

A STUDY OF THE LATE PREHISTORIC, PROTOHISTORIC, AND HISTORIC  
INDIANS OF THE CAROLINA AND VIRGINIA PIEDMONT

Structure, Process, and Ecology

by

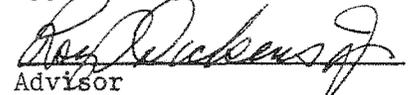
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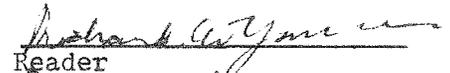
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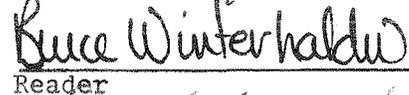
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## ABSTRACT

JACK H. WILSON, JR. A Study of the Late Prehistoric, Protohistoric, and Historic Indians of the Carolina and Virginia Piedmont: Structure, Process and Ecology. (Under the direction of ROY S. DICKENS, JR. and JOFFRE L. COE).

A study of structure and change for the Piedmont Indians of the Carolinas and Virginia is presented. Analyses of historical records and the ceramics from archaeological sites are used to document structural and interaction patterns for the Late Prehistoric, Protohistoric, and Historic Indian groups for the period from A.D. 1500 to 1760. Ceramic assemblages for the periods under study from various sections of the Piedmont are described, relationships between assemblages postulated, and a general scheme of ceramic change put forth. Diversity in the surface finish and decoration of the ceramics is studied using the modified Shannon-Weaver diversity formula. A pattern of increasing diversity for both attributes is documented from the Late Prehistoric to the Historic period. It is hypothesized that a pattern of increasing diversity, and increasing niche width, in the exploitation of plant and animal food resources is also present for this era. Concepts from evolutionary ecology and ecological anthropology, the Levins-Hardesty niche breadth equation, and the Shannon-Weaver diversity formula are used to test the hypothesis. Data from the faunal assemblages for three sites on the Dan River in North Carolina and Virginia are analyzed and found to conform to the hypothesized pattern. Floral material from one North Carolina site on the Dan River is also analyzed to provide comparative data on patterns of plant food exploitation practiced by the Indians of the area and the Southeast in general. A reconstruction of the location of the various Piedmont Indian groups in 1675, 1700, and 1711/1712 is offered. Research questions and problems for future inquiry are formulated and presented.

A science which hesitates to forget its founders is lost.

-Alfred North Whitehead

Although a science should not hesitate to forget its founders, it would do well to remain aware of their basic thought.

-Walter Buckley

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
2 ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING.....	21
3 INTRODUCTION TO THE ETHNOHISTORY OF THE PIEDMONT SIOUANS.....	35
4 THE SPANISH IN THE CAROLINA INTERIOR, 1542-1567.....	42
5 THE BEGINNING OF ENGLISH INTERACTION WITH THE CAROLINA AND VIRGINIA INDIANS, 1607-1665.....	64
6 THE LURE OF PEARLS, GOLDMINES AND THE GREAT NORTHWEST PASSAGE:THE ENGLISH AND THE PIEDMONT INDIANS, 1666-1674l.....	76
7 STORMING THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN BARRICADES.....	100
8 YEARS OF TRANQUILITY AND INTRA-COLONIAL ECONOMIC WARFARE, 1685-1711.....	112
9 THE WARS WITH THE TUSCARORA, 1711-1714.....	133
10 THE YAMASSEE WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH, 1715-1719.....	144
11 THE YEARS OF DECLINE, 1720-1760.....	162
12 AN ETHNOHISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE PIEDMONT SIOUANS.....	175
13 ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ACCULTURATION AND CONTACT.....	207
14 INTRODUCTION TO THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND THE CERAMIC STUDIES.....	221
15 PREHISTORIC CERAMICS.....	238

16 THE PROTOHISTORIC PERIOD CERAMICS.....	322
17 HISTORIC CERAMICS.....	377
18 A SYNTHESIS OF THE CERAMIC STUDY.....	480
19 INTRODUCTION TO THE ANALYSIS OF THE FAUNAL AND FLORAL REMAINS.....	506
20 ANALYSIS OF FAUNAL MATERIAL.....	513
21 ANALYSIS OF THE CHARRED PLANT REMAINS.....	546
22 SUMMARY OF THE ANALYSIS OF THE FLORAL AND FAUNAL MATERIALS.....	562
23 CONCLUSIONS.....	572
APPENDIX A: THE EARLY SPANISH EXPLORATIONS AND THEIR INTERPRETATION BY PREVIOUS RESEARCHERS.....	588
APPENDIX B: INTERPRETATIONS OF FOUR ENGLISH EXPLORATIONS BY PREVIOUS RESEARCHERS.....	601
APPENDIX C: OLDTOWN SERIES TYPE DESCRIPTION.....	616
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	619

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Orientation of the Indian Towns Visited by Pardo during his First and Second Expeditions into the Carolina Hinterland.....	57
2. Comparison of Towns Visited by De Soto and Pardo.....	58
3. Posited Location of the Indian Towns Pardo Visited.....	61
4. The Indians Named and Places Visited (?) by John Lederer during His Second Voyage.....	82
5. Governor Johnson's Census of the Carolina Indians Given in 1720 Based on Information Dating to 1715.....	161
6. Artifact Categories and Innovation Values Developed by Brain for the Analysis of Artifacts that Comprised the Tunica Treasure.....	214
7. Archaeological Sites Associated with each of the Three Time Periods in this Study.....	223
8. Attribute Data Recorded during the Ceramic Analysis.....	234
9. Surface Treatments for the Dan River Series Identified for the Ceramic Assemblage at 31Rkl.....	241
10. Stratigraphic Distribution of Decorative Elements at 31Rkl by Percentage and Count.....	243
11. Surface Finish, Interior Finish, Liptype, Vesselform and Rimtype Attributes Identified in the Ceramic Collection from 31Rkl.....	253

12.	Decorations Present and Placement of Decorations by Vessel Section, 31Rkl.....	254
13.	Individual Decorations Present by Vessel Section, 31Rkl.....	255
14.	Crosstabulation of Surface Finish and Decoration, 31Rkl.....	257
15.	Crosstabulation of Vessel Form and Decoration, 31Rkl.....	259
16.	Crosstabulation of Surface Finish and Vessel Form, 31Rkl.....	261
17.	The Two Varieties of Dan River Ware Identified by Gardner at the Leggett Site, 44Ha23, by Surface Finish.....	268
18.	Surface Finish, Interior Finish, Liptype, Vesselform and Rimtypes Present at 44Ha23.....	272
19.	Decorations Present and Placement of Decorations by Vessel Section at 44Ha23.....	274
20.	Distributions of Decorations by Vessel Section, 44Ha23.....	275
21.	Crosstabulation of Decorations and Surface Finish, 44Ha23.....	276
22.	Distribution of Surface Finishes on the Clarkesville Ceramics Analyzed by Coleman from the Reedy Creek Site, 44Ha22.....	280
23.	Surface Finish, Interior Finish, Liptype, Rimtype and Vesselform Present in the Ceramic Collection from 44Ha22.....	284
24.	Decorations Present and Placement of Decorations by Vessel Section, 44Ha22.....	286
25.	Distribution of Decorations by Vessel Section, 44Ha22.....	287
26.	Crosstabulation of Surface Finish and Decorations, 44Ha22.....	288
27.	Crosstabulation of Decorations and Vessel Forms, 44Ha22.....	289
28.	Crosstabulation of Surface Finish and Rimtype, 44Ha22.....	290

29.	Crosstabulation of Decorations with Rimtype, 44Ha22.....	291
30.	Surface Finish, Interior Finish, Liptype, Rimtype and Vessel Form Present, 31Id41.....	300
31.	Decorations Present and Placement of Decorations, 31Id41.....	301
32.	Distribution of Decorations by Vessel Section, 31Id41.....	312
33.	Crosstabulation of Vessel Form and Decorations, 31Id41.....	303
34.	Crosstabulation of Surface Finish and Decorations, 31Id41.....	304
35.	Decorative Elements Present by Vessel Section at Four Prehistoric Sites.....	316
36.	Placement of Decoration by Vessel Section of Four Prehistoric Sites.....	318
37.	Crosstabulation of Surface Finish and Decoration Location for Four Prehistoric Sites.....	319
38.	Crosstabulation of Vessel Form and Decoaration Location for Four Prehistoric Sites.....	321
39.	Surface Finish by Percentage Occurrence in Caraway Ceramics at 31Rdl.....	328
40.	Surface Finish, Interior Finish, Liptype, Rimtype and Vessel Form at 31Rdl.....	332
41.	Decorations Present and Placement of Decorations by Vessel Section, 31Rdl.....	334
42.	Distribution of Decorations by Vessel Section, 31Rdl.....	335
43.	Crosstabulation of Vessel Form and Decorations, 31Rdl.....	336
44.	Crosstabulation of Vessel Form and Decorations, 31Rdl.....	337
45.	Artifacts of European Manufacture Recovered from the Wall Site, 31Or11.....	344
46.	Surface Finishes Present in the Ceramic Collection Obtained during the 1940-1941 Season at 31Or11 by Percentage.....	348

47.	Surface Finish, Interior Finish, Liptype, Rimtype and Vessel Form Present, 310r11.....	352
48.	Decorations and Placement of Decorations by Vessel Section, 310r11.....	354
49.	Distribution of Decorations According to Vessel Section, 310r11.....	355
50.	Crosstabulation of Vessel Forms and Decoration, 310r11.....	357
51.	Crosstabulation of Surface Finish and Decorations, 310r11.....	358
52.	Decorative Elements Present by Vessel Section at Two Protohistoric Sites, with 31Sk1 of the Historic Period Added for Comparison.....	370
53.	Placement of Decorations by Vessel Section at Two Protohistoric Sites, with 31Sk1 of the Historic Period Added for Comparison.....	373
54.	Crosstabulation of Vessel Form and Decoration Location for Two Protohistoric Sites, with 31Sk1 Added for Comparison.....	374
55.	Crosstabulation of Surface Finish and Decoration for Two Protohistoric Sites, with 31Sk1 of the Historic Period Added for Comparison.....	375
56.	Surface Finish, Interior Finish, Liptype, Rimtype and Vessel Forms Present, 31Sk1.....	391
57.	Decorations Present and Location of Decorations by Vessel Section, 31Sk1.....	393
58.	Distribution of Decorations by Vessel Section, 31Sk1.....	394
59.	Crosstabulation of Surface Finish and Vessel Form, 31Sk1.....	396
60.	Crosstabulation of Surface Finish and Decorations, 31Sk1.....	397
61.	Crosstabulation of Vessel Form and Decoration, 31Sk1.....	400
62.	Surface Finish, Interior Finish, Liptype, Rimtype and Vessel Forms Present, 31Sk1a.....	430
63.	Crosstabulation of Surface Finish and Vessel Form, 31Sk1a.....	432

64.	Decorations Present and Location of Decorations by Vessel Section, 31Skla.....	433
65.	Decorations Present According to Vessel Section, 31Skla.....	434
66.	Crosstabulation of Surface Finish and Decorations, 31Skla.....	436
67.	Crosstabulation of Vessel Form and Decoration, 31Skla.....	438
68.	Crosstabulation of Rimtype and Decorations, 31Skla.....	440
69.	Surface Finish, Interior Finish, Liptype, Rimtype and Vessel Forms Present, 31Mk85.....	458
70.	Decorations Present and Location of Decorations by Vessel Sections, 31Mk85.....	460
71.	Distribution of Decoration by Vessel Section, 31Mk85.....	461
72.	Crosstabulation of Surface Finish and Decoration, 31Mk85.....	462
73.	Crosstabulation of Rimtype and Decoration, 31Mk85.....	463
74.	Decorative Elements Present by Vessel Section at Three Historic Sites.....	474
75.	Placement of Decorations by Vessel Section at Three Historic Sites.....	477
76.	Crosstabulation of Surface finish and Decoration for Three Historic Sites.....	478
77.	Crosstabulation of Vessel Form and Decoration Location for Three Historic Sites.....	479
78.	Diversity Indexes for Surface Finish within Sites.....	502
79.	Diversity Indexes for Decorations within Sites.....	503
80.	Diversity Indexes for the Surface Finish and Decorations between Sites for the Prehistoric Period.....	504
81.	Diversity Indexes for Decoration and Surface Finishes between the Three Dan River Assemblages, 31Rkl, 31Sk1, and 31Skla.....	505

82.	Animals Identified in the Three Archaeological Assemblages, Their Scientific Names, and Estimated Pounds of Useable Meat Per Individual.....	517
83.	Faunal Remains from 44Ha22.....	520
84.	Faunal Remains from 31Sk1.....	521
85.	Faunal Remains from 31Sk1a.....	522
86.	Habitat Preferences of Major Animal Species.....	530
87.	Measure of Niche Width by Pounds of Meat Contributed by Each Animal Species, 44Ha22.....	532
88.	Measure of Use of Habitat, 44Ha22.....	534
89.	Measure of Niche Width by Pounds of Meat Contributed by Each Animal Species, 31Sk1.....	536
90.	Measure of Use of Habitat, 31Sk1.....	538
91.	Measure of Niche Width by Pounds of Meat Contributed by Each Animal Species, 31Sk1a.....	540
92.	Measure of Use of Habitat, 31Sk1a.....	541
93.	Plant Remains from 31Sk1a and Their Scientific Names.....	548
94.	Plant Materials by Feature Class.....	549
95.	Seeds by Feature Class.....	550
96.	Niche Width for Plant Food Use, 31Sk1a.....	558
97.	31Sk1a without Knotweed, Bedstraw, Ragweed, and Tickclover.....	560
98.	Comparison of Niche Width Values Calculated for the Faunal Assemblages from the Three Archaeological Sites and Selected Human Societies.....	568

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Location of Selected Indian Groups during the Late 1600s.....	xxii
2. Clarke's Static Model of Interaction between the Environment and a Sociocultural System.....	17
3. Physiographic Provinces of the Carolinas and Virginia.....	22
4. The Cultural Geography of De Soto's Journey through the Carolinas during the 1540s.....	44
5. The Cultural Geography of Pardo's Two Expeditions through the Carolinas during the 1560s.....	48
6. Place Names Associated with the Account of Edward Bland.....	69
7. The Cultural Geography of John Lederer's Explorations in the Carolinas.....	79
8. The Cultural Geography of the Journey of Batts and Fallam.....	87
10. Virginia Locations Pertinent to Bacon's Rebellion.....	103
11. The Cultural Geography of the Carolinas for John Lawson's "voyage".....	118
12. The Cultural Geography of the Tuscarora Wars.....	134
13. The Cultural Geography of the Yamassee War.....	145
14. Location of the Sites Mentioned in the Archaeology Studies.....	224

15.	Decorative Elements Present in the Ceramic Assemblages.....	235
16.	Complicated Incised and/or Punctate Decorative Elements Present in the Ceramic Assemblages.....	236
17.	Vessel Sections for the Vessel Types Delimited in the Ceramic Analysis.....	237
18.	Vessel Forms (reconstructed) Present, 31Rk1.....	262
19.	Rim Profiles, 31Rk1.....	263
20.	Rim Profiles, 44Ha23.....	277
21.	Rim Profiles, 44Ha22.....	292
22.	Vessel Forms (reconstructed) Present, 31Id41.....	306
23.	Rim Profiles, 31Id41.....	307
24.	Vessel Forms (reconstructed) Present, 31Rd1.....	338
25.	Rim Profiles, 31Rd1.....	339
26.	Vessel Forms (reconstructed) Present, 31Or11.....	359
27.	Rim Profiles, 31Or11.....	360
28.	Plan of Features, Burials, and Postholes at the Base of Plowzone Based on the Work through the 1981 Field Season, 31Sk1.....	380
29.	Rim Profiles, 31Sk1.....	403
30.	Vessel Forms (reconstructed) Present, 31Sk1.....	404
31.	Plan of Features, Burials, and Postholes at the Base of the Plowzone based on the Work through the 1981 Field Season, 31Sk1a.....	415
32.	Rim Profiles, 31Sk1a.....	442
33.	Vessel Forms (reconstructed) Present, 31Sk1a.....	443
34.	Vessel Forms (reconstructed) Present, 31Mk85.....	464
35.	Rim Profiles, 31Mk85.....	465
36.	Visual Representation of the Changing Pattern of Animal Resource and Habitat Use.....	567

37.	Posited Locations for the Various Piedmont Indian Groups in 1675.....	581
38.	Posited Locations for the Various Piedmont Indian Groups in 1700.....	582
39.	Posited Locations for the Various Piedmont Groups in 1711/1712.....	583

## LIST OF PLATES

Plate	Page
I.	Pee Dee Jar from Burial 3, 31Rkl2.....246
II.	Dan River Net Impressed Variety Dan River Ceramics from 31Rkl.....264
III.	Decorations on Dan River Net Impressed Variety Dan River Sherds from 31Rkl.....265
IV.	Dan River Net Impressed Variety Dan River Sherds from 44Ha22.....293
V.	"Clarkesville" Net Impressed Sherds from 44Ha22.....294
VI.	Miscellaneous Sherds from 44Ha22.....295
VII.	Miscellaneous Sherds from 31Id41.....308
VIII.	Corncob Impressed Jar (left) and a Burnished Bowl (right) with a Complicated Incised Design from 31Id41.....309
IX.	Straight-necked Cazuela Bowl from 31Id41.....310
X.	Complicated Stamped Body Sherds Recovered from 31Id41.....311
XI.	Miscellaneous Sherds of the Caraway Series from 31Rdl.....340
XII.	Caraway Concentric Circle Complicated Stamped Jar from Pit 27 at 31Rdl.....341
XIII.	Hillsboro Check Stamped Sherds from 31Or11.....361
XIV.	Hillsboro Simple Stamped Sherds from 31Or11 that Show the Cross-stamped Block Design.....362

XV.	Hillsboro Simple Stamped (left) and Hillsboro Net Impressed (right) Sherds from 310rll.....	363
XVI.	Miscellaneous Surface Finishes on Hillsboro Series sherds from 310rll.....	364
XVII.	Smoothed-over Hillsboro Check Stamped Jar from Burial 2 at 310rll.....	365
XVIII.	Hillsboro Corncob Impressed Jar from Burial 4 at 310rll.....	366
XIX.	Removing Plowzone from Square 150R250, 31Sk1.....	381
XX.	Excavating Features 19 and 20 in Square 60R250, 31Sk1.....	381
XXI.	Burial 6 from 31Sk1.....	382
XXII.	Burial 3 from 31Sk1.....	384
XXIII.	Miscellaneous Surface Finishes Found on Oldtown Series Ceramics from 31Sk1.....	405
XXIV.	Oldtown Series Ceramics with Smoothed and Burnished Surface Finishes from 31Sk1.....	406
XXV.	Oldtown Net Impressed Jars from 31Sk1.....	407
XXVI.	Oldtown Corncob Impressed Jar (top) and an Oldtown Simple Stamped Jar (bottom) from 31Sk1.....	408
XXVII.	Oldtown Simple Stamped Jar from 31Sk1.....	409
XXVIII.	Oldtown Cordmarked Jar with a Folded Rim from 31Sk1.....	410
XXIX.	Oldtown Burnished Cazuela Bowl from Burial 6 at 31Sk1.....	411
XXX.	Oldtown Burnished Vessels from 31Sk1.....	412
XXXI.	Oldtown Filfot Scroll Complicated Stamped Jar and a Burnished Soapstone-tempered Jar from 31Sk1.....	413
XXXII.	Structures 5 and 6, Excavated, from 31Sk1a Being Troweled for a Photograph.....	417
XXXIII.	Structure 5, Excavated, and Structure 6, Unexcavated, at 31Sk1a after Troweling.....	417
XXXIV.	Burial 1 at 31Sk1a.....	418

XXXV.	Burial 17 at 3lSkla.....	419
XXXVI.	Burial 15 at 3lSkla.....	420
XXXVII.	Burial 53 at 3lSkla.....	421
XXXVIII.	Burial 55 from 3lSkla.....	422
XXXIX.	Burial 49 from 3lSkla.....	423
XXXX.	Oldtown Net Impressed Sherds from 3lSkla.....	444
XXXXI.	Oldtown Burnished Sherds from 3lSkla.....	445
XXXXII.	Miscellaneous Surface Finishes on Oldtown Ceramics from 3lSkla.....	446
XXXXIII.	Smoothed-over Oldtown Net Impressed Bowl from 3lSkla.....	447
XXXXIV.	Oldtown Burnished Jar from 3lSkla.....	448
XXXXV.	Oldtown Smoothed Jar with a Conoidal Shaped Body from 3lSkla.....	449
XXXXVI.	Oldtown Smoothed Jar with a Rounded Body from 3lSkla.....	450
XXXXVII.	An Example of a Form and a Rim Attribute of Oldtown Net Impressed Jars from 3lSkla.....	451
XXXXVIII.	Oldtown Brushed Jars from 3lSkla.....	452
XXXXIX.	Oldtown Concentric Circle Complicated Stamped Jar from Burial 49, 3lSkla.....	453
L.	Oldtown Burnished Cuspidor Found with Burial 15, 3lSkla.....	454
LI.	Miscellaneous Surface Finishes and Decorations Found on Sherds from 3lMk85.....	466
LII.	Corncob Impressed Jar from 3lMk85.....	467
LIII.	Complicated Stamped Body Sherds from 3lMk85.....	468



## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

This is an investigation of the structure and change within the non-Catawba Indian groups who inhabited the Piedmont of the Carolinas and Virginia during the Late Prehistoric (terminal Late Woodland), the Protohistoric and the Historic periods. These groups have traditionally been identified as members of the "Siouan" linguistic and ethnic families, and associated with a tribal level of sociocultural integration. Four data sets are used in the study: ethnohistorical/historical documents, material culture remains in the form of ceramics, faunal material and charred botanical remains. Through the analysis of these data sets the adaptive relationships of the Virginia and Carolina Indians with their natural-and-cultural environments will be investigated.

Three general problems can be isolated. The first revolves around the question of the identity and location of the various Piedmont Siouan Indian groups. What changes occurred in the location of these Indian tribes through time? What part did interaction with other Indian groups and with Europeans play in the cultural changes that took place from the Late Prehistoric to the Historic periods?

The second problem is the nature of the archaeological assemblages that can be associated with the various Siouan groups of the Piedmont. A primary question is what temporal, spatial, and cultural relationships are exhibited by the ceramic collections derived from archaeological investigations in various sections of the Piedmont? Unfortunately, pottery is the only category of material culture included in this

examination. Categories such as European trade items, bone and stone artifacts manufactured by the Indians, and mortuary data were not available for analysis during the course of this study.

The third major problem is concerned with the subsistence strategies utilized by the Indians of the Piedmont. The major question is how did these adaptations change through time, particularly given the influence of trade with the Europeans? Data derived from the archaeological record in the form of faunal remains and charred plant remains were used to examine this problem.

In addition to these three general problems, a fourth exists which can only be considered in part: what implications did changes in the material culture and subsistence strategies have for changes in the sociocultural system of the Piedmont Siouan Indians? A major difficulty here is the nature of the sociocultural organization possessed by the Indians of the Piedmont. To adequately address this question a wide range of data, including material culture, mortuary practices, subsistence strategies, and settlement patterns should be previewed. This study has been limited to only a few of these categories. The consideration of this area of investigation in greater detail than can be accomplished here will be left to future studies.

The attempt to resolve these problems starts with a re-evaluation of the culture history of the Indians who inhabited the Piedmont. Information is drawn from earlier studies that concentrate on the Siouan Indians (Mooney 1894; Coe 1937, 1952, 1964; Griffin 1945; Swanton 1946; Lewis 1951; Coe and Lewis 1952; Keel 1972; Wilson 1977, 1981, 1982a, 1982b; Ward 1980; Gardner 1980; Navey 1982); an examination of the Colonial Archives of North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia; and a study of select data,

centered on ceramics, taken from the archaeological record. From this structural analysis a basis is provided for considering the changing patterns of adaptation and interaction that the ceramics, faunal material and charred botanical remains exhibit. For these latter three data sets, the patterns of behavior are studied using mathematical measures of diversity as the indices of change.

#### Previous Research

Scholarly research on the Siouan Indians has had a long history, beginning with James Mooney's The Siouan Tribes of the East (1894). Among the subjects Mooney considered were the identity and location of the Indians of the Virginia and Carolina Piedmont. Later, John Swanton (1946) incorporated much of Mooney's work in his own expanded investigation of the historic and linguistic affiliations of the Indians of the Southeast in general, which included the Siouans. In these early years, research was oriented toward identifying the physical, linguistic, and cultural relations of the Indians in general. This "anthropogeographical" approach had as its ultimate goal the classification of the Indian groups, of which Siouan was but one possible category.

Through these pioneering studies, which made use primarily of historical and linguistic evidence, a number of the Indian groups that had resided in the Piedmont of Virginia and the Carolinas were classified as Siouan. Groups from Virginia that were thought to be Siouan included the Manaken and Hanathaskie, members of the larger "Monacan Confederacy"; the Saponi, known as the Nahyssonns early in their history; the Tutelo, also called by variations of the word "Totera"; and the Occaneechi (Mooney 1894; Swanton 1946). Within the Piedmont of the Carolinas and along its borders,

groups identified as Siouan were the Eno, Shakori (Shoccoree), Keyauwee, Sara (Cheraw), Saxapahaw, Pedee, Sugaree, Catawba, Santee, Congaree, and Wateree. All of these groups were known to the English of the 17th and 18th centuries. Over the years following contact the Indian groups underwent many changes both in name and structure, which hampered scholars in making specific identifications. Also, attempts to tie the various Indians named in the early Spanish chronicles to their later English counterparts, although pursued most energetically, produced only vexing results.

It has been customary to divide the various Siouan groups of the Carolina and Virginia Piedmont into "Northern" and "Southern" clusters (Griffin 1945:321). Membership in either lot was based on where a group was found following the extensive wars of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The Northern Division was composed of those Indians that placed themselves under the protection of the Colonial government of Virginia and settled at Fort Christana at the beginning of the eighteenth century. These Indians moved north by mid-1700 and joined with the Six Nations of the New York area. Most of the Siouan Indians noted previously as living in Virginia were in this group. They included the Sapona, Tutelo, Occaneechi and Stukanox. The latter group represented the combined remains of the Manakens and the other Indians of the old "Monacan Confederacy" (Swanton 1946:201).

The Southern Division comprised the Siouans who had, or were thought to have, incorporated with the Catawba. For the most part, these Indians were from the Carolinas. Included were the Eno, Sara (Cheraw), Keyauwee,

Shakori (Shoccoree), Pedee (Pede), Congaree, Wateree and Santee (Swanton 1946; Griffin 1945:321).

This differentiation more-or-less mirrored linguistic differences perceived at the time between the Tutelo and the Catawba (Griffin 1945:321-322). The meaning or degree of the divergence of these two Siouan dialects was not known, since the necessary studies had been conducted some 150 to 200 years after the fact. Also, vocabularies from these two Siouan languages were the only ones that existed for all of the Siouan groups listed above.

Archaeologically, research on the Siouan Indians of the Carolina and Virginia Piedmont areas dated back to at least the late 1930s. This beginning was marked by the use of the direct historical approach which attempted to locate and identify the archaeological remains of historically documented Siouan towns, and to compare the remains from these sites with those of earlier sites in the same area.

In the summer of 1937, the Archaeological Society of North Carolina and the University of North Carolina initiated what over the years has grown somewhat haphazardly into the "Siouan Project". At that time excavations were conducted in Randolph County, North Carolina, at the putative village site of the historic Keyauwee Indians (Coe 1937). Between 1938 and 1941, further investigations were carried out at the supposed seventeenth century villages of the Occaneechi and Saponi on the Roanoke River in Virginia; at a village on the Dan River in North Carolina identified with the Sara Indians; and at the early eighteenth century Siouan towns of the Occaneechi on the Eno River and the Saponi on the Yadkin River in North Carolina (Coe 1964:6). Out of this early work, ceramic series named Dan River, Clarkesville, Caraway, Hillsboro and Elkin

were assigned to the various Piedmont Siouan groups of the Historic period (Coe and Lewis 1952).

Following World War II, there developed an increased awareness of the time depth represented in the archaeological record of North America. At this time, the focus of research in North Carolina turned to defining the cultural traditions present prehistorically in the Piedmont. These entities, joined with the known traditions identified for the Historic period, were placed in their proper chronological order.

Beginning in the 1960s, archaeologists in North Carolina turned their attention away from the Piedmont region and toward investigations of the prehistory of the Cherokee Indians in the Mountain region. Books by Keel (1976) and Dickens (1976) detailed much of the data gathered from this research endeavor. The 1970s and 1980s have seen continued development of the previous research domains of the Research Laboratories of Anthropology. For example, crews have returned to the Dan River in North Carolina to revitalize the "Siouan Project". Impetus for research in this particular geographical area was generated by the active destruction of major sites in the Dan River drainage by local amateurs and hardcore pothunters.

The results of the archaeology conducted since 1972 as part of the "Siouan Project" forms the basis of this study. The author was intimately connected with the archaeological work in the Piedmont of North Carolina from the summer of 1973 to the fall of 1982. Toward the end of this period, my perspectives on the nature and results of the Siouan Project underwent a radical revision. It was originally my intent to build on the base provided by the past endeavors of numerous researchers. Unfortunately, this was rendered impossible as a synthesis of even the basic data sources on Siouan ethnohistory and ceramics was lacking. Emphasis had to be given,

therefore, to providing a broader overview of the interpretation of the structure and process of Siouan cultural systems of the Carolina and Virginia Piedmont.

A consideration of the published work on the Siouans in general shows that numerous articles, theses, and other publications have appeared over the years (Coe 1937; Griffin 1945; Lewis 1951; Coe and Lewis 1952; Coe 1952; Coe 1964; Keel 1972; Wilson 1977; Ward 1980; Gardner 1980; Wilson 1981; Wilson 1982; and Navey 1982). Each of these works has dealt for the most part with a particular aspect of the archaeological research, and usually has incorporated some sort of ethnohistorical data as well. The subject matter has either been a general overview or bare summary of the interpretation of the archaeological data; a short summary concerning some area of archaeological excavation; or a narrowly focused discourse on a particular Siouan group (or groups) as a separate entity. As for the archaeological research conducted on the Protohistoric and Historic Siouans, much has remained unpublished and/or otherwise unavailable, or has appeared in print with little elaboration. The work of Coe and Lewis on the Dan River ceramic series was the cornerstone of the early Siouan research (Lewis 1951; Coe and Lewis 1952; Coe 1952), and has served to perplex later investigators. Recently, Dan River ceramics have been reevaluated and found to date to late Prehistoric or possibly early Protohistoric, rather than Historic times (Coe 1976; Gardner 1980; Wilson 1982). The beginning of a revision in the status and relationships of the Dan River Series with other series, wares, and types of the Piedmont during the late Prehistoric, Protohistoric and Historic periods served as a starting point for the reassessment of all of the archaeological remains.

Ceramic series commonly associated with the Historic Occaneechi and Keyauwee Indians, both supposed Siouan groups, have also been sketchily reported in the past (Coe n.d., 1952, 1964). Hillsboro ceramics, supposedly manufactured by the Occaneechi, were summarized in 1952 in an article for the Fay Cooper-Cole festschrift (Coe 1952:310-311). An uncirculated manuscript, dating to the late 1940s, contained the initial definition of the Caraway ceramics associated at that time with the Keyauwee (Coe n.d.). Later, the Caraway ceramics were briefly mentioned again by Coe in 1964. The published summaries of these important ceramic series were often only short and vague descriptions. Existing, more complete analyses remained unavailable and/or were not written up for dissemination. Thus, the second goal of this dissertation was to put into print a thorough description and discussion of these two very important ceramic assemblages.

Ceramic collections that may relate to the Siouan Indians have been recovered archaeologically from other Protohistoric and Historic sites of the Carolina Piedmont. Two such collections have been retrieved from the excavation since 1972 at the location of the Protohistoric and Historic Siouan villages presumed by archaeologists to be Upper Saura Town (Keel 1972). These three sites lay within a mile of one another along the banks of the Dan River in Stokes County, North Carolina. Also, salvage excavations in the 1960's at a site on the Catawba River just north of Charlotte, North Carolina, produced a small quantity of ceramics that could be attributed to the historic Catawba Indians.

From the Prehistoric period, ceramics from two sites in the Dan River drainage in Virginia were available for study through the courtesy of the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology, Yorktown, Virginia. A large portion of these sherds had been typed as belonging to the so-called

"Clarkesville Series" (Coleman 1976), which has remained an enigma ever since it was first defined (Evans 1955; Miller 1962). The possibility of investigating the relationship of these ceramics with the Dan River types, and generally, the inter-relationships of all the ceramic series introduced previously, is the third major focus of this dissertation.

Aside from the ceramics, other archaeological data sets have been produced by the excavation of the various sites of the Carolina Piedmont that have traditionally been identified with the Siouan Indians. Of the materials recovered to date, the best documented have been the faunal remains. A number of sites excavated as far back as the 1930s provided sufficient quantities of animal bone of certain classes, especially mammals, that enabled the study of changing diversity within the assemblage as a whole using models from ecological anthropology and evolutionary ecology. The analysis within a diachronic framework of the utilization of faunal resources encompasses the fourth major emphasis of this study.

Unfortunately, the other cultural ecological relationships of the Siouan Indians are not documented as thoroughly as faunal exploitation. The ethnohistoric accounts contribute but a limited amount of information useful to such an endeavor. John Lawson's A New Voyage to Carolina (1967) illustrates this point very well. The work contains the relation of Lawson's journey through the Carolina Piedmont and Coastal Plain in the winter of 1701, a natural history of the Carolinas, and a discussion of the Indians of the area. Except for particular observations made during his journey, most of the facts, discussions and data presentations are of a general nature. Information concerned with subsistence strategies, items of material culture, socio-political organization and the like is not tied to any specific Piedmont Indian cultural group.

Lawson's work is not isolated in this regard, as most of the various ethnohistoric accounts seldom possess more than a superficial treatment of the Indians and their lifeways. Given the sparse amount of specific data with which to work, the cultural ecology of the Siouan Indians could not be fully addressed. Instead, the historical interactions are documented as best they could be, and other data are utilized where appropriate. One such study comprises the fifth area of interest for this dissertation. Excavations at one of the three sites referred to collectively as Upper Saura Town on the Dan River, known by the archaeological designation 31Skla, produced a quantity of charred botanical remains which were systematically collected. The results of the analysis of these materials have been presented in several reports (Wilson 1977, 1982). Charred plant material from certain other Siouan sites in North Carolina and Virginia either was not accessible or suffered from some drastic recovery bias. The analyzed botanical material from 31Skla was itself biased, as the primary method used in its recovery was waterscreening through 1/16 inch mesh window screen. Techniques used to collect plant remains from other sites ranged from waterscreening through 1/16th inch window screen and/or 1/32 inch screen to flotation of small quantities of feature fill. Given the biases and lack of uniformity in the samples of charred plant material from the posited Siouan sites of the Piedmont in general, it was decided to limit the discussion in Chapter 21 to the plant remains from 31Skla. The nature of the plant use for one particular unit of the Siouan Indians was thus confined to the synchronic study of this archaeological data.

The synthesis of the five interests enumerated above constitutes a sixth and most important purpose for this dissertation. A conclusion that is most obvious is the necessity for placing future research under some

coherent methodological approach. Likewise modifications in the manner in which some of that information should be retrieved are suggested where appropriate. For too many years now the advice given by Whitehead and Buckley, quoted at the beginning of this work, has been ignored, and the danger still exists that the same trap will be fallen into now and in the future. With this in mind, my dissertation should in no way be interpreted as a final word. The data themselves and the general data categories form the basis for continued and expanded research. It is hoped that the information presented in the following pages will serve to stimulate rethinking of long-held and unquestioned beliefs and interpretations. Agreement is not expected nor desired. The possibilities for future research are to be found in dialogues among researchers over the various data sets considered here and numerous others pertinent to the study of the native cultures of the Southeast in general.

#### Theoretical Orientation

The orientation within anthropology that guided this study has generally been labelled cultural ecology. This term has encompassed a variety of methodologies which over the years have been used to investigate the cultural/environmental interactions that have marked human prehistory and history. John Bennett (1976:71) has defined cultural ecology as "...the reciprocal relationships between the production of energy and goods, cultural values, social organization, technology, and population."

Cultural ecological studies in anthropology were divided into five categories by Bennett (1976:164): anthropogeography, environmental or ethnographic possibilism, Stewardian cultural ecology, cultural ecosystemicism, and adaptive systemics. These five approaches can be

grouped into two categories. Anthropogeography and environmental possibilism comprise one set, whose emphasis is primarily upon description. Environmental possibilism, associated with the work of Franz Boas and his students, viewed every environment as being defined by sets of opportunities and limitations, with man making choices amongst these in order to meet his needs (Bennett 1976:162). Put another way, man uses what he needs in Nature, and this use, not Nature, modifies the direction of his culture (Bennett 1976:24). Environment is seen as delimiting broad boundaries within which cultures can develop, but otherwise it exerts little influence on cultural matters (Smith and Winterhalder 1981:2).

The other group of cultural ecological studies is made up of Stewardian cultural ecology, ecosystemicism, and adaptive systemics. These methodologies emphasize explanation by going beyond the simple assumption of a voluntaristic choice of resources. The exploration of this position focuses the aim of modern cultural ecology upon theoretical explanations of feedback processes between culture, technology, and nature, especially in agrarian settings (Bennett 1976:24).

It is Bennett's fifth category of cultural ecological studies, adaptive systemics (Bennett 1976:164), that provides the theoretical framework for this dissertation. Adaptive systemics includes ecosystemics (natural systems and ecological "theory"), but adds "...adaptive behavioral processes involving decision making and choice..." (Bennett 1976:166). Human cultural systems are viewed as being non-natural, in that the human behavior under study is not subsumed within the automatic operations of natural ecological systems. The complex adaptive system as defined by Walter Buckley (1968) serves as the model for the system in operation.

Karl Butzer (1982:283) identified Buckley's adaptive system as one that is in constant interchange with the environment, provides a potential pool of variability with which to identify new and more detailed varieties and constraints within the environment, and that incorporates information into a structure for preserving and propagating the more successful (and essential) system variables. The concept more importantly is an open system model that stresses the interactions between sociocultural and environmental subsystems within a larger system (Wood and Matson 1975, quoted in Butzer 1982:283). Also, the complex adaptive system emphasizes variability, which in turn allows for selection, one mechanism of cultural evolution (Kirch 1980, and Dunnell 1980, quoted in Butzer 1982:283). Finally, by incorporating the distinctive human elements of cognition and decision making, choices among alternative adaptive solutions or strategies are possible (Bettinger 1980:237-240, quoted in Butzer 1982:283). This allows the complex adaptive system to avoid the simplistic nature of other deterministic systemic-ecological models (Butzer 1982:283). The available adaptive strategies Butzer (1982:283) defines as behavior sets that are based on the adaptive systems mapping of the environment (cognition) that enable the system to adjust to both internal and external change. It is in the interaction of cognitive processes with the environment, rather than one or the other, that profitable study of behavior can be pursued. For archaeologists the study of behavior is initiated with environmental data as the cognitive processes must be inferred.

Before considering the practical application of the complex adaptive system model, some criticisms of ecological studies in anthropology need to be addressed. Problems defined include a bias toward descriptive research and inductive arguments; "normative", case unique analyses; after-the-fact

construction of explanations; a tendency to depend on equilibrium or homeostatic models; and the use of nonrefutable hypotheses (Smith and Winterhalder 1981:3). Other difficulties arise from the apparent circularity of ecological arguments in general; absence of proper criteria for assessing the degree to which behavior is adaptive/maladaptive/non-adaptive; and the failure to consider alternative hypotheses in judging the adaptiveness of behavior (Alland and McCoy 1973:150-151; and Alland 1975:65-66, quoted in Smith and Winterhalder 1981:3). A large majority of these complaints are directed at what Bennett (1978: 166-186) labelled "ecosystemic" studies.

The complex adaptive system, as defined by Buckley and utilized by Bennett, represents an attempt to bypass these problems. This is, however, at a very "high" general theoretical level, which promises to provide little direct help to research involved with specific cultures. A second method used to circumvent the above criticisms has been to focus on a measurable common attribute of human and natural ecosystems, energy flow (Smith and Winterhalder 1981:3). Another approach advocated, and used to some extent in this work, is "socio-ecology", which encompasses, among other things, studies based on the precepts of evolutionary ecology (Winterhalder 1980; Smith and Winterhalder 1981).

Evolutionary ecology starts with the "...assumption that natural selection produced structures and behaviors which optimize components of an organism's fitness..." (Cody 1974, quoted in Winterhalder 1980:146). Evolutionary ecology approaches ecological problems with an deductive orientation, emphasizes mathematical modeling, and can be applied to the behavioral aspects of ecology (Smith and Winterhalder 1981:6). An

excellent overview of classic evolutionary ecology has been provided by Eric Pianka (1978).

Studies in evolutionary ecology generally have dealt mostly with predator avoidance, reproductive behavior, and resource procurement as components of fitness within natural selection (Winterhalder 1981:14). Each of these areas in turn encompasses other topics. As an example, optimal foraging "theory" uses spatial and temporal variables in models that attempt to predict diet breadth, use of patchy environments, foraging pathways, individual versus group foraging, or exclusive use of foraging space (Krebs and Cowie 1976; Pyke et al 1977; Schoener 1971, quoted in Winterhalder 1980:146).

