minority show well-marked striations but in the rest the original scraping has been smoothed over in a rough manner. The smoothest of these still fall short of the degree of smoothness achieved through floating or burnishing. Details on interior treatment are supplied on pages 224-28 and will be briefly recapitulated under the type discussion.

Decoration: Nearly half the vessels of this series are decorated in some manner. Decoration is primarily confined to the neck of the vessel, but occasionally may extend into the uppermost part of the shoulder, just below the neck. The major decorative mode is banding the vessel at the neck with incised lines or punctations of various kinds; less frequent are bands using combinations of
incising and punctating. Only in the rare zoned-punctuation mode is there any effort to produce a "closed" geometric design. Decoration in general is quite crude.

Form:

Rim: Rims are predominantly everted with slight to pronounced flare. A minority are straight to very slightly inverted, and two quite inverted sherds were noted. On rare rim sherds a rim-fold is apparent, but lips are frequently rolled slightly outward.

Lip: Lips may be rounded, thin, or flat, the relative frequency being in the order named. The majority are notched with a V-shaped tool; corner-notching predominates, but straight-across and slanted notching occur also. On a few bowls the lip is punctated.

Body: Deep, globular jars with moderately flared rims predominate, ranging in size from 12 cm. to 39 cm. in oral diameter. The maximum width is slightly greater than the oral diameter in most cases and the depth ranges from 14 cm. to 55 cm. Larger jars have a higher depth-to-width ratio than do smaller ones. Bottoms are rather sharply rounded.

Bowls are mainly straight-sided to slightly in-curving, with some eversion and (rarely) sharp
inversion occurring. Depth is presumed to be roughly the same as the oral diameter, which varies from about 17 cm. to 25 cm., but actual data are lacking. Bottoms are probably curved about the same as in jar forms.

Base: All bases are curved, some being more pointed, or sub-conoidal, than others. None are flat. In thickness they range from 7 mm. to 13 mm., averaging 10.4 mm. The least rounded basal sherds average almost 12 mm. in thickness, probably due to the fact that they may be from larger vessels.

Thickness: The range of thickness as measured on sherds of uniform thickness is 4 mm. to 13 mm., the average being 7.7 mm. Some vessels are highly variable in thickness; one specimen measures 4 mm. at the lip, 7 mm. at the neck, and only 3 mm. at a point part way down the shoulder.

Appendages: Strap handles and possibly also loop handles occur with some frequency on jar forms. Attachment is usually at the lip but some are attached lower, near the neck. Flat lugs also occur, but it is not known on what type of vessel. An Animal effigy was found and presumably had been attached to the lip of a locally made vessel. It was crudely modelled from very flaky paste.
Major Types

Dan River Net-Impressed: Almost seventy percent (69.5 percent) of all Dan River Series sherds from Rk\(^{v1}\) are of this type. Net made by three distinctly different processes were wrapped around the malleating paddle used to shape and finish vessel exteriors. Of sherds on which the kind of net is recognizable, "knotted" net accounts for 51.8 percent, "looped" net accounts for 48 percent, and a type designated only as type "D" is represented by only two sherds (0.1 percent). For all practical purposes, then net-impressed vessels were malleated with either loop or knotted net on a virtual chance basis.

Illustrations of knotted netting may be seen in Holmes' pioneer work on textiles. The drawings in Fig. 104 and 105 show net types Holmes found in North Carolina; the latter, with fine double cords, is termed "a very unusual combination" by Holmes and is found only rarely at Rk\(^{v1}\).\(^7\) Miner designates this type of textile as "netting," the definition of the technique being: "...the actual knotting of one row of loops onto the preceding row...The sheet bend, either right or left hand, is the most frequent knot employed."\(^8\) Drawing No. 7 in his Fig. 3 illustrates the technique.\(^9\) Published photo-

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9. Ibid., p. 182.
graphs of sherds with this kind of net-impression may be
seen in the Fort Ancient Plates cited on page 304.
and in Holmes' Plate CXXXI, Figs. a, b, c, and e; Plate
CXXXVII, Figs. d, e, f, g, and h; and other Plates. 10

Loop-netting was not described by Holmes and has
apparently been overlooked by other experts as well. Miner
termed the technique "plain looping", which he illustrates
in his Fig. 3, No. 6a, showing the half twists made in the
weaving strand. 11 He had apparently seen only two examples
of plain looping, one from a Massachusetts site, the other
from New Hanover, North Carolina. 12

Type "D" seems to be unnamed and unillustrated in the
literature, and the two small specimens available from RkV
are not adequate for a complete description. It is somewhat
similar to Miner's "plain twining" in which "weft strands
are woven onto the warp in pairs." 13 Its scarcity at this
site renders it relatively unimportant in pottery analysis
except for comparative purposes. It may have been more fre-
quently used as a textile than its use on pottery would indicate.

The percentage of interior scraping for the type as
a whole is 28.6 percent. Variations in interior treatment
for different levels and kinds of net are shown in Table III
p. 227.

10. William H. Holmes, "Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern
United States," (Bureau of American Ethnology Twentieth Annual
12. Ibid., p. 150.
13. Loc. cit., also Fig. 3, No. 8, on p. 182.
As the most ubiquitous type, Net-impressed sherds exhibit almost the same range of rim form, lip treatment, decoration, and vessel form as the Series as a whole. The only rim form not associated with net-impressing is the rather everted bowl rim, found only on Cordmarked and Corncob Impressed sherds.

Of decoration techniques, every design element found for the Series as a whole is found on Net-Impressed sherds, a single combined-mode decoration being the only one not occurring in the type.

Variation in vessel form is considerable. This is well illustrated by the fact that of all the jar forms represented in Plate VI all but one were reconstructed from Net-Impressed rim sherds. Of bowl forms the type includes straight-sided and inverted forms but none with noticeable eversion. Approximately 10 percent of Net-Impressed rim sherds indicate bowls. Illustrations of Net-Impressed pottery are given in Plate VII.

**Dan River Plain:** This type comprises 22.7 percent of the Dan River Series material. What has been descriptively termed "roughly smoothed" seems to represent the Sara version of plain ware. For reasons already discussed (weathering smearing, etc.) the group of pottery subsumed under this type may not all have been manufactured as Plain ware and the percentage probably should be lower than the figure given. However, if all doubtful sherds were discounted, the Plain type would still be the second most abundant type.
Exterior surfaces are rough, according to March's definition of "rough", i.e. the surface irregularities may be easily felt by the fingers and may be seen in strong cross light.\textsuperscript{14} Portions of aplastic are sometimes seen to project through the surface, and slight scraping marks also remain visible on some sherds. In addition, some of this Plain ware seems to be a result of the smoothing over, during manufacture, of an originally Net-Impressed vessel.

Interior surface serrations due to scraping are visible on 16 percent of the sherds. In general the interior is similar in roughness to the exterior surface.

The range of rim form and lip treatment for jars is nearly as great as for the series and the Net-Impressed type. Rounded and notched lips on slightly-flared rims again predominate. Presumably, the jar forms deduced from the large Net-Impressed specimens could be pretty well duplicated by the Plain ware.

As for bowls, every form of rim present in the Net-Impressed type is also represented by Dan River Plain, but the bowl-vessel ratio and emphasis on certain forms of bowls is different. Nearly 20 percent of Plain rim sherds indicate bowl forms and thin lips occur much more frequently than flat lips, the reverse being true for Net-Impressed. In both types the modal treatment is the rounded lip.

Decoration on Plain ware is similar to that for the Series as a whole, the major difference from Net-Impressed being a higher occurrence (percentagewise) of finger-punctuation, with a corresponding lower frequency of other types of punctuation. Fewer combined-element decorations appear, but the occurrence of zoned punctuation is almost twice the percentage for Net-Impressed.

Plate VIII, Figs. a-e illustrate Dan River Plain.

**Minor Types**

The four minor types to be discussed next occur rather rarely compared to the major types described above. With one exception their occurrence throughout the site is more or less uniform, horizontally and vertically, and the paste, decoration, and form characteristics conform in a general way to the Series description. Therefore, despite the low numbers of specimens, they will be considered as actual types, i.e. surface treatment variations within the Dan River Series.

Dan River Corncob-Impressed: Experiments made by Coe confirm that some Eastern Siouan pottery was paddled or rolled with corncobs. ¹⁵ Fewkes' observation of modern Catawba potters supports this conclusion ethnologically: "The impressed variety of decoration is attained by rocking or rolling a corn cob over the surface. Another effect is sometimes produced by rubbing the vessel with a corn cob..."³⁶

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Fig. a–e. Plain.
Fig. g–l. Corncob-Impressed.
Fig. r–v. Cordmarked.
Fig. f. Complicated Stamped.
Fig. m–q. Brushed.
Several archaeologists, however, have failed to recognize the corncob-impressing technique. Holmes illustrates a Corncob-Impressed sherd but attributes the curious marks to the potter's fingernails, an error easy to commit.\textsuperscript{17} Gregorie recognized the use of corncobs but listed a fabric-impressed sherd as "Corn" while failing to recognize the actual corncob markings on other sherds.\textsuperscript{18} A drawing of a corncob sherd from Irene Mound is grouped with illustrations captioned as "Savannah Fine Cordmarked" though it is obviously different from that type.\textsuperscript{19} Another corncob-impressed sherd from the same site was described as "a grit tempered fabric-marked (net) sherd which probably belongs to one of the early complexes."\textsuperscript{20} Even if it were net-impressed it would probably not belong to a complex of much antiquity, and the fact that it is really corncob-impressed certainly marks it as late.

In the Dan River Series 3.6 percent of the sherds are Corncob-Impressed. Many specimens are easily recognizable as examples of the use of corncobs and all were affirmed by taking a positive impression with plasticine. The impressions usually overlap to a considerable extent, and on some sherds the impressions were smeared or partially smoothed.

\textsuperscript{17} Holmes, "Aboriginal Pottery of the Eastern United States," op. cit., Plate CXXXI, Fig. d.
\textsuperscript{18} A. K. Gregorie, "Notes on Sewee Indians and Indian Remains of Christ Church Parish, Charleston County, South Carolina," Charleston Museum, Contributions, V (1925), Plate VI, also see p. 20.
\textsuperscript{19} Joseph Caldwell and Catherine McCann, Irene Mound Site, Chatham County, Georgia (Athens: University of Georgia, 1941), p. 44, Fig. 17, lower right drawing.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid., p. 52, Fig. 24J.
Interior scraping is noted on approximately 16 percent of these sherds, about the same as for Plain ware.

Rim form, lip treatment, vessel form, and decoration fall within the range of the Series, with minor differences in emphasis compared with other types. Flat rims are even rarer than in other types, and on both jars and bowls plain lips predominate over notched lips, while on certain kinds of lips some types of notching do not occur.

Vessel forms are probably less varied and there is some evidence that these vessels tend to be smaller than those finished as Net-Impressed or Plain. The everted bowl, not found in the major types, is represented by one rim sherd.

Decorative elements are limited to the six major kinds found in the series, with a greater percentage of linear punctations, and a lower occurrence of horizontal incising. The single example of combined-element decoration is incised and punctated horizontally, the most frequent combination in the series. One zonal punctated sherd was found.

Combcol-Impressed sherds are shown in Plate VIII, Figs. g-l.

Dan River Cordmarked. This is the fourth most numerous of the Dan River types, representing 2.95 percent of the pottery in the Series. The thickness of the cords with which the malleating paddle was wrapped varies from 1 mm. to 3 mm. Cord impressions are usually vertical on the vessel but may slant in either direction from this orientation. Impressions are usually fairly parallel but are sometimes also overlapped
and criss-crossed to some extent. Serrated interiors occur on 23 percent of the specimens. Decorations fall within the simple design elements common to the Series but a quite different emphasis is noted. Of ten decorated Cordmarked sherds, six are finger-punctuated, mainly of the finger-pinched variety. No combinations of design elements were identified.

The number of different vessels seems somewhat limited. Only two bowl rim sherds were found, one indicating a straight-sided, undecorated bowl with a flat, slant-notched lip, the other an undecorated bowl with everted rim and round, unnotched lip. Jar lips are thin, round, and flat, the emphasis being on thin lips, most of which are notched. A jar form reconstructed from Cordmarked sherds seems to be about 35 cm. in diameter at the lip and about the same in depth. It is decorated with a single band of finger-tip punctations. Plate VIII, Figs. r-v, illustrate the Dan River Cordmarked type.