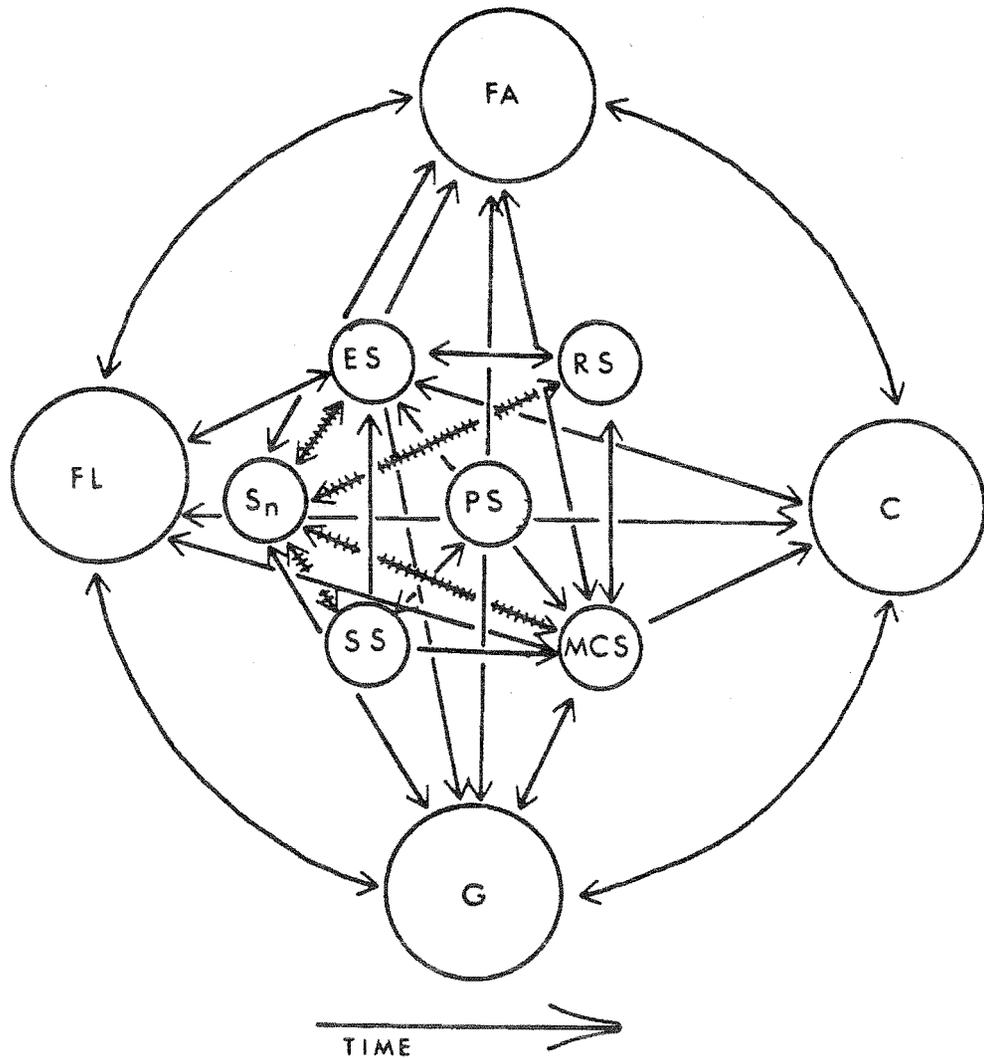
Ecological studies derived from evolutionary ecology have been placed in what has been termed "middle level theory" (Smith and Winterhalder 1981:7). Above this middle plane lies the general level of theoretical analysis that usually fails to explain effectively much of the observable variation (Smith and Winterhalder 1981:4). Below the middle level is found the study of specific societies or regions, the particularistic orientation that handles explanation very poorly or ignores it altogether (Smith and Winterhalder 1981:4). In archaeology, middle level theory has been equated to methodology, which seeks to connect theory on the "high" plane with technique on the "low" (Binford 1977:6-7).

In practice, the primary advantage of using the complex adaptive system is the relative ease with which the various components of a cultural system can be conceptualized and circumscribed for study. David Clarke (1968:102-108) describes an early model of an adaptive system connected via information feedback loops with an environment that includes other cultural systems. In the static model he uses to visualize the situation, the

individual cultural system, made up of five major subsystems, is circumscribed by those information flow connections and feedback loops which are more closely connected than those in the external environment (Figure 2). The five subsystems of the archaeological adaptive system are the social, religious, psychological, economic and material culture (Clarke 1968:102-103). These five "subsystems" represented an arbitrary division of a cultural system for heuristic purposes. The interaction of the cultural system with the "environmental" system via information feedback loops is mediated through, among other things, technology. The remains of technology are amenable to direct study through archaeology. The environmental system itself is composed of five arbitrary constructs, here used in their broadest sense: the flora, fauna, geology (which included topography, mineral resources, etc), climate and other sociocultural systems.

Recently, Butzer (1982:184-186), under the influence of David Clarke, constructed his own model of the interconnections between complex adaptive systems and the environment with special reference to archaeological analysis. The complex adaptive system is represented by a tripartate model composed of technology, social behavior, and resource opportunities and limitations. The adaptive system would be "...reflected in subsistence strategies and settlement patterns...", and responds and adjusts "...in relation to internal processes as well as changes in the human and non-human environment." (Butzer 1982:285).

It is possible to study the adaptive system thus defined through what Butzer (1982:3-13) terms contextual archaeology. Four approaches that provide "...study components to examine the interaction spheres between prehistorical peoples and their biophysical environments..." are advocated:



FA = Fauna  
 C = Climate  
 G = Geology  
 FL = Flora  
 ES = Economic Subsystem  
 RS = Religious Subsystem  
 MCS = Material Culture Subsystem  
 SS = Social Subsystem  
 PS = Psychological Subsystem  
 Sn = Other Sociocultural Systems

Figure 2.--Clarke's static model of interaction between the Environment and a Sociocultural System. Sn is the sum total of other Sociocultural Systems in the Environment. Connections between Sociocultural Systems are by cultural "coactions" (←-----→). Connections within a Sociocultural System and between it and the Environment are by "interactions" (←-----→). Sn, Flora, Fauna, Climate, and Geology comprise the Environment. (Adapted from Figure 17 of David Clarke's Analytical Archaeology, 1968, p. 125).

geo-archaeology, archaeometry, archaeobotany and zooarchaeology (Butzer 1982:13). Geo-archaeology refers to archaeological research that employs the methods and concepts of the earth sciences and embodies four major interests (Butzer 1982:37). These "interests" include survey techniques used to locate sites or features within sites; site formation processes; temporal studies; and reconstruction of the paleo-environment.

Archaeometry is concerned with the physical and chemical methods available for dating and identifying materials, and has three major goals (Butzer 1982:157). These are subsoil prospecting, material identification and resource utilization; and absolute dating of materials. Archaeobotany, based upon the botanical information present in the archaeological record, refers to the study of vegetation reconstructions and plant utilization (Butzer 1982:171-173). Zooarchaeology investigates the "...relationships between people and animals as they interacted spatially and as their mutual adaptive patterns changed through time" (Butzer 1982:190).

This study considers data pertinent to two of Butzer's four subfields of contextual archaeology--archaeobotany and zooarchaeology. Butzer's narrow definition of archaeobotany is expanded to include the potential uses by the Piedmont Indians of the plants identified in the archaeological record. Through the examination of faunal information, it is possible to investigate changes in the range of animals exploited in the Prehistoric and Historic period cultures identified with the Siouan Indians of the Carolina Piedmont.

The other set of archaeological data considered in this work is ceramics, extracted from the material culture subsystem. In general artifacts embody information about the cognitive processes of a culture's members, the behavioral patterns necessary for their production, and the

use intended for them (Clarke 1968:170). In this study, the ceramic artifact category is examined to document the interactions among the various cultural groups of the Carolina Piedmont. It is expected that a typological-attribute analysis of the pottery from various sites in the region will isolate those attributes and modes common to groups of related people. In this manner the ceramic data can be used to identify the historic, structural relationships of the Piedmont Indians of the Carolinas and Virginia.

Buckley (1968:510) has underscored the necessity for investigating both the structures and the processes characteristic of complex adaptive systems. The time perspective of structural and processual studies can be either "historical" or evolutionary. The question of the primacy of one approach or orientation over another has led in the past only to exacerbating debate that has used much energy and numerous pages of text in books and articles. The study of structure and process should be complementary, with each building upon and contributing to the other.

The present study for the most part has had to concentrate on the historical and structural aspects of the cultural systems of the Siouan Indians of the Carolina and Virginia Piedmont. Process was not intentionally neglected. Once research was initiated it became apparent that much of the previous work concerned with the archaeology and ethnohistory of the Siouan Indians was erroneous and/or severely strapped by the lack of information. A primary need to provide a secure base for this and future studies was thus established. To accomplish this became a major goal of this work, and structural details involving ethnohistory, ceramics, faunal remains and charred botanical material came to be emphasized. Before moving on to a consideration of the historical

structures associated with the Siouan cultural systems preceding and following contact, an introduction to the nature of the general environment of the Carolinas will be presented.

## Chapter 2

### ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING

#### Introduction

The area of this work embraces the Piedmont region of Virginia and the Carolinas (Figure 3). The boundaries of the study area are formed roughly by the following: the Appomattox River in Virginia on the north; the Santee River drainage in South Carolina on the south; the Fall Line on the east; and the Blue Ridge section of the Appalachian Mountains on the west. Although these physical entities demarcate the region in general, historical events and activities of the aboriginal cultures themselves made the boundaries only tenuous constructs chosen arbitrarily by the researcher to place the study area in space. As the Euro-American Colonial system became better adapted to the North American continent, events and affairs farther and farther removed from any particular region or locale came to weigh more heavily on the Indians. This circumstance should be kept in mind as the following sections of this chapter outline the physiography of the study region, and the general floral and faunal makeup of the Piedmont environment. This discussion is intended to set the stage and provide a background for the anthropological studies which follow.

#### Physiography

The physiographic province of the Southeast that encompasses the majority of the study area is the Piedmont. The Blue Ridge Mountain and Coastal Plain provinces which form the borders of the Piedmont will also be

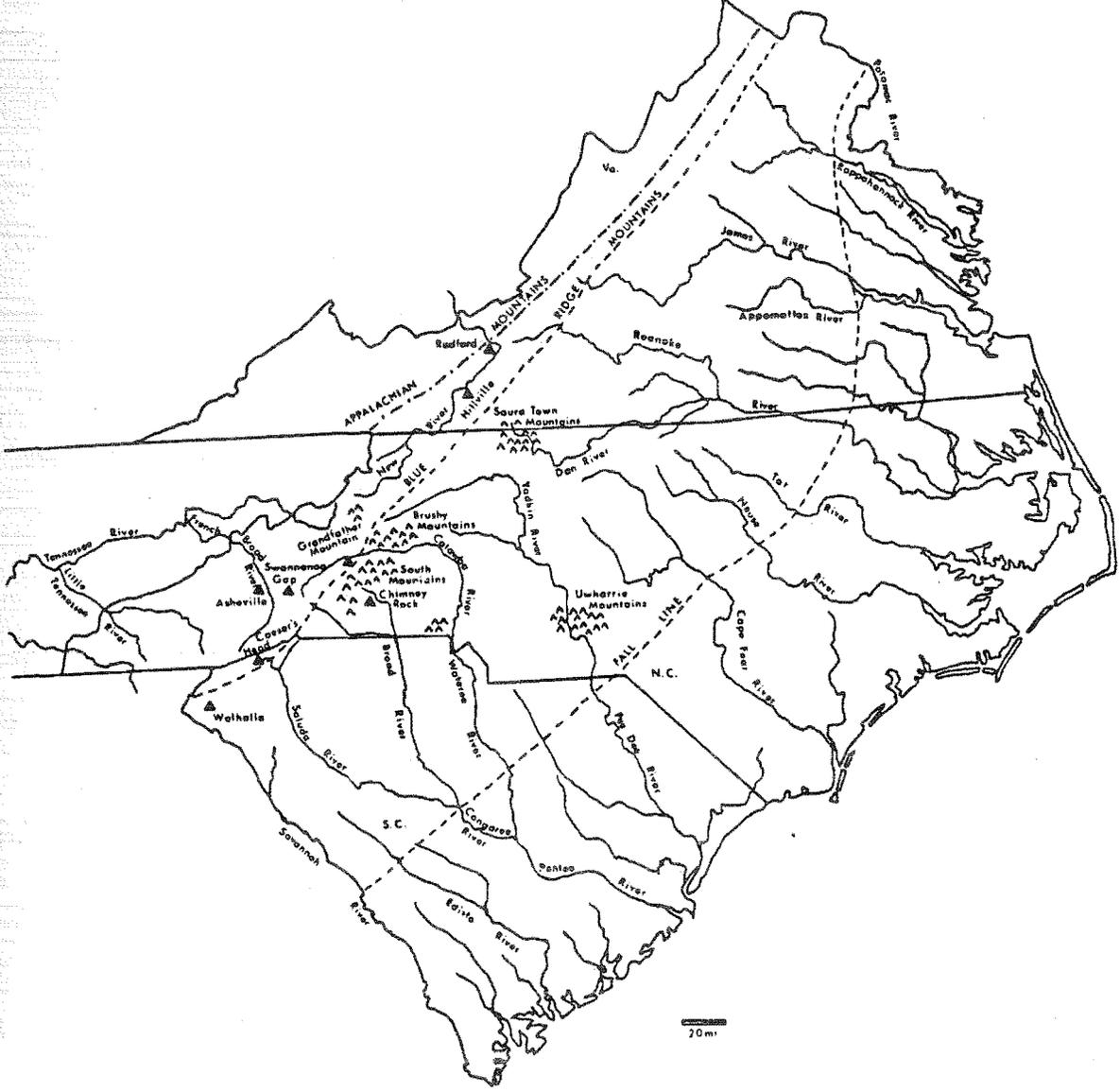


Figure 3.--Physiographic provinces of the Carolinas and Virginia.

mentioned briefly to help place the Piedmont and some of the following discussions in proper perspective (Figure 3).

East of the Piedmont lies the Coastal Plain (Fenneman 1939:1-45; Clay et al. 1975:112-113) which stretches from the Atlantic Ocean to the Fall Line. At the Fall Line, the harder, crystalline rocks that make up the Piedmont give way to the softer sedimentary deposits of the Coastal Plain. A series of terraces, that rise in a step-like manner from the coast inland, account for the general topography of the Coastal Plain. These terraces, marine in origin, are most readily recognized at points where major rivers, such as the Cape Fear, Neuse, and Roanoke, cut through the province. Generally speaking the relief of the Coastal Plain is slight, which results in poor drainage and slow-moving streams, except near the Piedmont and along the courses of the major rivers.

Usually the Coastal Plain is divided into Outer and Inner sections. The former, also known as the Tidewater, lies adjacent to the ocean, is extremely flat land (average elevation around 20 feet), and because of poor drainage, contains numerous swamps and shallow lakes. The Inner Coastal Plain gradually rises in height to meet the Piedmont, and in doing so becomes dissected and better drained. Overall, the Coastal Plain narrows as one moves north across North Carolina and into Virginia.

The Blue Ridge Province of the Appalachian Mountains lies to the west of the Piedmont. The Blue Ridge originates near the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania and forms the eastern section of the Appalachians all the way south till the mountains end in Georgia (Fenneman 1939:175). The band formed by the Blue Ridge varies between 20 and 50 miles in width. The Roanoke River separates the Blue Ridge into northern and southern sections, the latter being generally higher than the northern. Beginning near the

North Carolina-Virginia line, the Blue Ridge rises from an elevation of around 1700 feet above mean sea level to over 2500 feet near Blowing Rock, North Carolina (Clay et al. 1975:113). Farther south, the elevation increases to over 4000 feet at the highest points.

The Blue Ridge possesses broad intermontane valley floors called "straths", whose relief generally corresponds to that of the Piedmont (Lansdale 1967:5). These straths can be seen throughout the Blue Ridge, but especially along the headwaters of the major streams (Fenneman 1939:176). Notable straths are present along the upper reaches of the New, French Broad, Tuckaseegee, Little Tennessee, Hiwassee, and Ocoee rivers (Fenneman 1939:176-183).

Four major upland peneplain plateaus can be defined among these straths of the southern Blue Ridge --the Hillville District, the Subsummit Peneplain, the Pisgah District, and the Asheville Peneplain. The northernmost of these is the Hillville District located near the Virginia-North Carolina boundary along the upper New River. This strath/plateau slopes gently up to the northwest from an altitude of 3000 feet to 3100 feet. To the southeast there is an abrupt escarpment where the Piedmont meets the Blue Ridge. Here, in a space of two miles, the land drops some 1500 feet from the Mountains to the Piedmont. South of Hillville, the monadnocks<sup>1</sup> of the Blue Ridge rise above the strath to an elevation of 3500 feet, and provide the terminus for the peneplain (Fenneman 1939:177).

The Subsummit Peneplain (Fenneman 1938:177) lies among the high mountains along the western border of the Blue Ridge. This peneplain, at an elevation of 3800 to 4000 feet, surrounds Grandfather Mountain in

1

Monadnocks are the remnants of erosion resistant rocks that stand out over the normal relief, thus providing mountainous relief (Clay et al. 1975:113).

western North Carolina. The major river here is the Linville, which eventually flows south into the Catawba River.

Immediately southwest of the Subsummit Peneplain is found the Asheville Peneplain (Fenneman 1938:180-181). This strath consists of strips and patches of lower and smoother surfaces 10 to 12 miles wide, of an irregular shape. The average elevation is 2100 to 2200 feet. The Asheville Peneplain forms the gently rolling valley of the upper French Broad River. As one travels downstream from Asheville, the strath in question gradually loses its definition. In the gorges of the Great Smokey Mountains all evidence of this mountain peneplain vanishes.

The southernmost upland peneplain is the Pisgah District (Fenneman 1938:178) along the northwest border of North and South Carolina. This plateau, which is at least 3200 feet in height, declines slightly towards the French Broad River to the northwest. This strath ends near Caesar's Head, South Carolina. Here, the mountains descend in the space of a single mile to the Piedmont at an elevation of 1300 feet.

The Piedmont (Fenneman 1938:123-139), which has its borders defined by the Mountains and the Coastal Plain, generally possesses a height of around 1500 feet along its interface with the Blue Ridge in the Carolinas. This is considerably higher than the 700 to 800 feet elevations common in northern Virginia (Fenneman 1939:126). The inner boundary of the Piedmont is by definition at the foot of the mountains. The Piedmont itself can be defined as the nonmountainous portion of the Appalachians that slope downwards toward the Coastal Plain to the east. Here at the seaward edge the outer boundary is formed where the hard crystalline rocks of the Piedmont pass beneath the Coastal Plain sediments. This creates what is known as the "Fall Line", distinguished by where the Piedmont peneplain

drops downward at an angle underneath the Coastal Plain. This zone acquires its name from the numerous falls and rapids it possesses.

In the Carolinas, the Fall Line is not as sharply demarcated as in other sections of the east. The crystalline rock of the Carolinas is so hard that the channels and falls cannot be deeply cut by the action of the flowing water. This has the effect of dispersing the rapids for up to 20 miles along the course of the river after the Coastal Plain is entered (Holmes 1899:77). The Roanoke, Tar, Neuse, Cape Fear, and most of the other rivers of the region south of Virginia, experience this phenomenon. These streams just spread out across the gently sloping crystalline interface, rather than cutting through the zone and dropping immediately to, or nearly to sea level, as the rivers north of the Roanoke, such as the James River, do.

The Piedmont thus defined consists of two general areas, the Piedmont Upland and the Inner Piedmont (Fenneman 1939:131-139). The former covers most of the Piedmont. The Piedmont Upland's landscape has a rolling surface of gentle slopes. Each peneplain is cut or bounded by valleys of steeper slopes that often have a depth of several hundred feet. The typical Piedmont Upland is usually noted in the interior, away from the Fall Line edge, which shows the effects of increased erosion. Likewise, as one moves towards the Blue Ridge, peneplain development becomes more incomplete, and monadnocks more abundant.

This section of the Carolinas, marked by the presence of numerous monadnocks, comprises the Inner Piedmont. At times, the monadnocks become so closely packed that, even when accompanied by strips of peneplain, it is difficult to distinguish monadnock and Piedmont from the foothills of the Blue Ridge. The monadnocks that form the Inner Piedmont in Virginia lie in

a belt about 15 to 20 miles wide along the eastern edge of the Blue Ridge. Farther south in the Carolinas, the monadnocks spread out over the western half of the Piedmont. Groups of monadnocks that form recognizable "mountains" include the South Mountains, Brushy Mountains, Kings Mountain, Sauratown Mountains and the Uwharrie Mountains (Figure 3).

In the discussions that follow, especially in the ethnohistory section, the presence of such "mountain ranges" in the Piedmont should be kept in mind. Explorers were constantly confused by the changed nature of the Piedmont south of Virginia, and often equated the area, especially the Inner Piedmont, with the Appalachian/Blue Ridge Mountains further west.

#### Flora

The Carolinas and southern Virginia lie between 20 and 40 degrees latitude, which constitute the "humid subtropical climate" region of the world (Clay et al. 1975:93-101). Because of the presence of three physiographic zones--the Coastal Plain, the Piedmont and the Mountains--considerable variation in both climate and flora is observed across the area. The following discussion of the climate uses North Carolina as a median locale.

The temperature range across the Piedmont in January, moving from the northeast to the southwest, is 42.7 F for Raleigh, 39.0 F for Greensboro, and 42.3 F for Charlotte. The average date of the last freeze in spring is between April 1 and April 10 at the Fall Line, and after May 11 in the Blue Ridge. The summer maximum temperatures average between 88 F and 92 F across the Piedmont. The summer is also the time of greatest precipitation, with rainfall in the Piedmont averaging between 43 and 48 inches.

The "humid subtropical climate" of the region supports a variety of plant and animal communities. The Coastal Plain possesses the Southeastern Evergreen Forest (Waggoner 1975:4), which begins in southeastern Virginia south of the James River, and in general is characterized by a wide variety of plant communities. "Gum-cypress swamps" are found in the Tidewater region along blackwater rivers and in flats associated with upland drainage channels (Clay et al 1975:130). These forests are associated with areas where water stands for a great portion of the year. Cypress (Taxodium distichium), tupelo-gum (Nyssa aquatica) and swamp gum (N. sylvatica) are the most common trees.

The hardwood swamp forests (Clay et al. 1975:131; Waggoner 1975:29) are located along the rivers that flow through the Coastal Plain. These floodplains are only inundated during periods of high water, which usually occurs only occasionally during the course of a year. Major trees include willow oak (Quercus phellos), water oak (Q. nigra), sweet gum (Liquidambar styraciflua), ash (Fraxinus spp.), sycamore (Platanus occidentalis), river birch (Betula nigra), and elm (Ulmus spp.).

Pine flatlands or savannahs usually come to mind when one thinks of the Coastal Plain. Such communities are composed of scatters of pines and an almost continuous undercover of grasses and herbs (Clay et al. 1975:131; Waggoner 1975:27). Pine flatlands, as the name implies, are found on gently sloping sand ridges and on the extensive poorly drained flatlands. Pond pine (Pinus serotina) and longleaf pine (P. palustris) are the major trees. Portions of the pine bearing flatlands that have standing water covering them for most of the year are called "pocosins".

Generally, the Inner Coastal Plain can be divided into two broad regions which support different floral communities. On the deep well-

drained coarse sands of the Sand Hill Region of the southwestern Inner Coastal Plain are the longleaf pine-turkey oak-wire grass community (Clay et al. 1975:131; and Waggoner 1975:29). The uplands of the Coastal Plain possess stands of the oak-hickory forest usually associated with the Piedmont (Clay et al. 1975:131; and Waggoner 1975:26). The soils of the uplands, unlike the Sandhill Region, are not as sandy as the rest of the Coastal Plain, and drainage is adequate, but not excessive. These uplands and associated forests are restricted for the most part to the Roanoke drainage, and along the Inner Coastal Plain, especially near the Fall Line.

The Blue Ridge Mountains, to the west of the Piedmont, possess two general types of forests (Clay et al. 1975:134-135). Deciduous forests cover slopes and valleys to elevations between 5000 and 5500 feet. Five major forests types and distributions are included within this category. The cove hardwood forest covers mountain valleys and protected slopes between 1500 and 4500 feet in elevation. While 25 to 30 different species of trees may be present, six are most typical--hemlock (Tsuga canadensis), silverbell (Haleria carolina), yellow buckeye (Aescules octandra), sugar maple (Acer saccharum), and yellow birch (Betula alleghaniensis). Oak forests are found on the exposed slopes up to elevations of 5000 feet. On the southern and eastern facing outer slopes of the Blue Ridge below 3000 feet, and in interior mountain basins, are the oak-hickory forests similar to those of the Piedmont. The chestnut-oak forest, until the chestnut blight of the 1920s, was extensive and overlaid most of the lower and middle slopes. Finally, on the dry, open ridges and steep south and southwest facing slopes are the pine forests. These occur at elevations to 4500 feet. Virginia pine (Pinus virginiana), pitch pine (P. rigida), and table mountain pine (P. pungens) predominate.

The other major mountain forest type is the conifer forest (Clay et al. 1975:134). Trees of this group are only occasionally found in the Appalachians, as they usually occupy elevations higher than 4500 to 5000 feet. The dominant trees are red spruce (Picea rubens) and fraser fir (Abies fraseri) (Shelford 1963:123).

The Piedmont lies within one of the more abundant forest regions of the Southeast, the oak-pine (Oosting 1942; Brown 1952; Shelford 1963:57-119; Waggoner 1975:3-4). On the rolling uplands of the Piedmont, the forest is dominated by white oaks (Quercus alba), black oaks (Q. velutina), scarlet oaks (Q. coccinea), southern red oaks (Q. falcata), and post oaks (Q. stellata); mockernut (Carya tomentosa) and smooth hickory (C. glabra); blackgum (Nyssa sylvatica); tulip poplar (Liriodendron tulipifera); and occasionally shortleaf pine (Pinus echinata) or loblolly pine (P. palustris) (Clay et al. 1975:132). The common understory trees are dogwood (Cornus florida) and sourwood (Oxydendrum arboreum).

On uplands having wet winter/dry summer soils, other trees tend to dominate. These include post oak and blackjack oak (Quercus marilandica), with some sand hickories (Carya pallida). White oak and southern red oak are also present. Shagbark hickory (Carya ovata) can be found in favorable soils with characteristics similar to those noted above. In the western Piedmont, on dry, excessively drained ridges, scarlet oak and occasionally chestnut oak (Quercus prinus) are more common.

Along the floodplains of the larger streams of the Piedmont are found hardwood swamp forests (Clay et al. 1975:133). Major constituents of these forests include sycamore, river birch, ash, elm, sweet gum (Liquidambar styraciflua), willow oak (Quercus phellos), swamp chestnut oak (Q. michauxii), and tulip poplar.

## Fauna

Within the forests and along the rivers and streams of the Piedmont, an abundant amount and variety of animal life is found. The Indians, followed by the Euro-American explorers and colonists and the present day inhabitants, have enjoyed the use of the rich fauna of the Carolinas. Exhaustive lists and studies of the animals of the Eastern United States and the vicinity of the Carolinas and Virginia have been made. For the amphibians and reptiles there are works by Brimley (1944), Ernst and Barbour (1972), and Martof et al. (1980); for the birds one can consult Pearson et al. (1959), and Potter et al. (1980) among others; for the mammals, Brimley (1905), Smith (1960), Hamilton and Whitaker (1979), Hall and Kelson (1981), and Chapman and Feldhamer (1982) are just a few of the numerous sources available; and the fish are covered by Murray (1941), King (1947) and Fish (1969). It is not the intention of this general introduction to provide an indepth discussion of the animals of the Carolinas and Virginia or of the written works that detail them. Only the more common, and economically more important, animals in the Piedmont are covered in the following discussion.

The amphibians of the Carolina Piedmont include toads (Bufo spp.), the Spadefoot toad (Scaphiopus holbrookii), tree frogs (Pseudacris spp. and Hyla spp.), and the common frog (Rana spp.). The reptiles considered here are divided into two categories, the snakes and turtles. Numerous snakes, most of which are not poisonous, make their home in the Piedmont. Among the snakes reported are the horn snake (Farancia spp.); ring-necked snake (Diadophis spp.); spreading adder and eastern hognose snake (Heterodon spp.); green snake (Opheodrys spp.); black snake or black racer (Coluber spp.); corn, chicken and rat snakes (Elaphe spp.); scarlet snakes (Cemphora

spp.); king snake (Lampropeltis spp.); non-poisonous water snakes (Natrix spp.); garter snakes (Thamnophis spp.); copperheads and, possibly, water moccasins (Agkistrodon spp.); and rattlesnakes (Crotalus spp.).

The turtles found in the Piedmont include the snapping turtle (Chelydra serpentina), mud turtles (Kinosternon spp.), musk turtles (Sternotherus spp.), river cooter or painted turtle (Chrysemys spp.), sliders (Pseudemys spp.), and the eastern box turtle (Terrapene carolina). This listing is based on the works of Brimley (1944) and Martof et al. (1980).

As for the birds of the Piedmont, there are a great many more than can conveniently be listed here. The following list is abstracted from Pearson et al. (1959) and Potter et al. (1980). Among the numerous birds, both great and small, are the following important species: eastern bluebird (Sialis sialis), eastern bobwhite or quail (Colinus virginianus), a variety of ducks (Anas spp. and Aythya spp.), owls (Bubo spp. and Otus spp.), hawks (Falco spp. and Buteo spp.), falcons (Falco spp.), turkey vulture or buzzard (Cathartes aura), eastern cardinal (Cardinalis cardinalis), turkey (Meleagris gallapavo), eastern mourning dove (Zenaida macroura), and the passenger pigeon (Ectopistes migratorius), which has been extinct since the early 20th Century.

As for the fish, just as avidly pursued by the past and present inhabitants as the birds, though not as diverse, Murray (1941), King (1947), Walden (1964) and Fish (1969) are the sources for the information presented below. Those fish found throughout the state of North Carolina, except in the colder trout streams of the mountains, include bluegill (Lepomis macrochirus), channel and white catfish (Ictalurus spp.), and suckers (Catostomus spp.). Fish that enjoy a more limited range are the

longnose gar (Lepisosteus osseus) in the Coastal Plain streams and along the lower reaches of the Yadkin, Catawba and other Rivers of the Piedmont; largemouth bass (Micropterus salmoides) throughout the waters of the Piedmont and Coastal Plain; and the yellow perch (Perca flavescens) in large streams as far west as the lower Catawba River. It is recognized that the distribution of fish types in the rivers and streams during the Protohistoric and early Historic periods was probably somewhat different than that of today. Clearcut land with corresponding increased soil runoff, dam construction and chemical/fertilizer "pollution" have all combined to alter the Pre-Columbian pattern.

As for mammals, Brimley (1905), Hamilton and Whitaker (1979), and Chapman and Feldhamer (1982) have been consulted for help in compiling the following short list. For convenience, three broad habitat categories were established into which the mammals can be placed: (1) forests and wooded areas, (2) watercourses, and (3) diverse habitats which include forest edges, thickets, grasslands, abandoned fields, secondary growth areas and land under cultivation. Mammals that are usually found in forests and wooded areas are the gray squirrel (Sciurus carolinensis), eastern fox squirrel (Sciurus niger), southern flying squirrel (Glaucomys valans), chipmunk (Tamias striatus), red fox (Vulpes vulpes), grey fox (Urocyon cinereoargenteus), black bear (Ursus americanus), and the mountain lion (Felis concolor). Those mammals that prefer wet areas or watercourses, either wooded or open, include beaver (Castor canadensis), the marsh rice rat (Oryzomys palustris), muskrat (Ondatra zibethicus), mink (Mustela vison), and the river otter (Lutra canadensis). Mammals comfortable in diverse habitats are the opossum (Didelphus virginiana), shrew (Blarina carolinensis), eastern mole (Scalopus aquaticus), eastern cottontail

(Sylvilagus floridanus), woodchuck (Marmota monax), white footed mouse (Peromyscus leucopus), hispid cotton rat (Sigmodon hispidus) raccoon (Procyon lotor), long-tailed weasal (Mustela frenata), striped skunk (Mephites mephites), bobcat (Lynx rufus), and white-tailed deer (Odocoileus virginianus). Also, elk (Cervus canadensis) were probably distributed over much of the western part of the Carolina and Virginia Piedmont as late as the mid-18th Century. And, finally, there may have been some stray bison (Bison bison) on the Piedmont up through the early 1700s (Lawson 1967: 54, 120-121).

The mammals with furs or skins that could be exported came to be of great importance in colonial times for both the colonists and the Indians of the area. These animals included the beaver, raccoon, otter, muskrat, mink, and fox. Over time, however, the skins of the deer were to dominate the southern fur trade. This trade developed only in the mid-17th Century after the English finally penetrated the Piedmont south of the James River. Earlier English colonists had been restricted in both the Indians with whom they could interact and the territories from which furs and skins could be drawn. In contrast, the first Europeans to pass through the Southeast, the Spanish explorers of the 16th Century, had been lured to the backwoods of the Carolinas by wealth more valuable and elusive than furs and hides--gold and great empires.

### Chapter 3

#### INTRODUCTION TO THE ETHNOHISTORY OF THE PIEDMONT SIOUANS

The individual Siouan groups have been described and discussed in numerous books and articles over the years (Mooney 1894; Swanton 1946; Lewis 1951; Coe 1952; Autrey 1975; Wilson 1978; Wilson 1983). These studies have varied greatly in detail and have either focused on description of the groups as separate entities, citing the appropriate records, or have been limited to one group to the exclusion of the others.<sup>1</sup> This section on the ethnohistory of the non-Catawba Siouan Indians of the Carolina Piedmont has as a basic goal the gathering together in one place of all the information available for these aboriginal groups. A first step was to develop a framework within which this study could operate.

Many schemes have been proposed to classify the various phases of Indian-White relationships in North America (Fontana 1965; Quimby 1966; Leacock 1971; Wesler 1978; and Brain 1979). The arrangement followed here is adapted from the work of Leacock and Brain.

Leacock proposed five phases of what she termed "Indian history" (1971:9-12). Phase I, late precontact, can be defined archaeologically as Late Prehistoric. Essentially this period is marked by those structural characteristics (generally the broad variations in Indian society, population density, and patterns of land use and ecological

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Several sources concerning the ethnohistory and history of the Catawba Indians are available, including Scaife (1896), Lesesne (1932), Speck (1939), Brown (1966) and Hudson (1970).

adaptations) that the Indians of North America exhibited immediately prior to the appearance of the European explorers.

Phase II is represented by early contacts, either directly with European explorers, missionaries, and traders, or indirectly via goods traded through other Indians who acted as intermediaries. Archaeologically, this phase would be labelled the Protohistoric/Early Historic period. The breakup and reintegration that occurred during this time (following initial contact) has not as yet been adequately addressed by archaeologists. The assumption that cultural information pertaining to 17th-, 18th- or 19th-century lifestyles could be taken as indicative of initial contact and pre-contact society has not, and probably cannot, be substantiated (Leacock 1971:11). Leacock characterized the direct interactions between the Indians and the Europeans during this phase, lasting for several generations in most cases, as being relatively equal and usually mutually beneficial. Interaction was equal in that the Europeans did not attempt to exert direct control on the affairs of the Indians.

Phase III is a period marked by large-scale European settlement, and the establishment of intensive trade, which precipitated serious conflicts between whites and Indians and between Indians. Archaeologically, this phase is referred to as the early Historic period. Disruption, and in most cases annihilation, of aboriginal society, caused by disease and warfare, were hallmarks of this period.

Out of this chaos, Phase IV, a time of relative stability marked by the institution of Euro-American governmental controls, ensued. This control was manifest in the extreme by the formation of reservations. Phase IV corresponds to the later portions of the Historic period. The

following period, Phase V, which lies outside the scope of this work, encompasses modern times. A new sense of national consciousness and common purpose among the surviving Indian groups marks this era (Leacock 1971:12).

Leacock's Phases II and III delimit the periods of interaction covered by the ethnohistory of the Siouan Indians. Problems in applying Leacock's, or any such scheme to Indian history, cluster around the variability in time of occurrence and duration of the various phases or periods. Leacock's formulation, as well as most others, has applicability only within specific regions. Thus, for the Siouan Indians of the Carolina Piedmont, Phase II, initial contact, could date as early as 1542, the time of Hernando De Soto's expedition, or 1566, the time of the Juan Pardo expedition. The exact beginning date, nature, and results of this initial European contact with the Siouan Indians cannot be documented precisely for any of the Spanish explorers, and the effects of the Spanish incursions into the Carolina Piedmont have never been investigated archaeologically. Not until the explorations of the 1670s, initiated by the English Colonists of Virginia and South Carolina, was ongoing, continuous interaction sustained.

One factor contributing to the lack of research on the early contact period is the powerful influence of the works of John Swanton (1939, 1940) concerning the early Spanish explorations. This is especially true in the case of De Soto's travels. According to Swanton (1939:193, 207), De Soto traveled up the Savannah River along the present boundary between Georgia and South Carolina, and never penetrated the Carolina Piedmont. Thus, there was little incentive for researchers to work on this or related problems. Associated with this lack of work was the absence of any

strategy that could be used to describe the patterns of contact in the archaeological record during any of the phases or periods during the Historic period.

Jeffery Brain (1978:271) in his discussion of the Tunica treasure, a collection of trade materials from a Tunica Indian village/cemetery in Louisiana, suggests a series of archaeological counterparts for the various patterns of interaction that are documented. For the Protohistoric period, Initial Contact (Fontana 1965), or Phase II (Leacock 1971), Brain states that the archaeological pattern should consist of occasional European trinkets in an otherwise native assemblage with typical native configurations. The archaeological recovery of such information sets would be very difficult, as extensive and intensive excavation would be necessary to uncover the slight evidence present.

In the early Historic period, Contact (Fontana 1965), or the early to middle portion of Phase III (Leacock 1971), Brain sees an intensification of the acculturation process. In the archaeological record, this phase would be documented by the presence of a predominately native assemblage containing European trinkets and hardware, but still in native configurations. The archaeological recovery of such information would be difficult, as a great deal of work would be required to delineate the changing patterns of material culture.

During the Historic period, Postcontact (Fontana 1965), or middle to late Phase III (Leacock 1971), acculturation would be a strong force acting within the aboriginal cultures. Archaeologically, this would be manifested by the presence of a considerable array of European artifacts and traits, with a continued strong native representation, in the Indian's material culture. The configuration of the artifacts and traits would continue

after the native fashion. The documentation of this archaeologically should be good.

The Late Historic period, late Postcontact (Fontana 1965), or late Phase III/early Phase IV (Leacock 1971), is marked by advanced acculturation. The archaeological remains would contain all Euro-American artifacts and traits. Native configurations would continue to predominate. Brain suggested that archaeological recovery of such configurations would be good.

The final period, Leacock's (1971) late Phase IV/initial Phase V, is typified by the assimilation of the Indian cultures within the Colonial system. The archaeological materials would consist of Euro-American artifacts and traits in non-native configurations. The recovery of such data would probably be excellent. Unfortunately, it would be difficult to distinguish such aboriginal patterns from Euro-American remains, as nothing would exist in the archaeological record to indicate who was responsible for the deposition of the remains.

In summary, this section on the ethnohistory of the Siouan Hill Tribes spans the time from initial contact (probably by the Spanish) until the time when the Indian's identity became submerged within either the Catawba, who dominated the Carolina Piedmont during the first half of the 18th century, or within those groups who removed northward to join the Iroquois. This epoch encompassed the Spanish explorations of the 16th century, the English "Discoveries" of the mid-17th, and the wars with and eventual domination by the English in the first half of the 18th. The beginnings of the French and Indian Wars of the 1750's marks the end of this study into the known history of these Eastern Siouan Indians.

The first three phases of Indian "history" put forth by Leacock provide the basis for consideration of the ethnohistoric data. The potential patterning within the archaeological record derived from the work of Brain forms the link between the ethnohistoric accounts and the archaeological sections that follow. The latter deal with ceramics, floral remains and faunal material recovered from presumed Siouan sites of various time periods and interaction phases. As shall be seen, there are problems in dating many of these archaeological materials.

In this study, the social organization of the various Indian groups is discussed in terms derived from the evolutionary typologies developed by Sahlins and Service in the 1960s (Sahlins and Service 1962; Service 1962; Sahlins 1968). These dichotomous societal typologies will be used even though many have come to question the usefulness of such schemes (Service 1971:156-157; Renfrew 1973:557; Tainter 1978:114-115). The majority of the Indian groups of the Piedmont appear to have been organized into "tribes" (Coe 1952; Hudson 1965:73-77). Major attributes of a tribe (Service 1962:110-142; Sahlins 1968:14-27) include egalitarian kinship groups, charismatic leaders, and an economy based on reciprocity rather than centralized redistribution. Cohesion of the social elements within a tribe is provided by conflict and/or competition for resources (Service 1962:113-115).

The other class of social organization is the chiefdom. Characteristics of a chiefdom (Service 1962:143-177; Sahlins 1968:24-27; Renfrew 1973:543) are a ranked society, redistribution of produce organized by a chief, centers which serve as a focus for social, religious and economic activities, a resident priesthood, adaptation to ecological diversity, craft specialization, pooling of skills and labor in cooperative endeavors, and deployment of public labor. Sahlins (1968:20) characterized a

chiefdom level of sociocultural organization as the most developed form of tribal culture. Only a few instances of a chiefdom can be found in the Carolina Piedmont, including, possibly, the 17th and 18th century Essaw/Catawba Indians of the Catawba River area of North and South Carolina (Hudson 1965:77-83; Hudson 1972:28-30; Baker 1975:22-36), the Indians associated with the 16th century province known to the Spaniards as "Cofitachequi" (Baker 1974:11-15; 1975:1-22), and the Indians of the prehistoric Pee Dee phase (cf. Coe 1952; Reid 1967).

## Chapter 4

### THE SPANISH IN THE CAROLINA INTERIOR, 1542-1567

By 1538 the high civilizations of the Americas, including the Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru, had been discovered and ravaged by the Spanish conquistadors. Tales of vast "cities of gold", comparable to those of Mesoamerica and South America, soon were to lure countless Spanish adventurers into the wildernesses of North America. As time passed, less effort could be expended on the search for such riches, and these stories faded into legend, although they were never completely forgotten. Beginning in the 16th Century, Spanish policy came to be dominated by the need to defend the wealth they possessed, as the Spaniards found themselves hard pressed by France and England to hold on to that which God had given them as just reward for following the "True Faith".

Elements of the necessity for defense and the quest for personal fortune underlay both of the 16th century Spanish incursions into the Carolina portions of North America--the fanatical gropings of the Hernando de Soto entrada, and the the adventure-seeking army of Juan Pardo. De Soto came looking for El Dorado, the fabled "City of Gold". Pardo had been sent on a more practical mission by a Spanish Governor to secure the hinterlands from suspected French subversion. Of the two, Pardo's passing was probably the more influential and lasting. He and his army stayed for a considerable time at certain of the Indian's towns, and established a number of outposts/missions in the Carolinas. De Soto, on the other hand,

did not find the gold and riches for which he and his army lusted, and pushed forward quickly in pursuit of ghosts and illusions.

The Expedition of Hernando De Soto  
1538-1542

The earliest mention of what has been identified as a Siouan group from the Piedmont of either Virginia or North Carolina is contained in the accounts of Hernando De Soto's expedition through the Southeastern United States between the years 1538 and 1542. The details of De Soto's expedition presented here are based on material contained in two works by Swanton (1939:170-190; 1946:44-46).

By mid-April of 1540, De Soto had journeyed from the Gulf Coast of Florida through the Coastal Plain of south Georgia to "Patofa", somewhere in central (?) Georgia south or southeast of Macon (Swanton 1939:177-179; Swanton 1946:44; Baker 1974:V-10,V-19). On April 16, 1640 the entrada set out in an easterly direction across a great wilderness (Swanton 1939:187). After many hardships and disasters, including losing a good many of their tame pigs at a river crossing, the starving and disorganized Spaniards found succor at the village of "Hymahi" (Figure 4), reached by the main part of the army on April 27 (Swanton 1939:170). From here they made their way to the country of "Cofitachequi", reaching the river flowing by that town on May 1 (Swanton 1939:170; 1946:45). A portion of the army then moved to a town called "Ilapi", located about 12 leagues<sup>1</sup> (30 miles) from Cofitachequi (Swanton 1939:171; 1946:46). Around May 13, De Soto left Ilapi and Cofitachequi proper, and started on the path to the province

<sup>1</sup>  
A league is equal to approximately 2.5 miles.

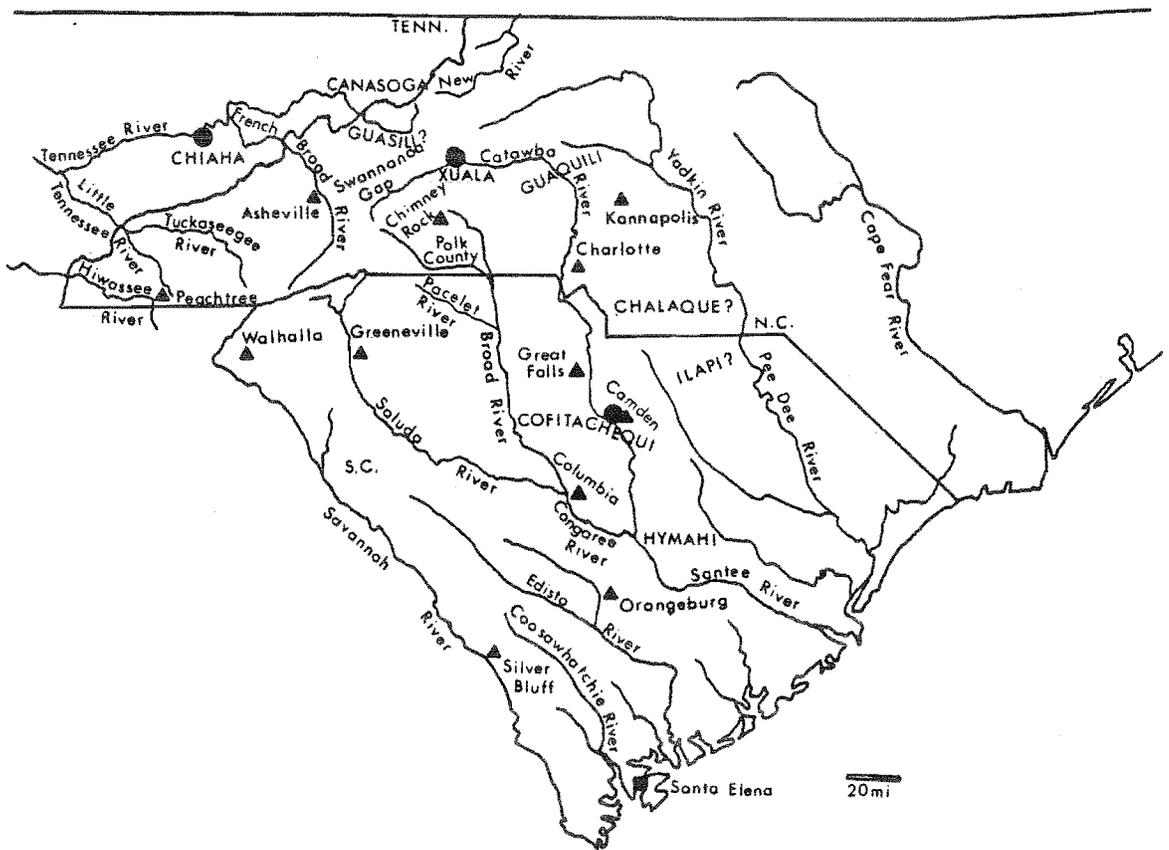


Figure 4.--The cultural geography of De Soto's journey through the Carolinas during the 1540s.

called "Chiaha", somewhere to the north (Swanton 1939:187). In two days the expedition came to the territory of "Chalaque", which contained only small, sparsely populated villages (Swanton 1939:187; 1946:46). On May 18, after spending the night in a forest, the army arrived at the town of "Guaquili" (Swanton 1939:188; 1946:46). On the 21st of May, after two days travel through a region full of reeds and then across a small plain, De Soto arrived at the town of "Xuala" (Swanton 1939:188; 1946:46). This town was described as being located on a plain between two rivers in an area viewed by the Spaniards to possess the best indications for gold of any they had passed (Swanton 1939:188). Following a four day rest, they left Xuala on the 25th and crossed a very high range the same day (Swanton 1939:188). On the night of May 26, the Spanish camped in a plain, where they suffered from extreme cold (Swanton 1939:188). This march took them along a river that they crossed several times, and which slowly gained in size. Finally, on May 27, 1540, the army entered the town of "Guasili" on the banks of the river they had been following (Swanton 1939:189). The chief's house was noted to be on a high elevation. On May 31, after a short rest, the Spaniards departed and camped that night beside the large river. The following day they passed "Canasoga", and again camped in open country for the night. Nightfall of the next day found them near a swamp, and the following day they marched along a stream near the large river, which had continued to grow in size (Swanton 1939:189-190). Two days later, on June 5th, the army crossed over an arm of the large river to an island upon which sat the town of Chiaha (Swanton 1939:190). Here the Spanish entrada paused for almost a month to refresh themselves before continuing onward.

By the time the Spanish reached the town of Guasili, they had left the Piedmont and had entered the Mountains. Xuala was the last town encountered before the Mountains. The march from Guasili to Chiaha apparently led through the Mountains and kept close to the large river whose headwaters had been encountered soon after ascending into the highlands. The further adventures of De Soto and his armies beyond Chiaha has little value to this study. Attention will be given to the other Spanish expedition which holds important information on the route of De Soto and the identification and location of the Indians of the Carolina Piedmont.

#### The Adventures of Juan Pardo, 1566-1567

The other major Spanish exploration in the Carolina interior is that of Captain Juan Pardo, who led two expeditions from a settlement on the Atlantic Coast into the Carolina hinterland, one in 1566 and the second in 1567. Three versions of the accounts of the expeditions, and the experiences of the various detachments of Pardo's army, have survived. One is a journal penned under Pardo's name. A second is a transcript of a deposition of the first journey which contains a summary of the messages from the troops Pardo had left in the interior before his return to the coast. This was given in July of 1567 by Francisco Martinez, a soldier of that expedition. And the third, recorded January 23, 1569, is a statement made by Juan de la Vandra about the second expedition into the interior in 1567. The following discussion is based on the translation by Gerald W. Wade (contained in Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:112-121) of the above three accounts as found in the appendices of a work in Spanish by Eugenio Ruidiaz y Caravia, La Florida, Su Conquista y Colonizacion por Pedro Menedez de

Aviles (1894), and a longer version of Vandera's deposition that is preserved in the collections of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History (Wright n.d.; DePratter and Smith 1980; DePratter et al. 1982).

Juan Pardo and his soldiers set out from Santa Elena (Figure 5) on present day Paris Island, South Carolina, on St. Andrews Day in early November of 1566. Mary Ross (1930:270) set this day at November 10. The first forty leagues (100 miles) consisted of travel through swampy land interspersed between the towns of various Indian groups intimately acquainted with the Spanish in Santa Elena. Although neither Pardo nor Martinez gave the names of these towns, Vandera fortunately did on the second trip. These towns were, in order, "Uscamacu", "Ahoya", "Ahoyabe", "Cozao", and a small town subject to "Cozao", with Uscamacu being closest to Santa Elena (DePratter et al. 1982:9-10).

The first town reached after leaving known territory, according to Pardo (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:113) was a town with no name on a large river. Pardo later provided "Guia<sup>2</sup>mae" as the name of that town (Folmsbee and Lewis 1965:114), while Vandera labelled the place "Guia<sup>2</sup>maez" (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:119). Two days travel brought the Spaniards to "Canos", or Cofitachequi, also on a large river (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:113). The itinerary of the first journey from Canos to "Juada" (De Soto's Xualla) went as follows: one days travel to "Tagaya"; one days travel to "Little Tagaya" or "Tagaya the Lesser"; one days travel to an unnamed town ("Ysa the Lesser") (DePratter et al. 1982:29); travel the same day to the town of "Ysa"; one days journey to an unnamed village of Ysa ("Dudca") (DePratter et al. 1982:27) on a big river; and then two days march across open land to

2

Vandera's spelling and names of towns will be placed in brackets following Pardo's version, where the two differ.

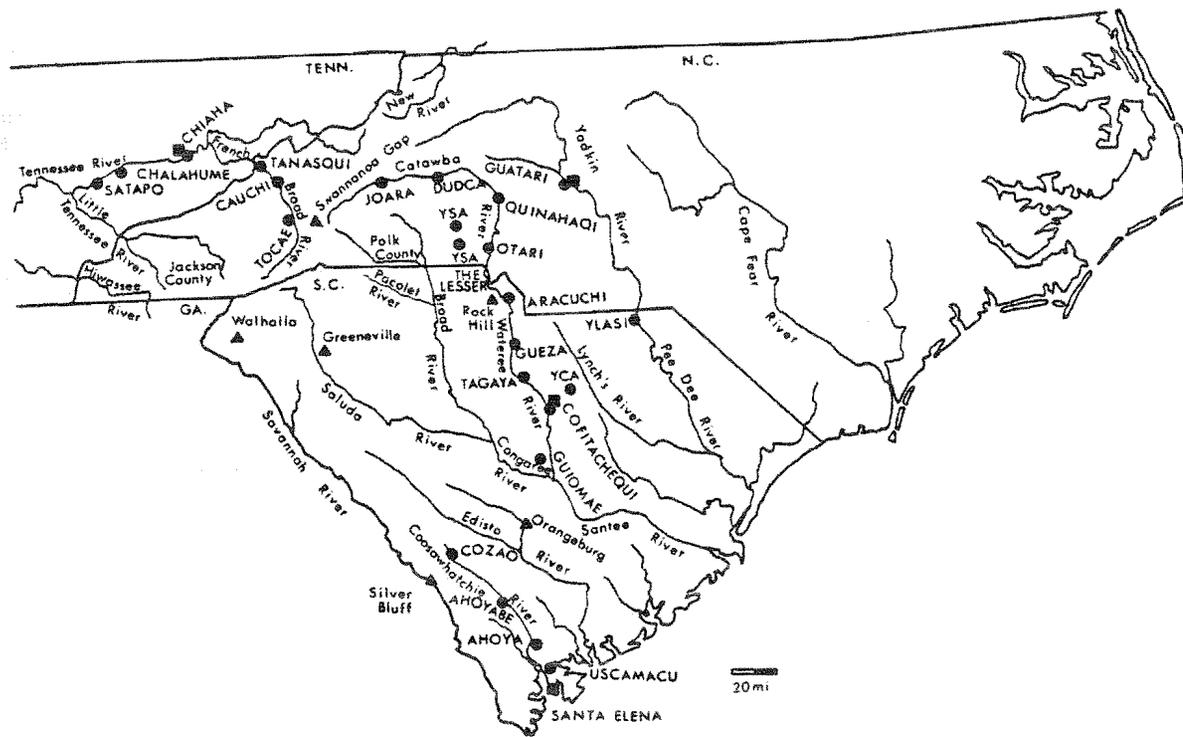


Figure 5.--The cultural geography of Pardo's two expeditions through the Carolinas during the 1560s.

Juada, where a fort was constructed (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:113-115). Here, Martinez noted that the journey into the mountains beyond had to be halted due to the presence of snow on the "sierra" visible from Juada (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:118).

With winter preventing the move west, Pardo turned instead to an exploration of the immediate area, a section of the Carolina Piedmont. From Juada, the army journeyed one days march north and spent one night in open country near the big river that passed by Juada (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:113). The next day the army passed down this river without mentioning that they encountered Juada in doing so. On the following day (three days after leaving Juada) "Quihanaqui", a town situated on very attractive plains with the big river flowing through them, was reached (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:118). The following day an unnamed town was encountered that was also beside the big river (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:113). Two days travel, with one night spent in the open country with no village in close proximity, brought the expedition to "Guatari" (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:114). Here a mission was established. Also, orders instructing Pardo to return to Santa Elena caught up with the army. The French were causing alarms along the Spanish Main, and trouble was expected on the coast.

From Guatari, Pardo moved with his remaining soldiers into open country and on the second day reached "Guatariatiqui" (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:114). Two more days travel across uninhabited land brought the expedition to "Racuchilli" ("Aracuchi") (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:114,119). An unnamed village was found a days journey beyond Racuchilli, and a day later Pardo encountered his original trail just above Little Tagaya (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:114). The same towns and time intervals recorded for the trip north to Little Tagaya were noted for the return trip to Santa

Elena (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:114). It was during this return trip that Pardo identified the town 40 leagues from Santa Elena as Guamae.

After the French threat had faded, Pardo was able to return to the Carolina hinterland in September of 1567. Martinez related that Sergeant Boyano and a number of troops, originally left at the Juada fort, had become imbroiled in a war with the Indians west (?) of Juada (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:117). Messages received in Santa Elena reported that Boyano had left ten of his force of twenty at Juada, and had ascended into the sierra, exploring and fighting his way to "Chihaque" (also called "Lameco", "Solemeo", and "Chiaha") (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:117). It was here that Boyano awaited further instructions. Martinez, writing in Santa Elena of the events of the spring and summer of 1567, placed Boyano's most distant point of conquest at 140 leagues (350 miles) from Juada (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:117).

Pardo's second expedition was covered by his own account, as well as that of Juan de la Vandera. As he had on the first journey, Pardo encountered Guioae (Guiaaez) 40 leagues from Santa Elena (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:114). Two days later, they reached Canos (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:114). Vandera noted that Canos was also called "Canosi" and "Cofetazque" (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:119). Also, according to Vandera, three or four fairly large rivers, and one (and possibly a second) very large river, lay within the boundaries of Canos/Cofetazque (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:119). The countryside consisted of high valleys with a few small swamps "that a boy could cross quite easily," and was possessed of a reddish soil (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:119). Santa Elena was 50 leagues (125 miles) away, and the sea only 20 leagues (50 miles) down the river on which Canos lay (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:119). Vandera related the three

routes by which Canos could be reached: by travel up the river that flowed by Canos; by travel over land (apparently from Santa Elena) to the river of Canos and thence up the river; or overland through the town of Guiamaez (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:119).

From Canos, the second expedition traveled to Tagaya, and from thence to Little Tagaya, before arriving at a town whose name, and chief's name, Pardo had forgot (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:114). Vandera almost concurred on this itinerary. After Tagaya, he did not mention Little Tagaya, and for the town whose name Pardo forgot, Vandera supplied "Gueza" (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:119).

Following Gueza, the next town encountered was "Rauchi" (Aracuchi) (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:114, 119). Two days later "Quatariatiqui" ("Otariyatiqui" or "Otari") was reached, and on the same day, another town whose name Pardo did not remember ("Quinahaqui") (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:114, 119). At Otari, Vandera digressed in his account, and noted that 15 or 16 leagues (37.5 to 40 miles) off to the right (east) of Otari would be found the town of Guatari (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:119). This latter village was the point where Pardo had been ordered back to Santa Elena the previous year. The direction to take to reach "Guatari" (from Santa Elena ?) was stated by Vandera to have been "more under the north than the other" (northwest would be my interpretation) (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:119). Vandera described Guatari as "a land of sierra", at which the army later stopped and visited for 17 days on its return to Santa Elena from Juada (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:116, 119). The town of Guatari was on a large river, which Vandera said led to "Saupa" and "Usi", where salt was made near the sea, some 60 leagues (150 miles) from Santa Elena (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:119). Guatari was placed 80 leagues (200 miles) distant from

Santa Elena, while the river that flowed by Guatari was navigable for 20 leagues (50 miles) upstream by any ship (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:120).

Quinahaqui, the name of a town that Pardo had forgotten, was also on a large river (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:113). Vandera noted that the town of Ysa/Issa lay 12 leagues (30 miles) to the left (west) of Quinahaqui on very pretty plains in a land of many rivers and springs (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:120).

The last town encountered before Juada was "Quirotoqui" ("Aguaqiri") (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:115, 120). Two days travel brought the army of the second journey to Juada (Joara). Vandera disagreed with Martinez and placed Juada next to the sierra, 100 leagues (250 miles) from Santa Elena (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:120).

From Juada, Pardo set out to find Boyano, and marched for four days beyond the sierra through uninhabited land to "Tocalques" ("Tocar") (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:115, 120). Vandera placed the elapsed time at three days for the passage through the sierra (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:120). From Tocalques, the itinerary was as follows: one days travel to "Canche" ("Cauchi"), on a major river with large plains; three days journey to "Tanasqui", also on a major river; and one days trip (or part thereof) to Chihaque or Laemeco as it was also known (Salemeco or Chiaha) (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:115, 120). At Chihaque/Chiaha, Pardo found Boyano with his detachment. Vandera noted that Chihaque was on a river that had small towns scattered about three miles up and down its banks (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:120). Chihaque was placed by Martinez 160 leagues (400 miles) from Juada, as previously mentioned.

Pushing onward, Pardo's army reached an unnamed town ("Chalahume") after a three day journey through uninhabited country (Folmesbee and Lewis

1965:115, 120). The sierra in the vicinity of Chalahume were rougher than any they had passed through to that date, although the town itself was located on large plains (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:120).

One days journey brought the Spanish to "Satapo", where the Indians greeted the travelers with derision and hostility (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:115, 120). Pardo decided to continue no further, heeding the warnings of imminent attack by the Indians of the region if he did so (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:115).

Based on information supplied by the Indians and another soldier in the company who had made the journey (apparently having been sent ahead as a scout at some previous time), Vandra described the highpoints of the trip had the it been continued (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:120-121). Beyond Satapo, the town of "Casaque" would be directly encountered, probably after a days trip. Another days journey would find "Tasqui"; followed by "Tasquiqui" just a short distance from "Tasqui"; then a days travel to a destroyed town called "Olitifar"; after this there would have been two days travel across uninhabited land to a small town, with a second small town being about a league further along. The goal of all this walking was "Cossa", De Soto's "Coza", which would be reached after a trip of five or six more days. Between Satapo and Tasqui, three large rivers would have been encountered.

There were no towns larger than Cossa between it and Santa Elena (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:121). The former was located on low ground beside a sierra. A seven day trip beyond Cossa lay the town of "Trascaluza" (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:121). This last named town had been the ultimate goal of Pardo's expedition, as it lay on what was said to be the fringe of populated Florida (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:121).

Instead, Pardo departed from Satapo, somewhere in the Appalachian Mountains, and led his men back to Santa Elena, establishing manned forts/missions along the way. Four days travel brought the army to Lameco/Chiaha, where a fort was built (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:116). After traveling through open country, Cauchi was reached. Another fort was erected and garrisoned (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:116). Two days later found the Spaniards back at Tocalques/Tocar (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:116). After negotiating the sierra in four days, Pardo and company returned to Juada. A garrison of 30 soldiers, under the command of Alberto Escudero, was again left at this fort (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:116).

Leaving Juada, Pardo moved with the main body of his troops to Guatari by way of Dudca, Yssa, Yssa the Lesser, and Quihanaqui (DePratter et al. 1982:27-30). This passage required four days. At Guatari, another fort was constructed, and a corporal with 16 men was stationed there (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:116). After staying 16 or 17 days in Guatari (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:116), Pardo led the remainder of his force back to Santa Elena. From Guatari, the army traveled to Aracuchi, where it was split into two groups by Pardo (Depratter et al. 1982:30). One group headed directly to Cofitachequi, while Pardo and the rest set out for "Ylasi". This town was located some 20 leagues (a five days journey) to the east (Depratter et al. 1982:30). From here, Pardo journeyed to Cofitachequi by way of a small village, "Yca" (Depratter et al. 1982:30). This village was some 11 leagues from Ylasi, and only two from Cofitachequi (Depratter et al. 1982:30-31). From there Pardo led his combined force across the Coastal Plain to Santa Elena.

Captain Pardo was never to return. Nor were any comparable large expeditions ever to follow in his footsteps into the Carolinas. The

Spanish garrisons Pardo established in the Carolina hinterland did not last. Gradually they were abandoned as Spain's power waned, and her fortunes in European affairs declined. Except for a brief moment early in the next century, the cultures that inhabited the Carolina Piedmont were shrouded in darkness, awaiting their "discovery" by the English almost a century after Pardo had established fleeting Spanish dominion over the area.

#### Postscript

Between the time of Pardo's last expedition in 1567 and the time of Woodward's "discovery" of 1671, there was only one mention of Spanish contact with the Carolina Piedmont Indians. In 1628, Pedro de Torres was dispatched by the Spanish Governor of "Florida" to find the "Kingdom of Cofitachequi" and report on its status (Swanton 1922:220). According to De Torres, the expedition traveled some 200 leagues inland to "Cosatachiqui". The only information supplied, however, was that this province continued to thrive in its expected location. Swanton (1922:220) and Baker (1974:111) interpreted "Cosatachiqui" and "Cofitachequi" to be the same.

#### Discussion and Summary of the Spanish Contact

The Spanish initially came amongst the Indians of the Carolinas in search of gold and silver. Later they returned to keep the region secure from the French. In the course of accomplishing this last goal, the Pardo expeditions established a string of forts and missions across the Carolinas and into Tennessee. The precise locations of these outposts have never been documented and may never be. The basic questions to be asked are: (1) who were the Indian groups the Spanish contacted, and (2) where were they

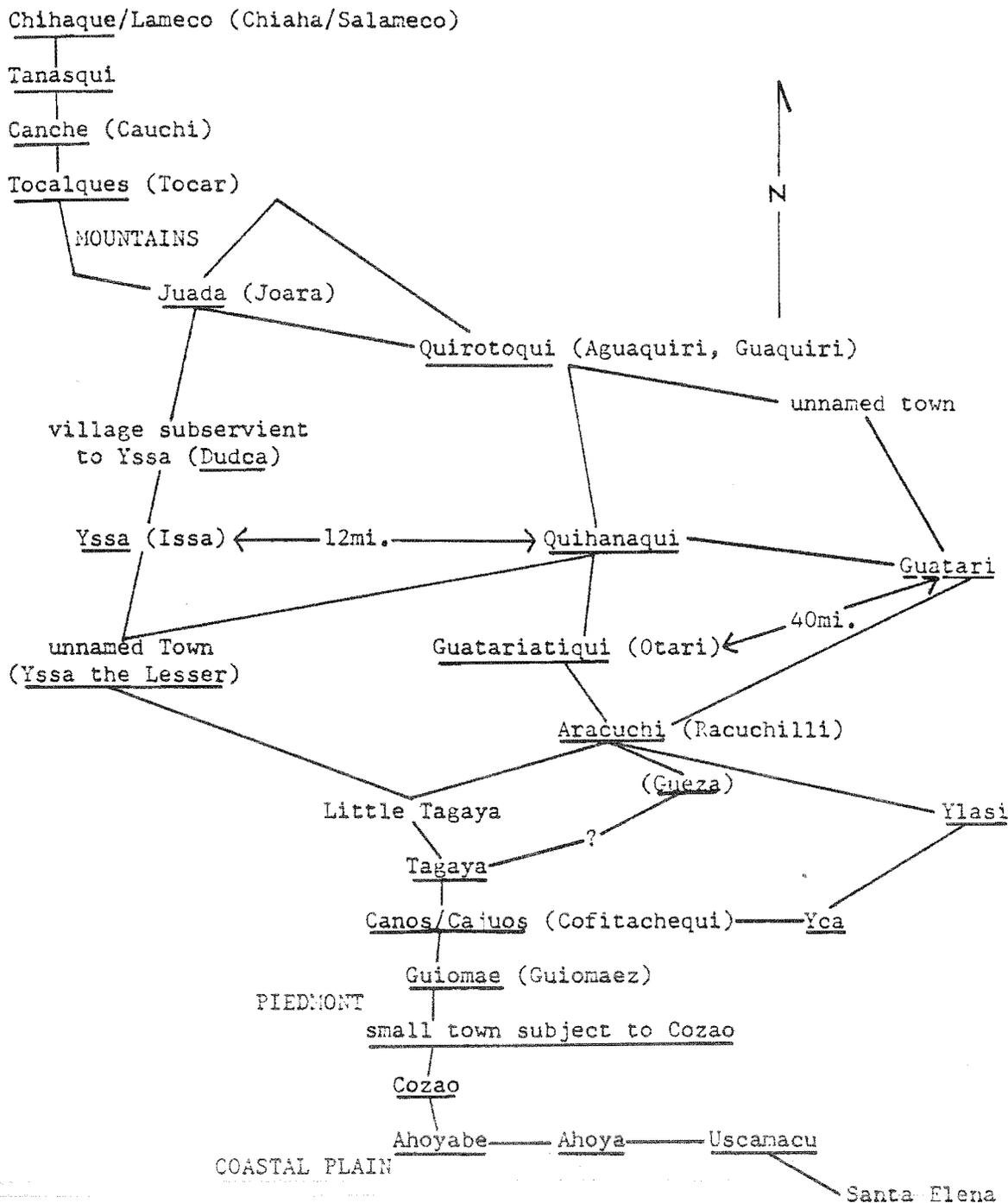
located? Table 1 illustrates the various Indians named in the Spanish documents, and provides their locations relative to one another. Table 2 compares the major Indian Towns visited by De Soto with their counterparts encountered by Pardo.

The answers to these deceptively simple questions have eluded researchers to this day. Two general positions can be defined in the various discussions of De Soto's and Pardo's travels (see Appendix A). One view sees the passing of the Spanish through the land as a catastrophic event. Disease and other "pressures" had a tremendous adverse effect upon Indian society and resulted in the scattering of the Carolina Piedmont groups to the northeast from their "traditional" homeland along the Savannah River. Labelled the "motorcycle theory" by some researchers (Baker 1974:V-20), the most ardent adherent to this view was John Swanton (1939). The prestige accorded Swanton, due to his national standing and affiliation with the Bureau of American Ethnology, gave weight to this and other of his interpretations. This has proved most unfortunate, as differing views which made sense and may have been closer to the truth, were for the most part relegated to obscurity in regional or local histories.

The opposing hypotheses in general held that the Indian groups encountered by the Spanish were situated more or less in their locations where the English found them in 1670. This would have been along the Santee/Wateree/Catawba and the Yadkin/Pee Dee drainages. This alternative becomes even more attractive when the data from the later ethnohistorical records are considered (see below). We have already seen that De Torres attested to the fact that the land known to the Spaniards in Florida as Cosatachiqui/Cofitachequi was thriving as late as 1628. As a preview, the

TABLE 1

ORIENTATION OF THE INDIAN TOWNS VISITED BY PARDO  
DURING HIS FIRST AND SECOND EXPEDITIONS  
INTO THE CAROLINA HINTERLAND



The towns Pardo visited on his second journey are underlined. Vanderer's spellings of the towns are enclosed in brackets ( ).

TABLE 2

## COMPARISON OF TOWNS VISITED BY DE SOTO AND PARDO

<u>De Soto</u> from central Georgia ?	<u>Pardo</u> from Santa Elena
Hymahi	Guiamae (Guiamaez)
Cofitachequi	Canos (Cofitazeque)
Ilapi	Ylasi (?)
Chalaque	?
Guaquili	?
Xuala	Juada (Joara)
Chiaha	Chiaha

English in the 1670's indicated that "Chufatachquj", the Cofitachequi (interchange "i" for "j") discovered by Dr. Henry Woodward, at that time was still a viable entity, ruled by an Emperor "Cotachico" (Cheeves 1897:388). Also, a map of 1685 attributed to John Gascoyne, and surveyed by Maurice Mathews, marked the upper Santee/lower Wateree River as the location of that fair province (Baker 1974:IV-6). This information tends to support a non-Savannah River home for the Siouan Indians of the Carolinas.

Recently, Depratrer, Hudson, and Smith (1982) have devoted a great deal of attention to defining the route of Juan Pardo. These researchers base their interpretation of his journeys on a translation (Wright n.d.) of a more complete version of Juan de la Vandra's official document that is located in the archives of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History.

Depratrer et al. (1982:4) concur with Baker that Cofitachequi was located on the lower Wateree, placing the town near Camden, South Carolina (Figure 5). Joara/Juada, the town from whence the Spanish army entered the mountains, is located on the upper Catawba River in the vicinity of Marion, North Carolina (Depratrer et al. 1982:8). Between Joara and Cofitachequi, the various towns are interpreted as being at the following locations: Tagaya is near the confluence of Beaver Creek and the Wateree River in South Carolina; Gueza on the Wateree River near Lancaster, South Carolina; Tagaya the Lesser can not be accurately placed other than in the general vicinity of Gueza; Aracuchi is near Van Wyck, South Carolina on the Wateree River; Otari in the vicinity of Charlotte, North Carolina; Quinahaqui at Catawba or Sherrill's Ford on the Catawba River in North Carolina; Ysa is near Lincolnton, North Carolina, on the South Fork of the Catawba River; Yssa the Lesser is some five miles downstream from Yssa on the South Fork

of the Catawba River; Dudca, a small village subject to Yssa, is on the upper reaches of Jacob's Fork Creek some 14 miles southwest of presentday Hickory, North Carolina; Guaquiri is on either the Catawba River or the Henry River near Hickory; Guatari is on the Yadkin River near Salisbury, North Carolina; Ylasi near present day Cheraw, South Carolina, on the Pee Dee River; and Yca is located at the head of Big Pine Tree Creek in South Carolina (Depratter et al. 1982:13-31). The locations of the towns between Cofitachequi and Santa Elena, and west and north of Joara, along with those of the Piedmont, are listed in Table 3.

This version, offered by Depratter et al., appears for now to be the best interpretation of Pardo's (and De Soto's) route through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee. As yet, however, no archaeological data has been uncovered to confirm the presence of 16th-century Spanish materials at any of their proposed locations in North or South Carolina. The question arises as to what can be expected in the archaeological record that would confirm all or part of such interpretations. A prime piece of evidence would be the structural remains of the outposts constructed by Pardo at Joara, Guatari, Cauchi and Chiaha. These forts/missions did not last very long, for by 1578 the Spanish had abandoned Santa Elena, leaving St. Augustine in Florida as their northernmost settlement. An effort to revive Santa Elena in 1580 also proved shortlived. When exactly the inland posts were abandoned or overrun by the local Indians is not known at present. A guess would be that this was at least a few years before the first evacuation of Santa Elena in 1578. Architectual remains of these forts, which existed no more than a few years, will be hard to discern in the archaeological record.

TABLE 3

## POSITED LOCATION OF THE INDIAN TOWNS PARDO VISITED

Indian Town	Location
Uscamacu	northern end of Port Royal Island, S.C.
Ahoya	Coosawhatchie River, Pocatigo or Yemassee, S.C.
Ahoyabe	Coosawhatchie River, Hampton, S.C.
Cozao	headwaters of Coosawhatchie River, Fairfax, S.C.
small town subject to Cozao	Little Salkehatchie River
Guiomae	Wateree River, Wateree, S.C.
Cofitachequi	Wateree River, Camden, S.C.
Tagaya	near confluence of Beaver Creek and Wateree River
Gueza	Wateree River, Lancaster, S.C.
Tagaya the Lesser	just downstream on the Wateree River from Gueza
Aracuchi	Wateree River, Van Wyck, S.C.
Otari	Catawba River, Charlotte, N.C.
Quinhaqui	Catawba River, Catawba or Sherrills Ford, N.C.
Issa/Yssa	South Fork Catawba River, Lincolnton, N.C.
Issa/Yssa the Lesser	about 5 miles downstream from Issa/Yssa
Dudca	Jacob's Fork Creek, 14 miles SW of Hickory, N.C.
Guaquiri	Catawba or Henry River, near Hickory, N.C.
Guatari	Yadkin River, near Salisbury, N.C.
Ylasi	Pee Dee River, Cheraw, S.C.
Yca	head of Big Pine Tree Creek, NE of Camden, S.C.
Tocae	French Broad River, near Asheville, N.C.
Cauchi	French Broad River, near Marshall, N.C.
Tanasqui	confluence of Pigeon and French Broad Rivers, N.C.
Chiaha	Zimmerman Island, French Broad River, Danbridge, Tenn.
Chalahume	Tennessee River, near Knoxville, Tenn.
Satopo	confluence of Little and Tennessee Rivers, Tenn.

Adapted from Depratter, Hudson, and Smith (1982).

Another source of data that could be useful in providing information on the presence of the Spaniards in the Carolina interior is the material items stored at each fort, and items traded or given as presents to the Indians. Among the latter were chisels, wedges, hatchets, knives, buttons, necklaces of glass beads, mirrors, adzes, blankets, and cloth (Depratter and Smith 1980:72). De Soto's expedition had also distributed such items to the Indians of the Southeast as it had made its way in search of El Dorado (Smith 1976). Supplies stored at the forts included lead shot, gunpowder, match cord, hatchets, hoes, shovels, nails, chisels, drills, spikes, knives, wedges, and pickaxes (Depratter and Smith 1980:73). While some of this material, such as blankets and cloth, may not have survived the ravages of time, most of the other items stand a good chance of being preserved, and are therefore are liable for recovery in the archaeological record.

The major problem is that little archaeological investigation in the Carolinas has been directed towards the era of Spanish explorations, the posited location of the Indian towns visited by the Spaniards, or the forts constructed by them. Also, the excavations required to comprehend the architectural remains or the material items in the archaeological record are likely to be quite large, requiring an intensive amount of work in an extensive area. The work conducted to date in most of the areas of the Carolinas connected with Depratter, Hudson, and Smith's reconstruction has not been of such a magnitude. Another problem that has hindered research, and will continue to do so, is the large number of reservoirs that have been constructed during the 20th century along most of the major waterways of the Carolinas. The location of Chiaha on the French Braod River in

Tennessee, and Guatari on the Yadkin River south of Salisbury, North Carolina, may both be under the waters of man-made lakes.

Despite these problems, the possibility of discovering evidence of the 16th century Spanish presence in the Carolina interior promises great rewards. All that is required is the effort. Archaeology can take up the search, and perhaps confirm that portions of De Soto's and Pardo's route, and the location of the Indians they encountered, were within the confines of North and South Carolina. The recognition of such possibilities is a big step forward in the study of the Indians of the Carolina Piedmont, no matter the outcome.

## Chapter 5

### THE BEGINNING OF ENGLISH INTERACTION WITH THE CAROLINA AND VIRGINIA INDIANS, 1607-1665

Following the abandonment of the interior forts and northern coastal outposts by the Spanish in the late 16th century, little information was recorded about the Piedmont Indians until the last half of the 17th Century. During this interval, the English established a permanent colony on the coast of Virginia. By the early 1670s, this had led to the spread of settlements south to the abandoned Spanish enclaves on the South Carolina coast. Until this time, when there began an indepth English exploration of the Carolina backcountry, the only reference to the Indians of the area was that of Pedro de Torres in 1628. The previous attempts by the English in the late 16th century to place settlements on the North Carolina coast had proven disastrous for both colonist and Indian. These early English ventures, although they had profound adverse effects on the local Algonquian Indians of the Albemarle Sound, apparently had little influence upon the Indians of the interior. The Spanish interaction with the Piedmont Indians was, as we have seen, transitory, and left an as yet indecipherable imprint on the native inhabitants.

In 1607, with the establishment of the colony at Jamestown within the Tidewater region of Virginia, prolonged and continued contact between the English and the Indians of Virginia and the Carolinas was initiated. Contacts with the Indians beyond the Fall Line, however, were slow to develop. It was not until the 1670s that any great effort was made to expand the Indian trade, the major form of contact, south of the Appomattox

River in Virginia. It took the seating in 1670 of a rival colony, Charles Town, on the Ashley River in modern day South Carolina to end the complacent attitude of the Virginia colonists towards the Carolina backcountry.

The English and the Indians in Virginia,  
1607-1650

The establishment of the Virginia colony in 1607, and later, South Carolina in 1670, as proprietary colonies, meant that profit was the driving force behind their settlement. The early history of the colony at Virginia was marked by its attempts to survive as a viable proposition. The proprietors' income was derived primarily from quit-rents received from landowners. This was equivalent to a property tax. In order to insure their return, immigration to the colony was encouraged. Farming was emphasized. This required that a sizeable amount of new land be made available each year upon which quit-rents could be paid. Virginia's population grew steadily after 1607. By 1624, the population of the colony was 1200, in 1634 it had risen to 4914, and by 1674 it was estimated to be around 40,000 (Billings 1975:105, 118). The twin problems that faced the proprietors were finding people to immigrate to the colony, and land for them to settle once they arrived.

Trade in furs and skins was of little importance at this time. What trade there was before 1646 appears to have been restricted to the Indians of the Tidewater and to the north up the Chesapeake Bay (Phillips 1961:162-164). The relations with the Indians revolved around the problem of land, and who was to have access to it, the Indians or the English. The Powhatan Wars of the early history of the colony were a direct result of this basic conflict, which was exacerbated by continued immigration to Virginia.

From the planting of the the Virginia colony in 1607, the English had been in direct contact with Indians of the Powhatan Confederacy. Initial relations between the Powhatan and the English were wary, but friendly. Within two years after the founding of Jamestown, however, tension between the two erupted into warfare. Between 1609 and 1646 raids and counterattacks by both the Powhatan and the English periodically flared up into major fighting (Billings 1975:207-209).

These wars ended with the Powhatan beaten and greatly reduced in numbers and power. The peace treaty between the Powhatan and the English marked the beginning of the era of English control of the internal affairs of these Indians. Within fifty years most of the Indian groups of the Virginia Piedmont were to also become subjugated. The actual terms of this treaty (Hening 1823a:323-326) gave the English possession of all the land below the Fall Line between the James and York Rivers. The Powhatan for their part were restricted to an area north of the York River. Successors to "Necotowance" as leader of the Powhatan were sustained in their position by approval of the Virginia government. The subordinate status of the Powhatan was affirmed yearly by their being required to give a tribute of 20 beaver furs to the governor of Virginia. At the same time, Virginia promised to take on the task of protecting the Powhatan. In effect the Powhatan were reduced to the status of reservation Indians. Tributary was the euphemism employed to describe the straits to which they had been reduced. The term would be used through the middle of the 18th Century by Virginia officials in reference to the various Indian groups that came to be incorporated under their control.

During the last Powhatan War, a series of forts had been constructed along the frontier of the colony. These were located at the falls of the

James River (Ft. Charles), on the Pamunkey (Fort Royal), on the Chickahominy (Ft. James), and at the falls of the Appomattox (Ft. Henry) (Hening 1823a:293-294, 315). With the end of the war in 1646, these forts, which had served to protect the Tidewater from attack by the Indians, came to function also as points for interaction with the Indians. The first of a succession of economic motives for the expansion of the skin and fur trade by Virginia was introduced at this time. These actions were not derived from any recognition of the return available from the Indian trade. Instead, they were efforts to keep profits produced by other endeavors from being drained away. Upkeep of these outposts would have cut into the colonist's and the proprietor's income taken from tobacco farming and quit-rents. Thus the "Captains" of each of the outposts were subsidized by monopolies they were granted to trade with the Indians (Hening 1823a:315). This was presumably with those Indians that resided outside the confines of the colony, as between 1631 and 1656 trade with any Indians was supposedly prohibited by law (Hening 1823a:172, 174, 415).

The immediate consequence was that direct trade was not greatly expanded beyond the Outer Piedmont and Coastal Plain of Virginia. The dearth of written records concerning the area southwest of Virginia prior to 1670 would support this contention. The earliest mention of an effort to expand English influence to the southwest dates to 1643. At that time the Virginia Assembly granted a consortium all profits to be gained by the discovery of new lands lying southwest of the Appomattox River (Hening 1823a:202). Apparently this venture died stillborn in the outbreak of the final Powhatan uprising in 1644. Probably, during this period, contact with the Siouan Indians of the Carolina Piedmont was restricted to the flow of a limited amount of European trade material passed to the interior

Indians by Occaneechi and Tuscarora middlemen. In essence, the Indians southwest of Virginia existed in an early contact state with the English (Leacock's Phase II), which saw little impact by either upon the other. The only English record prior to 1670 of an attempt to contact the Indians beyond the borders of Virginia was Edward Bland's 1650 account of an endeavor to open direct trade with the Tuscarora Indians of the North Carolina Coastal Plain.