Dan River Brushed: This type, which is characterized by a serrated exterior, represents slightly over 1.0 percent of the pottery of the Series. While it is rare at Rk1 and even the percentage given here may be too high because some Brushed rim sherds may simply be scraped areas of vessels which are really Net-Impressed, it will be described as a type for comparative purposes, since Brushed types have been described from related Piedmont sites. The scraping marks

run in several directions and overlap to some extent but are chiefly vertical rather than horizontal. Sixty-two percent of all Brushed sherds retain visible horizontal interior strations, a much higher figure than for the Series as a whole or any other Dan River type.

Decorations used on Brushed sherds follow the Series' design frequencies closely. The two major elements of the Series (punctuation and horizontal incising) are identified on two sherds each, while the other decorated sherd is finger punctated, the Series' third major decorative mode.

No bowl rim sherds were found and of eight jar rim sherds, seven have thin lips, six of these being notched. The remaining rim has a flat, slant-notched lip; rounded lips are not present. The type is illustrated in Plate VIII, Figs. m-q.

Dan River Complicated Stamped: Ordinarily the six sherds which are stamped would not be described as a type, but "type" is being used here only in the sense of a surface treatment variation within the Dan River Series. The sherds represent about 36 square inches of a single vessel. The paste is typical of the Series; interior surface is rough but without visible serrations. Temper and hardness are near the averages for the Series, while the color is a bit lighter than is typical but can be matched by other buff-colored Dan River material. Pee Dee Complicated Stamped trade sherds are found at Rk V1 and the Dan River sherds could represent an
attempt to copy a Pee Dee vessel. The crude, large, curvilinear lines, however, tend to mark the prototype as Lamar Complicated Stamped, an influence that is seen on other Piedmont Siouan pottery. The paddle design is not clear at all as the vessel was apparently paddled while the paste was too wet.

**Trade Material**

The trade material found at RkV1 has been identified according to type descriptions developed by Joffre L. Coe as a result of his studies of protohistoric and historic sites in North Carolina and Virginia.

**Pee Dee Complicated Stamped.** This type has been described on the basis of material excavated at a Muskogean temple mound site in Montgomery County, North Carolina.22 Eighteen sherds were found at RkV1, seven in Level One and eleven in the Plowed Level. The paste is hard, compact, and heavily sand-tempered. Exteriors are a reddish brown, interiors very dark brown. Interiors look "floated" and feel pebbly. On all but one sherd the design elements are curvilinear, but none were large enough for observation of a complete design. Rim sherds indicate straight-sided bowls, undecorated.

**Pee Dee Plain:** A single bowl rim sherd of this type was found in the plowed soil. It is readily identifiable on the basis of paste characteristics.

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One round lug made of Pee Dee paste was recovered from the plowed soil but it is not known to what type of vessel it belongs. Presumably it should be related to the numerous stamped sherds.

**Caraway Plain:** Seven sherds of this type were found in the plowed soil, and one in Level One. These examples correspond closely with Coe's description of a very hard, thin, compact, fine sand-tempered ware. interiors and exteriors are well-smoothed and generally buff to light gray in color. Straight and incurved bowls and small, flared-rim jars are indicated by the rim sherds. One rim sherd was decorated by finger-pinching. The Caraway culture has been tentatively assigned to the Keyauwee tribe of Eastern Siouxans.24

**Hillsboro Simple Stamped:** Three sherds of this type described from the Wall Site near Hillsboro, North Carolina, a site assigned to the Occaneechi tribe,25 were found in the Rk 1 plowed soil. The paste is tempered with fine sand and small particles of crushed quartz. One sherd each is reddish, brown, and gray. Interiors are smoothed and sandy. The paddle grooves are 1.5 mm. to 2 mm. wide and 3 mm. to 4 mm. apart on centers. One sherd is overstamped at right angles. Vessel form is not apparent and there are no decorations.

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**Hillsboro Plain**: Two sherds seem to be of the plain-smooth surfaced variant in the Hillsboro Series. The paste is identical to that described for Hillsboro Simple Stamped except that these plain sherds are a light gray to buff color. They are smooth on both surfaces, but not burnished.

**Catawba Burnished**: Thirteen sherds which seem to be trade pieces of Catawba origin were recovered, six from the Plowed Soil and seven from Level One. The paste is very compact. It is probably untempered but some fine sand occurs as accidental inclusions, as does a considerable amount of fine mica. The surfaces of some pieces are so highly burnished that in cross-section the outer surface has almost the appearance of a slip. Inner surfaces are also burnished, although not so highly, and tool marks and scratches are more frequently seen on the interior. Four specimens from the plowed soil are decorated with horizontally incised lines.

**Roanoke Cordmarked**: Two matching pieces of the presumed early Roanoke Cordmarked of southern Virginia were recovered from Level One. The paste is hard, very heavily tempered with sand, with some crushed quartz, and is very micaceous. Color is an almost uniform dark brown. The cord impressions are very clear and parallel, the cord used being 1.5 mm. in diameter and wrapped on the paddle in turns about 4 mm. apart. Interior surface is pebbly. Vessel form could not be ascertained and the sherds were undecorated.

**Miscellaneous Burnished Wares**: Table I, p. 216, shows that 72 smooth to burnished specimens were recovered which could not definitely be assigned either to local manufacture,
Catawba Burnished, Hillsboro Plain, or Caraway Plain. These sherds present a special problem and warrant some discussion.

Of the 72 sherds, 48 were found in the Plowed Level, 16 in Level One, 5 in Level Two, and 3 in the various Features. Paste characteristics vary somewhat and it is probably that pieces manufactured by several different groups are present. The most common paste characteristics are that the ware is fairly compact; contains, in general, a minimum of extraneous aplastic or "temper"; and is mostly fairly thin. Some pieces are almost "chalky" to feel while others approach some Dan River specimens in the amount of aplastic included. A number of these burnished pieces, in fact, appear to have been made from local clays—even to the point of containing one or two small fragments of crushed quartz. Ten such sherds were in the Plowed Level, two in Level One and one in Level Two.

The smoothing or burnishing of the exterior surfaces is well done in some cases and poorer in others, but none approach the degree of burnishing seen on the best Catawba Burnished examples. Interior surfaces are smoothed also, but in most cases they are not quite as smooth as the exteriors. It is interesting to note that of the pieces which may have been made from local clay, on three from the plowed and on the one from Level Two tool marks indicating scraping of the interior surface are still visible, but are faint, having been subsequently fairly well-smoothed over.
Several of the pieces are decorated. Of those from the Plowed Soil, one is punctated and three incised horizontally, one of the latter being of the "local clay" group. In Level One, one sherd was engraved with at least six lines after the vessel had been fired, and one other sherd (of local clay) had been incised horizontally. No specimens from Level Two or the Features were decorated, but a piece from Feature No. 2 is a small fragment of a loop handle which is finely notched transversely at intervals of about one-sixteenth of an inch.

The affiliations of these sherds are difficult to assert specifically, but they can be said in general to represent late Siouan plain wares bearing a strong Catawba influence. Many of the pieces come near to being Catawba or Hillsboro in character. While horizontal lines as a decorative motif are important in Dan River ware, their five-to-one predominance here could be indicative of southern influence. One sherd from Level Two matches almost perfectly two burnished sherds found at the Hillsboro type site, the sherds being of exotic paste there also. Thus a third, as yet unknown, site is indicated as the place of origin of this variation of Siouan plain ware. The small loop handle appears to be of similar paste and may also have come from this hypothesized site.

The thirteen smooth sherds which appear to be of local clay require special attention. As noted above, some of them have rougher interiors than the average burnished sherd, a fact which could indicate that the vessels were
manufactured by Saras. With plain or burnished ware known to be coming to them from at least four southerly sites (Hillsboro, Caraway, Pee Dee, and Catawba) it would be strange if they did not attempt some imitations. The paste, while within the Dan River range, is in what should be regarded as the "late" end of the range, e.g., it is characterized by less quartz, smaller quartz fragments when it does occur, and a higher sand-to-quartz ratio. Thus, there are at least three possibilities, (1) that the ware was made in the latter part of the main Sara occupation; (2) that it was made by Sara "stragglers" who lingered behind after the main southward migration; (3) that transient Siouan units may have used the site after the Sara left. At a supposedly Sara site upriver from Rk1 what appears to be later Dan River ware occurs, and some of this Rk2 ware bears similarities to the smoothed ware of Rk1.

Small Stone Artifacts

From the excavated portion of Rk1 199 small stone artifacts were recovered. Of these at least 120 can probably be assigned to Sara manufacture at the site, the rest being either trade objects, artifacts definitely earlier in time, or unfinished artifacts of uncertain cultural affiliation. The small stone objects generally fall into the use-classification of projectile points, drills, scrapers, and gravers.
**Projectile Points:** When the 166 points were laid out, it was apparent at a glance that the majority were rather small, flat, triangles. These were ranged in various series according to size, form, and technique, and by this means it was possible to arrive at a fairly objective picture of the ideal pattern for the locally-made point. A series of 109 points seemed to fall within a restricted range of basal width, length, and form variation. These are the basis for the following type description of the Dan River Triangular projectile point. Bases range from 1.2 cm. to 2.0 cm. wide, the modal measurement being about 1.5 cm. Length ranges from 2.3 cm. to 3.4 cm., with the mode again toward the smaller end of the scale at about 2.7 cm. Points with the same basal measurement may vary considerably as to length. Bases are straight to slightly concave. Better-made points with flakes taken off very evenly, resulting in a finely serrated appearance, appear to be straight to just slightly concave on the sides; while poorly-made points showing flake scars of unequal size appear to be the only ones which tend to have convex sides. Presumably then, the mental pattern of what the ideal point should look like included straight, evenly-flaked sides; a small base, also straight; and a length almost twice the basal measurement.

While this appears to be the type of point that is associated in space, time, and culture with Dan River pottery types, several other kinds of points were found at the site. Some of these are probably of the same time horizon.
and at other sites will be associated with certain other pottery series. Seventeen points at the site appear to be of the type Caraway Triangular. In general form and technology they are similar to the type Dan River Triangular. However, their size is significantly greater and distinguishes them from the latter type. At Rk^1 the points considered to be Caraway average over two centimeters in width at the base, ranging from 2.0 cm. to 2.4 cm. The only near-whole specimen at the site would be well over 4 cm. in length, and some of the broken specimens would be even larger, judging from their greater width. There is a problem in methodology here in that, if the Caraway Triangular Type had not been previously described, these points would probably have been considered as Dan River, and when ranged with the others, they could form a logical continuum, increasing the range of variation for the Dan River type. Impressionistically, however, there seems to be a certain break between the two types, as represented at this one site; and the fact that 109 points fall within a range between 1.2 cm. and 2.0 cm. in width, while the 17 points considered Caraway range from 2.0 cm. to 2.4 cm. in width, would seem to bear out the impression. What is apparent, of course, is that the two types overlap, and only the extremes are separable with certainty. This would indicate that we are dealing with what is probably a larger

Siouan point pattern of a flat, triangular point, the Sara expression of the pattern tending toward the smaller mean, the Caraway expression tending to be somewhat larger. At the lower end of the Sara (Dan River) range the points are difficult to separate from the upper extreme of the Clarksville Focus point type. The two small nearly-equilateral points found at Hk 1 may thus be Clarksville (early Occaneecchi) trade points, or small Dan River points, made in that form and size due to Clarksville Occaneecchi or later Hillsboro Occaneecchi influence, but still an expression of the over-all Siouan point pattern. 26

The depth distribution of the Dan River Triangular points was: Plowed Level, 81; Level One, 18, Level Two, 9; with one found in Feature No. 1. Sixteen of the Caraway type points were in the Plowed Level, the same level in which most Caraway trade sherds were found; the other one was in Level One. The two small equilateral points, typical of the Occaneecchi culture at both the 1650 and the 1700 time horizon were would in Level Two and the Plowed Level.

In Plate IX, Fig. a consists of Dan River Triangular points, Fig. b of Caraway Triangular, and Fig. c is an Occaneecchi-like equilateral triangular.

Two additional forms of late-culture trade points, were found, both assignable to the Pee Dee Triangular type, were found in Level One (two points) and in Level Two (one

Fig. a. Dan River Triangular.
Fig. b. Caraway Triangular.
Fig. c. Pee Dee Pentagonal.
Fig. d. Pee Dee Triangular.
Fig. e. Equilateral point.
Fig. f. Drills.
Fig. g. Graver.
Fig. h. Scraper.
Fig. i. Guilford point.
Fig. j. Savannah River.
Fig. k. Badin point.
Fig. l. Knife (?)
The great side concavity near the base causes the sides to be nearly parallel for some distance, and on one specimen the tip was made by abruptly bringing the sides in to a point, with the result that the point really has five sides (Plate IX, Fig. d). Four broken points have been tentatively assigned to the type Pec De Pentagonal. Each is a basal fragment, and the nearly-right-angle corners and parallel sides indicate that the points may have been pentagonal rather than triangular. On the best example, four sides can be seen, but the incompleteness of the specimen may still allow for some doubt. All were recovered from the plowed soil (Plate IX, Fig. e).

In addition, a number of larger points, some of which can be assigned to known archaeological cultures, were found. Finds on the surface include one complete specimen of a point characteristic of the early Guilford culture (Plate IX, Fig. i); one which is less Guilford-like but could be assigned to that culture; one small stemmed point; a corner-notched point; and two crude triangular points of unknown affiliation.

The plowed soil contained twelve such points. One (Plate IX, Fig. j) has the square stem characteristic of points found at Stallings Island, Georgia (Savannah River Culture); one other is a small side-notched point of quartz; and Plate 55, Figs. g, h, i, k, l.

27. Ibid.
one is a small, stemmed point; seven are triangular points larger and/or cruder than Dan River or Caraway; and three are fragments of larger points of unknown form. Level One contained one tanged point which is of a type assigned to the Badin culture (Plate IX, Fig. k); one small point is side-notched; one large triangular point; and three large, crude triangulars. From Level Two one point is probably assignable to the Savannah River Culture; one is a small corner-notched point; and one is a small, crude triangle. Feature No. 2 contained a leaf-shaped point.

The presence of these various points could be due to many agents, both human and natural. Post-hole or pit-digging operations could bring up early points which would then be strewn on the surface of the occupation level of the diggers. The presence of a number of early points seems to be a characteristic of most Siouan sites thus far excavated.

Drills: Eleven chipped stone artifacts which may be classed as drills were recovered. Ten of these exhibit a basic uniformity and will be considered cultural products of the Sara at Dan River; they are rather small, some not much larger than a Dan River projectile point, and are characterized by fine flaking like that found on Dan River points. The bases are thick and poorly worked as a rule, but two of the drills may have been worked down from projectile points since their bases are finely flaked. The

eleventh drill is much larger, does not have the fine, long, thin drill point of the Dan River type drills, and in general lacks the fine secondary flaking of the local Sara drill. It is probably associated culturally with one of the older point types found at the site. It was found in the Plowed Level. The depth distribution of the Dan River drills was: Plowed Level, 7; Level One, 2. None were found in Level Two, but one very good specimen was found in Feature No. 2. Several drills are illustrated in Plate IX, Fig. f.

**Scrapers:** A number of partially-flaked objects were found which may have been used as scraping tools. They are characterized by their small size and by the presence of small, apparently man-made, flake scars on one or both surfaces of one or more sides of the chip. Beyond this there seems to be no definite pattern. One small specimen is unevenly serrated along one edge and may have been a special tool. Another well-chipped scraper is the only clear-quarts artifact found at the site. The distribution of scrapers was: Plowed Level, 12; Level One, 5; Level Two, 2; Feature No. 4, 1. An example is seen in Plate IX, Fig. h.

**Gravers:** One well-made graving tool was recovered from the plowed soil. It is characterized by fine flaking, symmetrical form, and a small engraving-tit; and is probably a product of the Sara occupation (Plate IX, Fig. g).

**Knives:** One blade which may be a Dan River cutting-tool is shown in Plate IX, Fig. l. It is made of the most commonly used stone used to make Dan River chipped-stone
artifacts and has fine secondary flaking on all edges. While it could be an early blade or point, it is technologically Dan River. Furthermore, even if it is not of Sara manufacture that would not eliminate the possibility that the Sara utilized it.

**European Stone Objects:** One small stone found in the plowed soil as a gun-flint of the type used in early European muskets. The type of stone does not occur in other artifacts or chips from the site and may be European flint, probably English.

**Large Stone Artifacts**

**Chipped Stone:** Six chipped-stone chopping tools were recovered at RKV. Four of these celt-shaped blades were found on the surface and two in Level One. All are shown in Plate X.

**Fig. g:** This large celt weights 27 ounces and is the only cutting tool heavy enough to be of much use in timber-felling. A groove-like indentation appears on one side, but it is clearly due to a natural fault in the stone. Either end could have been used as the cutting edge and both show signs of wear.

**Fig. j:** This figure illustrates a large blade of curious shape. It was made of slate and weighs only 12 ounces. It is very crudely chipped and the edges are broken in places, possibly through use. In general appearance the tool seems hoe-like, but soil-polish is not evident.
Fig. h. This crude celt shows a minimum of deliberate chipping, just enough to put a cutting edge on the bit and one side (the left side in the figure). The hoe weighs 9 ounces. Slight soil-polish may be seen on part of the edge and face.

Fig. d and c. These two small celts are very similar to each other in size and form. The one shown in Fig. d was a surface find, and that in Fig. e was found in Level One three feet north of stake 1540, near several features which appear to be refuse pits within a clay-floored house. This suggests that the celt may have been the tool used for digging pits, or for other domestic labor. The surface celt weighs 5.5 ounces, the other weighs under 4 ounces. The light weight of these celts would seem to eliminate the possibility that they could have been used for felling trees. Probably the only celt at Rkvl large enough for timber-cutting is the one shown in Fig. g, weight being seemingly more important than sharpness for efficient cutting.30

Fig. i. The last celt to be described is an incomplete specimen from Level One, Square 35, an area of many postholes—suggesting that it may have been used to dig these and other holes. The preserved portion weighs 7.5 ounces. The original tool might possibly have been heavy enough for timber-cutting. The small end, whether poll or bit, is much battered. This

end and the sides as well appear somewhat soil-polished.

**Abraded Stone:** No pecked-and-polished celts were found, but three partially abraded objects are possibly discoidals, the fourth probably a hammerstone.

**Fig. b.** This artifact recovered from Level One, Square 25L35 (the house area) appears to be a small hammerstone. However, it had been worked with so much, or worked on to the extent, that it may be called with equal accuracy an unfinished discoidal. The lower surface is slightly concave and pebble-smooth, the upper is convex and pecked fairly completely. The rounded edges are rough but were pecked to a certain extent. Its location may indicate that it was a tool of the domestic establishment.

**Fig. a.** This large altered pebble may have been used as a hammerstone or grinding tool. It was found in Level One of Square 25L25 (within the house area). A large part of the surface appears to be merely water-worn, but a broken area on one edge appears to have been pitted by hammering and a part of the upper convex surface shows pecking marks. It may also have been a domestic utensil.

**Fig. f.** A small, crudely-polished discoidal was found in the plowed soil. It could have been a "chunkee-stone."

**Fig. c.** This thin, broken, stone artifact has water-worn flat surfaces, but ground edges, and was recovered from the plowed soil.
Smoking Pipes

Both clay and polished stone pipes were found at FkVl. Several of the clay specimens are complete, others are fragments large enough to give a good idea of general form, and other specimens are small fragments of stems and bowls. Illustrations of the better pipe specimens may be seen in Plate XI.

Fig. d: This specimen is a large tubular pipe with an anthropomorphic figure engraved on it. The figure is a crude line drawing with short, bent legs; a large phallus (or two?); and long, widespread fingers. The pipe itself is well-burnished on the exterior surface, but very rough on the interior. The paste is typical of Dan River ware, containing large amounts of crushed quartz and sand. The bowl is deep and almost an inch wide at its maximum width, but the 2½-inch, hollow smoke-tube is only about 1/8 inch in diameter. As in most other specimens the smoke-tube is off center.

Fig. g: This restored, bent tubular pipe was found in Feature No. 4, a refuse deposit in or near the house. The bowl is one inch deep and very conical, and the narrow smoke-tube is off-center toward the top of the stem. The outstanding feature of the pipe is a large keel or flange which hangs down from the stem. It is fairly rough and pebbly, and the paste does not seem to be of Dan River character.
PLATE XI

CLAY SMOKING PIPES, Rk V I
Fig. a: This restored specimen was found in Level One of Square 20L25. It is a slightly curved tubular pipe of Dan River paste and has a fairly smooth exterior surface. It tapers gradually with no evidence of a bulge at the bowl. The smoke tube is 1/8 inch in diameter and is on-center.

Fig. f: This thirty-degree-bend tubular pipe was recovered from Level One in Square 15L10, at least ten feet east of the house. The bowl exterior is slightly enlarged in the middle, with the oral opening then slightly constricted. The bowl interior is over 1 3/4 inches deep, the sides being straight well over half the depth. The smoke tube enters the bowl at an angle on the upper side and is off-center toward the top. The exterior surface is fairly well burnished.

Fig. b: This punctate-decorated pipe was found in Level One of the house area, Square 15L25. Although it is a bent tubular pipe, basically, the design is quite different from others of that form. The bottom of the stem and forward part of the bowl are rounded, but from a median point on each side, more or less flat planes converge to form a right angle at the top of the stem and the back surface of the bowl exterior. These planes are covered with small, evenly-spaced punctations. In addition there is a row of punctations on each side of the pipe on the rounded convex surface just below the median line. The paste contains some crushed quartz and the pipe could be a local product. This investigator could
find no parallels for the design; but Griffin mentions the use of punctations on the bowl of a clay pipe from the Anderson Focus of the Fort Ancient Aspect.\textsuperscript{31} Clay pipes of any sort were rare at Fort Ancient sites.

Fig. c: This short (2\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches), straight, tubular pipe was recovered from Level One in the House area. It has a slight bulge at the base of the bowl, with a somewhat constricted oral opening. The stem is ovoid with a smoke-tube nearly on-center. The exterior surface is fairly well smoothed and the paste is very good Dan River.

Fig. e: This bowl segment of a small, straight tubular pipe has a roughly smoothed exterior surface, round stem, and off-center smoke tube.

Besides these complete or nearly complete clay pipes, several fragments were found. Two are round, straight, stem-ends with off-center smoke tubes; the exterior surface of one being roughly smoothed, the other well-smoothed; the paste is good Dan River.

One fragment is a short piece from the mid-part of a straight, round stem. It is of Dan River paste, has an off-center, narrow tube, and the exterior is fairly smooth. Another fragment is about a one inch segment of a small diameter, straight, round stem with a comparatively large smoke tube nearly on center. The stem-wall is rather thin,

the thinnest of all the specimens. The exterior surface is marked by red and black firing-clouds; the paste is somewhat more compact than typical Dan River paste, and seems to lack quartz temper. This fragment probably represents an exotic pipe at this site.

A one-inch section of a flattened ovoid stem occurs in the collection. The paste is heavily sand-tempered and compact and probably is not a local product. At the larger end the fragment is five-eighths of an inch wide and five-sixteenths of an inch high. The narrow smoke tube is within one-sixteenths of an inch of the upper surface. This pipe is also probably a trade item.

The small fragments are broken sections of straight stems. One of these may be of Pee Dee paste but no definite conclusion can be made on the basis of such a small specimen. A fragment of a stem end indicates a large ovoid stem, with a large ovoid smoke-tube. The paste seems more compact than Dan River paste.

Two small fragments of a thin bowl appear to be of a paste similar to some of the smooth potsherds found at the site. Though the two pieces are almost identical to each other in color, paste, exterior smoothness, interior roughness, thickness, and curvature, they were found almost ten feet apart in different levels and probably represent two different exotic pipes.

The final pipe fragment to be described is a section of bowl which is identical to the pipe illustrated
in Fig. f, in paste, color, texture, curvature, and thickness, and thus probably represents a similar pipe of local manufacture.

In summary, then, there are fragments or whole specimens of at least ten pipes which seem to be of local manufacture and may be assigned to the Sara occupation. Of these two are bent tubular pipes, a third is most probably of this form, four are straight tubes, and three stem fragments could be from either straight or bent pipes. The bent pipes are of two kinds, and the straight pipes take at least three different forms. The only form which seems to occur more than once and which might, therefore, represent a pattern or pipe type, is the thirty-degree-bend pipe which is smooth, round in cross-section at any point; with off-center, narrow smoke tube. It is the type described and illustrated as Fig. f and is represented only by the complete specimen shown and by the bowl fragment which appears to have identical characteristics.