#### The First Attempt At Forcing The Southern Route, 1650

For the four years following the establishment of Fort Henry at the falls of the Appomattox River, no record of any effort to explore the area to the south or southwest has survived, if any were even made from this point. The first trip for which records exist dates to August 27, 1650. A party made up of Edward Bland, a merchant; Abraham Wood, explorer, merchant, Indian trader, and commander of Fort Henry; Captain Elias Pannant; Sackford Brewster, a gentleman of the gentry from Surry County, Virginia; four yeomen; two servants; and an Appomattox Indian guide named Pyancha set out from Fort Henty (Bland 1912:114-130). Although they intended to explore to the southwest, the band proceeded in a direction more towards the south. Twenty miles from Fort Henry they passed over a branch of the Blackwater River (Figure 6), which they called Blackwater "Lake" and which flowed, they said, southeast into the Chowan River. Nottoway Creek, some 100 paces wide, lay about 12 miles beyond the Blackwater "Lake" crossing. Two miles beyond the Nottoway Creek crossing the Nottoway Indian village was reached. Moving to another Nottoway village, ruled by one "Oyeocker", Bland noted that this town was situated on rich flat ground, and was well watered. This "Oyeocker" Town was located on a river named the "Penna

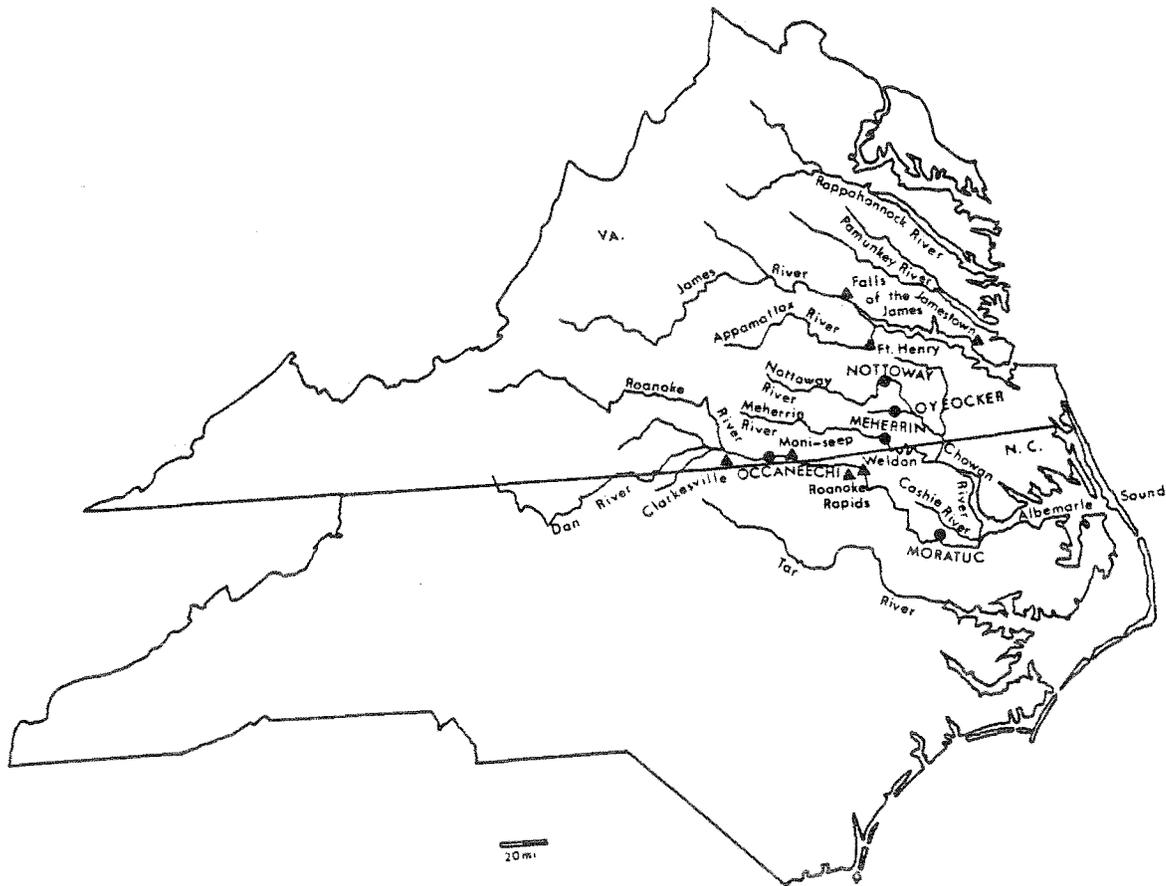


Figure 6.--Place names associated with the account of Edward Bland.

Mount" (probably the Nottoway) by Bland, south and south by west from the first Nottoway Town a distance of 16 miles. In a conversation with "Chaunteraunte", a King of the Nottoway, at "Oyeocker" Town, Bland disclosed that their mission was to make contact with the Tuscaroras.

A journey of eight miles from this "Oyeocker" Town across barren lands found the party at a crossing of the Meherrin River. The village of the Meherrin Indians lay some 22 miles distant from this point. At least three creeks would have to be crossed to reach the Meherrin Town. On August 31, the Company set out from the Meherrin Town in a southeasterly direction toward another crossing of the Meherrin River. The surrounding land was described as pine barrens with good soil, and as having numerous creeks and many pocosins.

Some 18 miles southwest of the second Meherrin crossing, the first branch of the "Hocomawanack" River was reached, and rechristened the "Brewster River". A journey of twenty miles to the west of south brought the travelers to the main course of the Hocomawanack River, where they camped for the night. Instead of going to the Hocomawanack Town, the party traveled to a point on the river some six miles distant, where the Indians took sturgeon. Here a very deep river flowing south was discovered. This river was named the "Blandina". Bland described this section of the Blandina as being the "falls", at the foot of which lay two islands in a great bay.

At a point three miles from the river, the expedition encountered several "great heaps of bones" that were known to the Indians of the area, and the Nottoway guide belonging to the party. It was at this point that the company set out intending to discover the falls (upstream?). Instead, the Englishmen resolved to return to Brewster's River by a different route

when warned that the local Indians, the Hocamawanacks and the Tuscaroras, meant to do them harm. At that time, the Appomattox guide told the party of the nature of the upper reaches of that "...Branch of the Blandina River..." on which they found themselves. The description offered by the Indian was somewhat hazy. From where they were, this "...Branch of the Blandina..." went southwestwards another three days journey at which point it became so broad that one could hardly see across to the other side. Here the river turned northward and flowed into the mountains beyond the head of the James River. Among the Indians described as living on the upper reaches of the Blandina were the "Occonacheans" (Occaneechi) and the "Nessoneicks" (Nahyssons or Sapona). The Occonacheans lived on an island in the river. At the upper end of this island the river could be forded.

Forsaking further adventures, the English party headed back to the Brewster River. They traveled northeast for six miles, where they encountered the path that led to the Meherrin Town by a "...North and by East and due North..." direction. After reaching the Meherrin Indian Town, the travelers made for Fort Henry along a path that varied from north, to by east and north, north, and east.

#### Discussion of Bland's Account

Some scholars, after considering Bland's account in detail, believed it to document a trip by the party along the Occaneechi Trail to the middle course of the Roanoke River near Clarkesville, Virginia. This would have been in the heart of the Piedmont near modern-day Occaneechi Island just southeast of where the Dan River joins the Roanoke. Alvord and Bidgood (1912:49-51), Myer 1924 (778-779), and Phillips (1961:169) accepted this interpretation. Alvord and Bidgood went into great detail to prove that

Bland's party visited the Roanoke in the vicinity of its confluence with the Dan River.

An re-evaluation of the records by Lewis Binford (1967:125-134) shows that the trip Bland reported probably followed a route that carried almost due south from Fort Henry toward the Tuscarora Indians of the Inner Coastal Plain of North Carolina. After crossing the Blackwater, Nottoway, and Meherrin Rivers in southeastern Virginia/northeastern North Carolina, the English party moved south toward the Roanoke River. Bland's company never strayed out of the coastal plain, as made clear by the references to the terrain passed, including pine barrens and pocosins, offered by Bland (1912:117, 120, 121, and 123). Also, observations concerning the socio-political trappings of the Indians encountered, such as wearowances (Bland 1912:119, 123, 127, and 128), and great heaps of bones (probably ossuaries) (Bland 1912:125), were common only to the Indians of the Coastal Plain.

It is probable that the falls of Bland's account were at the true Fall Line on the Roanoke River in the vicinity of modern-day Roanoke Rapids/Weldon, North Carolina. The various Indian groups that were encountered during the trip to the falls were located by Binford as follows. The first Nottoway Town was placed on Rowantee Branch, a small tributary of the Nottoway River, almost due south of Fort Henry (Binford 1967:132). The second Nottoway Town, Oyeocker, was put on the south bank of the Nottoway River near Jarrett, Virginia (Binford 1967:132). The Meherrin Town was located on the Meherrin River just upstream from Emporia, Virginia (Binford 1967:132). The Howcomawananck were identified as having been Indians of a Tuscarora Town on the Roanoke River just downstream from the falls (Binford 1967:133, 136). An alternative identification offered here is that the Howcomawananck may have been the "Moratuc " Indians, who

in the 1660s inhabited the Roanoke River some 25 miles upstream from its confluence with the Chowan River.

In the final analysis, Bland and Company's aborted journey to the Tuscarora did confirm the presence of the Occaneechi Indians on a great island in the upper Roanoke, and beyond them, the Nessonicks or Sapona. The date of 1650 marks the earliest mention of the Occaneechi and Sapona, and thus of any of the supposed Siouan groups of the Carolina Piedmont, in the historic records.

Unfortunately, Bland's short discourse is the only surviving account of the explorations to the south and southwest of Virginia by the English until the 1670's. As far as documentary history is concerned, the Piedmont south of the Appomattox River was terra incognita.

#### Setting the Stage for the Later Explorations, 1650-1665

Following the return of Bland's party to Fort Henry, no mention is made of the lands and Indians southwest of Virginia until the late 1660s. In this interregnum between recorded explorations, Virginia's economy was to change greatly, accompanied by a growing appreciation for the importance of the Indian trade in furs and skins. In 1656, the prohibition against trading with the Indians, a relic of the Powhatan Wars in force since 1634, was repealed, although certain items, such as guns and ammunition, remained on a list of goods disapproved for trade with the Indians (Hening 1823a:415). Three years later, the law against the export of hides was also removed (Hening 1823a:523). The rationale for this last law was to help diversify the colony's economy, which had been based primarily upon tobacco, by building up a domestic leather working industry (Phillips 1961:164, 165). Competition for the shrinking local and Chesapeake Bay

trade provided by the English colonies of Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania, as well as the foreign interests represented by the Dutch, Swedes, and French, was probably responsible in large part for Virginia's relaxing her laws. Certainly, an immediate effect was not an increase in trade with the Indians to the southwest.

In 1661, Virginia moved to implement the first of a long line of measures designed to control the Indian trade and its abuses by issuing licenses (Hening 1823b:152). Competition by outside interests, and a general apathy among colonial officials for enforcing the requirements of the licensing laws doomed such endeavors, however (Phillips 1961:163-164). The overall effect of the removal of the restrictions on the Indian trade and the prohibition of the export of skins, combined with the ineffectual regulation of the Indian trade, was to bolster trade with the Indians of Virginia and surrounding area.

Another boost for the fur and skin trade was provided by the English government in London. The Navigation Acts of 1660 resulted in a serious decline in the price, and hence, the return from tobacco (Phillips 1961:165-166). Virginia again attempted to diversify her economy as the decade passed by rebuilding the leather industry (Phillips 1961:166). The effects of this boon for the skin trade did not have the expected results as its effect was diminished by the prohibition on the export of raw skins. This was intended to divert skins to the leather working industry, where they would be tanned. The effect was to increase the cost of each skin shipped abroad.

By 1665, there had arisen another hindrance to the expansion of trade and relations with the Indians outside the boundaries of the Virginia colony--the greed and avarice of the colonial officials. The problem was

explicitly expressed in Governor Berkeley's ban on all trade with the Indians (Phillips 1961:174). This thinly disguised attempt by Berkeley to corner the Indian trade in the name of reform was seen through immediately for Berkely continued to trade. The colonists were quick to point out the fact that the Governor was violating his own orders (Phillips 1961:174). The result was a prolonged struggle between Governor Berkely and the Virginia House of Burgess over who could participate in, and ultimately control, the Indian trade. The lack of documentary evidence for contact with the lands and native peoples to the west and southwest reflected the conflict between internal pressure to expand trade while moves outside the colony were being made to restrict it. Not until the late 1660s was there evidence that this dilemma was on its way to being resolved. Then, two new factors intervned to tip the tide toward interaction with the Indians southwest of Virginia.

## Chapter 6

### THE LURE OF PEARLS, GOLDMINES AND THE GREAT NORTHWEST PASSAGE: THE ENGLISH AND THE PIEDMONT INDIANS, 1666-1674

The most important new factor introduced into the English-Indian interactions south of the Appomattox was the establishment of the colony of South Carolina on the Ashley River in 1670. From this time forward there were two poles around which trade and intercourse with the Piedmont Indians of the Carolinas revolved. The policies of the two colonies were usually in direct opposition to one another, and competition between them for the Indian trade was a disruptive force in their relations with each other and with the Indians.

The settlement at Charles Town Landing on the Ashely River was the first step in the process that opened up the southern hinterlands to English penetration. The effects of the settlement were felt in Virginia even before the first shipload of colonists landed at Charles Town. As early as 1666, the Carolina Proprietors sponsored explorations along the north coast of what was then called Spanish Florida. Robert Sandford reported on his journey along the coast of what was to become South Carolina in the summer of that year (Cheeves 1897:56-82). On July 8th of 1666, a member of Sandford's expedition, Dr. Henry Woodward, was left with the Indians at Port Royal (Cheeves 1897:79). The purpose of Woodward's stay was for him to learn the language and ways of the Indians of the area to better prepare for the comfortable settling of the future colony. Many adventures were to befall Woodward before the colony was seated however

(Cheeves 1897:190-192). The Spanish, learning of his presence, came and took him to St. Augustine in Florida, where he was held as a prisoner for a number of years. Woodward was helped to escape by an English buccaneer, and was cast away in a hurricane of 1669 only to be rescued and taken to Carolina in 1670. During the summer of 1670 (May through July), Woodward explored the interior of the Carolinas, making his way to "Chufytachyqj" the "...fruitfull Provence where ye Emperour resides..." (Cheeves 1897:186-187, 190-192). Visions of gold and silver came immediately to the mind of at least one Proprietor, Lord Ashley, who wrote Woodward commending him for being discrete in his discussions of his explorations with the colonists at Charles Town (Cheeves 1897:316-317). Ashley advised him to write concerning his discoveries, substituting antimony for gold and iron for silver as a code in case the letters were intercepted by the wrong people. "Cofitachequi", the fabled "Pearl Kingdom" of De Soto, had been rediscovered, and the tales of mines and other riches were resurrected as well. With great anticipation, Lord Ashley wrote in May of 1671 to one William Saile concerning the probability of such mines (Cheeves 1897:327).

The direct effect of these discoveries upon the English in Virginia can not be ascertained. Circumstantial evidence in the form of a dramatic increase in the number of explorations beyond the Appomattox River, however, indicates that the stories of riches to be gained to the southwest sparked the interest of the merchants, planters, and politicians of Virginia.

Thus it was that in the spring of 1668, Governor Berkeley of Virginia proposed to send a great expedition "to find the East India sea" (letter of Berkeley to Lord Arlington in Alvord and Bidgood 1912:175-176). The party was to be large enough to defend against any Spaniard or Indian opposition encountered along the way. For an explicit hope of the venture was that

silver mines would be found, "for certaine it is that the Spaniard in the same degrees of latitude has found many." (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:62). However, it was not until two years later that Berkeley's ideas were translated into action.

#### The Mysteries of John Lederer, 1670

One of the earliest explorers sent out from Virginia was a German physician named John Lederer. In March of 1669, Lederer made a trip west from the Falls of the York River to the Appalachian Mountains (Talbot 1912:145-149). Probably, Lederer was on an advance mission to discover a likely path for Berkeley's proposed great expedition. Unfortunately, all that was found were mountains piled one upon the other, all higher than the preceding one.

The second of what would total three "voyages" to the west by Lederer (Figure 7) was the most interesting for this study (Talbot 1912:149-163). His middle journey began on May 20, 1670. Departing from the fort at the falls of the James River (present day Richmond, Virginia) Lederer, Major Harris, twenty Englishmen and five Indians moved inland up the river valley. On May 22, the party reached the "Manakins" (Manakens), a Siouan group who were apparently seated on the James about 20 miles above the falls (Mooney 1894). Leaving the Manaken Town on May 25th, a course due west was pursued along a route that followed no trail. Finally the James River was again encountered on June 3rd after a most difficult march. Two days later Lederer and his companions parted company. Lederer proceeded onward accompanied by a "Sasquesahanough" Indian (presumably a Susquehanna, an Iroquoian speaking group located north of the Chesapeake Bay) Indian named "Jackzetovan", while the others returned to the colony at Virginia.

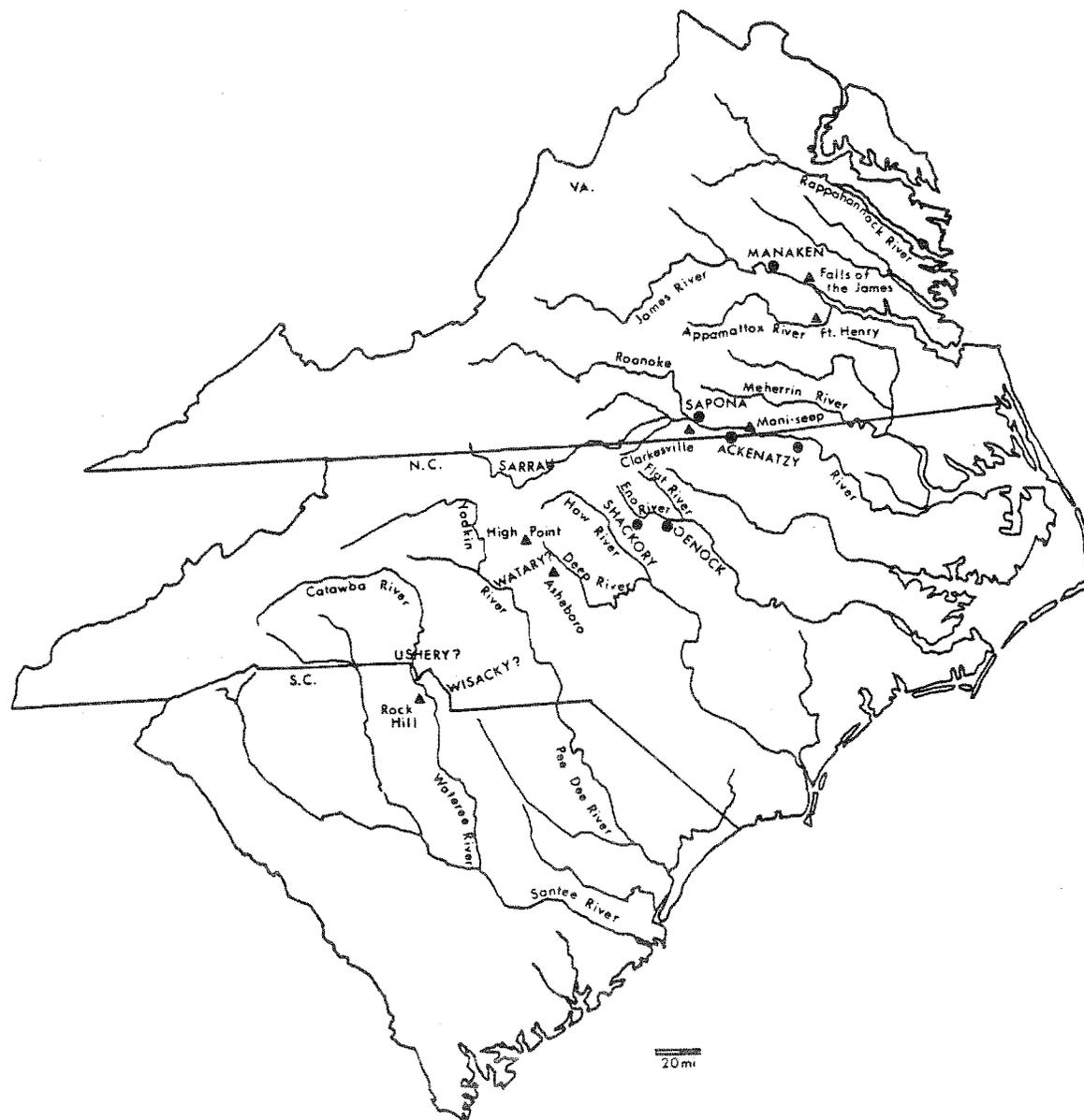


Figure 7.--The cultural geography of John Lederer's explorations in the Carolinas.

At their parting, Lederer produced a commission from the Governor of Virginia (Berkeley), which authorized him to continue the trip, else his erstwhile comrades would have made him return with them.

At this point the direction of travel was changed from due west to the "southwest and by south", so as to avoid the mountains. Following this course, Lederer found the going difficult until he stumbled upon "Sapon", a village of the "Nahyssons", on June 9th. The setting was described as being 100 miles distant from "Mahock" (probably the Manaken Town), on a branch of the "Shawan" or "Rorenock" (Roanoke) River, within the province of Carolina.

From Sapon, Lederer set out for "Akenatzy", an island south and by west some 50 miles distant on another branch of the Rorenock River. By June 12, Lederer had comfortably reached Akenatzy, described as lying on a small island. Following the murder of a visiting band of "Rickohockan" Indians by the Akenatzy on June 13th, Lederer, fearing the treachery of the latter Indian group, immediately departed. A southwest course was kept to as much as possible, but a direct line could not be followed for any period of time. After much wandering about the countryside, the "Oenock" Indian Town was entered. This village lay only some 30 miles from Akenatzy in a straight line.

A walk of 14 miles west southwest from Oenock Town brought Lederer to the "Shackory" Indians. Lederer noted these Indians differed little in manner and custom from the Oenock. Staying but a short period with the Shackory, Lederer moved to the west-southwest across easily traveled ground until June 19th. At that point the journey became more difficult due to thickets and marshy grounds. Two more days passed before the "Watary" town was reached, some 40 miles from "Shakor".

Departing from Watary on the 21st of June, Lederer followed a path west for 30 miles to the "Sara". Here the surrounding countryside was set not far from the mountains, which were low and ran due west. According to Lederer, these mountains were known to the Spanish as the "Suala".

Upon setting out from Sara, Lederer kept to a south-southwest course for three days and arrived at "Wisacky" on June 25th. The way was described as a continuous marsh or bog. These Indians were subject to a neighboring King, who resided on the shores of what Lederer called the great lake of "Ushery". This body of water was supposedly surrounded on all sides by mountains and the Wisacky marsh. It was to the supposed home of the King of Ushery that Lederer next made his way.

On the 26th of June Lederer crossed a fresh river that flowed into Lake Ushery and immediately came upon the town of the same name. For an unexplained reason, the King stayed at another town some three miles distant, and during Lederer's stay at Ushery, never paid him a visit. Lederer did note that the lake of Ushery had to be at least 10 leagues (25 miles) across, for he could not see the other side. While at Ushery, he learned that the "Oustak" Indians on the opposite side of the lake were very warlike and greatly feared by the Usherys. Also, the Usherys and some visiting Sara Indians informed him that a powerful nation of bearded men were located a two and one half day march to the southwest. These "bearded men" Lederer interpreted to be the Spanish inhabitants of Florida. Given this information, he decided not to travel any further, but rather to return to Virginia in order to avoid his fellow Europeans.

So, on June 28th, John Lederer set out along a route to the northeast that skirted the Wisacky marsh. He followed no clear path, but just

TABLE 4  
 THE INDIANS NAMED AND PLACES VISITED (?)  
 BY JOHN LEDERER DURING HIS SECOND VOYAGE

DATE	LOCATION	INDIAN GROUP
May 20, 1670	departed the Falls of the James	
May 22	Manaken Town	Manaken
June 3	James River in western Virginia	
June 9	Sapon, a Nahysson village on the Roanoke (?) River	Sapona
June 12	Akenatzy on another branch of the Roanoke	Occaneechi
June 16	Oenock Town, 30 miles from Akenatzy	Eno
June 17 (?)	Shakory Indians, 14 miles SW of Oenock	Shakori
June 20 (?)	Watary, 40 miles SSW from Shackory	Wateree (?), Keyauwee (?)
June 21 (?)	Sarraah, 30 miles W of Watary	Sara
June 25	Wisacky, SSW from Sarraah	Waxhaw (?)
June 26 (?)	the town of Ushery, on Ushery Lake	Essaw (?),
July 12	Eruco River, NE of Ushery, along the return trail to Ft. Henry	
July 14	Katearas, a Toskiroro Town	Tuscarora Town
July 16	Kawitziokan Town, on a branch of the Korenoke (Roanoke) River	Tuscarora Town
July 16/17	Menchaerinck Town	Meherrin
July 18	Natoway Town	Nottoway
July 18	Apamatuck	Ft. Henry

maintained a general northeasterly direction. Three days into the march Lederer encountered a barren sandy "desert", where little water was to be found due to the heat of the summer. It was not until July 12th that this "desert" was traversed, and the head of the "Eruco" River reached. Following the Eruco, and crossing it twice, the "Toskirora" town of "Kateras" was entered on July 14th. From Kateras, a "place of great Indian trade and commerce", Lederer made his way in two days to "Kwitzioke", a town on a branch of the "Korenoke" River. The "Menchaeerinck" (Meherrin) Town was less than a days journey beyond Kwitziokan. Setting out from Menchaeerinck on the 17th, Lederer arrived safely at "Apamatuck" (Fort Henry on the Appomattox) the evening of July 18, 1670. His travels had finally ended after 59 days in the Carolina wilderness.

#### Discussion of Lederer's Journey

The problems posed by Lederer's account are many (see Appendix B). Questions arise as to whether Lederer made any great portion of the journey he described, if he made the journey at all, or depended on information supplied by Indian informants. Also, the possibility exists that Sir William Talbot, who collated and translated Lederer's accounts into English from the Latin in which they were written, erred in translating and/or arranging the material.

The Indians that Lederer supposedly encountered during his travels to the Oenock (Eno) were in positions that have traditionally been associated with most of them (Table 4). It is probable that the directions provided in Talbot's translations and the relative locations of each segment of Lederer's journey are oftentimes wrong. With this in mind, the following locations for the Indian groups mentioned by Lederer can be set forth.

Data from the works of Lederer are combined with information provided by later explorers to arrive at this rendition.

The Manaken Town was apparently some 20 miles upstream from the falls of the James River. The Sapona were on a branch of the Roanoke, or a branch of that river. This would have been at or near Clarkesville, Virginia, the confluence of the Dan with the Roanoke, or some point immediately upstream from either.

From Sapona, Lederer made his way to the Occaneechi Town, which was probably situated on the Roanoke River in the vicinity of Moni-seep Ford on the Roanoke. This is about midway between Clarkesville and the falls of the Roanoke. This position is tentative, for no positive evidence has been uncovered to date that pinpoints the actual location of the Occaneechi on the Roanoke.

It was at Occaneechi that Lederer picked up the Occaneechi Trail. This led to the Oenock Indian town, presumably on the Flat or lower reaches of the Eno River, the of the Neuse River. Located some 14 miles to the southwest of the Oenock were the Shackory (Shakori). They would have been on the upper portion of the Eno River near Hillsboro, North Carolina (Cross 1980).

It was at this point that a major mistake was made by Talbot and/or Lederer. From details provided in Needham and Arthur's journey of 1674 (see below) and archaeological evidence (see Chapters 14-16), Sara should have been west of Shakory, not Watary. In all probability, Lederer journeyed to Sara (if he indeed made the trip), and not Watary, from Shakory by taking an east-west trail that joined the Great Trading Path at Oenock/Shakory. The Sara lived on the middle course of the Dan River, just east of the Sauratown Mountains.

From here Lederer moved south to the Watary, probably the Keyauwee Indians visited by John Lawson in 1701 (see Chapter 8). There Indians were in the area of the upper Deep or upper Uwharrie River, between the present-day cities of High Point and Asheboro, North Carolina. From here, Lederer's accounts moved him southwest into the Essaw-Catawba Indian area along the Catawba River near Rock Hill, South Carolina, or further south along the Wateree River.

Two possibilities exist for the the identity of the Ushery Indians. They may have been the Essaw, who apparently dominated the area and Indian groups later associated with the Catawba Indians. Or the Ushery may have been the remnants of the people of Cofitachequi along the lower Wateree River (Baker 1974:III-28). The Oustack, dread enemies of the Ushery, were probably the Westo of central and western South Carolina (Baker 1974:III-28).

If the Ushery were the Essaw, then the Wisacky Indians encountered by Lederer less than a days journey from the town of Ushery could have been any of a number of groups later associated with the Catawba Indians-- Sugaree, Sitteree, Waxhaw, etc. If the Ushery Indians were the descendents of Cofitachequi, the Wisacky were almost certainly the Waxhaw Indians of the upper Wateree River. John Lawson (1709:46-47) in his journey up the Wateree River in 1701 noted that the Waxhaw were also called the Wisacks. The two Tuscarora Towns were certainly Tuscarora. And the Menchaerinck Indians were the Meherrin Indians of the Meherrin River.

In conclusion, the information provided by Lederer's work is of little help in accurately establishing the location of most of the Piedmont Indian groups. The main value of the account is that almost all of the Indian tribes southwest of the Roanoke River, including the Eno, Shakori, and Sara, are mentioned for the first time in the historic record. Beyond

this simple fact, little value is to be gained from the confusion set forth in Lederer's work.

#### Batts and Fallam's Journey to the Appalachians, 1671

Over a year after Lederer's disappointing journeys, Abraham Wood sponsored an exploration to the west to discover a route through the Appalachian Mountains to the Great South Sea. The party was composed of Captain Thomas Batts, Thomas Wood, Robert Fallam (a former indentured servant), and an Appomattox Indian chief, Perecute. The condensed version given below was abstracted from Mr. John Clayton's paper detailing the trip presented to the Royal Society of London on August 1, 1688 (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:70-75,183-195), and one of Abraham Wood's reports sent to the Colonial Office in London (C.O. 1/23, pp. 101-112, S.R. 727).

The commission received by Batts and Fallam from Abraham Wood required that they explore the other side of the mountains and investigate the ebb and flow of the rivers in that region. This last task was to determine the distance of the South Sea downstream. On September 1, 1671, the party departed from the Appomattox Indian Town, apparently upstream on the Appomattox River from Fort Henry (Figure 8). The course was set at due west and 40 miles were covered on the first day. The second days march covered 45 miles, at the end of which it was decided that they had traveled north of west instead of west. So, on the third day the journey was turned to the west by south. During the day a great swamp was passed, and a river that flowed into the Roanoke River was crossed twice. After the second crossing, a northwest and westerly direction was kept, and a total of 40 miles were covered before nightfall. On the afternoon of September 4th, a "Sapiny" Indian Town was encountered. That evening, the "Saponys west" was

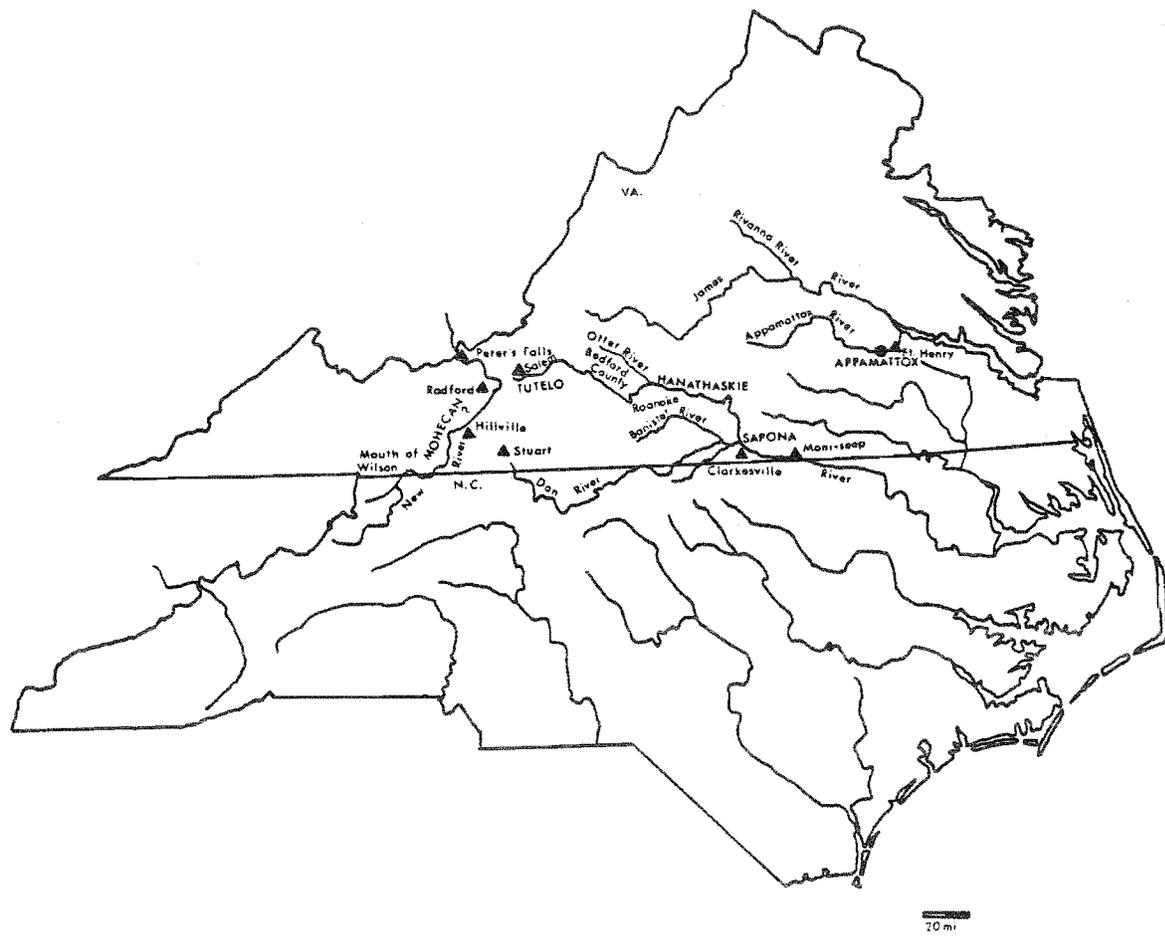


Figure 8.--The cultural geography of the journey of Batts and Fallam.

reached by marching south by west from the Sapiny Indian village. At Saponys west a "Sepiny" Indian guide was hired to take the Englishmen to the "Teteras" (Tutelo) Town.

The following morning the band saw its strength increased by the addition of seven Appomattox Indians sent by Abraham Wood to join the "Voyage". Departing from the Saponys, a six or seven hour trip brought the English explorers to the "Hanathaskies", whose town lay some 25 miles west and by north from the Saponys on an island in the "Sapony" River. On September 6th, they set off, leaving a sick Thomas Wood with the Hanathaskies. The course was west by south, and they traveled about 20 miles west from the Hanathaskie Town. Keeping their westerly course, the party traveled over hilly and stoney ground for about 25 miles before they spied the mountains on the afternoon of September 7th. The following day a west by north direction was pursued, and the first mountain was reached and passed. The Sapony River was crossed twice during the days journey of 30 miles. Continuing west, on September 9th a narrower Sapony River was discovered, and a second mountain was ascended by traveling west by south to a descending valley about six miles in breadth. The valley was crossed in a southwest direction. At the end of the valley a steep descent was reached, at the foot of which lay the "Tetera" Town. This village was described as lying in a "very rich swamp between a branch and the main River of Roanoke circled about with mountains." (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:186-187). Tetera Town was entered at around three o'clock in the afternoon at the end of a 25 mile trip. Here, a Teteras Indian was hired to guide them into the mountains. Also, the horses were left at the Tetera Town, and the rest of the trip west was made on foot.

On September 12th, the travelers set out initially west by north, but had to wander in a southerly or westerly direction due to the high mountains and steep valleys that impeded their route. The Roanoke River was crossed several times during the day as 25 miles were covered. The account recorded in the Colonial Office Records reported that a southerly way was followed over several high mountains and steep descending valleys after the party departed from the Teteras Town (C.O. 1/23, pp. 101-112). At the end of the first day the Colonial Office transcript stated that they camped for the night at the foot of a great mountain near the head of the Roanoke River.

On September 13th, a walk of three miles brought them to the great mountain, which proved a steep and hard climb of three additional miles. They reached the top by following a west by north route. Their view consisted of high mountains to the north and south. The valleys were seen to have a westerly trend. Three miles on the descent brought Batts and Fallam to a swift creek that meandered to the west and north. The party crossed several creeks and runs that flowed "west-north-west", and after seven miles came to a great "Run", or river, that flowed north. The path they had followed to this point had led west-south-west. From the great "Run", a course to the west was kept until the large "Run", flowing now west and north, was again encountered. They crossed over the large river and proceeded six miles to the northwest by north. Here, the explorers once again came to the great river, which by now was much broader than before. And it flowed to the west by south. Camp for the night was made after the great river had been crossed. On September 14th a course that varied as the path did, first westerly and then sometimes southerly, was followed. From a cleared area on top of one of the many hills they crossed, Batts and

Fallam saw hills to the southwest that had the appearance of waves whipped up on one another by a gentle breeze. All told 20 miles were covered during the course of the day, and several large streams crossed. September 15th found the party low on rations as the Indians had been unable to kill any game. Delaying their start until the afternoon, only 15 miles were traveled in a west by north direction. Then a large river flowing west by north was reached, which Batts and Fallam supposed to flow into their great "Run". Times, however, were getting bad. On September 16th the "Toras" (Teteras) guide deserted. Keeping to the west ten miles were covered before a river similar to the Appomattox was glimpsed. Mountains were seen off to the west. Corn stalks, thought to have been left by the "Mohecan" (Mohetans ?) Indians who supposedly lived in the vicinity, were found still standing in the ground.

Sunday, the 17th, marked the end of the outward journey, as the party decided not to continue any further than the camp made on the evening of the 16th. The party proceeded a short distance to the edge of the river, which, when viewed up close, was compared to the James River. Falls they supposedly saw were similar, likewise, to those of the James. The ebb of the river was tested to no avail. The Indians were more than ready to leave, so Batts and Fallam returned to the east along the route they had just blazed.

Tuesday evening found the explorers back at the Tetera Town. There Batts and Fallam learned of Mr. Byrd and "his great company's Discoveries three miles from the Tetera's Town." (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:193). What this portended was not revealed. Instead the party set out from the Tetera on the 21st, and reached the Hanahaskies on the 24th. Here, it was found that Mr. Thomas Wood had died and been buried. Also, his horse had died.

On the evening of the 25th (a Monday), the Sapony town was entered. They departed Sapony Town on the 27th, and reached the Apamatock Town that night. The expedition came to an end on October 1st when Batts, Fallam, and company made their way back to Fort Henry.

### Discussion

As with the other early English explorations, several people have researched the routes followed by Batts and Fallam (see Appendix B). With the exception of the "Hanathaskies", most of the Indian groups are easily identified with counterparts that played a continued role in the history of the Carolina and Virginia Piedmont into the 18th century. The Apamatock were certainly the Appomattox Indians who lived in the vicinity of Fort Henry, possibly near Bermuda Hundred, Virginia (Mooney 1894:34).

One of the Sapona villages, a five day trip to the west of the Apamatock, was probably the same one reported by Lederer a year earlier. This may have been along the Roanoke River in the vicinity of Clarkesville, Virginia. The second Sapona village would have been on the Roanoke near its confluence with the Dan.

Traditionally, the "Hanathaskie" Indians have been placed on the Roanoke River, or one of its tributaries, in Bedford County, Virginia (Mooney 1894:35; Swanton 1946:178). An alternative, offered here, is that the Hanathaskie Town was located on a lower section of the Roanoke, at or below the Otter River. Possibly, these Indians were John Smith's "Monahassanugh", who, in 1609, were noted to be somewhere southwest of the confluence of the James and Rivanna River (Mooney 1894:34). The Hanathaskies later incorporated with the Stukanox according to Mooney (1894:29-37).

The Tetera (Tutelo) Town was reached by Batts and Fallam after a journey of about 100 miles to the west-southwest of the Hanathaskie village. The Tutelo Town can be placed along the headwaters of the Roanoke in the vicinity of Stuart, Patrick county, Virginia, or just over the border in North Carolina on the upper Dan River (cf. Mooney 1894:35). From here they pushed to the west across the Blue Ridge Mountains into the valley of the headwaters of the New River in the area around Mouth of Wilson, Virginia.

William Byrd II's Observations on the Location of the Sara in 1673  
(Given in 1733)

In the spring of 1733, William Byrd II and a party were surveying his recently acquired land of Eden in the north central Piedmont of North Carolina (Byrd 1966:379-415). This plot of land was located near the confluence of the Dan and Smith Rivers near present day Eden, North Carolina. In this area Byrd encountered a small stream that he named

...Hatcher Creek, from two Indian traders of that same 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 into the bark of it "JH, HH, BB, lay here the 24th of May, 1673"... (Byrd 1966:400).