The two small tubular pipes with slightly expanded bowls differ mainly in that one (Fig. c) has a slightly ovoid stem with on-center smoke tube, while the other (Fig. e) is round in cross-section and has a narrower, off-center smoke tube. The other larger tubular pipes both differ from these and from each other and there appears to be no "ideal pattern" for tubular pipes except that they fall within a range of slightly ovoid to round cross-section; roughly-smoothed to
burnished exterior surface; (usually) a narrow, off-center smoke tube; and no decoration.

The punctation-decorated pipe is unlike the above-described common characteristics in most respects, but must be considered a local product because the paste, thirty-degree-bend form, and off-center smoke-tube seem to be Dan River characteristics; and because the decoration is a Dan River ceramic trait. The chief reason for its inclusion is, of course, the paste.

Besides these locally-made pipes there appear to be several exotic specimens. All must be tentatively classified as of unknown cultural affiliation, but two will probably be associated with the chalky, reddish, burnished pottery found to be exotic at Rh1, and one may be a Pee Dee pipe fragment.

Two fragments of stone pipes were found. One piece is about one-fourth of a bowl made of dark soapstone. Indications are that the bowl was about an inch in diameter at the outer edge of the lip. It may be part of a platform pipe but the ultimate form cannot be ascertained from this small fragment. The other fragment, from a different pipe, is the bit end of a triangular stem. The mineral used is a lighter, softer soapstone than the above bowl fragment was carved from. Both were well polished.

Shell Artifacts

Only three shell artifacts were recovered. Two of these are small Marginella shells perforated for stringing. The third is a small serrated-edge tool made from local fresh-
water mussel shell. It is about one inch long, about five-sixteenths inches wide at the base, with sides flaring outward so that the serrated end is about five-eighths of an inch wide. This curved end has ten notches cut in it, forming an evenly-serrated tool. It could have been used as a scraper in pottery making, thus accounting for the even serrations found on many interiors and some exteriors of Dan River pottery.

Bone Artifacts

A considerable number of bone artifacts were recovered and some are illustrated in Plate XII. Most of these could be classified as awls, usable either in sewing or net-making. Nine are cut-down deer ulnae with points of various lengths (Fig. a). Four awls seem to be made of turkey metatarsals, the longest specimen of which has two series of notches cut in the upper part of the shank (Fig. b). At least three other types of bones are represented in the awl collection, but are as yet unidentified. Numerous sharpened bone fragments could have been either awls or needles. Some of these may also have been made from turkey metatarsals (Fig. d).

Two bone fishhooks were recovered but are no longer available for study. One bone, however, was in the process of being cut down to form a fishhook, the technique being to work the hook almost to completion while it was still part of a convenient bone shaft handle. When the shank
PLATE XII
BONE AND HORN ARTIFACTS, RKV1

Fig. a-c. Awls.
Fig. e. Weaving Tool.
Fig. g. Antler Flaking Tools.
Fig. h. Antler Projectile Point.
Fig. i. Bird Bone Pendants.
of the hook and the hook itself were completed, the artifact was cut away from its handle. Several such discarded "handles" were found, showing where the hook had been cut off when completed. Fig. 1 shows a bone which was being made into a fishhook.

One five-inch-long bone artifact has been worked on all surfaces and is somewhat spatulate on both ends (Fig. 6). Several small objects of doubtful utility show signs of having been cut with some tool.

One complete turtle shell cup was found, as well as most of another and parts of three more. These carapaces are marked as artifacts by the fact that the natural protruberances have been cut away; this includes evidence of some attempt to cut down the longitudinal bony ridge inside the upper part of the shell.

Numerous bone ornaments were also recovered. One of these is a bone almost four inches long which had been drilled completely through, presumably so it could be hung as a pendant. The hole was cut rather than drilled in the true sense of the word. A half-inch segment of bird bone was cut at each end and smoothed into an acceptable bead. Thirteen small bird phalanges had holes drilled in them, probably so they could be strung (Fig. 1). Three of these were found in one square (Level Two), and two in another (Level One), which may indicate that several on them were strung together as a single ornament.
Horn Artifacts

One antler arrow point and three antler tools were recovered. The point is two inches long. The transverse cut is clear, as well as the longitudinal scraping. The hole in the base is one-half inch long and conical (Plate XII, Fig. h). One of the antler tools is almost four inches long and has a blunt end. The others are shorter and have sharp ends which show signs of wear as well as of sharpening. They were probably used as stone flaking tools (Fig. g).

Miscellaneous Artifacts

Three small clay objects have not been described elsewhere. One of these is a pottery disc made from a piece of a net-impressed vessel with interior scraping. The edges are very poorly ground but the piece is worked enough to show that it is not simply a sherd. It could have been rolled as a chunkee stone. Another reworked potsherd, also net-impressed, has two well-ground straight edges which meet at a forty-five degree angle. About an inch and a half back from this point the object, whatever it represents, is broken off and the complete form is unknown.

A third object is a small bit of fairly smooth, fired clay bluntly conical in shape and round. It looks like the end of a coil produced by a potter while making pottery, but seems to have been fired as good as any piece of Dan River pottery. It may have been part of a modelling attempt.

One hand-forged iron nail was found in the plowed soil but whether it was deposited during the Sara occupation or later is an unanswerable question.
Animal Refuse

Fresh Water Fauna -- Quantities of shells of fresh water mussels and fresh water snails of several species were recovered from RkV1. Most of those found were in refuse pits along with other refuse, pottery fragments, and other materials. Of the small mussel shells 30.1 ounces were found in pits, 6.1 ounces in Level Two, 14.05 ounces in Level One, and 1.6 ounces in the Plowed Soil, for a total of 52.35 ounces, representing hundreds of animals. The distribution by levels means little, since plowing and weathering of the top soil had long since destroyed most of the specimens that were aboriginally deposited in that layer. The various species of snail were found mainly in refuse pits - 32.5 ounces in pits, and 11.25 ounces in the various layers. One refuse pit contained well over 2,000 snail shells and 160 pieces of mussel shell. The assumption is that these animals were used for food, the discarded shells being buried deliberately in or near the domestic establishment.

One vertebra of a fresh water fish was found in the Plowed Level.

Land Fauna -- The land species represented by the recovered bones have not been yet identified by a specialist in comparative zoology. However, preliminary inspection shows the presence of deer, beaver, otter, fox, raccoon, box-turtle, and turkey and other birds. Large land animals, such as bear, buffalo and elk, are noticeably absent.
CHAPTER V

ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORY

In 1938 Dr. John R. Swanton prepared a sketch map of the place he believed to have been the location of the "Xualla" site seen by De Soto and his men in 1540. ¹ Coe examined this site, and others in the area. The pottery recovered there seems to be more closely connected with a northern Georgia Lamar ceramic tradition than with any other known ware. With what is known about Sara ceramics at the 1650 time horizon, and armed with well-justified conjectures that it represents an outgrowth of a Carolina-Virginia "Uwharrie" tradition, one can state categorically that this site cannot be assigned to the Sara tribe of 1540. This immediately opens two possibilities. Either De Soto saw a tribe at the place Swanton believes he did, and this tribe was not the Sara; or he saw the Sara at a place quite removed from the place described by Swanton. The linguistic evidence, based as it is on what are believed to be different spellings of a single word, is shaky enough for one to doubt if De Soto's "Xualla" is really the same tribe as the "Sara", "Sauro", and "Cheraw" of later writers. Probably it will never be known whether the early Spaniards

¹ Personal Communication from Dr. John R. Swanton to Mr. Joffre L. Coe, 1938.
really met the Sara, but one thing is certain -- if ceramic traditions mean anything -- that they were not at the site ascribed them by Swanton. Furthermore, it can be conjectured that they were probably some distance from the producers of Lamar-type pottery, and at the same time well within the Uwharrie ceramic area. This would tend to place them at least in North Carolina rather than South Carolina, at a position east of the mountains. The known distribution of Uwharrie pottery shows its westward limits to be the headwaters of the Catawba and Yadkin Rivers up to the foothills of the mountains. The southern limit seems, on the basis of present knowledge, to be about the fall-line of the same rivers. It may be safely assumed that the Sara developed their ceramic tradition within these limits, and that no sixteenth-century Sara village is to be found farther up in the mountains or very much south of the latitude of Asheville.

It is pertinent to note here that the Catawba, who lived below the Catawba River fall-line, very early lost their Uwharrie ceramic traits to an overwhelming Lamar influence, and display this affinity up to the present day. This change from the Uwharrie to the Lamar tradition in Catawba pottery probably began in the early sixteenth century, long before Lamar influence was felt on the ceramics of the Piedmont tribes above the falls of the great rivers, for they, especially the Sara, give clear evidence of a longer development within the Uwharrie ceramic tradition. Later, as northerly tribes moved southward; e.g., Saponi, Tutelo, Occaneechi; or more
southerly tribes, e.g., the Keyauwee, remained near the Catawba; their ceramics took on Catawba-Lamar characteristics over the Uwharrie "sub-stratum."

The area east of Swannanoa Gap and northward around the headwaters of the Catawba River, therefore, is the best place to look for the early Saura occupation. If the Spanish sources are correct, such a site should be marked by sixteenth century Spanish trade goods, with evidence of Spanish fort occupation nearby. The pottery should be late Uwharrie. Such a site has not been found and the possibility of finding it is exceedingly small.

Moving eastward geographically and upward temporally, there the problem of the Saura location at the 1670 time horizon. Mooney's and Swanton's guesses placing them well in the west near Swannanoa Gap at this late date are completely out of accord with the Dan River ceramic evidence. Others have guessed at a Yadkin River location, Rights going so far as to state that the southward-moving Saponi occupied the Trading Ford location previously vacated by the Saura.2 Archaeological excavations at a river-side site in this vicinity, however, reveal pottery which is a direct developmental descendant of ware found on the Roanoke River island inhabited by the Saponi before their southward move, thus marking this as the Saponi site of Right's reference. However, excavations revealed no underlying stratum of material which could be assigned to a Saura occupation, and surveys in the area

reveal only classic Uwharrie material.

As noted in Chapter II (p. 25) the occurrence of the name Sara (or its equivalents) in the Needham and Arthur account points to a Sara occupation near the Yadkin at some time, but does not necessarily mean the main body of Sara were still there in 1673. On the contrary, the cultural materials recovered at the Sara's Dan River site indicate that they were probably there in strength by about 1650, which fits with the evidence found by Byrd that traders visited them there as early as 1673. This archaeological evidence consists in part in the depth of the occupation layer bearing Dan River pottery, the deposit being thicker than for any other known historic Siouan site. Ceramic evidence is provided by the fact that this pottery is "older", i.e., closer to the Uwharrie tradition, than the pottery of the later known Siouan sites, and the lack of Lamar-like characteristics shows that the Sara were not the recipients of any strong Catawba influence. The Saponi material found on the Yadkin, dating from 1673 to 1701, does show considerable Catawba-Lamar characteristics. If the Sara had tarried late in the south, their ceramics would have also reflected this influence. In fact, Sara pottery shows so little Catawba influence that it is possible the tribe never lived south of the upper Yadkin drainage before settling on the Dan.

There is little doubt that the site excavated on the Dan River represents the Sara village. The references to Sara habitation in the vicinity are quite clear, and the site
itself can be found simply by following Byrd's travel account and his description of the field he thought to be the former Sara village. Other sites in the area need excavating both to show possible changes in Sara culture, and to shed light on the date of their removal from the Dan River.

The various trade types found at Rk\(^1\) yield evidence on the dating of the Dan River site and also on the dating of the sites from which the pieces may have come. The presence of Pee Dee material in two levels of this site and of Sara trade material in at least one Pee Dee site, tend to indicate a somewhat extended contemporaneity. This would seem to have at least two effects on present theories as to the dates of the two sites. First, it would support the view held in the foregoing discussion of the 1670 location of the Sara, i.e., that the Sara were well-established on the Dan by 1670 and earlier. Secondly, the facts tend to show that the Muskogean bearers of the Pee Dee archaeological culture in North Carolina stayed in this state beyond their previously estimated 1650 departure. The evidence suggests that they were still in residence as late as 1675, and possibly later. There is the possibility that the southward-moving Sicuan tribes did not simply occupy a vacuum in the Pee Dee valley, but were active agents in removing the Muskogean inhabitants, and this movement did not carry far enough south to affect the latter until the early eighteenth century.