Byrd thought that these initials indicated that three Indian traders he could identify as Joseph Hatcher, Henry Hatcher and Benjamin Bullington, had camped nearby some 60 years before his arrival. Supposedly these traders were on their way to trade with the Sara Indians who presumably resided to the west of Eden, North Carolina.

Ernst Lewis (1951:27) used this information to place the Sara on the Dan River near Eden, North Carolina at or about 1673. A mention by the junior Byrd (1929:208-208) in his other record of an earlier journey in the same area, The History of the Dividing Line, was used by Lewis to locate this "Sauro" Town on the south side of the Dan River across from the town

of Eden, North Carolina (1951:29-30, 206). The locale named by Lewis was the site of a small scale excavation in the spring of 1938 that produced archaeological materials identified in the 1950's with the historic Sara Indians (Lewis 1951:206-264; Coe and Lewis 1952; Coe 1952:309-310). Subsequent research involved with the Sara Indians has shown this identification to be technically incorrect (Keel 1972; Wilson 1977; Wilson 1978; Wilson 1980; Gardner 1980; Wilson 1981; and Navey 1982). Two areas along the Dan are possible locations for the Sara village of the last third of the 17th century. The most likely one is located some miles upstream from Lewis' site where the river bends back to the north (see Chapter 16). Another possible locale is a site on the Dan River near Madison, North Carolina.

The Tragic Adventures of James Needham and Gabriel Arthur,  
1673-1674

Abraham Woods did not remain inactive following his sponsorship of the Batts and Fallam expedition. In August of 1674 he wrote to a friend of his in London, John Richards, and related an account of the trips of James Needham and Gabriel Arthur to the southwest along what has been identified as the Occaneechi Trading Path (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:210-266; Sainsbury 1889:604-607). The following summary of the explorations is taken primarily from Alvord and Bidgood's version.

Apparently, the first trip Needham and Arthur made to the southwest in April of 1673 was abruptly cancelled due to the hostility of the Indians of the Piedmont. A second attempt was made in May of 1673, when the two once again set out accompanied by a number of local Indians (probably Appomattox) and four horses. They successfully negotiated the upper

portions of the Trading Path (Figure 9), and on June 25th met a group of "Tomahitan" Indians, who were on their way up the trail to the "Occhenechees" (Occaneechi). The groups joined forces and departed for the Occhenechee Town. From there, 11 of the Tomahitians traveled to Wood's plantation on the Appomattox River, while the rest, who numbered 40 and included Needham and Arthur, stayed at Occhenechee. Growing tired of waiting, and fearing that the 11 who had gone forward had come to a foul end, the Tomahitians returned to the southwest accompanied by Needham and Arthur. In nine days the trip from Occhenechee to "Sitteree" was made, as nine rivers and creeks were crossed. The trail from Sitteree to the land of the "Tomahitians" led into the mountains. Four days travel was required to reach the top of these mountains. A half days march down the other side brought the party to the floor of a valley. The total time required for the trip from Sitteree to the Tomahitians was 15 days. The Tomahitian Town was located on the sixth river encountered after crossing into the mountains. This river flowed to the west. After a short stay, James Needham returned to Virginia accompanied by an Appomattox Indian and 12 Tomahitians, and arrived at Fort Henry on September 10, 1673.

Needham and the Tomahitians did not stay long, as they began the return trip to Arthur on the 20th of September. Once Needham passed "Aeno", an Indian town two days journey beyond Occhenechee, no word was ever heard from him again. Rumors came back to Wood in January of 1674 that the Tomahitians had murdered Needham just before the mountains had been reached. On February 25, 1674, Henry Hatcher, an Englishman who had been trading at Occhenechee, arrived at Fort Henry. According to Hatcher, the Occhenechee's had restrained Needham from going further south until Hatcher had persuaded the Indians to allow Needham to continue on his way.

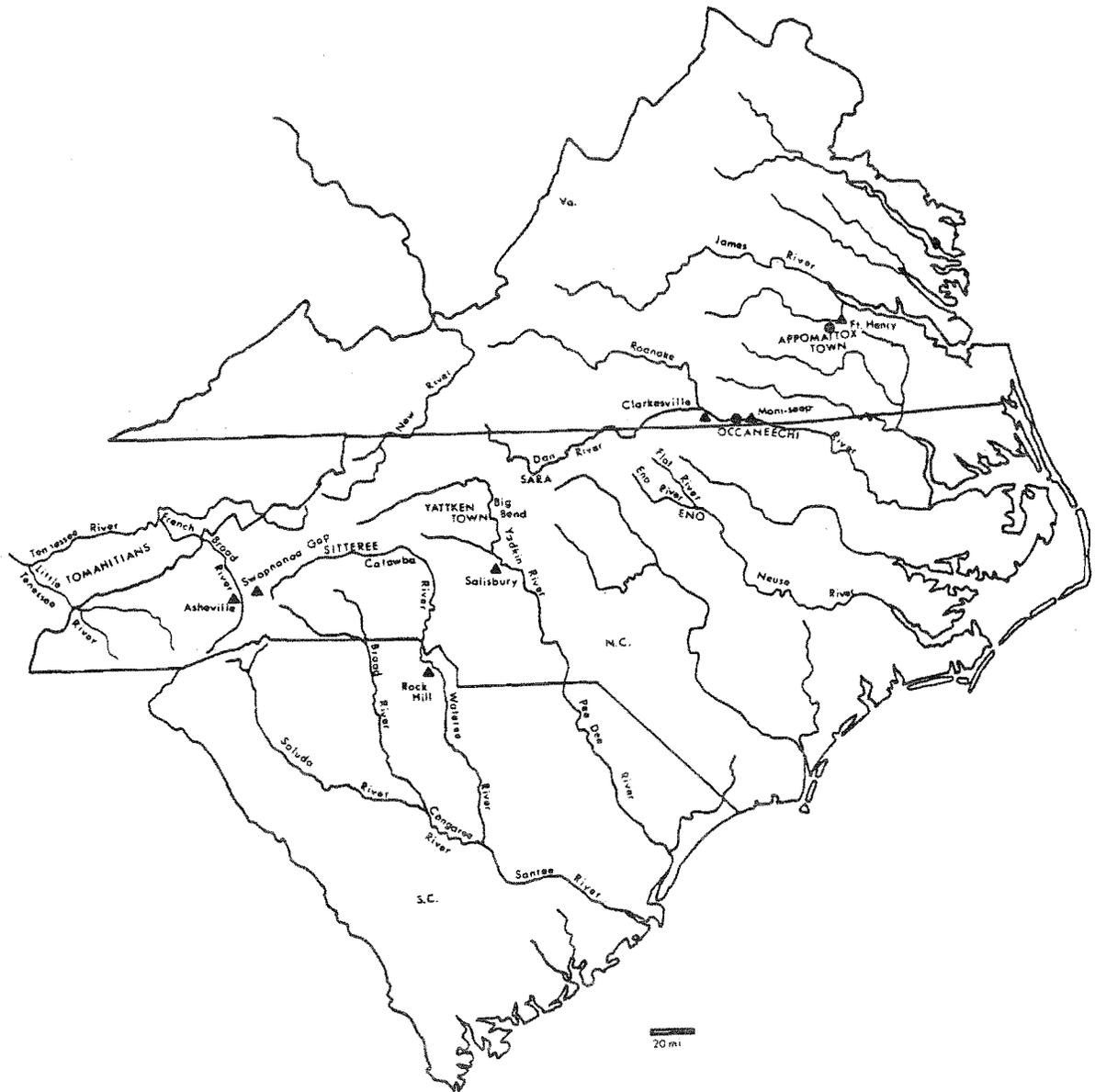


Figure 9.--The cultural geography of Needham and Arthur's adventures.

Subsequently, Hatcher heard from the Occhenechee that Needham had been murdered, by the Tomahitians. But Hatcher had seen an Occhenechee Indian named John or "Hascoll" in possession of Needham's pistols and gun.

This Indian named John/Hascoll had accompanied Needham and Arthur to the Tomahitians, and returned with Needham to Fort Henry in September of 1673, where he was given a reward for his services. For Needham's return to the Tomahitians, John/Hascoll promised to accompany him and provide safe conduct for Needham and the 12 Tomahitians. At that time, John/Hascoll was given half the wages for his projected duties.

It was not until Gabriel Arthur returned to Fort Henry on June 18, 1674, and related what he knew, that Wood finally learned what had befallen Needham. Having arrived safely at Aeno, Needham, the Tomahitians and Occhenechee John had traveled to "Sarrah". As the party crossed the Sarrah River, Needham and Occhenechee John had cross words concerning another Indian, who let his burden slip into the water. After passing the "Yattken" Town and crossing the "Yattken" River, not far from the foot of the mountains, the party camped for the night. Here the quarrel between Occhenechee John and Needham flared into the open, and Occhenechee John killed Needham in the ensuing confrontation. When Occhenechee John told the Tomahitians they would be blamed for Needham's death, they fled to their homes.

Arthur narrowly escaped death following the return of these unfaithful Tomahitians to the mountains. After gaining his freedom, Arthur was forced to accompany the Tomahitians on a variety of adventures. It was not until the 10th of May, 1674 that he was able to set out for Fort Henry. The journey to Sarrah was uneventful, but upon his arrival four "Occhenechee" Indians were found to be waiting in ambush for his return. Arthur also

reported that the trade goods of Needham, that had been ravaged by Occhenechee John, were discovered scattered about the immediate vicinity of Sarrah. Late on the night of Arthur's arrival at Sarrah, the Occhenechee blackguards created a false alarm that the town was beset by attacking Indians. The Sarrah and the Tomahatians bolted, and left the Occhenechee to search for Arthur. Fortunately, he escaped detection, and the Occhenechee gave up the search and departed the next morning. Arthur hired four Sarrah Indians to carry his packs to Aeno. Here, the Sarrah would go no further, fearing the wrath of the Occhenechee. Arthur was forced to go ahead escorted only by a "Spanish Indian" boy, who had been captured some time ago by the Tomahitians, and had accompanied Arthur on his trip to Aeno. The following night, Arthur and the boy slipped past the Occhenechee Town, which sat on an island in a river. Finally, Arthur and his companion arrived safely at Fort Henry on June 18.

Later, four of the Tomahitians, including their chief and two of his sons, who had deserted at Sarrah Town the night the Occhenechee had attempted to take Arthur, eventually made their way to Fort Henry. From Sarrah the Tomahitians had journeyed to "Totero" "under ye foot of ye mountains", continued up to the James River, built a canoe and floated downstream to the "Manakins", went overland to the "Powetan" (Powhatan) Indians, and on the night of July 20th arrived at Wood's plantation.

#### Discussion of the Travels of Needham and Arthur

Of the various Indian groups encountered by Needham and Arthur, only the Sitteree and Tomahitians have not been mentioned in earlier works. The posited identity and location of these two groups, and the other Indians, according to past researchers is given in Appendix B. The thesis presented here is that from Ft. Henry, Needham and Arthur followed the Occaneechi

Path to Occhenechee (Occaneechi), near Moni-seep Ford on the Roanoke River (Figure 9). From here they continued to the southwest along the Trading Path to the Aeno (Eno) Town. These Indians were located along the upper tributaries of the Neuse, either the Flat or Eno River. At this point, a major east-west path was encountered, and the Occaneechi Trail was left. Instead of continuing to the Essaw and other Indians to the southwest, Needham and Arthur turned to the west and made for Sarrah (Sara). The village of the Sarrah was probably situated on the section of the Dan where the river starts to bend back to the northwest. The westward path then led to the Yattken Town, possibly in the Big Bend area of the Yadkin River. Continuing to the west, the Sitteree Indians were encountered on the upper Catawba River, perhaps in the vicinity of Marion, North Carolina. From this town, Needham and Arthur entered the Blue Ridge and Appalachian Mountains, and made their way to the Tomahitian (Cherokee) Indians along either the French Broad River in Tennessee, or the Little Tennessee drainage in North Carolina and Tennessee.

A major reason for choosing this route is that Needham and Arthur did not encounter any of the Indian groups that lay southwest of the Eno Town along the Great Trading Path. Neither the Essaw, Ushery, Catawba, Sugaree, Keyauwee, Wisack (Waxhaw), or Wateree Indians are mentioned. Although some of these groups may have been elsewhere at this time, the major groups associated with a major stopping point on the Trail, the Essaw-Ushery-Catawba Indians, would surely have been noticed and reported if passed. Another piece of evidence is that archaeological data does not support the positioning at this time of the Sara Indians on any of the rivers between the Eno Town and Trader's Ford on the Yadkin River over which the Occaneechi Trail passes. If the Sara had lived along this section of the Path, with

the Yattken town at Trader's Ford, the archaeological remains, particularly the ceramics, of that area and the Dan should have reflected this fact. As the chapters (15, 16, and 17) on ceramics in this dissertation illustrate, this is not supported.

The possibility that the Sitteree were the Sugaree Indians noted by John Lawson in 1701 on the Catawba River in the vicinity of Rock Hill, South Carolina has also been raised (see Appendix B). This proposition has to be rejected as none of the other groups in this area, especially the Essaw and Catawba, were mentioned by Needham and Arthur. Also, John Barnwell (1897/1898:394) writing in 1711, noted both Sugaree and "Suteree" (Sitteree) Indians among his troops used to fight the Tuscarora.

#### Summary

As a result of rumors and avarice spawned by the settlement of the new colony of South Carolina in 1670, the trips of John Lederer in 1669-1670, Batts and Fallam in 1671, and Needham and Arthur in 1673-74 were financed. These journeys killed any hope for finding a short, direct route to the Great South Sea. The new colony of South Carolina did not suddenly give any evidence that it possessed any source of wealth that could be connected with "lost" Spanish gold and silver mines. All that was discovered were Indians, fresh sources of furs and skins, and routes by which all three could be found. The era of indirect contact with the Europeans enjoyed by the various Siouan groups of the Carolina Piedmont was rapidly drawing to a close. The time of direct contact, and increased pressures induced by disease, warfare and English immigration, was ushered in following the establishment of the first more or less permanent connections between the Indians and the English during the early 1670s.

## Chapter 7

### STORMING THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN BARRICADES

By the end of the middle of the 1670's, it had become obvious that the Great South Sea did not lay just to the other side of the Appalachian Mountains. Likewise, no gold or silver mines similar to those the Spanish had, or of any other kind, nor any "Pearl Kingdoms", were found, even though numerous English explorers diligently searched the Carolina backcountry. The only possible source for profits from these western lands was in trade with the Indians for furs and skins. But major blockades lay in the path of this westward expansion. For Virginia, the problem was the Occaneechi Indians, and for South Carolina, it was the Westo Indians.

#### Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia and Its Aftermath, 1676-1680

In Virginia, Governor Berkeley failed in his attempt during the last portion of the 1660's and early 1670's to gain a monopoly of the fur trade and all profit from the western explorations. During this period the Indians along the Piedmont frontier of Virginia became increasingly hostile due to their continued abuse at the hands of the English colonists in general, but especially the Indian traders. One overt act of hostility had been the murder of James Needham by the Occaneechi in 1673. This was not an isolated incident. Indeed, the years following the treaty with the Powhatan Indians in 1647 had been marked by continual individual clashes

between the English colonists of Virginia and the Indians on her borders involving theft and murder (Billings 1975:228-232).

The events surrounding Bacon's Rebellion of 1676 were intimately tied to the Indian trade and the deteriorating relations between the English and Indians. The colonists and the Indians of Virginia were on poor terms with each other. At the same time, Indians from the north, probably Iroquois for the most part, were raiding to the south, as they had been doing for a long time prior to this. In one last attempt at controlling the interactions between the colonists and the Indians, Berkeley in March of 1676 got the Virginia Assembly to once again prohibit all trade with the Indians (Phillips 1961:174-175; Henning 1823b:336). The law was designed to deny the Indians access to guns and ammunition. Anyone trading with the Indians was subject to the death penalty and the loss of all one's property. This act, as usual, had little effect on the acquisition of arms by the Indians, for too many people outside the authority of the Virginia colony were providing such items to the Indians. Instead, the blatant avarice of the officials of the Virginia government was again highlighted. For trade with the Indians was not actually prohibited, the act just removed those who had been trading with the Indians in the past. In their place, five people from each of Virginia's counties were appointed to conduct all affairs with the Indians. None of the five could have had any prior dealings with the Indian trade. The effect was to bring all the Indian trade under the direct control of Governor Berkeley and his cronies.

While this political wrangling was dividing the colony, several Indian raids occurred along the northern frontier of Virginia, beginning in the summer of 1675. The "Doeg" and "Susquehannock" Indians of the upper

Chesapeake Bay region were the perpetrators. These Indians were being pushed south by continued harrassment from the Iroquois (Billings 1975:211). In the fall of 1675, Virginia militia crossed over into Maryland and attacked the Doegs and a few peaceful Susquehannock Indians. Shortly thereafter, five Susquehannock Chiefs, who had come to treat with the militia of northern Virginia, were executed by the colonists without any provocation (Billings 1975:212).

In January of 1676, the Susquehannochs, bent on revenge, attacked the English homesteads along the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers (Figure 10). These bloody raids caused a great deal of panic among the colonists. Berkeley refused to take any action other than induce the Assembly to prohibit trade with the Indians. Taking matters into their own hands, the colonists raised a force to deal with the Indian raids, despite orders to the contrary by the colonial government. Nathaniel Bacon was installed as commander of this illegal army.

Bent on striking against any Indian group that appeared menacing, Bacon's command set off to the south into the wilderness. A Susquehannock party was rumored to have taken refuge with the Occaneechi on their island in the Roanoke River. The following results of the opening phase of Bacon's Rebellion were taken from an account in the Public Record Office of Great Britain documented in Billings (1975:267-269), and an entry in Great Britain's Calender of State Papers (Sainsbury 1893:414).

Bacon and his men recieved no assistance from the Indians of the Virginia Piedmont, who had been ordered by Governor Berkeley not to help the colonials in their campaign against the Susquehannocks. Thus, the army was forced to swing south to the Nottoway and Meherrin Indians of the Coastal Plain to find recruits to help in the fight. For all their

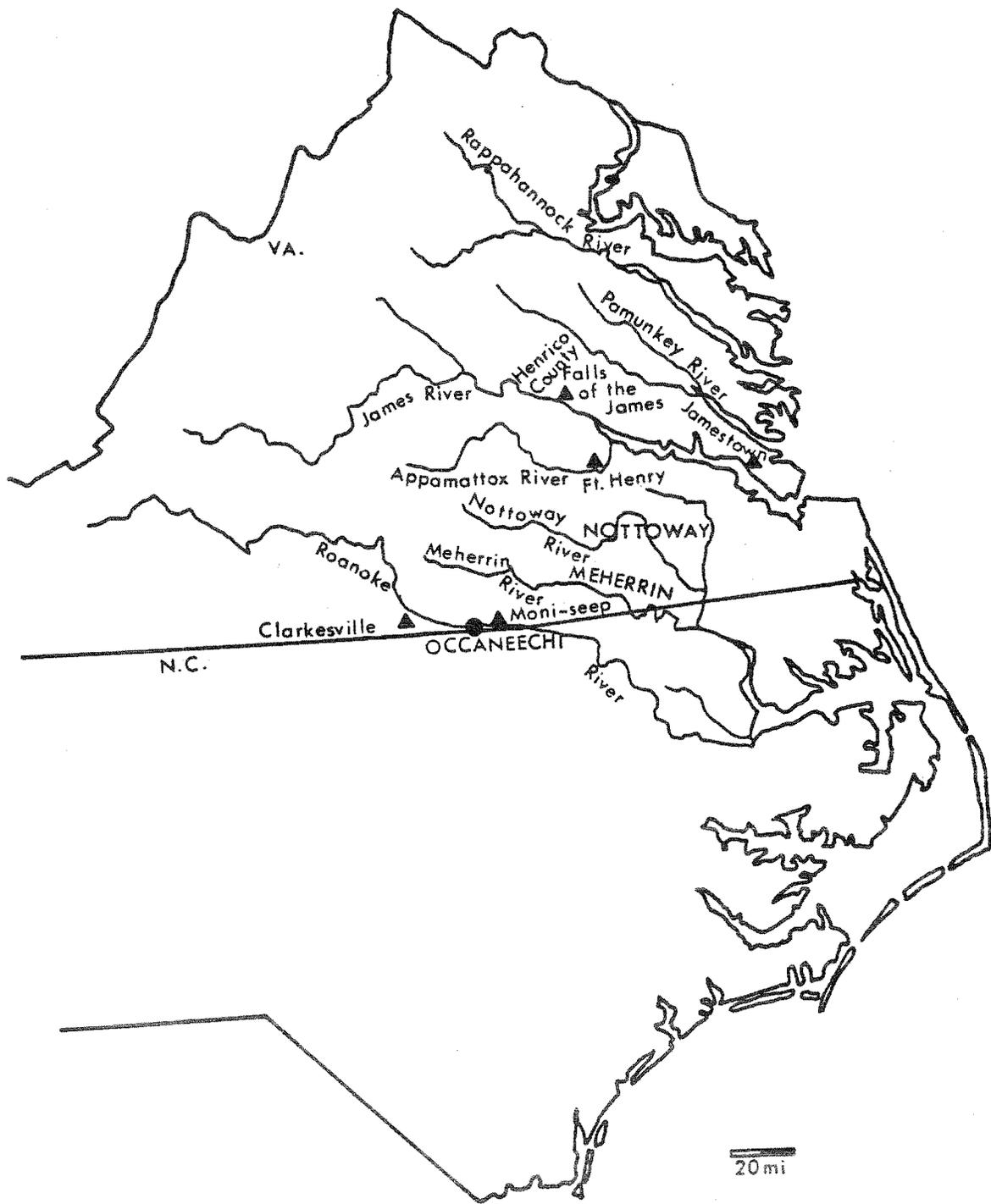


Figure 10.--Virginia locations pertinent to Bacon's Rebellion.

troubles, only 24 Indians agreed to assist. From the land of the Meherrins and Nottoways, the English marched west through the wilderness, as no path led directly to Occaneechi except the Great Trading Path, which had been left when the force had turned to the south. Arrangements were made with "Persicles", King of the Occaneechi, and two other Indian groups, the "Manakens" and "Annalectins" (?), who resided with the Susquehannock in their fort, for the betrayal of the Susquehannock. The colonial army finally made their way to the island following a very rugged march overland. Low on provisions, the militia started their attack immediately, as Persicles had promised them rations. As planned, the Occaneechi, Manakens, and Annalectins fell upon their erstwhile comrades, who numbered but 30 men accompanied by an unknown number of women and children. After the slaughter of all the Susquehannocks, the English were rebuffed in their demands for the sustenance promised them. Persicles perceived that the English were in his power, gathered all the Indians together, including the Manakens and the Annalectins, manned the river side, and retired to the Occaneechi's stronghold. Their escape thus cut off, the colonials stormed the Occaneechi village, set it afire, and indiscriminately killed men, women and children. The fight continued until the evening of the next day, when Persicles was shot and killed during a fanatical charge by the Indians. This halted the fighting, and the Indians fled the area. The results of this affair were the destruction of

...the King of the Susquahannocks and the King of Oconogee and the Manakin King with 100 men, besides what unknown to us. The King's daughter wee took Prisonner with some others and could have brought more, But in the heat of the Fight wee regarded not the advantage of the Prisoners nor any plunder, but burn't and destroid all. And what we reckon most materiall is That wee have left all nations of Indians where we have been ingaged in a civall warre amongst themselves soe that with great ease wee hope to manadge this advantage to their utter Ruine and destruction. (Billings 1975:269).

With the destruction of the "Oconogee" (Occaneechi) fastness on the Roanoke River southwest of Virginia, the turmoil that had been festering in colonial society burst forth into fullfledged rebellion against the government of Virginia. The involvement of the Indians along the borders gradually faded from center stage as the trouble made its way slowly back to the inhabited regions of the colony. Bacon's army moved to the north following their success at Occaneechi, and fell upon the friendly Pamunkey Indians along the York River. With the Indian troubles of the frontier well in hand, the internal problems of the colony became the focus of the conflict. The Assembly of 1676 sought to rectify Berkeley's unjust handling of the Indian trade by abolishing all trade with the Indians, and invalidating all commissions given to conduct trade (Hening 1823b:330). A fine of ten thousand pounds of tobacco was levied for possession of any item connected with the Indian trade.

The rebellion came to an end and Berkeley's authority was reestablished in February of 1677, when Bacon died of a "Bloody Flux" (Billings 1975:247). By the fall of 1677, the prohibition against trading with the Indians was judged to be most injurious to the economy of the colony, and it was repealed (Hening 1823b:403, 410). Fairs were established at various locales within the colony at which friendly Indians were allowed to trade with the English. By 1680, this system was found to be ineffective, and once again all prohibitions on trade with friendly Indians were lifted (Hening 1823b:482).

The economic health of the colony did not improve following the end of Bacon's rebellion. A series of large tobacco crops in the late 1670s glutted the London market, and lower prices and return for the planters was the result (Billings 1975:246). Once again the Virginia government moved

to diversify the local economy, primarily by building the leather working industry. In 1680, the same year that all restraints on trade with the Indians were lifted, the export of deerskins and any other untanned pelt was made illegal (Hening 1823b:493-494). The success of this strategy to rectify the soft economic condition of the colony can not be evaluated. No records of the number of tanned or raw hides exported from Virginia could be located for this period. Certainly, no account of the number smuggled abroad was available. Probably the policies had little immediate effect, for plant-cutter riots in 1682 (Billings 1975:247), initiated by a number of tobacco growers, represented an attempt to drive up tobacco prices by lessening the amount available for export.

In contrast to these continuing economic difficulties, the relations between the colony and the Indians of the immediate frontier improved. Following the end of Bacon's Rebellion, the various Indian groups of Virginia were forced to sign a new peace treaty with the colony, even though the colonists were responsible for most of the trouble involving these groups. This agreement was known as the Treaty of Middle Plantation (Anon 1906:289-297), concluded on May 29, 1677 at the future site of Williamsburg, Virginia (Jamestown having been burnt to the ground by Bacon's rebellious forces). The treaty brought the Virginia Indians directly under the control of the English government. The Indians recognized the King of England and his deputy, the Governor of Virginia, as their sovereign. Tribute from each Indian group was to continue to be 20 beaver skins per year. All complaints were to be handled by the Governor and the colonial judicial system, with the Indians having the same rights as a colonist. The friendly Indians were to be provided arms, and, in return, would assist the English in the defense of the colony, especially

the frontiers, against the inroads of foreign Indians. The friendly Indians were given title to their lands, and settlement within three miles of any Indian town was prohibited. Signatories to the treaty included the Pamunkey, Nottoway, Appomattox, Waynoke, Nansemond, Meherrin, Manaken, and Sapona Indians. With the exception of the Sapona, all these Indians lay within or upon the immediate borders of the colony.

Reading of the Treaty of 1677 reveals that an effort was made to eliminate many of the abuses that had contributed to the late difficulties. Cooperation between the Indians and English for mutual benefit was to be tried. However, none of the tribes south of the former Occaneechi stronghold were included under the provisions of the treaty. While the colonists in Virginia were attempting to sort out their problems with the Indians through treaty, South Carolina was experiencing similar difficulties of her own.

#### South Carolina Learns the Ways of the Indian Trade 1670-1685

From South Carolina's settling as a colony, the Indian trade was a cornerstone of its economy. Initially, as at Jamestown, the Indian trade was restricted to the coastal groups that included the Cusabo, Cussitaws, Savannah, Appalachee, Yuchi and Yamassee (Milling 1940:4). Major trade with the interior was possible only as far inland as a major Indian group called the Westo (the "Oustak" of John Lederer), located along the Savannah River. At the time the colonists arrived at Charles Town, the Westo and the coastal tribes, particularly the Cusabo, were at war with one another. The latter welcomed the English presence as a potential source of assistance in this conflict (Cheeves 1897:186).

During the early years of the colony, the Proprietors enjoyed a near monopoly on the Indian trade involving skins and furs. The constant warfare that marked the relations between the Indians of the area, however, provided a large reservoir of Indian slaves which the colonists were quick to exploit. A commerce in Indian slaves arose that was as profitable as furs and skins.

Given the vivid example of the troubles involved in the Indian trade provided by the experiences the Virginia colony had gone through in its history, the Proprietary Government was slow in implementing any formal controls over the Indian trade. This proved to be an unwise course of inaction as the traffic in Indian slaves greatly complicated the Indian trade in South Carolina. Abuses were to be expected, and two laws had to be passed, one in December of 1671 and the other in June of 1672, which forbade any Indian being made a slave without his own consent (Rivers 1856, quoted in Smith 1968:8-9). Also, 12,000 acres of land around each Indian town was made off limits to any colonial settlements. The intent may have been honorable, but reality insured that these provisions were ignored by both the Proprietors and the colonists. As an inducement to attract settlers, the Proprietors allowed the colonists to sell their Indian slaves in the East Indies (McGrady 1897:189-190; Smith 1968:9).

As would be expected, effective control of the Indian trade was impossible. The Proprietors attempted to monopolize all the commerce, both to end the abuses and the likelihood of war with the Indians, and to insure their profits (Sirmans 1966:33-34; Smith 1968:9-10). To achieve this, only a few reputable men were allowed by law to conduct trade with any Indian anywhere (Rivers 1856:368; Smith 1968:9). Thus, the basic question of who was to benefit from and control the Indian trade, the Proprietors or

the colonists, was squarely faced. The problem was not to be resolved, however, until the Proprietors turned the colony over to the Royal Government in 1721.

Little was accomplished by the laws the Proprietors implemented. The South Carolina colonists continued to trade with the local coastal Indians. Slaves continued to be as important as skins and furs in the Indian trade. The Proprietors, meanwhile, worked to expand the pool of Indians with whom they and their supporters could trade beyond the local natives of the colony. We have already seen that Dr. Woodward was sent north in July of 1671 through the backcountry of the Carolinas to Virginia. In late fall of 1673, the South Carolina Council ordered a party north to treat with the "Esaugh" (Essaw) Indians, and explore the country (Cheeves 1897:428-429). The main impetus for this expedition was not trade, however. The Westo had been the source of numerous alarms in the colony, and in September of 1673 had threatened to invade South Carolina (Cheeves 1897:427). The Esaugh indicated a willingness to aid in any war with the Westo, and intimated that they knew the location of the Westo habitations.

This war never came about, however, and in May of 1674 the Proprietors ordered Woodward to open trade with either the Westo or the Creek farther to the west (Cheeves 1897:446). In December of 1674, Dr. Woodward traveled to the homeland of the Westo, who indicated their desire for friendly relations with the English (Cheeves 1897:456-462). The direct results of this trip were hard to ascertain. It was probable that some sort of agreement was reached at that time, or a short time later, for Woodward reported in 1675 that he was getting a share of the Westo trade in skins, furs and young Indian slaves (Sainesbury 1893:634).

In 1677, a formal trade agreement was reached between the Westo and the Proprietors (Cheeves 1897:446). At the same time, all trade with any Indians that lived more than 100 miles from the coast, including the Westo, was banned (Rivers 1856:388-389; Phillips 1961:180). In this manner, the Proprietors hoped to tie the Westo to them by supplying them with arms and ammunition at less cost than the neighboring colonies and the French (Milling 1940:84). The Westo would be used to protect the long distance trade enjoyed by the Proprietors by keeping the colonists hemmed in with hostile Indians (Smith 1968:11).

Seeing the disastrous results that poor trade relations with the Indians had caused Virginia, the Proprietors finally moved in 1680 to end the abuses to the South Carolina Indians for "selfish as well as humanitarian reasons." (Crane 1929:139; Smith 1968:11-12). Disputes between the Indians and the English were to be adjudicated in a special court, that was also charged with ending the enslavement of friendly Indians.

Unfortunately, this experiment was ended prematurely by the outbreak of the Westo War in 1680 (Milling 1940:82-83). The war was started by the execution of a number of Westo chiefs who had come to treat with the South Carolina Colonial Government. The aid of the Savannah Indians, a group that lived inland near the Westo, was secured by the Assembly. The war was a long drawn out affair, but by September of 1683 only about 50 Westo were reported to still be alive. At that time the Proprietors denounced the war and those involved (Milling 1940:83). The colonists had destroyed a valuable source of trade revenue for the Proprietors. An Indian group not tied to the Proprietors, the Savannah, were established in place of the Westo. There was no longer a barrier to any colonist trading with the Indians to the

west. Shortly thereafter, the law forbidding trade 100 miles from the coast ran out in 1684, and was not immediately replaced. From then until the end of the century, bickering over the Indian trade and who controlled it was to dominate the politics of South Carolina with disastrous results.

## Chapter 8

### YEARS OF TRANQUILITY AND INTRA-COLONIAL ECONOMIC WARFARE, 1685-1711

Following the destruction of the two Indian groups that had blocked their expansion into the far western fur and skin country, the colonies of Virginia and South Carolina set about securing this trade for themselves. During this period, there were no major wars between the English and the Indians, only a continuation of the pattern of occasional murder and pillage committed by each upon the other. The attitude of the English of the southern colonies towards the local Indians during this period gradually underwent a basic change that foreshadowed the later policies of the Royal Governors of the first half of the 18th Century. Amongst the Indians themselves, the Seneca or Iroquois of the northern sections of the continent continued to wreak havoc upon the Indians of Virginia and the Carolinas.

### Virginia's Years of Dominance in the Indian Trade, 1676-1700

Following the defeat of the Occaneechi in 1676, Virginia was not able to immediately pursue the active expansion of trade to the southwest due to the political upheaval that continued to rock the colony through the following year. Likewise the frontier continued to be an unsafe place as raiding by the Northern Indians continued. The results of Bacon's war upon the Indians of the Virginia frontier was to further weaken their cohesion and create ill feeling amongst them, while doing nothing to cope

with the source of the problem, the continual harrassment conducted by the Iroquois.

It is in connection with a raid by a group of these Northern Indians that the next mention of one of the Siouan groups of the Carolina Piedmont is found. Rodger Banister wrote in a letter dated April 6, 1679, postmarked "The Falls" (probably of the Appomattox), to a Dr. Robert Morrison about a raid by a band of Northern Indians (Seneca ?) in the spring of the same year (Fulham Palace Papers, 14, item 80, pages 1-2). Apparently these Northern Indians had attacked the colonial settlements along the heads of the Rappahanock, York and James Rivers in Virginia. They were pursued by a group of Englishmen, who seemingly trapped the Indians in a corn field on the north side of the James River. The Northern Indians were able to escape south across the James where they ran into the Appomattox Indians on the river of the same name. After skirmishing with these latter Indians, the Northern Indians "attempted likewise the Ockonigee Island, destroyed a Town or two further up Roanoke River: and are we hear now located on ye Other side the Mountains" (Fulham Palace Papers, 14, item 80, page 2). The central implication of this letter was that Indians still possessed or inhabited Occaneechi Island. Although not specifically named, it would be reasonable to assume that the Occaneechi were still situated on their former island stronghold on the Roanoke River.

Shortly after this incident, on July 25, 1681, the Governor of Virginia wrote to Lord Culpeper in London concerning another attack. It seemed that the "Senacos" (Seneca) had "lately taken the Occanogee Island, with the King and many of his Indians" (Fortescue 1898:93).

Occaneechi Island, or at least Occaneechi, was again mentioned in 1684 in a letter written by William Byrd I. The letter was addressed to Thomas

Grendon, postmarked James City in Virginia, and dated April 29, 1684 (Tingling 1977:15-16). Byrd told of the death at the hands of unknown Indians of five traders and one Indian in his employ on their return with furs from the west. This incident occurred at a point some 20 miles beyond "Ockanechee" (Occaneechi) (Tingling 1977:16). Although the Occaneeche Indians were not directly mentioned, Occaneechi as either the town or island continued to be a reference point for the Virginia fur traders for many years following the end of Bacon's Rebellion.

Since the year 1680, Virginia's traders had been allowed to conduct business with any friendly Indian. From that time forward, the general policy of Virginia's officials was, with occasional exceptions, to favor free and open trade. The prohibition against the export of raw hides and furs, passed 1680, was finally repealed in 1691 (Hening 1823c:63, 69). In its stead, a tariff was placed on all skins and furs exported. At the same time this law was passed, the Indian trade was again declared to be open to all. Virginia continued to conduct some commerce with the Indians of the Carolina Piedmont, but how much could not be documented. Probably, during this period the Cherokee trade grew to be of greater value to the colony (Phillips 1961:178-179). But in her attempts to expand trade to the Indians further to the west beyond the southern end of the Appalachians, Virginia was to be repeatedly rebuffed by the aggressive conduct of the Indian trade by South Carolina.

#### South Carolina Wrestles with the Problems of the Indian Trade, 1685-1700

Following the destruction of the Westo Nation and the end of the Westo War in 1683, the direct interest of the Proprietors in the Indian trade naturally declined (Smith 1968:13). The struggle for control of the Indian

trade became internalized with the Governor and Upper House of Assembly, the Grand Council, representing the interests of the Proprietors (and themselves). The Common House of Assembly championed, on the other hand, the cause of most of the planters and other colonists .

In 1691, a free trade area was again instituted by the South Carolina government (Cooper and McCord 1837:66-67; Baker 1975:47). This region was bordered on the south by the Savannah River, the inland line ran from the Savannah Town near present-day Augusta, Georgia, northeast to the Congaree Indians (around Columbia, South Carolina), and from thence to the coast at the mouth of the "Winyaw" (Pee Dee) River. Beyond this zone only those people approved by the government could conduct trade. By 1691, Maurice Mathews, a well known figure in South Carolina planter and merchant circles, was reported to have established an ongoing trade with the "Northern Indians", as the Esaw, Waxhaw, and Congaree were known to the South Carolina colonists (Salley 1907:53).

These restrictions on the Indian trade had little practical effect. The laws were ignored, and people traded where and with whom they could. Indian slaves continued to be a prime commodity, and this commerce only exacerbated the poor relations between the Indians and the English. The Carolina government agreed that regulation was necessary, but could not piece together a policy that would please everybody. The result was that nothing was accomplished other than to levy an export duty on skins and furs to provide for defense and public services. Laws were passed to enact this legislation in 1695 (JCHA 1695:11) and again in 1696 (JCHA 1695:47). However, no action was taken to control the widespread abuses in the Indian trade.

Two events occurred in the last years of the 1690s that were indicative of the climate of the times, and one of which had dire portents for the future. In 1697, a war involving the Yamassee and the Spaniards started on the frontiers of South Carolina (Phillips 1961:334). This outbreak threatened for a time to spread and disrupt all of Carolina's trade with the interior. But, as had often been the case, the war died down with little being accomplished other than the shedding of blood. The problems provoking the situation were not addressed, and their solution was postponed for a few more years.

Shortly after this, the Common's House of Assembly declared the "...Sooka, Yahawee and Saxapah Indians enemies of the government..." because they had refused to yield up the murderers of one Robert Stevens, Jr. (JCHA 1698:18). A complaint had been placed before the House the preceeding year on November 12, 1697 by a house member, Robert Stevens, the father of the murdered man (Salley 1913:21). The elder Stevens alleged that Indians of the "Soo:kay", the "Ya:hee:wee", and the "Sax:a:pax" had killed his son while the latter was on a trip to Virginia, apparently through the backwoods. The Essaws were ordered to deliver the wanted Indians to the authorities, but were apparently unable to comply. The younger Stevens had probably been following the Occaneechi Trail north, for the "Sookay" can be identified with the "Sukah" or Sugar Indians; the "Yaheewee" with the Uwharrie, Keyauwee or, less likely, the Sara Indians; and the "Saxpax" with the Saxapahaw Indians. These Indians lived on portions of the Great Trading Path to the northeast of the Essaw. Documentation for the possible identity of these Indians was provided by John Lawson while on a trip through the Piedmont of the Carolinas in the year 1701.

The Journey of John Lawson,  
Winter of 1700/1701

By far the best documented, most detailed, and most accurate account of the Indians of the Carolina Piedmont is provided by John Lawson's relation of a trip he took in 1701 (Lawson 1967:3-67). The journey began in Charles Town, South Carolina, wound its way through the Coastal Plain into the interior of the Carolinas, continued up the Occaneechi Path through the Piedmont, to the Occaneechi Town. Here Lawson turned to the east and journeyed to the Pamlico Sound near present-day Washington, North Carolina (Figure 12). The rendition of Lawson's trek presented below is based on Lefler's (1967) edited version of the book that John Lawson published concerning his trip and the natural history of North Carolina.

The journey began on December 28, 1700. The original party consisted of Lawson, five Englishmen, three Indian men and one woman, the wife of the Indian guide. They set out from Charles Town by boat and headed for the mouth of the Santee River (Figure 11). Here, the four Indians were left, and a "Sewee" Indian hired to serve as a guide up the Santee. The French Huguenot settlements along the lower portion of the river were passed, and a camp of the "Santee" Indians was encountered. The next morning the path northwest to the "Congaree" Indians was followed. They were without their Sewee Indian guide, "Scipio", who was left drunk in the Santee Indian camp. Three days travel brought Lawson and party to a permanent town of the Santee Indians on Thursday, January 10, 1701. Saturday found the expedition at a hunting camp of the Santee Indians. Another guide, Santee "Jack", was engaged to take the company to the Congaree. The Congaree Town was reached the following Wednesday. A three day march beyond the Congaree were the "Wateree Chickanee" Indians. This nation was described as being

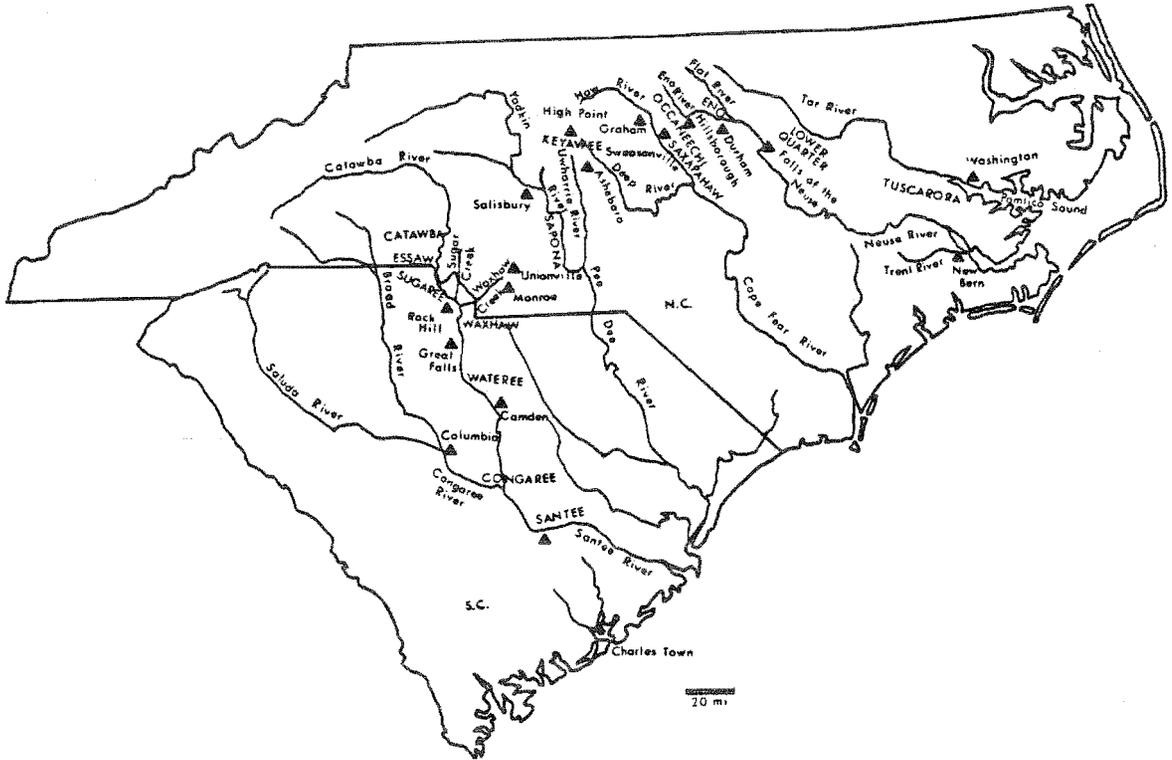


Figure 11.--The cultural geography of the Carolinas for John Lawson's "voyage".

more numerous than the Congaree, and the language of the two groups was mutually unintelligible.

A short distance north of the Wateree Chickanee lived the "Waxsaws". Lawson also called them the "Wisack" Indians when he departed their company. At the first Waxsaw village encountered, a new guide, who belonged to an unspecified "Southward Indian" group, was engaged to take the group to the "Esaw" (Essaws). At a distance of ten miles from the Wisack Town, a second Wisack village was entered. A days travel from this second town brought the English party to a large town whose name Lawson did not supply. The expedition departed the next morning, a Wednesday, and 12 miles were covered before a river was crossed. Numerous towns of the "powerful Nation of Esaws" were encountered, in one of which they spent the night. Thursday morning the band passed through the towns and settlements of the "Sugeree" Indians, and about three o'clock in the afternoon they arrived at the "Kadapou" King's house. After a two day stay with the Kadapou Indians, Lawson and company set forth for "Sapona". A Scotch trader from Virginia named John Stewart, who had been trading amongst the Kadapou, joined the party on the trip north. Safety was his primary reason for doing so, as there were rumors that Seneca were harrassing the Indians of the Carolina frontier.

A total of six days were required to traverse the distance to Sapona. The "Sapona" River was noted to be a branch of the Cape Fair (sic) River. During their stay at Sapona, a group of "Toterros", "a neighboring Nation, came down from the Westward Mountains" to the Saponas, to ask the return of five Seneca prisoners the Sapona had captured. The Toterros intended to free the Seneca as a gesture of reciprocal friendship. At the same time,

Lawson was told that the Toteros, Saponas and "Keyauwees" were planning to live together for protection.

After a three day idyll amongst the Saponas, Lawson and company set off northward again. Several creeks were passed, and then a pretty river, called Rocky River by Lawson, which emptied into the Saponas River. Two days travel covered 30 miles, and brought the English to the Keyauwees. The surrounding land was described as being more mountainous than the preceeding landscape, but still was pleasant. About noon of the day the Keyauwee Town had been reached, another stoney river, similar to the Rocky River, was crossed. This second river was called the "Heighwaree" (Uwharrie). The Keyauwee Town was said to be five miles northwest of this ford across the Heighwaree. High mountains surrounded the palisaded home of the Keyauwee. While here, Lawson was told of a particular mountain in the area that had a cave at the top easily capable of holding 100 people. Lawson could not learn whether the cave was natural or artificial. While at Keyauwee, Lawson made reference to the "Saps" Indians, who he presumably meant to be the Saponas. The stream upon which the Keyauwee were situated was described as being similar to the Uwharrie River.

From Keyauwee, Lawson and one other Englishmen set out for "Ackonechy" (Occaneechi) Town. The rest of the party took their leave and traveled north straight for Virginia. Lawson and his companion covered about 20 miles that day, and two rivers, both a little bigger than the Heighwaree although not as stoney, were crossed. Lawson took them to be branches of the Cape Fear, but thought he could be mistaken. The following day the two traveled 30 miles, and crossed three rivers, two of which were similar in size to the Rocky River. The third river was the "Hau" or "Reatkin", also identified as a branch of the Cape Fear. Lawson noted that the names of

all these rivers were subject to change depending upon what Indian group was speaking. The "Sissipahau" Indians, who dwelt somewhere upstream, were credited with giving their name to the Hau.

Sunday, the journey to Ackonechy, estimated to be some 20 miles distant, was continued. Along the way, a trader from Virginia named Masey was encountered. He was on his way south to trade with the Indians, presumably the Essaw, Catawba and Sugaree. Massey suggested that Lawson turn off the path at "Adshusheer" Town, where the "Enoe" Indians lived, and travel east to the colony of North Carolina on the coast. The "Sinnagers" (Seneca) were causing trouble north of the Enoe, and should be avoided at all costs. At Adshusheer, an Indian named "Enoe Will" would be found who could guide them to the coast.

Later that afternoon, about three o'clock, Achonechy Town was entered. Here Enoe Will was discovered in temporary residence. He agreed to escort Lawson and his partner to the North Carolina colony. So a way more to the east in the direction of the lower Roanoke was taken, and the Occaneechi Trail was left by the party. The town of Adshusheer was their immediate goal. Upon arrival, Lawson stated that the Indians residing at the town were a combined group of Enoe and "Shaccories". Enoe Will was their chief-man, and ruled over the countryside as far south as the Hau River. The distance from Achonechy to Adshusheer was given as 14 miles, with several branches of the Cape Fear lying between the two.

On Tuesday, February 10th, the three travelers headed for the Indian "Nation" called "Lower Quarter", located about 40 miles beyond Adshusheer. Two days travel brought them to the desired Indian Town, which had a large swamp running through its middle. Here, two more Englishmen, part of the group left at Keyauwee, caught up with Lawson and his companion. A guide

was engaged, and the band set off after a one day stay at Lower Quarter. Travel was halted after ten miles were covered, as the "Enoe" River was encountered in flood. The Enoe River was identified as a branch of the "Neus" (Neuse) River. Their new guide, who called himself an "Enoe" Indian, said that the Neuse was the "Enoe" River which emptied into the "Enoe" Bay. From this, Lawson concluded that his Indian guide must have been a "Coree" Indian by birth. This group lived in the Pamlico Bay area of North Carolina, into which the Tar River flowed, not the Neuse as Lawson mistakenly stated.

A three day march brought the company to the land of the "Tuskeruros" (Tuscaroras). Here, they crossed over to the north side of the "Neus" (the Tar River), and on the evening of the third day, a Monday, came to the falls of the "Neus Creek" (Tar River). A little over a days travel down the Tar River Valley from the falls, a winter hunting quarter of the Tuskeruros was found. The same afternoon, a Tuskeruro town was reached, but it was deserted, as most of the Indians were at their hunting quarters. The following day, Thursday, February 19th, several swamps were passed, as well as scattered Indian dwellings. At one of these cabins the members of the expedition spent the night and all day Friday, for the owner offered to take them to the English settlements if they would wait. Two days walk through an area thickly settled with Indian "Towns and Plantations" brought Lawson and company to the banks of the "Pampticough" (Pamlico) River, some 20 miles (by water) above the English settlements. The next day, Monday, February 23, 1701, Lawson's great trek came to an end at the plantation of Mr. Richard Smith on the Pampticough River.

### Discussion of John Lawson's "Voyage"

John Lawson's work (1967) is one of the best documented records of the Carolina Indians and where they lived. In making his way north from Charles Town in South Carolina, Lawson encountered the Santee and Congaree Indians along the Santee River, the Wateree and the Waxhaw (or Wisacks) on the Wateree River, and the Essaw, Sugaree and Catawba Indians along the Catawba River and Sugar Creek south of Charlotte, North Carolina. Moving northward, the Sapona were found on the "Sapona" River, which he erroneously called a branch of the Cape Fear River.

Lawson's description of the "Sapona" River left little doubt that he was referring to the Yadkin. The "Sapona Fort" on the Yadkin was somewhere between Salisbury, North Carolina and the mouth of the Uwharrie River to the southeast. The traditional location of this village at Trading Ford, now underwater, has neither been proved or disproved by previous analysis of the ethnohistorical records (see Appendix B). Archaeological excavations at Trading Ford in the 1950s failed to turn up any European trade materials one would have expected to be associated with a 1700 Indian village (cf. Howell and Dearborne 1953).

The next group of Indians Lawson encountered were the Keyauwee. Nowhere did he note any group of Indians called the Sara or Cheraw north of the Yadkin. The Keyauwee occupied the position relative to the Yadkin and the Eno Town where the Sara had been situated by earlier explorers, or rather various interpretations of the accounts of these earlier explorers (see Appendix B).

The village of the Keyauwee has come to be located on a tributary of the upper Uwharrie River named Caraway Creek. An analysis of Lawson's journey by Rights (1935) sparked the excavation in 1937 of an

archaeological site, 31Rd1, on Caraway Creek identified as Keyauwee (Coe 1937). These remains, however, now appear to belong to an earlier time, perhaps the Protohistoric/Early Historic Period of no later than 1670 (see Chapter 15). The possibility still exists that the site excavated in 1937 is Keyauwee and that the excavations were in an earlier portion of the site. Future work at 31Rd1 may produce evidence of a later Historic occupation. Until that is definitely established, another location for Lawson's Keyauwee along the Uwharrie River remains a possibility. Also, a Deep River placement of Keyauwee can not be ruled out. The river Lawson identified as the Uwharrie may have been the Deep. In that case, the "copious stream" he encountered just after leaving Sapona on the road to Keyauwee would have been the lower Uwharrie River. This in turn required the shift of Sapona downstream on the Yadkin from Trading Ford. Given Lawson's mis-identification of some of the rivers he encountered, including the Rocky, and the "Sapona" (Yadkin) as a branch of the Cape Fear River, this interpretation is a reasonable alternative.

A site on one of the tributaries of the Deep River in northeastern Randolph County has produced artifacts of European manufacture that approximate items associated with Indian villages of the late 17th century. This site is in a location which conforms to Lawson's (1967:56) statement that the Keyauwee Town was located to the northwest of the crossing over the "Uwharrie" (Deep) River.

Moving from Keyauwee, Lawson's travels took him to the northeast towards Occaneechi. At the Haw River, also called the "Reatkin", he stated that the Sissipahaw (Saxapahaw) lived beside that river at some distance from whence he crossed. Beyond the Haw, Occaneechi Town was found on the upper reaches of the Eno River. At least Lawson called the river on which

this village lay the Eno. A site, 31Or11, dug in the late 1930s and early 1940s near Hillsborough, North Carolina has usually been identified with Occaneechi of 1701 (Coe 1952:311). Once again few artifacts of European manufacture were recovered from these excavations (see Chapter 16). The configuration of the material remains suggests a position in time earlier than that proposed for 31Rd1, the reputed site of Keyauwee. A possible association with the Shakor (Shakori) of Lederer has been posited for this site by Jerry Cross (1979:1) in his study of the ethnohistoric records. Excavations during the summer of 1983 at 31Or231 located adjacent to, and immediately downstream from, 31Or11, produced European trade material (Roy Dickens and Trawick Ward, personal communication, 1983) which probably dates to the late seventeenth century (Homes Wilson, personal communication 1983). The distances relative to the Eno Town provided by John Lederer in 1671 for Shakor and by Lawson in 1701 for Occaneechi indicates that these two sites were located in approximately the same location. The Occaneechi Town of 1701 was probably located near present day Hillsboro, North Carolina on the Eno River, although the archaeological materials recovered 31Or11 in the late 1930s and early 1940s, and from 31Or231, appear to belong to the occupations of the Shakori.

At Occaneechi, Lawson left the Great Trading Path and turned to the east as the aim of his quest was to reach the North Carolina coast. In this manner he visited Adshusheer, the home of the Eno and Shakori Indians in 1701. William Autry (1975) has suggested that this town was on the lower Eno just upstream from its confluence with the Flat River north of Durham. This follows the general consensus reached by most researchers (see Appendix B). As yet, archaeological investigations of the area have not produced evidence that precisely locates Adshusheer or the 1670 "Aeno" (Eno) Town.

Adshusheer was the last town Lawson visited which could definitely be tied to the Indians of the Carolina Piedmont. Earlier in his trip, while at Sapona, he had mentioned another group, the Tutelo, usually identified as a Siouan tribe. Based on other ethnohistoric accounts, researchers have vaguely placed the Tutelo somewhere to the west of Fort Henry on the upper reaches of the Roanoke River during the period from 1670 to 1700. Lawson stated that in 1701 the Tutelo lived at the foot of the mountains on the upper portion of the Yadkin River. It is probable that Lawson was just giving his interpretation of where these Indians said they lived. As he knew little of the geography of the Carolina and Virginia interior, Lawson may have been wrong in placing the Tutelo on the upper Yadkin. For now a location other than the upper Roanoke River can not be supported for the home of the Tutelo. But it should also be noted that no archaeological evidence has yet been uncovered that documents any location for a Tutelo village, whether it be on the Yadkin, Dan, or Roanoke River.

The Gathering Storm of Deteriorating Relations,  
1701-1712

Following Lawson's grand voyage through the Carolinas in the winter of 1700/1701, little concerning the Siouan Indians of the Piedmont appears in the colonial records of the next five years. Instead, events were dominated by political wrangling within and between the colonies of South Carolina and Virginia concerning the Indian trade. During the 1690s in both colonies a period of free trade by legal and illegal design existed.

In South Carolina, the 1690s was a time of continued rhetoric concerning the need to regulate the Indian trade in some orderly fashion (Smith 1968:16-19). Among the proposals put forth were the forming of a public stock company to control all trade with profits going into a public

treasury, licensing of traders, prohibiting Virginia traders from trading in South Carolina, and the imposition of duties and restrictions on the export of skins, furs and slaves. Unfortunately, only vague and unenforceable regulations concerning the taking and transport of Indian slaves were enacted.

This neglect had already resulted in a minor uprising of the Yamassee Indians in 1697, following complaints that the Carolina traders were cheating them, beating them, and taking their children as slaves (Phillips 1961:334). In 1702, the Yamassee again begged the South Carolina Government to put a stop to these abuses (JCHA 1702:21). This time the charges were more detailed, and stated that the traders were stealing all manner of property from the Indians; forcing the Indians to build houses, row canoes and perform other duties for the traders; burning down the Indian's houses; and playing cruel jokes on, and cheating, the Indians.

South Carolina's response to the abuses heaped on the Indians was to pass a law in February of 1701 that prohibited all non-residents of the colony, especially Virginians, from conducting trade within the confines of South Carolina, which they claimed stretched all the way to the Mississippi River (JCHA 1701:23-25). Later, in 1708, a duty was imposed on each skin exported from South Carolina (Phillips 1961:336). A number of Virginia Traders had their furs seized for non-payment of this tax. Such incidents touched off a series of confrontations between the two colonies that were intermittently and ineffectively mediated by the Board of Trade in London. When South Carolina passed a law that impeded Virginia's right to trade to the west, Virginia would complain to London, which in turn would usually strike down the offending legislation. Immediately, the South Carolina Assembly would again pass the same law. Round and round the two colonies

went, given the one or two years usually required for the presentation of evidence and receipt of a judgement across the Atlantic Ocean. Phillips (1961:336-340) documented this carnival very well in his work on the fur trade. The acrimony and debate was to continue until the end of the Yamassee War.

The internecine trade war between South Carolina and Virginia was not the only difficulty that plagued the Carolinas. The Northern Indians were raising havoc with the Indians of the Carolina Piedmont. In testimony to the House of Commons on November 20, 1707 a Mr. Ball testified

That on the 22nd of Octobr: Last the Shuttrees Informed him that abt: 130 Indians fell on Some of them Calling themselves Savannahs and Sen'atrees being Gun men wth : Bows & Arrows on their backs pointed with brass and Iron, And has carried away 45 Women & Children mostly Children & that a man of the Soraws run a way from them inform'd him that those Indians trade with the white Men at their Homes & that they live but 30 days Journey from us. (Salley 1941:45).

Of the Indians named in this transcript, the "Shuttrees" were probably the Sitteree Indians, who had moved from the foothills of the Appalachians down the Catawba River nearer the Catawba Indians; the "Savannahs" were Indians who had displaced the Westo along the Savannah River; and the "Sen'atuees" would have been the Seneca. The "Soraws" were the Sara Indians, and their home 30 days journey from Charles Town would have placed them somewhere in the North Carolina Piedmont. This was the earliest mention in the South Carolina records of these Indians, who, as the Cheraw, were to play such an important role in the Indians Wars of the early 18th century. The overall import of Mr. Ball's testimony was to underscore the serious nature of the Iroquois war on the Southern Indians.

Amidst all this turmoil, South Carolina continued to struggle with the Indian trade, as the Governor and Grand Council remained deadlocked with the Common House of Assembly over what to do. Finally, in July of 1707, an

act was passed that ended the stalemate and attempted to bring some order to the situation (Salley 1940:93-95; Cooper and McCord 1838:309). The trade was opened to the public at large. The Commons House of Assembly, freed at last from control of the Governor and Grand Council, was granted complete control over all Indian affairs. Initially, a board of nine commissioners and an agent, all under the authority of the Assembly, was established to supervise the regulations and laws pertaining to Indian trade. Traders were required to obtain licenses. An attempt was made to control the trade in Indian slaves by prohibiting the buying or selling of slaves in any particular Indian Town until three days had elapsed after the arrival of a trader. As a way to enforce the provisions of the act, licensed traders were allowed to confiscate the goods and slaves of any unlicensed person.

The immediate result of this revision was the enactment of more laws for the Indian traders to break, and the introduction of vigilante control over the Indian trade. The commission, for its part, never effectively regulated trade due to insufficient numbers and lack of proper authority. The abuses that could be perpetrated by the Indian traders were thus multiplied rather than reduced. And as usual, continued political infighting further weakened the new system (Smith 1968:27-30).

To the north, events in Virginia were in marked contrast to the situation in South Carolina. Any friction that existed within the colony between the Governor and House of Burgesses had been swept into the background following Bacon's Rebellion. The Treaty of Middle Plantation, signed in 1677, provided the basis for a policy aimed at bringing the Indians of Virginia's frontier directly under governmental control.

It was not until the first part of the 1700s, however, that circumstances favored the incorporation of the more distant Indian tribes. Edmond Jennings, acting Governor of Virginia, sent a proclamation, dated July 30, 1708, to the Council of Trade and Plantations (Headlam 1922:479). This announced that the Sapony (Sapona) Indians had been formally accepted once again into the protection of Virginia, and were allowed to settle on land they currently possessed until further arrangements could be made. In a letter of September 20, 1708, to the Earl of Sunderland, Jennings provided further details concerning the move (Dodson 1932:74). The Sapony had finally tired of their location at the foot of the mountains which exposed them to the attacks of the Seneca. Virginia had welcomed them as "tributary" Indians, a term denoting a status akin to reservation Indians derived from the wording of the Treaty of Middle Plantation. The Sapony were settled along the Meherrin River on the southern boundary of the colony to serve as a buffer against the Tuscarora Indians. The location along the Meherrin River was apparently in the vicinity of the "reservation" to which the Nottoway and Meherrin Indians of the southeastern Virginia Coastal Plain had previously been removed. The exact location of this reservation has yet to be discovered.

In April of 1710, Eno Will, Lawson's former guide, petitioned the Council of Virginia on behalf of the "Einoes", and other Indians incorporated with them, for permission to become tributaries, and be placed under the protection of the government (McIlwaine 1928:240). The request was granted, and land at Puttata Swamp on the south bank of the Meherrin River was set aside for the Eno's benefit. However, the Eno did not, or could not, at this time make the move they had promised (see below).

Given the repeated applications of the various Indians of the Virginia frontier for tributary status, the probability existed that the government failed to provide land suitable for the Indians to settle. On December 19, 1711, the "Great Men" of the "Saponie", "Occoneechee" and "Stukanox" Indians declared their desire to live together in a petition to the Governor and Council of Virginia (McIlwaine 1928:296). These Indians requested that a plot of land on the north side of the Meherrin River "above the Tuscaruro trading path" be given them for their "habitation." The request was granted. It was ordered that land in this section of the Meherrin River be surveyed, and if found to be inhabited, another parcel be laid out for them. The location of this reservation has yet to be found, although it may be in the vicinity of Green Swamp near Emporia, Virginia (Keith Egloff, personal communication 1983). A site exists here that has produced European trade material in an aboriginal context.

In April of the following year, the King of the "Tottero" (Tutelo) Indians delivered a request to the Council that they be taken into the protection of the Virginia colony (McIlwaine 1928:307-310). The Tottero's wish was granted, and they were allowed to settle at the town of the "Saponies & Occoneechees" as tributaries.

With the addition of the Tottero, Virginia's work at pacifying the neighboring Indians along her Piedmont frontiers was for all intents and purposes finished. Governor Spotswood wrote the Council of Trade and Plantations in London on July 26, 1712, in answer to a query, that

...there are nine Nations of Indians tributarys to this Government viz the Pamunkeys, Chicahominys, Nansemonds, Nottoways, Maherines, Saponies, Stukanocks, Occoneechees and Totteras, whose numbers of men, women and children do not exceed 700 in all, and of these there may be reckoned 250 fighting men. These...live quietly on our frontiers traffiquing with the inhabitants their skins and furs for clothing, powder, shott and other European manufactures. (Headlam 1926:15).

Thus, the Indian affairs of Virginia were in order on the eve of the Tuscarora War, at least in regard to the Indians within her jurisdiction. Other problems, including the incursions of the Iroquois and the obstinate position the South Carolina government took in reference to the Indian trade, were beyond Virginia's immediate control.

## Chapter 9

### THE WARS WITH THE TUSCARORA, 1711-1714

After three decades of comparative peace following the end of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia in 1676, and the Westo War of South Carolina in 1683, conflict between the English and the Indians of the Southeast flared violently into the open in the second decade of the 18th century. The powder keg that the Indian trade had been for years, formed by the many and continued abuses of the Indians, only awaited the proper spark to set it off. The immediate cause of the first of these Indian Wars was the continued expansion of the English colonies.

#### The Tuscarora Wars, 1711-1713

Ironically Virginia and South Carolina were only indirectly connected with the start of the Tuscarora Wars. The colony of North Carolina, seated between the two, had been reestablished in the 1660s (Parramore 1967:11). Confined for the most part to the Outer Coastal Plain region including the Albemarle Sound and Pamlico River areas (Figure 12), North Carolina grew slowly over the following half century. South Carolina and Virginia were both more attractive and offered better opportunities. Trade with the Indians was confined for the most part to the local natives of the coast and the Tuscarora (Phillips 1961:413). In 1699, North Carolina prohibited all traders other than those of the colony from trading within her boundaries (Clark 1906:121-122). This law could not be enforced, and

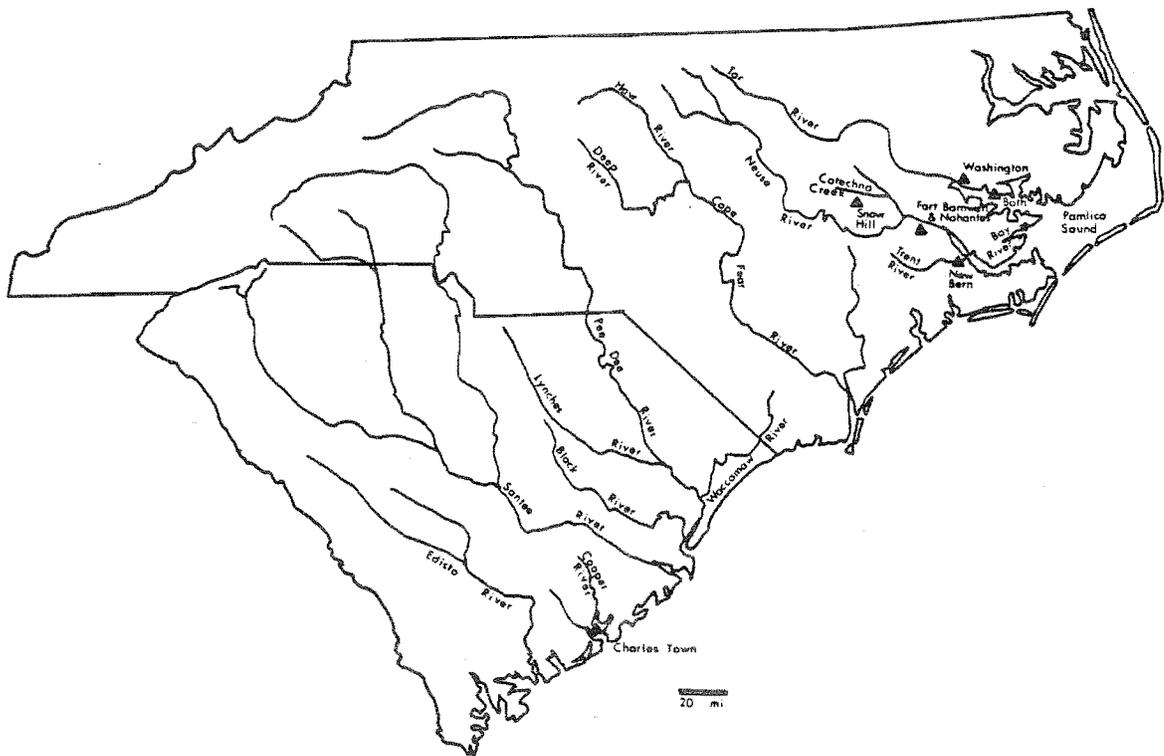


Figure 12.--The cultural geography of the Tuscarora Wars.

traders from both Virginia and South Carolina continued to engage in a lucrative trade with the Indians of North Carolina, especially the Tuscarora. Residents from the North Carolina coast likewise traded with the Indians inland, probably via the trail that Lawson had followed to the Pamlico River from Adshusheer. In August of 1703, William Gale wrote optimistically concerning his future fortunes in the Indian trade (Clark 1907:732-735). Gale told his father that he would soon be a master of the rarities the country afforded as he was soon to engage in a four months voyage as far to the westward as the Appalachian Mountains to engage in trade with the Indians, for which he had entered a partnership to the tune of 100 Pounds bond.

In order to increase her population, the North Carolina government in the early 18th Century turned to recruiting immigrants amongst the German dissidents of Europe. A group of Swiss Palintines under the leadership of one Baron de Graffenreid were enticed into immigrating to the colony. In 1709 land was surveyed between the Neuse and Trent Rivers for the purpose of laying out the town of New Bern, where the Swiss were to settle. John Lawson, by now Surveyor-General of the colony, chose a plot of ground with which he was well familiar. He certified that an area along the lower Neuse River at the mouth of the Trent River was unoccupied, and thus liable for settlement, even though the Tuscarora still claimed it as their own. The settlement of the Swiss proceeded anyway, and the Tuscarora were not reimbursed for the land taken from them (Saunders 1886a:992).

At the same time the Tuscarora were being swindled, the political situation of the North Carolina colony took a turn for the worse. The right of Governor Hyde to hold his office was in dispute, and an armed attempt was made to keep the colonial Provincial Council from meeting

(Milling 1940:114). Among the other charges contained in a warrant for the arrest of the rebels was an accusation that they were formenting trouble among the Tuscarora (Saunders 1886a:992; Milling 1940:114). The stories told by the rebels to the Indians were that Governor Hyde was the devil and their mortal enemy; that Baron de Graffenreid was going to expel them from their lands and force the Tuscarora to retire to the mountains, where they would be exposed to the raids of the Iroquois; and that the Palintines were different from and therefore not protected by the English.

This, combined with the normal abuses of the skin and fur trade, was enough to incite a portion of the Tuscarora and some allied Indians to rise on September 22, 1711 and massacre some 60 English and 70 Palintine colonists (Saunders 1886a:933-934). Baron de Graffenreid, who was taken prisoner at the outbreak of hostilities, reported that the allies of the Tuscarora included the "Marmusekeits" (Matamuskeets), Coree, Pamlico, and Bear or Bay River Indians, as well as the Indians of the Neuse and Trent Rivers (Saunders 1886a:933-934). At the same time the colonists were attacked, the Tuscarora and their allies fell upon some Indians who refused to join the uprising. Among these were the Saxapahaw or "Shacoe" Indians, who lost 16 killed and were driven from their town (Hodge 1910:845-846; Milling 1940:116).

North Carolina appealed to her sister colonies for assistance soon after the outbreak of the war. Governor Spotswood of Virginia signed a treaty with the northern division of the Tuscarora led by Chief Tom Blount (or Blunt), who had remained friendly to the English (Milling 1940:117), probably due to the good relations they enjoyed with the Virginians. In this agreement Blount's Tuscaroras promised to help secure the release of De Graffenreid, and send two children of each chief to Virginia to be

educated (Saunders 1886a:816). Virginia also sent money and cloth for uniforms to North Carolina, but no soldiers (Saunders 1886a:841, 890). While Virginia did not actively pursue the war, her actions did keep the northern and more populous portion of the Tuscarora neutralized for the duration of most of the war. And when the Northern Tuscarora did join in the hostilities, it was to give aid to the English.

South Carolina, on the other hand, was more generous in providing aid for her beleaguered sister colony. In October of 1711, Governor Gibbes and the Assembly ordered Colonel John Barnwell to raise a force to be sent north (JCHA, Vol.III:585). Barnwell's force was to march to the Neuse River from Charles Town, and there meet with Major Gale of North Carolina (Barnwell 1897/1898:393). Major Gale was to provide an army of white men, supplies and munitions. Barnwell's force consisted of 30 Englishmen and 495 Indians, with Captain Bull, Major Mackay, and himself as officers (Barnwell 1897/1898:393). The Indian contingent was composed of 158 Yamassee, and two other companies led by "Essaw Captain Jack" and Captain Bull. Among the Indians commanded by Essaw Captain Jack were the "Wateree", "Sugaree", "Cataba", "Suteree", "Waxaw", and a combined group of "Congaree" and "Sattée" (Santee). All these Indians were from the Santee/Wateree/Congaree River drainage. Included amongst Captain Bull's Indians were "Waterees", "Pedees", "Weneaws", "Cape Fears", "Hoopengs", and "Waraperes". On the march north, a contingent of "Soraws" (Sara) and "Saxapahaws" were added (Barnwell 1897/1898:394). Barnwell related this muster of his troops after his command had crossed the Pee Dee and Cape Fear Rivers.

The Saxapahaw had been found amongst the "Wattomos" (Waccamaw), where they had sought refuge after being driven from their former homes on the

lower Neuse River by the Tuscarora (Barnwell 1897/1898:394). The location of the Saxapahaw village was placed 27 miles below "Nahantes" Town, the center of Tuscarora defiance. Rights (1947:56) located Nahantes in the vicinity of present day Fort Barnwell, North Carolina, south of the Neuse River between Kinston and New Bern.

It was to Nahantes that Barnwell led his force after the North Carolina contingent failed to arrive at the proposed meeting place on the Neuse River. In late January of 1712, the South Carolina army, comprised mostly of Yamassee Indians, stormed the fort at Nahantes with few losses, and even less plunder (Barnwell 1897/1898: 394; Milling 1940:119). Prior to the battle, most of the Indians of Captain Bull's company had deserted.

Following this initial success, Barnwell's expedition against the Tuscarora ground to a halt. Help provided by North Carolina was insignificant, as few of the promised provisions and reinforcements were forthcoming. Also, little in the way of reward (plunder) had been reaped, and the likelihood of more was dim. In the spring of 1712, Barnwell concluded a peace treaty with the warring Tuscarora. The Tuscarora promised to turn over King Hancock, their leader, and three other ringleaders at a later date, return all the plunder they had accumulated, provide provisions for Barnwell's army, and cede claim to all the land below "Catechna" Fort on Catechna Creek, located in present day Greene County, North Carolina (Milling 1940:123). Barnwell returned to South Carolina after carrying off some friendly Indians of the area to be sold as slaves, and thereby add to his reward (Rights 1947:56).

Peace did not last long, as was to be expected. In the summer of 1712, the Tuscarora and the Coree renewed their attacks on the English settlements. Even when King Hancock was executed by North Carolina after

being delivered to that colony by the Northern Tuscarora, who had captured Hancock, the Indians continued the war (Milling 1940:127). North Carolina once again appealed for assistance.

A second force was raised by South Carolina and sent north. Colonel James Moore was in command, and his force consisted of 33 white men "aided" by a contingent of 900 Indians, the latter composed of 310 Cherokee, 50 Yamasee, and various Siouan groups lumped together as "Essaws" (Milling 1940:129). Moore finally brought the war to an end by storming the Tuscarora and Coree stronghold at "Noo-her-oo-ka" on a small tributary of Cotechna Creek near Snow Hill, North Carolina (Milling 1940:129-131). Most of the renegades died in the battle. It was the spring of 1713, a little over a year after the beginning of the war.

#### Politics and the Tuscarora War, 1711-1714

While the English and friendly Indians of South Carolina and the west were fighting the Tuscarora, the trade war between South Carolina and Virginia continued and intensified. In June of 1711, shortly before the outbreak of the Tuscarora war, the South Carolina Assembly passed a law requiring all traders from Virginia and the other colonies to come to Charles Town to obtain licenses and to pay duties on skins they exported and goods imported for use in the Indian trade (Cooper and McCord 1837:357). As was noted previously, these laws were attempts by South Carolina to deny Virginia access to the trade with the western Indians. Governor Spotswood, ever mindful of the loss of revenues this entailed, petitioned the Board of Trade in September of 1711 to invalidate the South Carolina law (Brock 1882:112). Action was not taken by the Board until January of 1713, when the law was invalidated (Phillips 1961:340).

When the Tuscarora War broke out, Spotswood immediately closed all trade with the Tuscarora, and even stopped the trade with the "western" Indians (Headlam 1926:15). This latter action was shortlived, as the trade to the west was reopened when it was discovered that South Carolina continued to trade there (Phillips 1961:341).

To insure the continued peaceful relations with the Indians of her frontier, Spotswood concluded a "Treaty of Peace" with the Tributary Indians in February of 1713 (Headlam 1926:312; Fulham Palace Papers 14, item 3). The terms of the pact were as follows. As the lands along the lower Meherrin River upon which the Tributary Indians had been living for the past several years were being encroached upon by English settlements, arrangements were made to find a new plot of ground to which they could be relocated. In return, these Tributary Indians promised to remain peaceful, and accept any Indian group or groups the Virginia government wished to settle with them or who wished to incorporate with them. Article IX of the agreement declared that all the provisions of the Treaty of Middle Plantation signed in 1677 were still in force. And all the Indians incorporated with the "Saponie", one of the original parties to that earlier accord, were covered by its provisions. The Tributary Indians at this time were listed as the "Saponie", Stukanox", "Ocooneechee" and "Totero".

To fulfill Virginia's part of the bargain, Spotswood in 1714 had a new reservation set aside some miles upstream on the Meherrin River from the Tributaries old location. Spotswood wrote the Bishop of London on January 27, 1715 that the relocation had been accomplished

...for ye Tributary Indians, pursuant to their Treatys, and by the Temptation of a fine Tract of Land of Six Mile Square, the building of a Fort thereon, and placing a guard of Twelve men and an Officer to be assistin to them, I engaged the Saponie,

Oconeechee, Stuchanox and Tottero Indians (being a people speaking much the same language, and therefore confederated together, tho still preserving their different Rules), immediately to remove to ye place which I have named Christ-Anna. (Brock 1882:88).

At the same time, the Nottoway and Meherrin Indians were relocated on a tract of land across the Meherrin River from Fort Christana (McIlwaine 1928:375-376). This newest, and last, reservation was located on the Meherrin River southwest of Lawrenceville, Brunswick County, Virginia (Hazzard and McCartney 1979; Beaudry 1980).

Shortly after the move of the Tributary Indian reservation, the Virginia Council received another petition from the "Enoes" (McIlwaine 1928:396). This nation of Indians, and others incorporated with them, indicated their desire to settle with the "Saponies" at Christana. The Council acceded to their request, and the Enoe (and unnamed confederates) were accepted as "Tributaries". Apparently, for unknown reasons, the Eno had not taken advantage of Virginia's earlier offer to admitted into the protection of the colony in 1710. Nor did they do so this time (see below).

With relations to the friendly Indians most closely associated with Virginia once again clarified and the immediate problem of English encroachment upon the Tributaries' reservation solved, Spotswood turned his attention to reforming the Indian trade. In the aftermath of the Tuscarora War the many difficulties that had plagued the skin and fur commerce from its inception still existed. The immediate issue concerned the numerous complaints that had been received about the fraudulent dealings the traders had with the Indians, due both to the general poor character of the licensed traders and the high cost of trade goods (Brock 1885:94). To deal with these and other problems, Spotswood moved to better regulate the people involved and the place where trade could be conducted.

A law was passed in the fall of 1714 that restricted all trade south of the James River to a trading post at Fort Christana (Hening 1823c:81; Brock 1885:94). A company to be formed by subscription was to have a monopoly on all the trade at Fort Christana for 20 years. Responsibilities of the company included education of Indian children, maintenance of missionaries at the trading post, and the erection of a fort to serve as the trading post and defend the Indians who moved to the fort. It was hoped that Fort Christana would serve as a magnet to attract Indian groups from all over the south, thus securing the trade to Virginia (Brock 1885:94; Phillips 1961:405). The Company did construct a fort at Christana to protect the Tributary Indians and serve as a trading post. And an educator named Charles Griffin was hired in January of 1714 to tutor the Indian Children at the outpost (Headlam 1930:248). The hoped for return from these efforts failed to materialize, however, as no new Indian groups were drawn to the area.

Meanwhile, in South Carolina, the Tuscarora War proved to be the undoing of the patchwork trade program that had been enacted in 1707. The Commons House of Assembly had shown itself able to raise forces, or rather find people who raised Indian armies, to aid North Carolina against the Tuscarora. Also, in the trade war with Virginia the Assembly had been tenacious in passing and repassing legislation to exclude their northern neighbors from the western lands. But the regulation of her own traders proved an impossible task.

By the end of the Tuscarora War, the license system used to regulate the Indian trade degenerated into chaos. The commissioners appointed to oversee these transactions noted in July of 1713, that they probably did not have the legal authority to prosecute unlicensed traders (McDowell 1955:47). Agents of the commission could threaten unlicensed traders, but

little else could be done to them. Licensed traders, on the other hand, could still be punished by having their licenses revoked and bonds forfeited (McDowell 1955:55). The overwhelming advantages of not having a license were not lost on those wishing to conduct business with the Indians. By August of 1714, the traders operating in South Carolina were for the most part unlicensed (McDowell 1955:59-60).

The logical outcome was that ill treatment of the Indians by the traders increased dramatically. David Crawley wrote in July of 1715 about his testimony before the Board of Trade in London concerning the conditions in South Carolina during this period (Milling 1940:139). Crawley, who had formerly been amongst the Yamasee, told of traders taking what food and livestock they pleased from the Indians, forcing the Indians to serve as beasts of burdern to transport furs and skins, and raping the Indian womenfolk. There was little wonder that the Yamasee and almost every other Indian group bartering with South Carolina revolted in April of 1715. What was amazing, was the failure of South Carolina to institute any new program regulating commercial interactions with the Indians, or even call for the reform of the existing structure. This was especially true given the obvious lessons of the Tuscarora War in which they had actively participated.

## Chapter 10

### THE YAMASSEE WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH, 1715-1719

The Tuscarora War set the pace for the Colonial Indian affairs of the teens of the eighteenth century. Unrest amongst the Carolina Indian groups that still possessed enough strength and cohesion to effectively withstand being absorbed by the colonial governments continued after the end of this strife. The problems of colonial expansion, Indian slavery, and dishonest trade practices on the part of the English fueled the discontent. Virginia had been able to effectively deal with the problems due to the weakened nature of the Indians within her immediate environs. The colonial government of South Carolina was unwilling to control the English traders, who were the cause of most of her problems. The situation would change only with the removal of one of the two parties involved, either the Indians or the English trader.

The outbreak of the Yamassee War started with a general uprising by the Yamassee of the southeastern coastal area of South Carolina (Figure 13) (Milling 1940:140-142). Soon thereafter, most of the Indians with whom South Carolina was engaged in commerce rose, killed the traders amongst them, and/or attacked settlements within the colony. These Indians included the Apalachee, Creeks, Cherokee, and Choctaw, as well as the Catawba and other Siouan groups along the northern frontier of South Carolina (Milling 1940:142). Only the Chickasaw of the far west did not join in the general war.