The presence of Occaneechi material and influences from both their Clarksville and Hillsboro loci shows a long contemporaneity with that tribe. Clarksville and Dan River
material show considerable evidence of reciprocal influences, operating through time. The situation at Hillsboro is not yet clear. Uwharrie and Dan River-like materials found there may indicate an actual early Sera occupation of the site for a short time. Material found at Mason Farm in Chapel Hill is Net-Impressed, and illustrates the wide influence of Dan River-type ceramics.

The absence of Pee Dee pottery at the Hillsboro site could indicate that the Pee Dee culture-bearers left their southern North Carolina sites before the arrival of the Occaneechi at Hillsboro, and this is not in disagreement with the suggested 1675 departure date of the Pee Dee culture. The Occaneechi could have moved southward some years before 1700, in the 1680's or 1690's. They continued many of their northern ceramic traits but quickly adopted southern-tradition stamping techniques.

Caraway series trade sherds (Keyauwee tribe) were found at Rkv1 in some numbers, but no Dan River sherds have been found thus far at the Caraway type site. This site has been dated at 1701 also, on the basis of Lawson's visit at that time, but the presence of Pee Dee trade sherds there should call for moving the beginning date back to sometime before 1675. The fact that the Caraway series is characterized by a greater amount of plain, net impressed, brushed, cord-marked, and corncob impressed surface finish than are the Hillsboro or Linwood (Saponi tribe) series places the site closer in ceramics, and therefore also closer in time, to the Sera of Dan River.
The Catawba sherds found at RkV1 could have come at almost any time during the occupation of the site and their presence does not seem to offer any clues to the dating of RkV1 since essentially the same kind of pottery has been made by the Catawbas since before the Sara's removal from the Dan River up to the present day. If Catawba sites are excavated in the future, however, the finding of Dan River trade material could help date the sites.

The two pieces of Roanoke Cordmarked found at RkV1 must be presumed to be associated with some of the early points from the site. This pottery type has been identified as characteristic of the Middle Woodland period in Virginia, and is unrelated to the Siouan wares present at RkV1.

The possibility that the Sara and other peoples of the area maintained trade connections with, or were at least in some way influenced by, culture of the Ohio Valley is suggested by several points of evidence. The strap handles found at RkV1 (Plate V, Fig. hh, p. 231), have no parallel among other excavated Eastern Siouan sites in this region, but many sites in the Fort Ancient archaeological culture of the Ohio Valley yield similar strap handles. James B. Griffin illustrates many strap handles; some are not incised as is the RkV1 handle but many are so treated. In his Plate IV, Figures 2 and 6 show decorated handles from the Baum Component that are quite similar to the Sara Specimen. Plate VIII, Fig. 9 is also very similar but has two "ears" projecting

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above the lip; but otherwise the shape and markings are even closer to the Sara than the sherds indicated by the illustrations in Plate IV.

It would be tedious to list all the plates that illustrate strap handles from no less than seventeen Components of the Fort Ancient Aspect. The heaviest concentration of strap handles seems to be at the Madisonville Component, where four rather thin and elongated handles are usually attached to each vessel. Fox Farm Component, in Kentucky near the Kanawha River, is also apparently a strong strap handle site.

In addition to the Ohio and Kentucky sites, Griffin illustrates strap handles from West Virginia (Plates CXXII, CXXIV, CXXVI); Tennessee (Plates CXXIX, CXXX, and CXXXI); Illinois (Plate CXL); Wisconsin (Plates CXLII and CXLIII); and from Iowa (Plates CXLIII and CXLIV).

Of all the handles illustrated, the example which appears to be the most like the Sara specimen in size and shape is one from the Turpin Component in Ohio (Plate LXXXIII), while the example whose markings are most identical is the "eared" specimen from the Baum Component (Plate VIII, Fig. 9).

In this connection it is interesting to note that Holmes\(^4\) and Strong\(^5\) have illustrated strap handles from Nebraska which are also similar to the one from Rkv\(^7\). Holmes' example, the third sherd from the top on the right side of Plate CLXXVII ("Pottery from a Pawnee Village Site, Nebraska")


is very much like the Sara specimen, as is Strong's example in Plate II, Fig. g (left), from the Schuyler site in Colfax County, Nebraska.

The evidence, then, seems to indicate the Ohio Valley, and especially the lower part of Ohio state as the center of strap-handle influence at an historic time horizon, this influence being felt in all directions, as far west as Nebraska, north to Wisconsin, south to Tennessee, and east to Virginia and northern North Carolina.

This does not mean, of course, that there were Siouan-speaking peoples all through this area, from the Eastern Siouan Sara, through the Ohio Valley, to the plains Siouans in the west. Swanton has attempted in several publications to make a case for a Siouan occupation of the Ohio Valley region in proto-historic and early historic times. He first suggested that there were strong indications that the Middle West between the Great Lakes and Ohio was occupied by Siouan tribes in "almost historic" times, which would equate them with the Fort Ancient archaeological culture. Later, he felt he could prove that the homeland of the Quapaw, Osage, Ofo (Mosopelea), Biloxi and Tutelo was, "in the region of the Fort Ancient culture," and also, from the legends, that, "The movements of several others (Siouan tribes) were distinctly away from that region." He further identified the Mosopelea

as the occupants of the historic Madisonville site in southern Ohio, on the Little Miami River. Now this hypothesis would fit nicely into the picture except for several flaws of evidence and logic. Logically, if the Ohio Valley is to be considered as the ancestral homeland from which the Plains Siouans went west, the Virginia and North Carolina Siouans eastward, and the Mississippi Siouans southward, the Siouan occupation in Ohio would have to be earlier than the known Siouan occupations outside Ohio. Siouans in the east are dated as far back as 1540, according to the evidence deduced from the writings of the chronclers of DeSoto, but Swanton's Siouan occupation is at a later historic horizon, the latter half of the seventeenth century. Presumably, if the Ohio region were the Siouan homeland, the same forces which caused the bulk of the tribes to move out would cause all the tribes to leave.

Flaws in the evidence itself have been pointed out by Griffin in several writings. The contention that the Tutelo lived on the Big Sandy River because it appears on eighteenth century maps as the "Totteroy" is contrary to evidence which places them on islands of the Roanoke River. Griffin concludes on this point that:

It is more than likely the Totteroy name was applied to the Big Sandy because it offered a route by which tribes in the Ohio Valley and the Iroquois could contact the Tutelo. There is no historic evidence that the Tutelo ever lived on the stream, at any time.  

The controversy on the Mosopelea occupation of
the Madisonville site, thoroughly discussed by Griffin in The
Fort Ancient Aspect seems to be resolved somewhat as follows:
(1) there is very little real evidence of the existence of
the Mosopelea tribe, and the evidence, when evaluated, places
them well down the Mississippi; (2) there is only very tenuous
evidence that the Mosopelea were Siouan, i.e., the statement
by a single informant -- from whom Swanton obtained a Siouan
word list--that she was an Ofo; and (3) there is no archaeo-
logical evidence that would equate the Mosopelea with any
Fort Ancient site.

The problem of what group is responsible for the Fort
Ancient cultural manifestations is beyond the scope of the
present work, but as Griffin has said:

The question of the ethnological affiliations of the
Fort Ancient Aspect is an extremely important one
from the standpoint of the historical reconstruction
of the tribal and cultural movements in the eastern
part of the United States.10

Besides the claims for a Siouan occupation in historic Ohio,
claims have been made for Algonkian, Iroquoian, and Muskogean
occupation. However, it is doubtful that any asserted associa-
tion between an historic tribe or group and the Fort Ancient
archaeological culture can be proven to the satisfaction of
all the authorities. If this be true it should be even more
difficult to show that the Ohio area was the ancestral home-
land and area of dispersal for the Siouan-speaking groups.

10. Ibid., p. 12.
Despite the lack of evidence, however, the hypothesis that the Ohio Valley was occupied by Siouans prior to the occupation by the group which left the Fort Ancient remains has not been disproven. As Griffin has indicated, what is necessary is to compare material from known early Siouan sites with Ohio Valley material, "to discover if there is archaeological material in the Ohio Valley at the correct time horizon which would indicate a genetic connection to the remains of the dispersed Siouan tribes." Continuing, Griffin states, "I venture to predict that such a search will be unsuccessful." 11

According to the present state of archaeological knowledge, for North Carolina such comparisons would involve the Uwharrie archaeological culture, believed to be the forerunner of Siouan culture in this area. 12

It may seem inconsistent now to continue with the discussion of Sara-Fort Ancient ceramic similarities, but it must be remembered that unrelated peoples may be in trade with each other, and may have similar cultures, and that linguistic relationship does not necessarily mean culture relationship or physical relationship. American Negroes speak an Indo-European language, but are not Caucasians. The Mexico-dwelling Huastecs are Mayans physically and linguistically

but are not bearers of what is known as Mayan culture. Therefore, one can discuss reciprocal ceramic influences between two areas without implying cultural, linguistic, or somatic equivalence.

The source of the variety of incised and punctated decorations found on the pottery of Rk'1 may be traced to trade connections with the Fort Ancient area. The horizontal incising of parallel lines on Dan River ware is probably directly descended from the earlier culture defined under the term Uwharrie, and the same derivation may be assumed for the finger punctations and the very prevalent lip-notching. Five Uwharrie sherds from the Poole site are reported as decorated with "crisscross incised lines" but tool-made punctations did not occur there.13 Of historic Eastern Siouan sites thus far excavated Rk'1 yields by far the greatest amount of decoration, both quantitatively and qualitatively. If all these sites represent descendents of a uniform Uwharrie ancestry, we must look elsewhere for the influences which are responsible for Sara use of alternating incised lines, punctated bands, zonal punctations, and combinations of incising and punctating. Fort Ancient material can supply comparisons for all these ceramic phenomena, but this does not necessarily mean that Fort Ancient culture was the sole influence for each of these decorative techniques. Probably the best case to be made for diffusion of one of these techniques from Fort Ancient to the

13. Joffre Lanning Coe, "The Poole Site: Randolph County," (MS, Laboratory of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of North Carolina), unpaged.
Piedmont is that of alternating incising.

The guilloche, both curvilinear and rectangular, is, very common on Fort Ancient vessels. This mode of decoration may have influenced Piedmont Siouan pottery, but its effect is not seen in direct form on Dan River ware. In addition, however, alternating incised lines are also common at Fort Ancient, sometimes applied precisely as at RKV I, but sometimes more complicated. The lower rim section illustrated in Griffin's Plate LXXXIV, Fig. 4 is decoratively very close to the Dan River use of alternating incised lines, as is Plate XXI, Fig. 5, and the vessel in Plate XXXVII, Fig. 5. A somewhat more complicated, or overlapping, use of the same design elements is found in many Fort Ancient components, of which Griffin's Plates XXIV, XXXV, XLI, and CXIV are especially illustrative. The suggestion that the alternating incising found in both Fort Ancient and Dan River ware is a degenerate form of the guilloche is very pertinent to this discussion, and leads us to expect that further excavations at Dan River vicinity sites may yield some guilloche-decorated material.

While punctated bands, which cannot be assumed to be indigenous to the Piedmont culture under examination, are also found in the Fort Ancient culture, they are not numerous there and their use does not appear to be as well developed as at RKV I. The use of two parallel punctated bands is noted on several Fort Ancient specimens and occurs on one Dan River sherd. On the basis of the few comparisons this investigator would hesitate to state that Fort Ancient ware was the
inspiration for Dan River punctated bands, or vice versa. That the two areas had the trait in common is to be noted, however.

Of more probable Fort Ancient origin is the use of incised lines and punctations in combination. At RkV1 there were eight examples of a combined linear-punctuation-and-horizontal-incised-line treatment, and one specimen on which a single alternating oblique line is edged with punctations. The corresponding treatment at Fort Ancient is seen in the use of punctations in guilloches interstices, good examples of which may be seen in Plate LXXI, Fig. 4, and Plate XXXVIII, Fig. 3; and in the use of linear or massed punctation combined with oblique incised lines. Examples of the latter treatment are seen in Plates XXXIX, Fig. 7; LXXI, Figs. 2, 3; LXXVI, Figs. 13, 15; and LXXXIX, Fig. 4.

Further evidence along this line exists in the presence of zoned punctations at RkV1. There seems to be no parallel for this decoration in other Piedmont cultures of this period. At Fort Ancient massed or zoned punctates were used on handles, in the open centers of guilloches, and in combination with simple rectilinear designs. Plates illustrating the last two uses are listed in the previous paragraph. More Dan River-like examples of Fort Ancient zoral punctating may be seen in Griffin's Plates LXXV, Fig. 15; XXXIX, Figs. 7, 10; and XII, Fig. 21.

If one assumes trade connections between the Sara and the peoples responsible for the Fort Ancient archaeological
culture, including the assumption that the manifestations of new decorations seen at the Dan River site may be due to Ohio Valley influence, he must search also for evidence of Piedmont influence on late cultures of the Ohio Valley. To determine the possibility and extent of such influence would be impossible without first making a thorough study of pre-Fort Ancient archaeology, a study beyond the scope of this thesis. For instance, the lip-notching found on Fort Ancient vessels may be due in part to influences derived from trade with peoples in the Piedmont, including the Sara, since lip-notching is found on a very high percentage of the rimshards from any late site in the area. But unless it is first determined whether or not Fort Ancient lip-notching could have been a development out of pre-Fort Ancient ceramic technology in the Ohio Valley, one cannot make statements about the outside influences.

However, there are definite indications in the material illustrated from the Fort Ancient culture-area of trade with the Dan River culture-area. The presence of two net-impressed vessels and a few net-impressed sherds at the Madisonville site in Ohio, and of net-impressed sherds at the Fox Farm site in Kentucky, strongly suggests eastern influence. Griffin says of the sherds at Fox Farm:

Fabric impressions of this type are very rare on Mississippian pottery, occurring primarily on Woodland wares of the Appalachians, Piedmont, and coastal area to the east and southeast. The sherds at this site do not appear to have come into the area by trade, for they are not pure examples of the above-mentioned Woodland types, and they apparently were made from similar clays and were tempered with shell, as were
The fact that these are not trade sherds does not eliminate the strong possibility that they are the result of stimulus-diffusion from some area of net-impressed ware concentration, possibly in the Dan River area or the more easterly Clarksville Focus. If this is true, actual trade sherds will probably be found in the future, perhaps some exist in present Fort Ancient collections. The net-impressed sherds illustrated by Griffin, judging from their appearance in the photographs, could pass for Piedmont sherds except for their shell-temper. The knotted-net-impressed sherd from the Madisonville Component, shown in Plate LXXVII, Fig. 10, has the fine-strand, small-knotted, open-mesh net marks typical of Dan River Net-Impressed.

Fox Farm Net-Impressed sherds shown in Plate CXIII also bear this similarity to the Piedmont net, Figures 8 and 9 being very much like Dan River Net-Impressed specimens, while Figure 10 shows a rim treatment very typical of the Clarksville Focus, and quite atypical at Fox Farm. Griffin describes for this sherd, "an added outer rim strip, extending 4 cm. below the lip, and on this are wide and very deep vertically elongated punctations...."

In addition to the evidence of trade given by the presence of net-impressing at the Madisonville and Fox Farm

15. Loc. cit.
sites, certain grit-tempered fabric impressed sherds from the Madisonville site may be Piedmont-area trade pieces. In Plate LXXVI several sherds are described as "Fabric-impressed sherds not typical of Madisonville Focus." Figure 1 of that Plate shows a sherd which, with its deeply and evenly notched lips, punctated band at the neck, and possibly loop-net-impressed surface finish, probably could be easily lost among Dan River specimens. The sherd in Figure 2 is possibly related to Roanoke Fabric-Impressed, while Plate LXXVII, Fig. 1 is even more probably a trade sherd of this type. This latter sherd and several others are listed as "Woodland fabric-impressed sherds which are atypical of the Madisonville Focus." Of these, Figure 3 is almost certainly a piece from the Clarks-ville Focus, having the typical deeply punctated rim-fold.

Definitely pertinent to this discussion is the presence at RkV1 of two shell-tempered, loop-net-impressed sherds, probably from a single vessel. They have striated interiors and, besides shell, the paste contains inclusions of quartz grit in small quantities. The vessel was probably of local manufacture although the texture is not as gritty as typical Dan River ware and the color, while falling within the range for local ware, is at the reddish extreme. All the net-impressed Fort Ancient sherds illustrated by Griffin seem to be knotted-net-impressed, so it is unlikely that these loop-net-impressed specimens represent a Fort Ancient trade vessel. More likely is the possibility of stimulus-diffusion of the shell-tempering pattern due to trade connections.
Not to be neglected, of course, is the possibility that the shell-tempering seen here may be due to coastal influence. Further collections at RvXr may yield more such material and contribute to the solution of the problems raised by the presence of these two sherds. Viewing this material in the light of what appear to be strong trade connections with the Fort Ancient culture, however, the atypical shell-tempering appears to be part of the reciprocal exchanges and influences between the Siouan Piedmont and the Fort Ancient culture-area.

The conclusion, in brief, is that there is considerable evidence of trade connection between the two areas. This trade was reciprocal, resulting in the producers of the Dan River culture obtaining ideas for strap handles and certain decorative elements and the producers of the Fort Ancient culture obtaining nets and the idea of using net-wrapped paddles in pottery making. At the same time it is clear that the Fort Ancient area inhabitants could not be ancestral to the Piedmont Siouan inhabitants since the two groups were contemporaries. Nor is there any real evidence that the two groups were closely related culturally, linguistically, or biologically. Neither of these conclusions, however, precludes the possibility of the eastern Siouans having been in the Ohio Valley at a time well before the period identified by Fort Ancient cultural manifestations.

Within the Siouan area, there is evidence that the decorative traits borrowed by the Sara were diffused to other
Siouan tribes. Some traces of oblique incising occur in the Hillsbоро collection. Since these traits are not present in the Clarksville material which represents the Occaneechi habitation of the Roanoke river area, it is probable that the trait was acquired by the Occaneechi at Hillsbоро through normal trade contacts with the Sara.

The question of where the Sara went when they left the Dan has been unanswered for over two centuries. Byrd, of course, says they joined the Keyauwee on the Pee Dee River. However, no archaeological evidence has yet been found in surveys of the Pee Dee River drainage that would indicate a joint Sara-Keyauwee occupation, and, as was discussed in Chapter II, the documentary evidence for their having joined is very meager, based almost solely on Byrd's statement. Documentary evidence, including fairly good maps, does show that the Sara eventually settled on the east bank of the Pee Dee River near the latitude of the present Cheraw, South Carolina. During the summer of 1950 the investigator examined a large collection of material excavated from a Muskhocean temple mound site on the Little River, a tributary of the Pee Dee. The ceramic and lithic material reveals ample evidence of Siouan occupation of the site, apparently by mixed groups. The finding of shaft-and-chamber burials is practically conclusive evidence for the presence of Siouan units. The Siouan ceramics found here show that the Sara had definitely been in the vicinity, either at the site or nearby. Some of these Sara-like sherds have very good net-impressed surfaces, and others have incised
oblique decorations which reveal their affinity with Den River wares. Also present were Occanechi specimens of the type made at their Hillsboro village. This could either show that the Occanechi moved south before settling at Fort Christiana in Virginia, or the material could represent trade sherds passed to Siouan groups occupying the Town Creek site.

Also during the summer of 1950 a survey was made of the Pee Dee River Valley south of Little River to the vicinity of Cheraw, South Carolina. At one site the ceramic situation was similar to that at Town Creek. The main ceramic component belonged to the Pee Dee culture but late Siouan material was also present in some quantity. Simple stamped, check stamped, and cordmarked impressions occur on pastes which has Siouan characteristics. With the exception of the above two sites the survey failed to reveal evidence of a concentrated Siouan occupation at any point.

In Cheraw, South Carolina, local tradition points to a certain "Arrowhead Hill" as the home of the Indians at the time the first white settlers came into the area. A local historian writes:

When the first white settlers came up the Pee Dee River about 1730 they found Indians, in fact a small village which was situated just north of Huckleberry creek, at the top of the river hill. The village was probably located at that point as it was near the falls, where the fishing was best, which are little more than shoals in the river, just above the Seaboard trestle, a mile north of the town and known today as Arrowhead hill, where arrow heads can yet be picked up...

These Indians, which were the Cheraws, a detached part of the Cherokee tribe, numbered possibly less
than two hundred and had not lived here more than 25 years when the white man came.\(^{16}\)

A thorough search of the hill indicated by this article and by helpful local informants resulted in a collection of over sixty lithic specimens, but no pottery fragments. All of the points, blades, and cutting tools belong to archaic culture complexes. None could be assigned to known Siouan lithic complexes. A search of the agricultural low ground between the hill and the nearby river revealed no evidence of occupation. Two local collections and two other sites were examined, without adding to the knowledge of where the Sara village could have been located. In one collection three or four projectile points could possibly be called Siouan. These were found between Cheraw and Society Hill, South Carolina.

From superficial observation, the shoals in the Pee Dee River opposite Arrowhead Hill give some evidence of an aboriginal stone fish weir, forming a great "W" across the river. A short distance upstream is a stake weir, of white manufacture, in which sturgeon have been taken annually until recently.

Later examinations of sites and collections in Darlington and Florence, South Carolina, revealed no evidence of the presence of Siouan material that far down the Pee Dee Valley. Paradoxically, the area most clearly indicated as the

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\(^{16}\) William Godfrey, "Indians Who Lived Here When the White Man Came," Cheraw Chronicle, December 23, 1933.
Sara locus according to the maps and documents is the area about which the least is known. This is the east bank of the Pee Dee River from about Cheraw down to Society Hill. Circumstances have thus far prevented a first-hand examination of possible sites in this stretch of the river, but such investigations are planned for the summer of 1951.

In the meantime, a recent stroke of luck has revealed what may be a Sara village of about the Yamasee War period. Surface finds on the Bruton farm east of the Little River, and quite close to the Muskhopoean temple mound area mentioned previously, warranted the digging of a test pit. In April of this year Mr. Barton Wright excavated a small area, and the material recovered was examined in the Laboratory. In general, the pottery seems to be a degenerated Sara ware which shows a strong probability of having been derived from Dan River-Uwharrie tradition with a new Catawba-Lamar influence added. The temper is crushed quartz and other crushed rocks, along with some heavy sand. The paste is not as hard and compact as Dan River paste, which helps give it its "degenerated" appearance. Lip treatments and rim curvature fall well within the Dan River range, but notching is generally lacking. The rims and lips are typical and represent the most common types at Dan River, but do not show the range of form variation seen there. (The smallness of the sample, of course, also limits the number of possible variations.)

The vessel shape indicated by the larger sherds seems
to be the flat-bottomed "cuspider" form found at Hillsboro and in Catawba collections. This form is believed to be the result of an attempted fusion of the typical Siouan flaring rim jar with the newer Lamar-inspired casuela form. The result is a vessel with a flat bottom, rather sharp shoulder, constricted neck, and flaring rim. The graceful curve of Uwharrie and Dan River Siouan forms is lost to a greater straightness and angularity.¹⁷

Surface finish on this ware includes a small minority of net-impressed and corncob-impressed treatments, with considerably more crude brushing, and a majority of plain exterior surfaces, corresponding to the "roughly smooth" category of Dan River material. An appreciable number of sherds are stamped with a large curvilinear design similar in general appearance to the six complicated stamped specimens found at Dan River, both of these being related to Lamar stamping traditions rather than to the spatially nearer Pee Dee material. Interior surfaces are rough and uneven, with horizontal scraping readily discernible on some pieces.

The only decoration is a large set of two alternating oblique incised lines, which at Dan River is seen as evidence of Fort Ancient influence. The possibility that oblique incising may be a sort of degenerated rectilinear guilloche (see page 301) is given new support by the fact that one section of the oblique incised decoration on these late Sara sherds is very nearly a true guilloche.

One piece of Hillsboro Simple Stamped pottery was found with the "Sara" material. This could indicate either that Occaneechi people were in the area; more likely, that trade sherds of pottery still being produced at Hillsboro were traded to this new Sara area as they had been to the Sara at Dan River. Since the Occaneechi left Hillsboro before 1720, the assumption could well be made that the Bruton site represents a Sara occupation of the Yamassee War period.