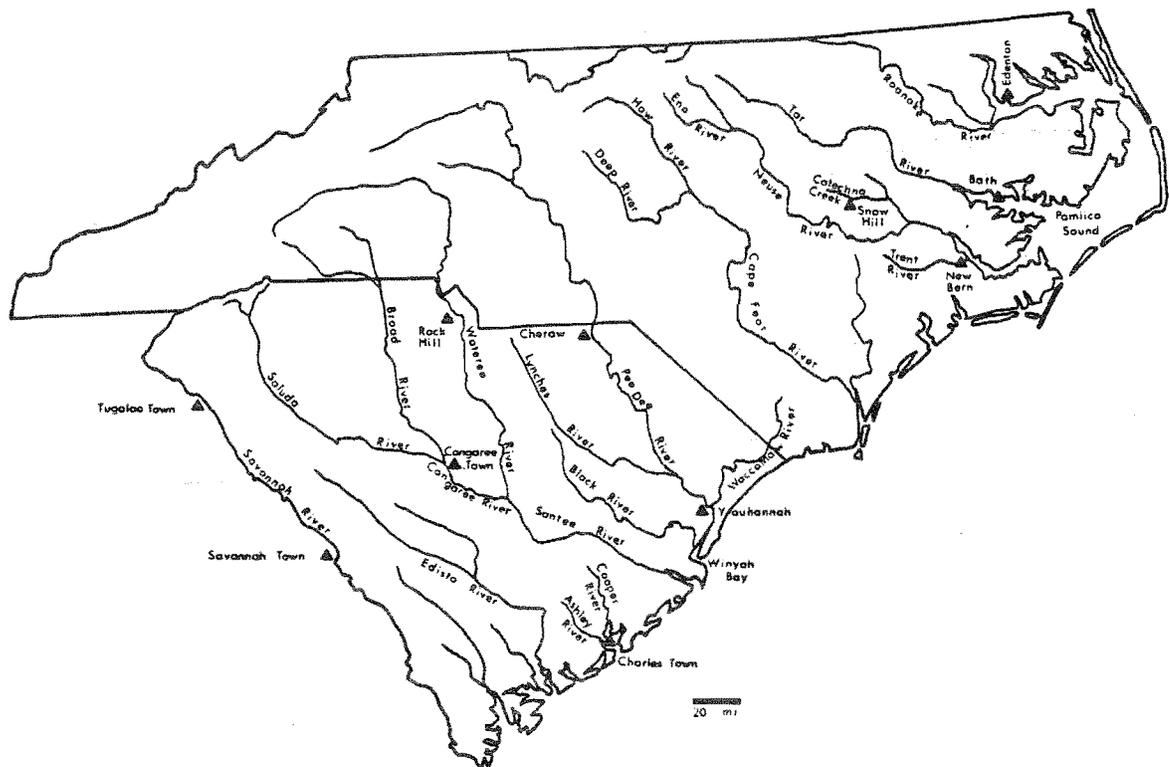


Figure 13.--The cultural geography of the Yamasee War.

Of the Siouan groups who participated, the most notable were the Sara, Pedee and Saxapahaw. Immediately after the initial convulsions, various reasons began to appear explaining why the principal Indian groups were involved. Governor Spotswood, in a letter dated March 2, 1715, wrote that the Catawba and their neighbors, presumably the above three Siouan groups, upon hearing that some of their people had been cut off (killed) by the English while on their way to Charleston, joined with the other Indian groups of the interior and killed the Carolina traders in their town (Palmer 1875:179). This information had been supplied him by the King of the "Saraws" (Sara), who, accompanied by two Virginia traders whose lives had been spared in the uprising, traveled to Williamsburg to treat for peace.

South Carolina, however, had its own version of the causes of the upheaval, and those who were responsible for its continuation. The two Virginia traders whose lives had not been taken, and went to Spotswood with the Saraw King, were central to this debate. The general complaints were contained in letters delivered to the colony's agents in London. The first letter, dated April 5, 1715 charged, according to

...an account pr. some Indians that are lately taken that the Virginia traders encouraged our Indians to do what they have done and promised to supply them at a much easier rate than our Indian Traders did... (Headlam 1930:224).

Another letter, of May 15, 1715, offered more specific details.

The Soraws give out amongst the Wincaus and Northward Indians that they are ordered by Virginia Traders to destroy this country and do their utmost endeavors to draw those Indians with the Waccamans to their party they offer them plunder and threaten they will destroy them. (Headlam 1930:224).

In late June of 1715, South Carolina formally aired their complaints before the Virginia Council, who took up that and other Indian matters at a meeting on July 18, 1715 at Yorktown. Minutes of this meeting show that

A letter from South Carolina dated 22d of last month was read. It alleged that two Virginia Indian traders a Wilson and a Wilkerson, had stirred the Catawbaws to make war upon the people of South Carolina, that Wilson & another had gone to Virginia with 20 horses loaded with Skins and 30 Indians to purchase powder & shot, that said skins belonged to merchants in Charles Town, for whom Wilson was a supposed factor: Gov. Spotswood related that a Francis Wilson and John Clayborne had lately come into the colony with six pack horses loaded with skins ...& four of the Sata Indians...they had been taken and put under guard at Christanna brought to Williamsburg and examined. Wilson & Claybourne said the skins were gifts from the Catabaws for some they had lost while being made prisoners. (McIlwaine 1928:405).

After just deliberation, the skins were impounded by the colony, for the rightful owners were in doubt. Wilson and Claybourne were not prosecuted for stirring up the Indians, as the accusations delivered to them by South Carolina were based on statements made by a renegade Negro slave, which were, of course, considered unreliable (McIlwaine 1928:406).

The King of the "Saraw" Indians while in the colony seeking peace following the outbreak of the war, made several proposals that surely peaked the interest of the Virginia Council. These were considered at the same time as South Carolina's petition (McIlwaine 1928:405-406; Headlam 1928:259). The King of the Saraws wanted to be assured of a just peace and free trade with the government of Virginia. In return, the Saraws would be willing to resettle nearer Virginia. Likewise, the King claimed to speak for the "Catabows", who also desired peace and free trade. Furthermore, the Saraw King would bring the "Catabaw" and "Cherokee" chiefs to Williamsburg to conclude a peace treaty, at which time hostilities against South Carolina would cease. Following this, the Catabow, Cherokee, and Saraw would aid the South Carolinians in their war against the Yamassee.

The Council was overjoyed by these terms, and accepted. In appreciation of the troubles these Indians had endured during the peace negotiations, it was ordered that the Saraw King

...be presented with a Strow'd water blankett & flapp, & that one Blankett a piece be given to each of the three Saraw Indians who accompanied him hither. (McIlwaine 1928:406).

As a result of this concillatory meeting with the Saraw, a general passport was issued on July 19, 1715 to the Southern Indians, including the "Enves" (Enoes ?), Saras, and Catawbas as well as the Cherokees to come to Virginia to "treat for peace and commerce." (Palmer 1875:182). The only Indians excluded were the Yamassee and the "Corvetons". The same passport noted that the Saraws had maintained a strict neutrality throughout the war.

South Carolina had other ideas of what constituted a neutral Saraw. Even before Spotswood and Virginia could meet and act on the problems, Governor Craven of South Carolina gathered a force to march north (Milling 1940:145). This army set out from Charles Town, in early July, 1715, with the intention of crossing the Santee River and joining with a force under Maurice Moore traveling south from North Carolina near the "Winaw" (Pee Dee) River (Headlam 1928:300). Their objective was to subdue the "Saraws" and the other Northern Indians. Before the plan could be effected, the "Appalachees" attacked the colony from across the Edisto River to the south. Craven was forced to retire southwards without bringing the Saraw to heel (Headlam 1928:300; Milling 1940:140).

With this incident, the focus of the Carolina military endeavors were turned to pushing back the Appalachee Indians and punishing the Creeks (Milling 1940:145-150). The Northern Indians were left alone, and Virginia, under Spotswood's direction, was free to negotiate. Toward this end, Spotswood wrote two letters in August of 1715, one to the Lord Commissioners of Trade in London (Brock 1882:127), and another to Secretary Stanhope of the commission (Brock 1882:129). These expressed his optimism

concerning the peace proposals received from the Saraw, and presumably the Catawba. Spotswood felt that both these unfortunate tribes had been drawn into the Yamassee War by "...mere accident..." (Brock 1882:129).

In October of 1715, the King of the Saraws returned to renew the peace negotiations (McIlwaine 1928:411-412). The Cherokee and Catawba chiefs were absent, however, the latter because he supposedly was sick. Without the Cherokee and the Catawba, no peace could be concluded. What the Virginia Council received instead was another version of the reasons the Siouans had gone to war. According to the King

...a woman of the Weesack (Waxhaw) Town who had been a prisoner of South Carolina had told them that the people of the province had killed a great many of their Indians, & the Yemassee threatened to cut off their Nation as soon as the White People had been destroyed and they put themselves (the Yemassee) under the protection of the Spanish. (McIlwaine 1928:412).

At this time, the Virginia Council received information from the Saraw King that the Spaniards at St. Augustine in Florida were supplying the arms and ammunition used by the Indians at war with South Carolina (McIlwaine 1928:416). As such, a letter was directed to St. Augustine which demanded that the Spaniards desist in this dastardly activity.

South Carolina reaped better results in bringing about order by direct action than Virginia and Spotswood did by blanket diplomacy. Following Craven's aborted campaign against the Indians on the northern fringes of the colony, Carolina began a campaign to punish those Indians responsible for most of the bloodshed, the Yamassee, the Appalachee, and the other western Indians. This policy hinged on inducing the Cherokee to change sides and bring their power to bear against the other Indian groups. In January of 1716, the Lower Cherokee (along the upper Savannah River) changed sides with a vengeance, killing a group of Creek and Yamassee emissaries at Tugaloo Town, one of the Lower Cherokee's towns (Milling

1940:149-150). With this act an uneasy quiet settled over the Carolinas, as most of the western Indians tried to rebuild their pre-war trade relationships with South Carolina. The Yamassee, who had been the most abused of any of the Indians, had fled South Carolina right after the start of the war, and sought the protection of the Spanish at St. Augustine.

Meanwhile, Virginia continued to parley with the various Northern Indian groups that had been involved in the hostilities. The King of the Saraws, accompanied this time by the Great Men of the "Cattawbaw", "Sugar", "Quianway" and "Wesock" Indians, returned to Williamsburg to talk treaty once again (McIlwaine 1928:421-422). At this meeting in February of 1716, the Indians agreed to return two slaves and a white servant who had fought against the South Carolinians, their former masters. Also, each Great Man promised to provide hostages to be educated and christianized at Fort Christana. As an indication of their peaceful intent, the Indians claimed not to have attacked any South Carolina settlement or trader since the Saraw King had last been in Virginia in October of the previous year. For their efforts, each head man of each Indian town was given a stroudwater blanket. And the Saraw King, in view of his many and great labors in the service of peace, received a new gun.

Apparently the Saraw King liked being paid to treat for peace. In April of 1716, he and three of his men came back to Virginia to negotiate some more. This time specie was given to the four Indians as a reward for coming to the colony to treat for peace. Warrants totaling "...three pounds seventeen shil'g & 3 pence..." were drawn and approved by Governor Spotswood to provide this reward (Anon 1909:151-153; McIlwaine 1928:424-426). While Virginia paid the Indians to come and discuss peace, South Carolina used other methods to obtain the fruits of peace.

In the summer of 1716, Charles Town reported another success produced by their tried and proved policy of using the various larger Indian groups to control and keep the smaller groups in line. The Assembly of South Carolina wrote the colony's agents in London, Mr. Boone and Mr. Beresford, concerning the results of actions taken by the Catawba, in August of 1716, in the colony's behalf (Headlam 1930:221-222). It was noted that

The Wascaws refused to make peace with us which obliged the Cattabows to fall them. They have kill'd ye major part of them the rest are fled to ye Sorraws... (Headlam 1930:221-222).

This policy failed to work, however, when Indian groups who were friendly with, or at least as powerful as the "Police" Indians, refused to make peace.

The Sara were one such group. They continued to be a source of irritation for not only South Carolina, but North Carolina as well. On November 3, 1716, the Virginia Council received a letter from Governor Eden of North Carolina (McIlwaine 1928:432-436). Eden stated that North Carolina was declaring war on the "Saraw" Indians, and assistance from Virginia in this effort was desired. Eden's request was turned down for two reasons. First, it appeared that the basis for war "...consisted...of an unprovoked attack by a group of Englishmen upon a group of Indians who may or may not have been Saraws." (McIlwaine 1928:435). And second, the Saraws were under treaty to Virginia and possessed a promise of safe conduct protection while within the confines of the colony, which South Carolina had also apparently approved (McIlwaine 1928:435-436). Nothing more was recorded of North Carolina's declaration of war or of the results, if the matter was pursued further, which was doubtful.

Shortly after this episode, the various Indian groups of the Carolina hinterland gathered together for the first and only time to finally treat

for formal peace (Anon 1923:40-44). The date was November 27, 1716, almost a year and a half after the King of the Saraws had first made his way north with peace proposals. The meeting place was Fort Christana, Virginia. At the gathering were "Wichmetanceh...a man of greatest Repute among the Western Indians...", and the chiefs of the "Sutarees", Sugahs", "Pedees", "Quiawaes" (Kiawah Creek), "Chaces" (Cherokee), "Saxapahas", "Enoes" and "Sauroes" (Sara). Apparently this meeting was to seal the general terms of peace that had been reached the previous February. Strange as it was, no formal treaty was signed at that time which included South Carolina.

By the end of the year, South Carolina was able to note that peace had almost returned to the region. In the December 5, 1716 letter to Boone and Beresford that had contained a description of the annihilation of the Waxhaw Indians, it was stated that

..ye Waccamaws and those other Nations bordering on Ye seashore, to ye Northward (the Sarraws excepted) have made peace with us fearing the Cherakees.....and they shall use all their endeavors to destroy the Sarraws... (Headlam 1930:221-222).

At the same time, charges were laid against Virginia to the effect that Virginia had supplied the Sara with the munitions needed to prosecute the previous war and carry out their depredations. The information was recieved from the Waccamaw Indians mentioned above, who, when asked about their arms suppliers, replied

...what little they had they got from ye Sarrows who constantly used to carry slaves skins and other goods taken from us...to Virginia in lieu of wch. they returned home with ammunition, and what elce they wanted... (Headlam 1930:222).

These troubles with the Sara were to remain prominent in the affairs of South Carolina for the next couple of years, even though for all intents and purposes the Yamassee War was finished. The troubles with the Sara,

and the charges against Virginia were part of the postwar problems and politics involving the Indians and the colonies.

The Aftermath of the Yamassee War,  
1716-1719

With the Northern Indians more or less under control, less as will be seen in the case of the Sara, South Carolina turned to rebuilding her Indian trade. The first step in the reformation was the trade regulation act of 1716. This placed all trade under the direct control of the Commission of Indian Trade which would manage the commerce in concert with the South Carolina government for the benefit of the colony (McDowell 1955:325-329). All trade was restricted to trading posts, which initially numbered three. Factors, the official representatives of the commission, and agents to assist them were placed at each of the trading posts, and had sole authority over all trading activities. The Indians from areas without outposts were required to come to one of the established three if they wished to trade. A fine of 500 Pounds was set for illegal trading with the Indians, and all skins, furs, and Indian slaves obtained by illegal trading were subject to confiscation by the factors, agents, and commissioners.

Problems of an administrative nature were immediately encountered, however. Three outposts were not enough to cover the far-flung trade, and others were established for the Cherokee and Creek (McDowell 1955:123, 154, 157, 207, 221, 224, 241, and 272). Also, the agents of a factor were allowed to go into the towns of the Indians to trade, and thus the requirement that all trade be conducted at the posts was relaxed (McDowell 1955:133, 241 and 272).

Virginia's participation in the trade continued to irritate South Carolina. The Virginians had cheaper prices for their goods, which forced

the commissioners to vary theirs to select groups such as the Creek and Cherokee (McDowell 1955:221, 272). Virginia traders by necessity, given the long distances they had to travel, made use of pack horses to transport their goods and skins/furs. South Carolina traders depended on Indian bearers, until complaints by the Indians at this ill-use compelled the commissioners in 1716 to buy horses to replace the human porters (McDowell 1955:272).

All in all, the system introduced by South Carolina as a direct result of the abuses highlighted by the Yamassee War was a model of temperance. Unfortunately, regulated trade also proved to be a losing proposition money-wise. Salaries had to be continually increased to keep the factors and agents in the field. Competition from Virginia, that forced increases in the prices paid for skins and furs, coupled with the high prices charged for the trade items by Charles Town merchants were the major reasons for the deficits (Smith 1968:88-94). Another possible factor was the continued poor relations between the colony and the Sara.

Following the passage of the legislation of 1716, a factory, as the trading posts were called, for the Northward trade was established at "Uauenee" (Yauhannah) or Great Bluff, South Carolina on the lower Pee Dee River (McDowell 1955:111). A site further up the Pee Dee had been rejected because it would have been more exposed to the "...Insults of the Charraws..." (McDowell 1955:111). Even the chosen position was not safe, as the commissioners learned at a meeting on December 31, 1716 that the "Charrows" were harrassing the trading post at Yauhannah on "Winyou Bay" (McDowell 1955:144).

At the same time they were disrupting the trade with the Northward Indians, the Cheraw, according to South Carolina, continued to be supplied

with guns and ammunition by Virginia. In yet another letter to the colony's agents in England, presumably Richard Beresford, the South Carolina Assembly complained that Virginians continued to trade with the enemies of North and South Carolina's Indians, but especially the "Sawrows", who were well provided with ammunition and other goods (Headlam 1930:252). According to this letter, these charges were substantiated by the Catawba and Wateree Indians, who told of the presence of Virginia traders amongst the Sawrows, and related that the Sawrows went frequently to Virginia to trade.

The most twisted aspect of the whole situation was that the factor at Winyah apparently continued to conduct trade with the Sara, or Cheraw as they were also known. Supporting this fact was an order issued on February 20, 1717 by the Commission (McDowell 1955:163). In it, the Winyah factor, Meredith Hughs, was ordered to refrain from trading with the "Charrows" and "Saxabahaws" until they had concluded a formal peace with South Carolina.

This action did have some effect on the Cheraw. On April 2, 1717 the Virginia Council reported that the Saraw Indians, and others incorporated with them (possibly the Saxapahaw, Waxhaw, and Keyauwee), having made a variety of applications to the Virginia government, were granted permission to settle at the head of the Roanoke River within Virginia (McIlwaine 1928:439-440). The only requirement was that the Indians give up children "hostages" to be educated at Fort Christana. Probably because of this demand, and the exposed nature of the location they were given to settle, the Indians did not move north.

Instead, the Cheraw and their allies continued to cause South Carolina trouble. Hughes reported on September 10, 1717 in a letter to the South Carolina Commissioners of Indian Trade, that he was forced to abandon the

trading post at Yauhannah and move to the residence of a Mr. Andrew Collins<sup>1</sup> on the Black River (McDowell 1955:206). The reason given for the move was the harrassment, of an unspecified nature, conducted by the Cheraws.

The first break in South Carolina's struggle with these wayward Indians occurred in November of 1717. At that time, Hughes appeared in Charles Town with a load of skins from Winyah Bay. Of greater importance though, was the fact that three "Saxabahaw" Indians, who wanted to make peace with South Carolina, accompanied him (McDowell 1955:232). Unfortunately, the source of most of the troubles, the Cheraw, did not follow the example of their former Indian allies.

The strained relations between the Cheraw and South Carolina persisted into the year 1718, but without the violence that had marked their earlier interactions. Virginia continued to trade with the Cheraw, as noted in a letter from the Commissioners of the Indian Trade in South Carolina to Meredith Hughes dated April 11, 1718 (McDowell 1955:265). Information received from the factor among the Catawba, that a group of Virginia traders were intending to go amongst the Cheraw to conduct trade was passed on to Hughes.

The last mention in the Commissioner's records of the Virginia-Cheraw relationship, which caused them so much anxiety, was contained in a letter to Hughes postmarked May 22, 1718 (McDowell 1955:276). At that time, Hughes was praised for having intercepted a letter from a Virginia Factor to one of his traders with the "Charraws", and transmitting said letter to Charles Town.

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The only plat in South Carolina's Archives for a plantation owned by Andrew Collins locates it on the lower Pee Dee River, not the Black River.

The easing of the tension with the Cheraw did not, however, improve the financial aspects of the regulated trade. In 1719, the House of Commons modified the trade law so that licenses could be issued to private traders who could deal with the Indians (Cooper and McCord 1838:88-94). These traders were still under the direct control of the Commission of Indian Trade, and they had to pay a ten percent tax on all goods received from the Indians. Licenses could be refused to anyone who was evaluated as possibly being injurious to relations with the Indians. A fine of 100 Pounds was instituted for trading without a license.

Several other actions were taken that aimed at reducing the public monopoly of the Indian trade (Cooper and McCord 1838:88-96). The House of Commons guaranteed all debts incurred by the Commission of Indian Trade, which were substantial. The number of trading posts were reduced to three --at Savannah Town on the Savannah River, at the Congaree Town upstream from the Santee River on the Congaree River, and at "Palachocola" Town amongst the Creek Indians. And the number of men employed by the colony in the Indian trade were not to be more than 60 in number.

By this time South Carolina had succeeded in driving the Virginia traders from their midst. Spotswood was moved to write in 1719 that South Carolina had "...engrossed all the Indian Trade of the Southern Continent of America" (Brock 1885:235). In spite of all the reforms that Spotswood had inaugurated, some dating to before the Yamassee War, the struggle to maintain its trade with the western Indians had failed.

The Virginia Indian Company formed in 1714 in an attempt to reform the Indian trade had not proved popular with many people. Stock in the company was limited to 4000 Pounds, and no one person could own more than 100 Pounds worth of shares (Hening 1820:81). This resulted in the exclusion of a

great many private merchants in Virginia and Maryland, who complained to the Board of Trade in London (Phillips 1961:407). The monopoly was defended by Spotswood, who stated that it was intended to control the movements of the Indians and prevent fraud in the Indian trade (Brock 1885:144). In addition, the Indians drawn to Fort Christana would act as a barrier to attack from those Indians farther to the west. The Board of Trade ignored Spotswood's reasoning and in July 1717 annulled the act that created the public monopoly (Headlam 1930:335).

A more devastating setback affecting Virginia's share of the Indian trade southwest of her borders was the inability to get South Carolina to stop placing restrictions on Virginia's traders. The Virginia Indian Company, in its attempt to solve the problem, searched for a short route to the Cherokee and the other southwestern Indians that bypassed South Carolina (Phillips 1961:409-411). This proved futile. During and following the Yamassee War, Spotswood pursued an alternative strategy to resolve the issue splitting the two colonies by dealing directly with Governor Craven of South Carolina. In March of 1715, Spotswood wrote to Craven that in return for South Carolina easing the restrictions she placed on the freedom of Virginians to trade with the southwestern Indians, the Virginia Indian Company would set the prices of their trade goods in accord with those of South Carolina (Palmer 1875:80). Spotswood noted that Virginia could easily undersell South Carolina, as she was currently doing. South Carolina's reply was to object to the Board of Trade that Virginia was selling goods at underpriced levels and were thus avoiding payment of taxes (CO 5/1293, pages 43-48). South Carolina requested that the Board restrict each colony's trade to Indians living within their respective province, or place traders from other colonies under the control of the

colony in which they traded (CO 5/1293, pages 43-48). The Board of Trade declined to get involved, and South Carolina was freed to continue to restrict the ability of outside traders to conduct business within the confines of the land she claimed (Phillips 1961:411). The decision by the Board marked a change in attitude toward restrictions placed on certain mercantile endeavors. Just a few years prior to this decision, on the eve of the Tuscarora War, the Board had, on numerous occasions, voided laws passed by South Carolina interfering with the rights of other people to conduct trade with the Indians. This defeat, coupled with the forced breakup of the Virginia Company's monopoly on that colony's trade, precipitated the slide of Virginia's fortunes in the skin and fur trade with the Southwestern Indians.

Adding to Virginia's woes were the actions of North Carolina during this period. Following the end of the Tuscarora War, the colony moved to reform her Indian trade laws as her northern neighbor had. The Assembly in 1715 passed an act more stringent than the one already on the books (passed in 1699) that regulated this commerce (Saunders 1886c:218). All trade conducted by anyone not a citizen of North Carolina was prohibited under penalty of imprisonment and fines that ranged to 10,000 pounds of tobacco. Commissioners were appointed to regulate the interaction of the Indians and the traders, and to settle all disputes. The provisions of this law were very similar to the legislation that South Carolina later passed in 1716 in the effort to overhaul her Indian trade. By 1725, George Chicken, the South Carolina commissioner of Indian trade, could state contemptuously, that Virginia's trade efforts "do no prejudice to ours in the Way of Trade there not being above two or three of them and their Goods no ways Suitable or Comparable to ours." (quoted in Crane 1929:205).

Thus the decade of the Indian Wars came to a close. Effective reform of the Indian trade was finally achieved over a century after the English had initiated the first commercial interaction with the Indians. For the most part, relations between the colonists and the Indians within each respective colony were peaceful as the teens ended. The supremacy of the English had been established, and the road to mass extinction for most of the Piedmont Indians of the Carolinas, especially the Siouans, started.

In January of 1720, Governor Johnson of South Carolina wrote to the Council of Trade and Plantations about the number of Indians on the borders of the colony (Headlam 1933:301-302). A census was presented of the Indians as of 1715, compiled from the journals and observations of Thomas Nairn, John Wright, Price Hughes and John Barnwell. These men were all well connected with the Indians of the area through trade and war. Table 5 reproduces the list provided by Johnson. As concerned the effects of the Yamassee War upon the Indians of the area, Governor Johnson was moved to write

...in 1715 most of them rose in rebellion...but before the end of the said year we recovered the Charokees and the northward Indians after several slaughters and blood sheddings which has lessened their numbers and utterly exterpating some little tribes as the Congarees Santees Seawees Pedeees Waxaws and some Cossaboys...(Headlam 1933:301).

TABLE 5  
GOVERNOR JOHNSONS CENSUS OF THE CAROLINA INDIANS  
GIVEN IN 1720 BASED ON INFORMATION DATING TO 1715

Indian Group	Distance From Charles Town	Number of Villages	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
Yamassee	90 mi. SW	10	413	345	234	223	1215
Apalatchicola	130 mi. SW	2	64	71	42	37	214
Apalatchee	140 mi. W	4	275	243	65	55	638
Savannah	150 mi. W by N	3	67	116	20	30	233
Yuchi	180 mi. WNW	2	130	270			400
Creeks	250 mi. W & by N	10	731	837	417	421	2406
Abikaws	440 mi. W	15	502	578	366	327	1773
Tallapoosa	390 mi. WSW	13	636	710	511	486	2343
Alabama	430 mi. SW by W	4	214	276	161	119	770
Total.....			3032	3446	1816	1698	9992
Upper Cherokee	450 mi. NW	19	900	980	400	480	1760
Middle Cherokee	390 mi. NW	30	2500	2000	950	900	6350
Lower Cherokee	320 mi. NW	11	600	620	400	480	2100
Total.....							11530*
Chickasaw	640 mi. W	6	700		1200		1900
Catawba	200 mi. WNW	7	570		900		1470
Saraws (Cheraw)	170 mi. N	1	140		370		510
Waccamaw	100 mi. NE	4	210		400		610
Cape Fear	200 mi. NE	5	76		130		206
Santee	70 mi. N	2	43				
Congaree	20 mi. N.	1	22		60		125
Winyaws	80 mi. NE	1	36		70		106
Sewee	60 mi. NE	1					57
Itwans	Mixed with the	1	80		160		240
Cusabo	English Settlements	5	95		200		295
Total.....							5519
GRAND TOTAL.....							28,041*

\*Governor Johnson's figures did not total correctly.

## Chapter 11

### THE YEARS OF DECLINE, 1720-1760

The 1720's started off on an upbeat note for the Piedmont Indians tributary to Virginia. During a general council held at Williamsburg on November 12, 1720, these Indians received the news that the Governor of Pennsylvania, on behalf of the Iroquois Indians within his jurisdiction, offered to make an everlasting peace with the Southern Indians (McIlwaine 1928:533-534). The Indians enjoying tributary status at this time included the "Nottoways", "Maherine" (Meherrin), "Nansemond", "Saponies", "Totteros" (Tutelo), "Stukannoos" (Stukanox), and "Oeconeeche's" (Occaneechi) (McIlwaine 1928:533-534). The treaty between the governors of New York and Pennsylvania, and the Iroquois and their allies on the one hand, and Virginia with its wards on the other, was formally consummated in September of 1722 (Mooney 1894:45). The Potamac River and Blue Ridge Mountains were set as the boundaries between the two Indian groups. To the later disappointment of the English, and the disadvantage of the Southern Siouans, this peace applied only to the Virginia Tributaries.

In South Carolina the new decade was marked by the change in status of the colony from a Proprietary to a Royal Colony during the years 1719 to 1721. At that time the reformed trade regulations forged in the fires of the Yamasse War were discarded. The commission that regulated the Indian trade was abolished in 1721, and the Indian trade reverted to private control (Cooper and McCord 1838:141-146). A new panel of three commissioneers was installed with the power to issue licenses; adjudicate

complaints by Indians and English traders; inspect garrisons at the frontier outposts that were becoming more military in nature; and liquidate the stores of the old public monopoly (Cooper and McCord 1838:141-146).

This system lasted but one year. In 1722, the Assembly turned over control of the Indian trade to the governor, who at that time was Francis Nicholson (Cooper and McCord 1838:184-186). The governor was to choose three members from the Grand Council to act in concert with him in controlling the trade. A supervisor was appointed to check the garrisons, as the governor and council members were not likely to be able, or inclined, to inspect the frontier posts a number of times each year.

In 1725, the system was again changed, as a single commissioner was appointed to run things (Cooper and McCord 1838:229-232). He was to inspect all garrisons and visit each Indian nation with whom trade was being conducted. The Indian trader was restricted to conducting transactions with only one group of Indians. At the time the trader received his license he had to name the Indians with whom he planned to trade. Also, the cost of the license was increased to 30 Pounds from 20.

In 1731, a new Indian act was passed that changed the previous law but little (Cooper and McCord 1838:231, 238). The commissioner retained most of his old powers, but in addition was empowered to hire interpreters for the first time, as well as a secretary of "Indian affairs" to assist him in his duties. The governor was given complete control over the commissioner. Traders were required to execute all warrants issued by the commissioner, in effect becoming deputies. And finally, a system of heavy fines and arrest was inaugurated to help control the traders.

The competition for the Indian trade to the west that had died out with the demise of Virginia's trade to the southwest was rekindled

following the establishment of the colony of Georgia in 1732. At that time, the focus of the trade revolved around the Cherokees, the Creeks and the other Indians farther to the west (Phillips 1961:424-427). The attention of Georgia and South Carolina centered increasingly upon their rivalry with the French and Spanish for the allegiance of these western Indians. The Indians along the immediate frontier of the Carolinas and Virginia slipped into a backwash.

Following the Yamassee War and the quieting of the Cheraw, differences between the resident Indians of these three Southern Colonies mounted and came to resemble the squabblings of ill-mannered siblings. An excellent example was a communique that Governor Nicholson of Virginia received from a Captain Hatton amongst the Cherokees, dated November 14, 1724 (Headlam 1936:281). The gist of the letter was that the "Cattawbas" and "Cherokees" were "gangeling" because during the past summer a group of Cherokee had killed a Charrow man. In vengeance, the Cattawbas and Charrows kidnapped a Cherokee woman, who luckily escaped unharmed.

At about the same time, some of the Virginia tributaries became embroiled in a dispute. The details were contained in a letter of October 30, 1727 from Sir Richard Everard of Edenton, North Carolina to Lt. Governor Gooch of Virginia (Palmer 1875:212). Apparently, the Meherrin Indians had lately suffered an attack by a group of Indians who the English of North Carolina supposed to be the Nottoway. The Meherrin, however, professed great friendship for the Nottoway, and instead blamed the "old Occoneechy King and the Saponie Indians" for the trouble.

Gooch in his reply to Sir Richard in November of 1727 provided information concerning the incident gathered by "Collo Harrison", who had made a strict examination of the Tributary Indians (Colonial Records of

Virginia, Folder 33, item 21). The facts, as determined by Harrison, were that the "old Occonichee King", who was really the "Tottera" King, was not the instigator, nor were the Sapona the main Indian group involved. Instead, the blame was laid upon a band of "Cattabaws" who had caused mischief in the area until driven off by a body of militia commanded by Harrison.

The petty squabbles amongst the Virginia tributaries described above were accentuated by the refusal of the Virginia Assembly to continue funding for the fort at Christana after May of 1718 (Kennedy 1907:207). The benefits derived from maintaining a reservation were no longer reckoned to be of any value given the high cost of maintaining both the fort and the Indians. The return from trade with these Indians was very low, especially given the upkeep costs involved. Also, the Tributary Indians were in too poor a state to pose any serious threat to the colonists or serve as effective allies in the defense of the colony. As a result, the Indians were left to fend for themselves.

In the year 1728, William Byrd II passed by Christana during the laying of the dividing line between North Carolina and Virginia (Byrd 1929:308-311). At that time he noted that the "Sapponys", Occaneches" and "Steukenhocks" all went by one name, "Sapponys", as they were so reduced in number. Byrd related a story that the Sapponys had removed south to the Catawba following the hanging of one of their Indians, while sober, for the murder of another Indian, committed while drunk. It was not clear whether Byrd referred to an event before 1728, or if he wrote of events after that year and transposed his recollections back in time from when he wrote the above work.

For the Sapona did move south and join with the Catawba shortly after Byrd visited the area. Lt. Governor Gooch of Virginia wrote, in May of 1730, to the Council of Trade and Plantations about this exodus (Headlam 1937:6), and again in June of 1730 (Headlam 1937:217-218). The reason the "...Saponies and the other petty Nations associated with them..." had removed themselves to the Catawba was conflict with the Nottoway and Tuscarora. No mention was made of the events to which Byrd had alluded. However, the Sapona were clearly upset by the interference of the English in their affairs. Before the murderer Byrd mentioned was hung in 1728, a member of the Sapona told an Englishman that the latter "...had no business to come to the fort to concern themselves about the Indians killing one another." (Mooney 1894:50). The Virginia government of course thought otherwise.

This union of the Catawba and the Sapona did not last long. On May 5, 1732, the Virginia Council noted that the Sapona had returned to the colony from the South Carolina (Kemper 1905/1906:137). The Sapona asked leave to settle once again under the protection of the Virginia government. Also, the Sapona stated that the "Saraw" Indians were anxious to move to Virginia and incorporate with the Sapona, wherever the former might be allowed to settle. The Council granted the request, and stated that any Saraw who wished to join with the Sapona was welcome to do so. For a place to relocate, the Sapona were granted leave to seat themselves on any uninhabited tract of land along the Roanoke or Appomattox Rivers. At the spot they chose, a plot of land equal in size to their former holdings at Fort Christana would be given them.

The Cheraw (Saraws or Sara) did not resettle in Virginia as the Sapona had been intimated. Almost a decade after the Sapona returned to Virginia,

the Cheraw were again accused of causing trouble among the colonists of South Carolina. On February 25, 1738 the South Carolina Common House of Assembly received a complaint that a family of colonists living on Pine Tree Creek, near present day Camden, South Carolina, had been murdered, and other unspecified acts committed on the frontier by Indians thought to be Catawba (Easterly 1951:482). Investigation revealed, however, that the Catawba were falsely accused, for the foul deeds were done "...by the Charrows who live under their Protection..." (Easterly 1951:482). This is the first indication that the Cheraw had moved and joined the Catawba.

The friction between the Catawba, Cheraw (Sara) and English continued over the next year and a half. In May of 1739, the South Carolina Council was informed of a general unease, the nature of which was not specified, among the Catawba (CJSC, 1739:22). Two traders living with the Catawba, Mr. Browne and Mr. Evans, sent the report. The council ordered Mr. Browne to bring a delegation of the Catawba and Charrow headmen to Charleston. At the same council meeting, one John Thompson was ordered to appear before the council to answer charges made against him by the new settlers of the upper Pee Dee River (CJSC, 1739:22).

In June of 1739, Mr. Thompson answered the summon of the Council, and responded to charges that he was inciting the "Charrow" and "Peede" Indians to cause trouble with colonists moving into the upper Pee Dee valley (CJSC, 1739:26-27). Thompson related that about two years ago (1737) he had purchased from the "Charrow" and "Peede" Indians all their lands upon the Pee Dee River. Excepted from this were two old fields owned by a Mr. Larochey and a Mr. Grooms, respectively. The land bought by Thompson encompassed some 40 old fields. Thompson denied that he had sold any of the land to Virginians (another charge laid against him), or that he was

responsible for the discord between the Indians and the colonists. As a sign of good faith, Thompson agreed to turn over to the government the conveyances he had obtained from the "Charrow" and "Peede" Indians. All Thompson asked was that he be reimbursed for his expenses. The Council accepted, and on June 15, 1739 the conveyances were surrendered (CJSC, 1739:27). There were two deeds from the Charrow Indians, one for the lands on the northeast side of the Pee Dee River, and the other for the property southwest of the river. Signatories of the documents included King Robert and 14 of the "Charrow" headmen. The conveyance's were dated August 4, 1737 and called for the payment of 300 "heavy Buck Skins" to the Indians for the land.

The government of South Carolina paid to Thompson 736 Pounds, 15 Shillings and 6 Pence for the land and the added expenses he had incurred in several trips to Williamsburg and the Welch Neck section of the Pee Dee River. The latter trip was to quell the colonist's fears, and tell the Indians that the settlers were people appointed by him to occupy the land. Also, two warrrents were issued to Mr. Thompson for 500 acres of land each, to be taken from the area of Welch Neck as added compensation.

So it was, that the "Charrow" Indians had, in 1737, removed themselves to the Catawba. From that time forth, the fortunes of the Cheraw were the same as those of the Catawba. Shortly after the above meeting with Thompson, on July 6, 1739 to be exact, the King of the Catawba, Chickasaw Orawtaw, and John Harris, King of the "Charrows", along with eight Catawba warriors and a single "Charrow" warrior arrived at Charles Town as the Council had earlier requested (CJSC, 1739:29). The Indians were apprehensive about their relationship with the English, as recently some of their people had murdered a family in Virginia. As an act of contrition

the murderers had been put to death. Now the Indians had come to Charles Town to renew their vows of friendship for the English. The Governor of South Carolina, to indicate the Indians were forgiven, gave each Indian the following items: a gun, hat, shirt, a pair of shoes, a pair of stockings, a set of shoe buckles, sleeve buttons and a knife (CJSC, 1739:29). Also given to the group were nine saddles, fifty weight of powder, one hundred weight of bullets, one pound of paint, two suits of clothes and two handkerchiefs (for the two chiefs), and some pipes. Commissions were presented to four of the Indians: "Chickesaw George" was made King of the Catawbas and John Harris the King of the "Charrow" Town; "Captain Tom" became the "Warrior of Newstee Town" in the Catawba Nation; and "Jemmy" was given the title of "Warrior of the Charrow Town" in the Catawba Nation.

The years following the Saponas' return to Virginia from the Catawba were not as kind to them as they were for the Sara. About 1740, the Saponas and the Indians incorporated with them removed northward to the Iroquois. They were given permission to settle on the Susquehanna River just below its forks, at an Indian village known as "Shamokin" (Mooney 1894:50; Swanton 1946:178). At the same time, the Saponas came to be known as the Tutelo, which was an Iroquois word that meant "Southern Indian". The name change reflected the fact that other Indian groups, including the Delaware, were settled at "Shamokin" with the Saponas (Mooney 1894:50; Swanton 1946:178). Thus, about 1740, the Virginia Siouans had removed north to the protection of the Iroquois, their deadly enemies of old. Eighteen years had passed since these two groups had made peace. The Saponas once again had the freedom to be judged by Indian laws and traditions without interference from the English.

The End of the Beginning,  
1745-1760

As the southern colonies continued to grow and expand in the middle decades of the eighteenth century, the rivalry with France for control of the interior of the continent and the allegiance (and trade) of the western Indians came to dominate colonial affairs. The various colonies moved to consolidate the position of the various Indian groups on their frontiers, and to establish closer ties with as many Indian nations as possible. It was with a great deal of anxiety, therefore, that the officials of South Carolina greeted news of the impending departure of the "Peede" and "Charrow" Indians from the Catawba. To forestall this event, Governor Glen of South Carolina gave the following demonstration to the Indians.

The Governor took all the pistol rammers accompanying Pistols he had given the Indians & said that separated, the Indians could be broke as easy as he could break one of the Rammers, which he did. But if they continued together, they would be almost impossible to break as it is impossible for him to break a handfull of Rammers, which he picked up.

After this they all promised to continue together. (South Carolina Gazette, June 2, 1746, Number 636, page 1).

It was feared that the removal of the Peede and the Cheraw from the Catawba would seriously hinder the ability of these groups to withstand the continued warring of the Iroquois. A weakened Catawba Nation meant less protection for the frontier of the South Carolina colony against attack by the French and their Indian allies.

Governor Glen of South Carolina was aware of the dire necessity of stopping the internecine conflict that was seriously impairing the strength of the Indians who had cordial relations with the English. In May of 1751, Glen wrote Governor Clinton of New York regarding this serious problem (McDowell 1958:85). It was urgent that all the Indians friendly to the English, called by Glen the Northward and Southward Indians, should be put

on a friendly footing with one another. Included among the Northward Indians were the Iroquois (Indians of the Six Nations), the Delaware and the Susquehanna, while the Southward Indians were the Cherokee, Catawba, Creek, Chickasaw, and portions of the Choctaw. Included with these major Southward groups were "...all the Tribes in Friendship with those Nations, or that live amongst our Settlements, such as Charrows, Uchees, Pedees, Notches, Cape Fear..." (McDowell 1958:85). Not mentioned were the Virginia Siouans, who, as the Sapona, had made peace with the Iroquois some three decades before 1751, and had joined them just a decade earlier.