Sara and other late Siouan sherds from the Southern location discussed above are shown in Plate XIII.

The conclusion, then, is that of all the Pee Dee drainage sites from which material is available, the Bruton site pottery comes closest to representing a continuation of Uwharrie Dan River ceramic tradition, and thus is the most probable presently known site which could be assigned to the Sara after their removal from the Dan River region. This is not held out as the only Sara site for its time level, since there is evidence at the temple mound itself that Sara tribes-people may have been there also. It is probable that small groups of various tribes were in and around the region during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The Bruton site itself probably does not represent a pure Sara occupation. At this late date, cultural and political disorganization had undoubtedly proceeded to such a point that no "pure" tribal units practicing their own particular line of cultural development should be expected
PLATE XIII
LATE SIOUAN POTTERY FROM THE PEE DEE VALLEY

Fig. a. Bruton Site.  Fig. b. Town Creek.  Fig. c. Teal Site
to be surviving. It was a period of disintegration on one hand and amalgamation on the other. As groups became smaller and smaller through wars and disease, they tended more and more to join together in the formation of communities large enough to withstand the assaults of their enemies.

Nor is the Bruton site held out as the first Sara habitation after they left the Dan. The "degenerated" state of the pottery indicates some lapse of time between the two occupations, and an intermediate site must be hypothesized, possibly in the near vicinity. Also, the probability that the Sara moved from this area and went south to the Cheraw region is unchanged by this new evidence. The traditions and documents in this respect are too persistent to ignore, and the archaeological task remains to find the village the evidence surely points to. Identification of such a site as Sara will undoubtedly be difficult, since the rate of acculturation was accelerating so rapidly that ceramic remains might bear but little resemblance to Dan River ceramics, and lithic remains should be almost non-existent, the bow having given way almost completely to the musket.

Until the Bruton site is more thoroughly excavated, and until a Sara site on the Pee Dee near Cheraw is found and excavated, the picture of Sara culture will have to remain pretty much as it is seen at Dan River. The early accounts tell what might be expected at later sites—the loss of aboriginal culture elements and the addition of European traits—but until the archaeology is done one can only conjecture
about the true nature of these changes. When the complete
archaeological record is in anthropology should be able to
construct a picture of aboriginal cultural development be-
ingning centuries before the arrival of Europeans and ending
with the modern Catawba remnants. When this cultural history
is finally written, probably the most interesting period
will be the era of accelerated acculturation and decultura-
tion which followed the first white contacts.

Figure 5 is an attempt to portray graphically the
interplay of cultural traditions in the eastern Siouan area.
It is based on the documentary record, on the cultural con-
tent of the known Siouan sites, and on the evidence afforded
by the presence of trade sherds at a number of sites.
CHAPTER VI

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

In this chapter an attempt will be made to correlate the existing ethnological data with the known archaeological facts. The writing of a complete cultural summary is not contemplated, since this would involve a laborious restatement of the material in the Chapter III, and because the available archaeological material is so limited as to make such a summary inadequate and premature. When more Sicuan sites have been excavated and their contents analyzed, such a summary must be written. It is believed that Chapter III of this thesis eliminates the necessity for any further work in the early ethnological sources, and that all new sources of information pertaining to the Eastern Sicuan tribes will be archaeological.

Housing and the Village

The excavations at RkV1 were limited and only a portion of one house was excavated. This appears to have had a clay floor, which may be what Lawson had reference to when he says the floors were dirt. The type of house construction is not clear at the Dan River site. The numerous post holes do not form a complete pattern, but do suggest some pole construction of the type Lawson saw. The complete
Figure 5. Cultural Traditions and Interrelationships in the Eastern Siouan Area
absence of daub fragments is almost conclusive evidence that the Sara, at this point, did not employ wattle-and-daub construction. This would rule out Swanton's suggestion, shaky already on historical grounds, that the Cheraw brought this type of construction into the area. The Keyauwee were using daub in 1700 and the Sara after moving south and associating with them may have also adopted this method; daub fragments were found at the Bruton site, and huge amounts of daub have been recovered at Town Creek.

At Keyauwee, the post hole patterns suggest an oval or round house. This house shape is also discernible at the Hillsboro site, where six clearly marked circles of posts show the pattern to be round, and made in a way similar to Lawson's description, i.e., by placing long poles in the ground, bending them inward and lashing their tops together before attaching sheets of bark covering. At Hillsboro the post holes were six to twelve inches apart. The outline of a small sweat-house was also readily seen during the excavation of the Hillsboro site; long lines of post holes enclosing the village give evidence of a palisade of the kind mentioned by Lawson; and at the Saponi site on the Yadkin River low domiciliary mounds were used. Since the pottery associated with the latter shows a strong Lamar influence, this mound pattern must also be the result of diffusion from the same area by way of Catawba. The abundance of refuse pits seem to show that garbage and other materials were sometimes deliberately buried, but it is more probable that
these pits had originally been used for the storage of food, especially corn, and other objects, such as tools and clothing. Then, as such pits were emptied, they became filled with everyday refuse. This use was clearly illustrated at Hillesboro where several large caches of corn were found in house floors. There is some question at RkV1 as to whether all of the pits were dug right into the floor of the house. Their distribution as seen in Figure 4 would suggest that they were. However, each pit which encroaches on the clay floor area is under the clay at the points of contact, rather than intrusive into an already packed floor. This could suggest that the pits were dug when this particular spot was not a house, but simply adjacent to a house; or that the clay floor was prepared within a house already in use.

**Clothing**

Lawson and Byrd write of skin clothing and of woven aprons, girdles, sashes, and so forth. The numerous sharp bone awls and needle-like artifacts found at RkV1 could have been used in the manufacture of skin clothing, and the cordage known from cord impressions on pottery could have been the thread. Byrd's aprons woven from silk grass were quite probably not type fabrics of the kind seen in pottery impressions. In some cases only one, but in any case two layers of this netting would make quite adequate garments. The opposum hair accessories spoken of by Lawson could very
well be represented by some of the finer, hair-like thread seen in some of the impressions on pottery. Some of the bone tools recovered may have been used as weaving instruments.

Ornamentation

None of the ornaments listed by Lawson are confirmed by the Rkvl finds. Shell gorgets and roanoke shell money of the types he discusses have been found elsewhere in North Carolina, however, but not always in a Siouan context. The possible ornaments recovered at the Dan River site include Marginella shell beads, large bone pendants, and small bird bone pendants and beads. Ornamental items are much scarcer at Dan River than one would expect from the early accounts.

Ornaments were found in great numbers, however, associated with burials at the Keyauwee village site. These include flat rectangular shell plates perforated lengthwise, disc-shaped shell beads, Marginella beads, perforated bivalve shells, a perforated pebble, copper-coated wooden ear-spools, a "rattlesnake" design shell gorget, barrel-shaped shell beads, bird bone beads, European glass beads, a belt of eagle and rabbit bones, and a headpiece made from a deer antler. The beads of various types were worn as embroidery on skirts or aprons, "hair-nets", bracelets, and ear pendants.

At Hillsboro graves include shell bead embroidery for the body and hair, tubular copper beads, and shell gorgets. Siouan burials at Town Creek have European ornamentation exclusively. A copper bead was found at the Saponi site.
Pottery

Though Lawson mentions "pots" in several places, he nowhere gives any indication of the type of vessels he saw, nor of the manufacturing process. The only reference to clay tells that pipes were made from a special white clay. The pipes found at Dan River, however, seem to have been made from the same material as the bulk of the pottery.

The pottery from RKVI, along with the serrated shell scraping tool, when combined with the ethnographic data on Catawba pottery making collected by recent writers, gives us a fairly good idea of the processes and results of Siouan ceramics. The culture presented the female potters with a range of choices at each stage in the manufacture of a vessel, and the fact that at each step one mode seems to be clearly dominant, shows that the culture brought strong pressure to bear on the potters, thus commanding a general conformity to traditional practices. (It is fortunate for the archaeologists, at least, that cultures play this compelling role, for without culture patterning in artifact manufacture, typology would be impossible. Of course, this is very trivial compared with the true function of cultural patterning. By following the pattern the individual receives continuing reward. In the case of the potter, this means acceptance of the product, with economic gain resulting from its acceptance as an exchange item. Ultimately this could mean that the potter receives food, primary reinforcement,
by following the proper pattern in vessel manufacture. Following tradition provides personal security.)

At the period represented by the Sara site, contacts with other tribes were increasingly frequent. Pottery traditions are never completely stagnant over long periods of time, and within each tradition the culture accepts a certain amount of variation. At the historic level the on-going internal development, plus the new ideas impinging upon the culture through increased contacts, bring about rapid changes in a plastic art like pottery. At any given moment, however, there is nevertheless a fairly rigid conception of what constitutes an acceptable vessel.

The Sara potter probably had a cane knife for cutting strips of clay to be made into annular segments, a piece of serrated shell to use in scraping the surfaces, a flat stone or piece of wood upon which to work, various fabric-wrapped paddles for malleating the vessel exterior, and a few corncobs for smoothing the outer surface. Male relatives in the joint household supplied her with clay and crushed quartz.

A certain amount of crushed quartz had to be mixed in with the clay so as to produce paste with the proper "spirit" in it. When this was ready the vessel was formed by building up the wall a segment at a time with strips of paste. The potter could make either a jar or bowl, and usually made a jar. Size variations were allowed, but the usual jar was a fairly large one. Probably most of these large jars were used for cooking, grain storage, and water carrying. Although
a variety of rim and lip shapes could be used to finish the vessel, the potter almost always made a slightly flaring rim, with a rounded lip. Jars lips she usually notched on the outer edge of the lip, but bowls were usually notched straight across the top of the lip.

In bonding the coils onto each other the potter did some of the work with her bare hands, but she also had a variety of paddles to use. The most usual custom was to paddle the exterior with a stick wrapped with a net, although a simple corncob or a stick wrapped with a cord was sometimes used. To achieve the desired thickness, the interior of the vessel was scraped with a shell or other tool. Most of the time the potters smoothed over the scraping marks after the inside was finished.

About half the time the potter added some decoration to the vessel, always at the neck. The traditional decoration was a series of parallel lines incised around the neck, but oblique lines were applied in various ways, and the current fad was to punctuate a band around the neck, either with a small sharp tool or with the fingernails. Most vessels were now considered finished, except for firing in a wood fire, but sometimes a handle or lug was added, an idea borrowed recently from neighbors to the west. After being dried in the sun for a few days the vessel was inverted in a hot fire, and when it was removed it was waterproof and very useful.
Food Production

Most of Lawson's references to Indian economic activity are to hunting. A good part of this is due to the fact that he traveled through the heart of the Siouan area at the height of the winter hunting season, and some writers have since thought that these people lived almost solely off game. However, agriculture was very important, and the products of the field helped carry the people through their winter ordeal. Corn cob impressions left on pottery show that a small-eared variety of corn was raised. The best evidence for the importance of agriculture, however, lies in the location of the village. A glance at the aerial photograph (Plate I, p. 207) shows that the Sara village was situated in ideal land for cultivation, rather than back in the forests as would be the case if the main emphasis was on hunting. It is the early, non-agricultural sites which are found on high ridges in the woods. Every Siouan site yet found has been on rich river bottom land. Several large caches of corn cobs were found at Hillsboro, and some charred cobs were found at the Keyauwee village site.

Most of the stone chopping tools found at Rkv1 were probably hoes and some of them could have been used for nothing else. The large and small grinding stones may have been used together for grinding corn, beans, acorns, and other seed products, either cultivated or collected.

Every Siouan village was also located on a good sized stream, and fishing and collecting in the waters provided additional protein. Speck has stated that it is doubtful whether
the Siouans had any sort of fishhooks, but the presence of two complete bone hooks and of others in the process of manufacture shows conclusively that they were part of the cultural equipment. The use of nets on poles for catching fish is claimed by Lawson, and, if the nets seen as impressions seem too closely woven for fishing purposes they at least show that net weaving techniques were known. There is thus a distinct possibility that the statement by Lawson may be taken literally. The stone weirs seen by Lawson cannot be verified by evidence at any known Siouan site, but many such weirs have been located at various places in the Carolinas.

The considerable number of arrow points shows that hunting played its part in the economy of this Siouan tribe. They also constitute evidence that the gun had not removed the bow from the list of cultural equipment, even though one gun flint was also recovered. The points seem rather small for the taking of large game, but with a good shaft and a stout bow behind them they should have penetrated at least as well as an early musket ball. Feunal refuse which has been identified for the Keyauwee village site includes deer, otter, raccoon, red fox, turkey, box-turtle, slider, and fresh water mussel.

**Tools and Carving**

Lawson tells about the cutting and drilling of conch shell to make wampum, and also of the manufacture of wooden bowls and spoons. In addition, Byrd mentions horn spoons.
The equipment for making any of the articles was present at the Sara village. Stone drills, scrapers with fair cutting edges, and gravers could have been used to cut bone (as is seen in the collection of bone artifacts from RkV1), wood, and shell. Wooden utensils, of course, are not recoverable in the type of moist acid soil found at the Sara site, but three shell artifacts were found, two drilled and one very well cut.

Recreation

Smoking pipes of both clay and stone were found at Dan River, bearing out Lawson's statement that both types of pipe were used. His opinion that the Indians did a great deal of smoking would indicate that smoking was not merely ceremonial among the Siouans, and the considerable number of pipes and pipe fragments at RkV1 supports this interpretation that smoking was a social rather than a purely ceremonial or religious practice.

Stone and clay pipes were also recovered at the Keyauwee and Saponi sites, one stone pipe at Keyauwee being a black steatite specimen with an alate stem and incised decorations.

One small discoidal stone was found at RkV1 and two somewhat similar stones were found with a single burial at the Keyauwee site. These may have been used as "Chunkee Stones" of the kind mentioned by Lawson for the Eno. The pottery disc recovered at Dan River may have had a similar use.
Mortuary Practices

Neither of the two burial practices listed by Lawson for supposedly Siouan groups has been verified archaeologically. The Santee mound-house, wooden box, secondary burial complex has no counterpart in excavations to date. Indeed, if they existed their preservation in a recognizable state would be very fortuitous. The box and "house" would soon disappear, and a hastily heaped mound would quickly suffer rain erosion sufficient to cut the soil down below the post-hole level.

The possibility of rock-cairn burial as related by Lawson has not been fully investigated. None have been found near major known Siouan sites. However, certain rock piles have recently been found in lower North Carolina and "excavation" of these is contemplated.

No burials were found at RkV1. Other Siouan sites, however, reveal at least two burial patterns. At the Poole site, attributed to the Keyauwee tribe, thirteen known burials were in fairly shallow pits; while a fourteenth burial, not yet excavated, may have been of the shaft-and-chamber type. All skeletons here were flexed, and were probably bundled before being lowered into the grave. No pottery or weapons were placed with any of these burials, but personal ornaments were found in six of the burial pits. In most cases these were still so well in place in relation to the body that they provide considerable information on Keyauwee ornamentation.
Two of the adult burial pits each contained over a thousand shell beads and plates of various kinds, and one infant grave contained two hundred *Lamellia* beads as embroidery on a waist garment, about four disc-shaped beads which seemed to have been used in binding the hair, as well as bracelets around each waist and ear pendants of shell beads.

One adult burial contained the steatite pipe described above, and with another were several shell beads, bird bone beads, two stone discoidals, and a belt made of three sets of three eagle bones each, strung end to end with rabbit pelvis bones separating the sets.

At Hillsboro one pit burial of this type was found, also without pottery or weapons, but with quantities of shell ornaments. The characteristic burial practice at Hillsboro, however, was a unique shaft-and-chamber type burial. A shaft was hung to a depth of about six feet. To one side of this at the bottom a chamber or vault was dug out and the bundled body placed inside on a piece of bark. A pottery vessel was deposited within each of the vault burials excavated. The opening was sealed with large stones and the shaft refilled. Bead ornamentation in these burials was even richer than at the Keyauwee site. The heavily-ornamented infants found at each site had almost identical ornamentation, except that the Hillsboro burial was even more ornate and had three tubular copper beads in addition to the shell beads and pendants.

At Town Creek three infant shaft-and-chamber burials have been found and excavated thus far and photographs promise
several more burials of this type. In each of these there was no pottery offering, contrary to the pattern at Hillsboro, and aboriginal ornamentation had given way completely to European products. These include quantities of glass trade beads, and one infant also had a circular bronze gorget.

As a general note on all these burials it would seem that the high proportion of infant burials indicates a dangerous rate of infant mortality. The heavy ornamentation of dead infants may represent a religious-ceremonial reaction to this condition.

Conclusions

The brief foregoing section seems to exhaust the possible correspondences between the known Siouan ethnology and the known archaeology, and even this much has required incorporating archaeological data from four sites. Except for general ethnological inferences about archaeology, in which the report writer draws on his ethnological background to aid him in interpreting the archaeological material he is working with, the two methods usually meet only at a thin line of European contact. In the North Carolina case, within a short period of time, this contact reduced the population and altered the way of life in such a way as to severely limit the amount of recoverable material products of cultural activity.

The anthropologist has only two methods of gathering
cultural data, ethnology and archaeology. Extracting data from early accounts or from modern books on the South, for example, is just as clearly ethnological as interviewing tribesmen in Africa. By the same token, working with potsherds in a laboratory is just as archaeological as digging up burials. In order to get a fully rounded picture of aboriginal culture and culture change these two basic methods must both be used. It is an historical accident that the ethnology written during the first European contacts and the archaeology from the same period cover areas of information which are practically mutually exclusive. Lawson goes into detail on matters pertaining to sex, marriage, government, medicine, and religion—all subjects on which archaeology, by the very nature of its data, can give little or no information. Though he mentions cooking pots and hunting, he says nothing about pottery or projectile points which would offer points of comparison with these two chief archaeologically recoverable materials. At a few points the data on housing, village plan, food products, and recreation overlap sufficiently for some comparison of the two sets of data. Since the available ethnology has been exhausted, and no more will be collected unless unknown documents are revealed, the task of filling out the picture of the culture of the peoples living at the opening stage of the history of America and of tracing their development from pre-discovery days up to their liquidation as tribal entities devolves upon archaeology. This calls for discovery of new Siouan sites, along with thorough and competent excavation of these and of the already known, unexcavated Siouan
sites. Beyond this, and the only valid reason for digging, is needed a synthesizing of the data from all these sites so as to fill out as completely as possible the pattern of living practiced by the groups represented in the excavated materials. This will also reveal pattern differences from one site or group of sites to the next, and from sites representing one time level to sites representing later times. In the Siouan case such sites are only a generation apart in time, but the ensuing cultural changes can provide anthropology with valuable information on the mechanisms of cultural development.

A particularly interesting and valuable problem would be one of the sort originally contemplated as the problem of this thesis, an acculturation study of the Sara tribe. For the present such an ambitious plan is not feasible because only one site has been excavated. Needed for such a study are excavations of Uwharrie sites near the mountains; more work on the Dan River site of the Sara, excavation of the Bruton site and additional work in the general Town Creek area; and a more rigorous attempt to find the Sara site in the Cheraw area, and excavation of this site. A two hundred year record of cultural development during a time of periodic movement and new contacts should not be valueless to modern students of the dynamics of cultural development and of acculturation. Workers in acculturation can no more ignore the facts offered by archaeology than the archaeologist can afford to ignore the psychological basis of cultural patterning of material objects.
As stated in Chapter I, one of the aims in writing this thesis has been to organize the available data in such a way as to serve as a preliminary contribution to a larger inquiry into the problem of culturally different areas within the eastern Siouan-speaking region. Though the possibility of settling this problem is far from realized, and though my aim, indeed, does not go beyond the purpose of providing some of the data needed for future work on this and other aspects of the Siouan problem, some statements of a tentative nature might be made.

Swanton and Speck both seem to regard the Tutelo-Catawba linguistic division to have cultural significance of a wider-than-language scope. At the historic level there seems to be little or no evidence that would support this hypothesis. Differences of some kind within a three-state area are to be expected and undoubtedly occur, but that these differences followed linguistic lines is subject to serious question.

At least four ceramic traditions are found within the area usually thought of as Siouan. Pottery from the lower South Carolina coastal area, attributed by some to the Sewee tribe, is coastal Irene-Lamar in character; the Catawba pottery and the ceramics of some tribes which moved into Catawba dominated areas partakes of an inland northern Georgia Lamar tradition; central and northern North Carolina, as evidenced by the Keyauwee and Sara, seems to be descended ceramically from the classic Uwharrie quartz temper tradition; while the Clarksville area seems to show a relationship with a Uwharrie-like pottery tradition recognizable distinct from the Uwharrie material from North Carolina.
At about a 1675 time period, the Catawba-division Sara showed more similarity ceramically to the Tutelo-division Occaneechi and Saponi than to the Catawba-division Keyauwee. A generation or two later, as the tribes moved south, the Tutelo-division Saponi's ceramics became practically Lemar ware, while the also Tutelo-division Occaneechi showed a strong Lemar-Catawba influence ceramically. The Catawba-division Keyauwee who had stayed in the Catawba-dominated region all the time probably shows less direct Catawba influence and more affinity with its Uwharrie antecedent than the newcomers from a different (hypothesized) linguistic area. When the Catawba-division Sara moved south they finally began to show the Catawba influence they had largely missed until that time. Thus it would seem that ceramic differences and similarities depended upon time of occupation, on strength of ceramic tradition, and on location near poles of ceramic influence, rather than upon linguistic divisions.

Burial patterns are known for only two Siouan sites, and for some probably Siouan burials intrusive in the Muskogean ceremonial center. At Hillsboro, the Occaneechi, Tutelo-division linguistically but making Catawba-Lemar stamped ceramics, used a shaft-and-chamber type of burial, with pottery offerings and heavy corpse ornamentation. At about the same time the Catawba-division Keyauwee, making pottery less Catawba-like than the Occaneechi, were burying in shallow pits without pottery offerings, and with considerable ornamentation in some graves. At a later period, and farther south than either of
these sites, late (as evidenced by the presence of European objects as grave goods) Siouan burials were of the shaft-and-chamber type. Though the grave differed in the Keyauwee and Occaneechi burials, infants interred at each place had almost identical ornamentation. At all three locations burials were flexed. At Occaneechi a pit burial was found without a pottery offering, the same pattern as at Keyauwee; and at Keyauwee a yet-unexcavated burial may be of the shaft-and-chamber type known from Hillsboro and Town Creek. Until more evidence is in it will be very difficult to interpret area differences and similarities but a tentative statement must at least admit the fact that two different burial customs were found at two different sites usually assigned to tribes, one of which is placed in the Tutelo linguistic division, and the other in the Catawba division. The Santee burial custom noted by Lawson tends to place that tribe completely beyond known Siouan practices, and would place them within a Muskogean culture-complex.

In the matter of projectile points a basic underlying pattern dominates -- the small triangular point with generally straight sides. From three sites from which adequate collections have been made, however, this basic pattern is manifested in three different ways. The Catawba-division Keyauwee made a fairly large point, while the Catawba-division Sara living in the Tutelo-division area made points intermediate in size between the Keyauwee points and the small equilaterals made by the Tutelo-division Occaneechi, the form of the Sara product being similar to the Keyauwee point. Here again, while the
evidence is still meager, it must be noted that tribes hypothetically assigned to different linguistic divisions seem to have made different kinds of points and a tribe assigned to one division but living in the vicinity of the other made points intermediate between the two -- all three products, however, falling within an overall Siouan point pattern showing its descent from the earlier Uwharrie larger triangular point.

There may also have been a regional difference in house construction. At the more southerly Keyauwee and "Eruton" locations the presence of daub with wattle impressions indicates wattle-and-daub construction, while daub was not found at the Sara and Occaneechi sites. Here the difference seems definitely to follow geographic limits rather than linguistic divisions.

Most of Lawson's data on social forms and other matters indicates no difference between the two divisions. In any case, there is one patent fallacy in speaking of such divisions at all. For the southern division, a small Woccon vocabulary and Catawba vocabularies are known; for the northern division small Tutelo vocabularies and some few Saponi words. Beyond this there are only tribal or town names, inadequately transcribed. Yet these names have been listed under whatever dialect seemed appropriate on the basis of the meager historical information on the locations of the various tribes. Therefore, to speak in earnest of the "Tutelo-division Occaneechi" and the "Catawba-division Sara" is to perpetuate an assumption which should never have been made. And here again, the ethnol-
Only archaeology can still find and interpret the data which will permit the clarification of the overall Siouan pattern and the divisions within it.
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