The English colonial governments finally brought the hostile Indians together in summer of 1751. A group of Catawba Indians, accompanied by William Bull of South Carolina, proceeded to a conference in New York (McDowell 1958:105-107). Here, the Indians of the Six Nations, lead by the Mohawk, agreed to a treaty of peace with the Southward Indians. This agreement was most opportune for the English, as the Indians they controlled were at last at peace, and the war with France that had been brewing for years was but a short time away.

Shortly after this event, the Royal Government moved to take more direct control of the Indian affairs on the continent. The Edmond Atkin Plan was put forth in 1755 and adopted (Jacobs 1955:vii). This scheme placed all Indian matters under two Royal superintendents. One was to control the Northern Indians, the other the Southern. In 1756, Atkin was appointed the southern superintendent. From that date forward, the Indians, in theory, no longer answered to the various colonial governments. In practice, however, the Royal Governors never relinquished their role in mediating with the Indians. What was introduced was the complicating factor of a third party.

By 1756 the isolated incidents involving the English, French and their respective Indian allies coalesced into the final war between England and France to determine who was to dominate the continent. In February of that year, Governor Glen dispatched John Evans to deliver a letter to King Haigler, headman of the Catawba Indians (McDowell 1958:95-96). During the course of the trip, Evans was instructed to

...learn the exact number of Warriours or Men able to go to War upon any Occasion. Do it in the most distinct Manner you can distinguishing how many Catawbaws, Cherraws and Pedees. At least be exact how many Warriours are in each town. Let me know also the Distance between each town but do not take it by any Instrument (McDowell 1958:95-96).

A copy of this map was found in the papers of General John Forbes, who commanded the combined English and Indian forces that fought in the campaign to capture Fort Duquesene, situated at the site of present-day Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, in 1759 (Papers relating to General John Forbes, microfilm, GD45/2/2-104). Baker's (1974:114) work on the Catawba Indians contains a reproduction of this map. A total of five towns were located in the heartland of the Catawba Nation along the Catawba River at Sugar Creek just northeast of Rock Hill, South Carolina: the combined town of "Nasaw" and "Wyapee"; "Noostee" Town; "Sukah" Town; "Weyanne, the King's Town"; and the "Charraw Town". It was noted that the last named town possessed 56 of the 204 Catawba men capable of going to war in 1756. This was a number greater than any of the other Catawba towns could contribute. A company of Catawba Indians was later recruited to accompany General Forbes in his successful capture of Fort Duquesene.

In October of 1758, the "Charrow" Town was visited by Reverend William Richardson and a Mr. McCorkle, who were on their way to see King Haigler of the Catawba (Randolph 1973:131-134). The leader of the Cheraw at this time was named "Cheraw George". The Charrow Town, noted to be circular in

layout, still existed as a separate entity in the Catawba Nation at this date.

On May 30, 1759, a group of Indians who had been part of General Forbes' forces at Fort Duquesene sought an audience with the South Carolina Council (CJSC, 1758:93-94). Captain Johnny, identified as a headman of the "Catabaw" and "Charrow" Indians, attended the Council accompanied by 29 warriors, 13 women, and two children. They requested that South Carolina help provide them with relief from the wretched condition in which their service with the English army had placed them.

In July of 1760, a treaty was signed between the Catawba and the English that, in effect, placed the Catawba on a reservation (CJSC, Vol. 29, 1760:14-16). During the 1730s, 1740s, and 1750s, a series of devastating smallpox epidemics had decimated the Catawba and the Indians incorporated with them (Baker 1975:101-104). William Bull made clear the dire straits to which the Catawba were reduced, and argued for providing aid to them, so they would be of some use to the colony in her war effort (CJSC, Vol.29, 1760:154). A tract of land 15 square miles in size was set aside for their use along Twelve Mile Creek downstream from their old location on the Catawba River at Sugar Creek. A fort was built at public expense to protect the Catawba. The Indians were clothed, fed, and armed. In return, the Catawba warriors assisted the colony in her war with the Cherokee in 1761. Following the American Revolution, the Catawba were no longer needed for the specific purpose of defense by South Carolina, and they were cast aside and forgotten (cf. Baker 1975:143-148).

At this point in history the study of the Siouan Indians of the Carolina Piedmont will be stopped. Henceforth, no distinction existed in the groups that composed the Catawba Nation, as the identity of the

"Cheraw" and the "Peede" were lost. War, disease, and the encroachment of the white man upon Indian land continued, and the Catawba continued to decline in both number and spirit.

## Chapter 12

### AN ETHNOHISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE PIEDMONT SIOUANS

So far the historical evidence considered has covered a wide range of topics, with a main focus on the identity and location of the various Piedmont Indian groups. In addition to these twin problems, information pertinent to an inquiry into the nature of the sociocultural integration possessed by these tribes has occasionally surfaced in the ethnohistorical accounts. All three of these questions will be considered in the following discussion. The orientation of this perspective is that the Indians encountered by the English in the last half of the seventeenth century are in the same general locales within the Carolinas where the Spanish explorers of the mid-fifteenth century came upon them.

#### The Piedmont Indians, 1540-1701

The earliest identification of any of the Indians of the Carolina Piedmont dates to the late 1500s and the accounts of Hernando De Soto and Juan Pardo. Both probably made their way to the kingdom of Chiaha beyond the Appalachian Mountains by following a route up the Wateree/Catawba River drainage (Depratter et al. 1982). De Soto's Xualla and Pardo's Joara, the staging point in the Piedmont for entrance into the mountains, was located somewhere along the upper Catawba River near Marion, North Carolina. The major group of Indians southeast of Xualla/Joara within the Catawba drainage were the Issa, counterparts of the seventeenth century Essaw.

Moving from Issa to the east, the Guatari Indians were located on another large river system, which could be identified as the Yadkin (Depratrer et al. 1982:14). Guatari was placed near Trading Ford on this river, just southeast of Salisbury, North Carolina. Usually, Guatari has been equated with the seventeenth century Wateree Indians of the Wateree River in South Carolina (see Chapter 4 and Appendix B). Another candidate for the descendents of Guatari are the Keyauwee Indians, found in 1701 by John Lawson on a tributary of the Yadkin.

It was at Guatari that two other Indian groups with possible later counterparts were mentioned in the chronicles of Juan de la Vandara. Headmen of the "Catapa" and "Chara" Indians met with Pardo at Guatari (Wright n.d.:16, 41, 43). The location of the homes of these Indians was not provided. The Catapa can be identified with the Kadapou (Catawba) Indians visited in 1701 by John Lawson, while they lived along the Catawba River near Rock Hill, South Carolina. The Chara may be the seventeenth century Sarrah/Sara of John Lederer, Gabriel Arthur and James Needham, and William Byrd II. Although direct evidence is lacking, the Chara/Sara were probably located somewhere on the Dan River at this time.

The major link between the Piedmont Indians known to the Spaniards and those encountered by the English is the fair province of Cofitachequi. It is known that, as late as 1628, the land called by the Spaniards Cofitachequi still existed. In that year, Pedro de Torres located the fair province in the area of "Florida" where it was expected to be, and reported its continued existence. In 1670, the English explorer, Dr. Henry Woodward, discovered an Indian culture which he equated with Cofitachequi. These Indians were ruled at this time by an Emperor named Cotachio. The Gascoyne map of 1686, supposedly surveyed by Maurice Mathews of South

Carolina, placed Cofitachequi on the lower Wateree in South Carolina (Baker 1974:IV-6). A group of mounds on the Wateree near the city of Camden, South Carolina, is an excellent candidate for the center of this province.

Steven Baker (1974, 1975) has argued persuasively that Cofitachequi was a confederated chiefdom centered on the lower Wateree River. At the time of Spanish contact, the chiefdom encompassed the entire Wateree/Catawba drainage, and the upper section of the Pee Dee River. After the Spanish presence waned, the grand chiefdom entered a period of slow decline. Contact with the English colony at Charles Town in the 1670s brought the chiefdom to an end, as the Essaw (Ushery) Indians of the lower Catawba River came to eminence. In the 1670s, it was the Essaw to whom the south Carolina colonists turned for aid in their struggle with the Westo Indians. Cofitachequi passed from knowledge, retained only on Gascoyne's map of 1686. Baker (1974:39-48) suggests that the Congaree and Santee Indians of the late seventeenth century, located on the lower Wateree and upper Santee River, were the last descendents of the people of Cofitachequi.

The Indians of the Catawba/Wateree/Santee drainage did not represent the earliest documentation in the English records of the Piedmont Indians of the Carolinas. Shortly after the colony at Jamestown was founded in 1607, Captain John Smith (1624) explored the various rivers of the Virginia Tidewater upstream as far as the Fall Line. In the Piedmont, various groups associated with the "Manocan Confederation", including the Manaken and Hanathaskie, were recorded (Mooney 1894:26). These two groups were later incorporated with the Stukanox Indians, who lived at Ft. Christana as tributaries to the Virginia colony in the early eighteenth century. Following the Powhatan Wars and the expansion of the Virginia colony during

the 1600s, the Indians along the Fall Line in Virginia were pushed to the southwest. By 1676, the Manaken were living with the Occaneechi near the Fall Line on the Roanoke River.

The Occaneechi and Sapona (Nahyssons) were the first of the Piedmont groups southwest of the Appomattox River to appear in the English records. In 1650, Edward Bland vaguely located these Indians northwest of the point on the Roanoke River, probably the falls near Weldon, North Carolina, which his company had reached during their aborted journey to establish commercial ties with the Tuscarora Indians.

It was not until some 20 years later that the Indians of this section of North Carolina and Virginia were again mentioned. The explorations of the 1670s, that sought gold and a direct route to the Indies, were responsible for opening up the Carolina Piedmont, and providing these identifications. The earliest surviving record of these efforts is the account of John Lederer's journeys from 1669-1671 to the west and southwest of Virginia. Given the tortured directions provided by Lederer, and the many questions associated with the account, little of value, other than the names of Indian groups southwest of the Appomattox River, can be directly derived from Talbot's translation of Lederer's journal and notes. The posited identity and location of the Indians encountered by Lederer in the spring and summer of 1670 are discussed in Chapter 6 and Appendix B.

Additional information concerning the Occaneechi, and the other Piedmont Indians of the early 1670s, could have been derived from an account of a journey made by Dr. Henry Woodward in the late summer of 1671. Woodward, in his trip from Charles Town to beyond the Roanoke River in Virginia, probably traveled over much of the same territory that Lederer had. Unfortunately, Dr. Woodward left no record of this trek that has yet been found.

Fortunately, during the 1670s, Virginia added to the knowledge of the Indians west and southwest of the colony via other explorations sponsored to search for the Great South Sea. Following the expeditions of Lederer, the next mention of the Indians along the Virginia frontier was provided by Batts and Fallam in the fall of 1671. At that time, they traveled west and south of west from the upper Appomattox River. Two Sapona villages were encountered, supposedly along the Roanoke River. The river at these towns was named the "Sapona" in keeping with a general tradition of naming the river on which the Sapona lived after them. The Sapona were probably somewhere along the Roanoke River near Clarkesville, Virginia, a location different from that most researchers favor (see Appendix B). William Byrd II (1966:390) noted, in 1733, that one of the islands in the river there had once supposedly been the home of the Sapona. The other Sapona village would have been on the Roanoke near the confluence of the Dan River, or on the lower Dan.

Continuing in a direction generally northwest from the Sapona led Batts and Fallam up the Roanoke drainage. The Hanathaskie Indians were encountered just a half days march west and north of the second Sapona village. A location on the lower Dan, possibly near South Boston, Virginia, on the Banister River north of South Boston, or on the Roanoke near its confluence with the Otter River, are all candidates for this village. From the Hanathaskie, Batts and Fallam struck a course to the "west" during which they crossed over the "Sapona" River twice. Just before entering the "Tutelo" village, a direction southwest was followed along the river. By now, the upper Roanoke River in the Blue Ridge of western Virginia, or, less likely, the upper Dan River in North Carolina northwest of the Sauratown Mountains had been reached. It was here that the Tutelo Indians lived.

It was certain that the valley of the New River was the section of the Blue Ridge Mountains that Batts and Fallam entered after they departed the Tutelo village. As noted in Chapter 2, the New River strath located in the Blue Ridge of North Carolina and Virginia near Hillville, Virginia has a sharp eastern escarpment. It was up this face that Batts and Fallam climbed to reach the top of their "mountains" from which they viewed the rest of the mountains lying before them.

Leaving Batts and Fallam with their discoveries in the Blue Ridge, the Siouan Indians along the Occaneechi Trail were again briefly glimpsed in the ethnohistorical record a few years later. Abraham Wood related the events surrounding the journey of James Needham and Gabriel Arthur in 1673 and 1674 to explore the mountains to the southwest. These two were the first explorers to follow the trade path southwest from Fort Henry to the Occaneechi and beyond, whose records have been found.

The only places identified in Wood's relation are those pertinent to his story. The Occaneechi, "Aeno" (Eno), Sarrah (Sara), the "Yattken" (Yadkin) Town, "Sitteree", and the land of the Tomahitians (Cherokee) are present. Numerous other Indian groups, including the main body of the Catawba, did not appear. Tantalizingly, the trip from Sitteree to the mountain home of the Tomahitians described by Arthur recalled De Soto's and Pardo's journeys from Xualla/Joara into the mountains to Chiaha. From information provided by Arthur, Sitteree was somewhere beyond the "Yattken" Town. Usually, this town has been put on the Yadkin River near Trading Ford at Salisbury, North Carolina, with the Sara to the east or northeast on either the Uwharrie or Deep River (see Appendix B).

The alternative interpretation of the cultural topography of these Indian and place names favored here, is that Needham and Arthur followed a

route due west from Aeno to the Tomahitians. This path would have led to a Sarrah (Sara) located on the Dan River in the vicinity of Stokes County, North Carolina. The Yattken Town beyond Sarrah would be on the upper reaches of the Yadkin River, probably in the Big Bend section of the river north of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Sitteree, from whence Needham and Arthur departed to the mountain homes of the Tomahitians, would be along the upper Catawba River, possibly as far west as Marion, North Carolina. This interpretation has the advantage of accounting for the absence from Needham and Arthur's account of the Indians usually associated with the Piedmont beyond Aeno--the Shakori, Saxapahaw, Keyauwee or "Uwharrie", and the various groups that resided along the lower Catawba River, the Essaw, Sugaree and Catawba.

In the past, the Sitteree were equated with the Suchah or Sugaree Indians of the Catawba area (see Appendix B). John Barnwell (1897/1898: 393), in 1712, listed both Suchah and Suterees (Sitteree) Indians among his force that marched to fight the Tuscarora. This indicates that the Sugaree/Suchah Indians and the Suteree/Sitteree Indians were two different groups. Also, in 1716, representatives of both the Suteree and Suchah Indians signed the general peace treaty negotiated by Governor Spotswood of Virginia that brought the Yamassee War to a close (Anon 1923:40-44). These facts support the hypothesis that the Sitteree were a group of Indians who inhabited the upper Catawba River prior to 1700, and who were separate from the "Catawba Nation" at that time. Sometime between 1671 and 1712, the Sitteree probably moved the Catawba River to the northern fringe of the Catawba Nation, where they joined Barnwell's Essaw Company of Indians for the Tuscarora War.

With the exception of the Occaneechi, none of these Siouans groups are mentioned again in the ethnohistorical records until the latter portion of the seventeenth century. The Occaneechi played an important role in the start of Bacon's Rebellion in 1676. The traditional home of the Occaneechi has been placed on an island bearing their name in the Roanoke River near Clarkesville, Virginia (see Appendix B). Archaeological work in the 1950s on the island supposed to be the Occaneechi stronghold, however, failed to turn up any evidence of European trade material (cf. Miller 1962). A location further downstream, near where the Great Trading Path later crossed the Roanoke River, provides an attractive alternative. In 1728, William Byrd II (1929:158) located this crossing at "Moni-seep" Ford on the Roanoke. This is approximately one mile west of where the Roanoke crosses the Virginia/North Carolina border.

This placement is tentatively supported by the details of Bacon's march to do battle with the Susquehanna, and, inadvertantly, the Occaneechi in 1676. Bacon's army was forced to swing south from Henrico County in Virginia toward the Nottoway and Meherrin Indians of the Coastal Plain to recruit allies for the impending fight. No more than three days provisions were available from the start of their march.

South of the Appomattox River, the army followed the Tuscarora Trading Path south to the Nottoways and Meherrins. In 1711, the Virginia Assembly noted that part of this trail led by Putatta Swamp (McIlwaine 1928:296), which is possibly modern-day Green Swamp near Emporia, Virginia. Portions of this same path had also been used by Edward Bland and company in 1650 during their journey to the land of the Tuscarora.

From the inner Coastal Plain of southeastern Virginia, Bacon and his men were forced to cut cross-country through the wilderness to Occaneechi.

No direct path was available, so the going was presumably slow. Three days were required to reach Occaneechi from Henrico County via the Tuscarora Trading Path (Billings 1975:267; Sainsbury 1893:414). The time frame tends to favor the Moni-seep Ford area on the Roanoke as the location of Occaneechi. Unfortunately, the inquiry will have to be laid to rest. Both areas along the Roanoke, Occaneechi Island at Clarkesville, and Moni-seep Ford, were covered by the construction of man-made lakes in the 1950s. Past archaeological work did not recover evidence of a late seventeenth century Indian village along either section of the river. Future archaeological work will be hindered greatly due to the lakes that cover these areas, making the recovery of data pertinent to the above question most difficult.

As for the Occaneechi following their disasterous encounter with Bacon, evidence indicates that they remained at or near their former stronghold for a number of years. In 1679, Rodger Banister gave the impression that a band of Iroquois attempted to storm an Indian town on "Ockonigee" Island in the Roanoke River (Fulham Palace Papers, 14, item 80, pages 1-2). The spelling of Occaneechi used by Banister, "Ockonigee", was similar to that recorded by the man who chronicled Bacon's fight with the Occaneechi, "Oconogee" (cf. Billings 1975:269).

A short time later, in July of 1681, Lord Culpeper, in London, received a dispatch from Virginia dated June 18, 1681, which informed him that the Senaca had successfully stormed "Occanogee" Island (Fortescue 1898:93). At that time, the "Occanogee" King and many of his Indians were carried off to an unknown fate. A short time after this date, the Occaneechi Indians probably migrated south along the Great Trading Path into North Carolina, where John Lawson found them along the upper Eno River

in 1701. After 1681, the use of Occaneechi in reference to the Roanoke River appears only in terms of a geographical location, and not with the Indians. William Byrd I wrote in April of 1684 about the murder of the members of one of his trading parties some 20 miles beyond "Ockaneechee". This was presumably the former Occaneechi fastness on the Roanoke, although it may have been somewhere beyond the Occaneechi Town on the Eno River.

Until the end of the century, little is present in the colonial records that refers directly to the Siouan Hill Tribes, or any of the other Indian groups of the Piedmont. Then, in 1697 and 1698, the names of three Indian groups, who may have been Siouan speakers, were found in the Journal of the South Carolina Common House of Assembly (Salley 1931:21). In keeping with the deterioration of the English-Indian relations during this era, the "Soo:kay", "Ya:hee:wee", and "Sax:a:pax" Indians were implicated in the murder of the son of a member of the Commons. The first group of Indians can be identified with the "Suchah" or Sugaree Indians who lived along the Catawba/Wateree River near Rock Hill, South Carolina.

Interpreting "Ya:hee:wee", or "Yahawee", is a little more difficult, but they could have been the "Uwharrie" Indians. This would have been another name for the Indians who lived along the Uwharrie River in North Carolina. A short time after the above murders, John Lawson, when he crossed the Uwharrie River in 1701, rendered the name as "Heighwaree". Also, he noted that the Keyauwee Indians inhabited this general area. The "Yahawee", therefore, could have been this group. The last of the three Indian groups, the "Sax:a:pax", can easily be identified with the Saxapahaw Indians, who lived on the Occaneechi Trail near where it crosses the Haw River northeast of the Keyauwee.

As is obvious, John Lawson in his trip of 1701 provides data that are very useful in identifying and locating the Piedmont Indians. Lawson's work (1967) is one of the best documented records of the Carolina Indians, and where they lived. In making his way north from Charles Town, Lawson encountered the Essaw, Sugaree, and Catawba Indians along the Catawba River and Sugar Creek south of Charlotte, North Carolina. Moving to the northeast, the Sapona were found on the "Sapona" River, which was erroneously called a branch of the Cape Fear River.

Lawson's description of the Sapona River left little doubt that he was referring to the Yadkin. The Sapona Fort on the Yadkin was somewhere between Salisbury, North Carolina and the mouth of the Uwharrie River to the southeast. The traditional location of this village at Trading Ford, now underwater, can not be proved or disproved using ethnohistorical records. Archaeological investigations in this area failed to turn up any European trade materials one would have expected to be associated with a 1701 Indian village (cf. Howell and Dearborne 1953).

The next group of Indians Lawson encountered were the Keyauwee. The village of these Indians has traditionally been located on a tributary of the upper Uwharrie River named Caraway Creek (see Appendix B). The archaeological remains from this locale now appear to belong to an earlier time, perhaps the Protohistoric or Early Historic period of no later than 1670 (see Chapter 16).

The Deep River is a more attractive location for the 1701 Keyauwee village. Archaeological remains, which fit a general pattern for the European trade material associated with a early 1700 Indian village, have been recovered from a site on a tributary of the Deep River. Also, this site's location northwest of the ford over the "Heighwaree" River matches the

directions given by Lawson for reaching the Keyauwee village. The area on the Uwharrie River does not.

If the river Lawson identified as the Heighwaree (Uwharrie) was the Deep, then the "copious stream" he encountered just after leaving Sapona on the road to Keyauwee would have been the lower Uwharrie River. This in turn requires the shift of Sapona downstream on the Yadkin from Trading Ford. Given Lawson's mis-identification of some of the rivers he encountered, including the Rocky, and the "Sapona" (Yadkin) as a branch of the Cape Fear River, this interpretation should not be lightly dismissed.

Moving from Keyauwee, Lawson's travels took him to the northeast toward Occaneechi. At the Haw River, which he also called the "Reatkin", he stated that the Sissipahaw (Saxapahaw) lived upon that river at some distance from whence he crossed. Beyond the Haw, Occaneechi Town was encountered on the upper reaches of the Eno River. At least Lawson called the river on which this village lay the Eno. A site, 310r11, excavated in the late 1930s and early 1940s near Hillsborough, North Carolina has usually been identified with the Occaneechi of 1701 (Coe 1952a:311). Only a few artifacts of European manufacture were recovered from these excavations (see Chapter 16). The configuration of the material remains indicates they belong to a position in time similar to, and probably earlier than, that proposed earlier for the Keyauwee. A possible association with the "Shakor" of Lederer has been posited for this site by Jerry Cross in his study of the ethnohistoric records (1979:1). Recent excavations at a site adjacent to 310r11 has produced European trade artifacts, and ceramics somewhat similar to those from 310r11 (Roy Dickens, Trawick Ward, and Homes Wilson, personal communication, 1983). It is probable that Lederer's Shakori village of 1670, Lawson's 1701 Occaneechi

Town, and an earlier Shakori village were all situated on the Eno River in the vicinity of Hillsborough, North Carolina.

At Occaneechi, Lawson left the Great Trading Path and turned to the east, as the aim of his quest was to reach the North Carolina coast. In this manner he visited Adshusheer, the home of the Eno and Shakori Indians in 1701. William Autry (1975) suggested that this town was on the lower Eno just upstream from its confluence with the Flat River north of Durham. This follows the general consensus reached by most researchers (see Appendix B). Archaeological investigations in this area have yet to produce evidence that precisely locates Adshusheer.

Adshusheer was the last town Lawson visited which could definitely be tied to the Indians of the Carolina Piedmont. Earlier in his trip, while at Sapona, he mentioned the Tutelo, who have usually been identified as a Siouan group. Based on the ethnohistorical accounts, researchers usually have vaguely placed the Tutelo somewhere to the west of Fort Henry in the 1670s (see Appendix B). Lawson noted in 1701 that the Tutelo lived at the foot of the Mountains on the upper portion of the Yadkin River. Given Lawson's penchant for misidentifying rivers, and that his knowledge was based upon evidence supplied by the Indians, the Tutelo were probably still on the upper Roanoke in Virginia, at the foot of the mountains.

At no time during his journey, or in his subsequent writings on the natural history of North Carolina, did Lawson mention the Sara or Cheraw Indians. He did, however, mention a path that led north from Keyauwee, which may have made its way to the area of the Dan River where the Sara once resided. This trail may have been part of one noted in Gabriel Arthur account of 1674. When Arthur returned from the Mountains to Fort Henry in that year, he was accompanied by a group of Tomahitian (Cherokee)

Indians, that included their chief and the chief's son. At the Sarrah (Sara) village, the Occaneechi, who lay in ambush for Arthur, created an alarm that caused the Tomahitians to flee. Arthur continued on the usual path to Aeno and Occaneechi. The Tomahitian King, however, led his people to the north, as they traveled to the Toteros (Tutelo Indians) at the foot of the mountains. From there, the Tomahitians moved to the northeast to the James River, which was then followed to the Virginia colony.

Moving forward in time, Lawson noted in 1701 that a path branched off from the Occaneechi Trail at Keyauwee. Here, the main body of the English resolved to make straight for Virginia, whereas Lawson (1967:59) intended to see North Carolina. As such, Lawson continued up the Occaneechi Path to the Occaneechi Town, where he left the trail and traveled east toward Adshusheer. The rest of the English departed from Keyauwee by the other path. The question is, are the trails taken by the Tomahitians in 1674 and the English in 1701 two different sections of an extensive trail which led north? If this is true, then the way could have been part of the trail system used by the Northern Indians on their way south to harass the Southern Indians.

In 1728, William Byrd II (1929:218) related that while the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina was being surveyed, the remains of a camp made by Northern Indians (Senaca or Iroquois) were found by the surveying party. This camp was encountered at least four miles west of the Irwin (Smith) River, and some distance north of the Dan River (north of Eden, North Carolina in Virginia). Byrd (1929:218) stated that the "...Route the Northern Savages take when they go to War against the Catawbias and other Southern Nations..." was nearby.

That this trail was also used by the Virginia traders is implied in the instructions Governor Nicholson of Virginia in 1700 gave two Indian traders, Robert Hicks and John Evans (Fullham Palace Papers, 14, item 181, page 1). Hicks and Evans were to acquaint the Indians with who they were going to trade, but particularly the "...Usharees and Totterayes..", that the estate of Robert Boyle had provided a sum of money for the education of 10 or so Indian Children at the College of William & Mary. If the "Usharees" (Ushery) were the same Indians as the Essaw of the Catawba Nation, then a route west from the Virginia colony to the Tutelo, the "Totterayes" of Nicholson, which then led south to the Catawba, and bypassed most of the Occaneechi Trail, could be inferred. The same would be true whether the Ushery were the Catawba, or if they were the descendents of the people of Cofitachequi, the Congaree and Santee, as Baker (1974) suggested. Both were located on the Catawba/Wateree River, a good distance south of the Tutelo.

Going back in time (1670) to John Lederer, it may be that he traveled over part of this side path in making his way from Eno Town to the Ushery. His convoluted course could have led to the Shakori on the Eno River near Hillsborough, North Carolina; southwest to Watary (Keyauwee) on the Deep River; north from Watary/Keyauwee to Sara on the Dan River via the trail just discussed; back south by a confused course to Wisacky on the lower Catawba River, or one of its tributaries; and then over to the Ushery (Essaw) on the Catawba River. Not all of the confusion contained in Lederer's account is cleared up in this manner, but a section of his journey, or of the many paths between the various Indian towns he had described to him by Indian informants, becomes more plausible.

The information provided by Lederer, Lawson, and the other historical sources does not conclusively prove that the Sara were on the Dan during the period of time from 1670-1700. But, for now, it does seem that this was the case. The Tutelo were probably still in southwestern Virginia, along the upper Roanoke River. The Occaneechi moved to the Eno River a short time after 1681. Without the Occaneechi on the Roanoke during the last portion of the seventeenth century, the Sapona probably came to bear the brunt of the attacks of the Iroquois. To escape these raids, the Sapona may have moved south from Virginia a short number of years before 1700 to the Yadkin River. Certainly, Lawson found a tribe of Indians on the lower Yadkin that he called the Sapona.

Balanced against this is the fact that, in 1708, when Governor Nicholson of Virginia reported the readmission of the Sapona as Tributaries, he stated that they came from the foot of Mountains (Dodson 1932:74). This could be interpreted to mean that the Sapona had never left the western section of Virginia. If this were so, then a case could be made for the Indians identified as the Sapona by Lawson really being the Sara. Supporting this is Byrd's note that the Sara moved south to the Pee Dee River (the lower section of the Yadkin) around 1703, and incorporated with the Keyauwee. Lawson noted in 1701 that the Keyauwee and Sapona (Sara ?) were contemplating a union. Given Lawson's lack of knowledge with the Indian groups and geography of the Carolina Piedmont, it may be that the Indians on the Yadkin were the Sara. The circumstantial evidence of the contemplated amalgamation could support this hypothesis. This proposal does seem to be straining credibility, however. It is much simpler to take Lawson's identification at face value, and ignore Nicholson's comment about the Sapona. But, the gaps in the ethnohistorical record concerning

the various Piedmont Indian tribes is underscored. Where some of the Indian groups were for long periods of time, such as the Sara from 1674 to 1711, can not be determined using just this data base. Other sources of information will have to be investigated before a more complete documentation of the location and identity of the Piedmont Indians during the seventeenth century can be presented.

The Piedmont Indians Move East And Meet Their Fate,  
1701-1740

Lawson's journey through the backcountry of the Carolina Piedmont provided the last documentation of the Indians in the interior along, and west of, the Occaneechi Trail. During the first decade or so of the eighteenth century, these tribes abandoned their homes and migrated east. The "Northern Division" of the Piedmont Hill Tribes moved to Virginia, where they became Tributaries. The first to make this move were the Sapona in 1708. The move to Virginia by the Sapona (and other of the Northern Division groups) was dictated by a lack of any other suitable refuge safe from the incursions of the Iroquois. The Tuscarora inhibited any move to the southeast into the North Carolina Coastal Plain. The Catawba, and other southern Indians, including the tribes that comprised the Southern Division of the Siouans, precluded any move closer toward South Carolina. Any position along the Trading Path in the Carolina Piedmont was still exposed to the Iroquois raids. Making the move somewhat easier to bear, the colonial government of Virginia during the early 1700s was actively attempting to draw as many Indian groups to her as possible. The prospects of trade and protection from the Iroquois were the inducements Virginia could offer.

In 1710, the Eno asked that they be accepted in by Virginia as Tributaries, but these Indians did not follow through on their request. Perhaps the lack of a suitable plot of land for them to settle at that time prevented their move. It was not until 1711, a year later, that a proper reservation was set aside for Virginia's other Tributaries.

In that year, the Occaneechi and Stukanox applied for, and were granted, permission to settle with the Sapona. A reservation on the Meherrin River at Putata Swamp (probably near Emporia, Virginia) was reserved for their use by the colony. In the spring of 1712, the Tutelo followed suit, and joined with the Sapona as Tributaries.

Where all these Indian groups were living prior to the time they applied for, or became, Tributaries is problematical. Of these Indians, only the location of the Eno, who eventually decided not to make the move, can be pinpointed. In August of 1714, Governor Spotswood of Virginia proposed that the "Saura" (Sara) and "Keeawawe" (Keyauwee) be settled at Eno Town with the Eno (and, presumably, the Shakori) Indians (Saunders 1886:242-243). At this time, Eno Town was probably near its traditional location on the lower Eno River in North Carolina. It was definitely on the borders of that colony, for the North Carolina Assembly objected vehemently to the plan, which would have placed such treacherous Indians on the colony's borders. Another reason for their objection was that the Sara and Keyauwee, placed at Eno Town, would have sat athwart the main route used by North Carolina to conduct trade with the interior Indians. This was the same path that Lawson used in 1701 to travel to the Pamlico Sound from Adshusher, and which had been rid of the Tuscarora during the Tuscarora War of 1711-1713.

The move of the Southern Siouans to the east is less easy to document. Since they did not seek from either Virginia or South Carolina a status comparable to the Triburaries, the Southern Siouans did not appear very often in the official documents of the two colonies. It is know that, during the first decade of the seventeenth century, the Southern Siouan Hill Tribes and associated Indians fled the Occaneechi Trail and moved to the middle and lower portions of the Pee Dee River, and the lower Neuse Rive. The Pee Dee was an almost uninhabited wedge of land in the Inner Coastal Plain, that lay between the Tuscarora to the north, the Catawba to the west, and the colony of South Carolina to the south. The move to the southern fringes of the Tuscarora allowed the Southern Siouans to maintain their independence for another four decades. The vicissitudes of war, disease, and, indirectly, the tensions associated with increasing colonial population could not be avoided, however.

The Sara and Saxapahaw were gone from the inner Piedmont by 1712. John Barnwell, when he recruited the Saxapahaw to fight the Tuscarora in the spring of that year, related that, in 1711, these Indians had lived on the lower Neuse River near a major Tuscarora Town known as Nahantes. When the Saxapahaw refused to join the war against the English, their village had been attacked. The survivors fled south to the Waccamaw Indians along the lower Pee Dee/Waccamaw River. It was here that Barnwell encountered them on his march north to North Carolina.

The Sara were added to the army in the vicinity of the Pee Dee River. This implies that, in 1712, the Sara were somewhere along the middle reaches of the Pee Dee, presumably near Cheraw, South Carolina. If their home prior to this migration had been the Dan, the Sara bucked the trend

which saw the more northern Hill Tribe Siouan groups become, or at least apply to be made, Tributaries of Virginia.

Although the exact date has yet to be documented, the Keyauwee had forsaken the Occaneechi Trail for a safer existence to the southeast, probably at the same time the Sara had. Evidence for their removal came from Spotwood's proposal in 1715 to settle them and the Sara at Eno Town. These two Indian groups were noted by the North Carolina Assembly to be at war with South Carolina at that time. This is interpreted to mean that the Keyauwee were near enough to the Sara to serve as their allies in the war with the English. Where exactly the Keyauwee were located in the 1710s could not be discerned from the documentary evidence, but the middle section of the Pee Dee River is a possibility.

Some years later, in 1733, the Popple Map of the Carolinas (Cumming 1958:Plate 55) placed the Keyauwee village on the Pee Dee River some distance upstream (possibly at their 1701 location in North Carolina) from the Sara, who appeared to be living near Cheraw, South Carolina. The Moseley Map (Cumming 1958:Plate 52), which also dates to 1733, placed the "Saraus" (Sara) and "Keeanwees" (Keyauwees) together at a village site on the Pee Dee River. This map confirmed Byrd's (1966:398) statement, made in 1733, that the Sara and Keyauwee had united and moved south to the lower Pee Dee around 1703. It should be noted that, for the decade and a half after Lawson's expedition of 1701, the Keyauwee were mentioned only in conjunction with the Sara or Cheraw Indians. The year 1716 marked the last time the Keyauwee appeared in the historic records of either Virginia or South Carolina, except as references on maps.

About the same time the Sara and the Saxapahaw were joining Barnwell, another Indian group, thought to be Siouan, materialized in the documents

for the first time. Some Pee Dea Indians, not to be confused with the Prehistoric "Pee Dee" archaeological phase, were included amongst the South Carolina forces that fought in the first Tuscarora campaign. They apparently cast their lot with the English at the same time the Sara did. From this time forward, the destinies of these two Indian groups were closely intertwined. The Moseley Map of 1733 placed the Pee Dea on the Pee Dee River some miles downstream from the Sara, apparently near Mars Bluff, South Carolina.

It can be suggested that the Pee Dea Indians were the Keyauwee, who disappeared about the same time the former group rose to prominence in the historical record. The presence of Keyauwee on the Popple and Moseley maps may have been due to lag in keeping current the names and locations of the Indians of the Carolina. As an example, both the Popple and Moseley maps located an Occaneechi Town on the Eno River in North Carolina, although these Indians had moved to Fort Christana, Virginia, in 1711. Possibly, the Keyauwee came to be known as the Pee Dea Indians during the 1710s. The name change would have been tied to their movement from the Uwharrie River to the Pee Dee River just prior to that decade.

By the time the Yamassee War began, the Saxapahaw had moved near enough to the Sara on the Pee Dee River to be closely allied to them, if they were not actually incorporated with the latter group. Certainly the two were closely connected in the minds of the colonial officials of South Carolina. In 1716, this colony moved to end the hostilities with the Sara and Saxapahaw which had existed since the start of the troubles with the Yamassee. In that year all trade with these Indians was prohibited. By the spring of 1717, the Saxapahaw had been driven to send emissaries to Charles Town via the factor at Winyah Bay to make amends. After this

episode, the Saxapahaw disappeared from the colonial records. Logically, it can be assumed that the Saxapahaw became submerged within the Sara/Cheraw Indians at this time.

The Sara/Cheraw continued to make periodic appearances in the affairs of South Carolina following the close of the Yamassee War. Until the late 1730s, most of these notations referred to the occasional murders and kidnappings involving these Indians and other groups such as the Cherokee and Catawba. By August of 1737, however, the Cheraw, and the Indians merged under them, were forced to retire from the Pee Dee River. They and the Pee Dea Indians, sold all their land along the Pee Dee River to Mr. John Thompson of South Carolina, excepting one field purchased by Mr. Larochey and another by Mr. Grooms. A driving force behind the move was the encroachment during the 1730s of English settlers on the lands utilized by the Indians along the middle Pee Dee River.

After giving up their lands along this river, the Cheraw and Pee Dea Indians traveled west, and incorporated with the Catawba. A map, commissioned by Governor Glenn of South Carolina in 1756, that showed the location and strength of the Catawba Indians, and the Cheraw and Pee Dea living with them, located a Charrow (Cheraw) Indian Town on Sugar Creek, a short distance upstream from its confluence with the Catawba River. As Glenn had instructed that the fighting strength of the Indians be determined, the 56 men noted for the Cheraw Town probably contained a count of both Cheraw and Pee Dea Indians. This also marked the final appearance of the Pee Dea Indians in the historical documents. The Cheraw continued to be mentioned until 1761, the date the Catawba Nation as a whole became reservation Indians.

Thus, some two score and ten years after the first of the Piedmont Siouans, the Sapona, had entered Tributary status in 1708, the last of these Indians submitted to English governmental control. The trail to the reservation was strewn with the remains of the various groups, who had lost their cultural cohesion and been absorbed by either the Sapona or the Sara. The former group took in the Occaneechi, Tutelo and Stukanox. The Sara eventually included among their numbers the Keyauwee and/or Pee Dea, and Saxapahaw. Also, the Waxhaw, a group who were probably non-Siouan, joined the Sara.

Both the Sapona and the Sara in turn submerged themselves within larger groups. The Sapona moved north about 1742 and joined the Iroquois. Just a few years prior to that date, the Sara were forced to find shelter with another more numerous group, the Catawba. By the end of the French and Indian War, the Siouan Hill Tribes no longer existed in their own right.

#### An Inquiry into the Sociocultural Organization of the Piedmont Indians

Up to this point the discussions have been based on data drawn from ethnohistorical sources, with small quantities of archaeological information being incorporated when necessary. The emphasis has focused on the identity and location of the Indian cultures. The short discourse that follows will consider certain aspects of the sociocultural organization of the Piedmont Indians, beginning with the Late Prehistoric period. Basic definitions of tribes and chiefdoms have been presented in Chapter 3.

During the Late Prehistoric period, the cultures of the Carolina Piedmont were encountered by the expanding Pee Dee phase of central South Carolina. The interaction was most involved along the lower Catawba/upper

Wateree and lower Yadkin/upper Pee Dee Rivers. The Pee Dee culture is best described as a chiefdom using Service's evolutionary stage criteria (1962:143-177), in that it possessed monumental public works in the form of earth lodges and temple mounds, and "ceremonial" (civic/administrative) centers. Service (1962:152) noted that the ability to plan, organize, and display public labor is a major characteristic of chiefdoms, one of the few traits with consequences that can be directly observed in the archaeological record.

In response to the expansion of, and competition with, such established chiefdoms such as the Pee Dee phase, secondary chiefdom's may rise (Service 1962:150-151). This aspect of chiefdom formation follows tenets of one of Walter Buckley's (1968:493) observations on the characteristics of complex adaptive systems, to wit that change in the structure of a cultural system may be a prerequisite for its continued existence. For the Indians of the Carolina Piedmont, it is hypothesized that information flow, conflict/competition, and interaction between the Pee Dee chiefdom and the presumed tribal-level cultures of the lower Catawba/upper Wateree River gave rise to the greater chiefdom known as Cofitachequi (cf. Baker 1974, 1975). This may have followed the form discussed above, in that the initial contact between the Pee Dee culture and the Indians along the lower Catawba, who later came to be known as the Yssa/Issa/Essaw, initiated changes in the social structure of the latter groups which led to greater complexity. Another possibility, which may involve elements of this process can also be offered.

Service (1962:151) noted that conflict or warfare between a chiefdom (the Pee Dee culture) and tribes (the Siouan groups of the Catawba River) may result in the incorporation of the vanquished tribes within the greater

chiefdom. This is just one manner in which chiefdoms tend to expand. Once these tribes are incorporated into the redistributive economic network of the chiefdom, they tend to take on aspects of a miniature chiefdom. It is felt that, at the time of Spanish contact with the area, the Indians of the Wateree/Catawba drainage were organized in a manner closely resembling such an aggregate chiefdom.

De Soto (Swanton 1939:189) noted that the "Lady of Cofitachequi" was "greatly obeyed by all the Indians encountered" between Xualla/Joara and Cofitachequi. As the Lady deserted the Spanish army shortly after they entered the Mountains, it may have been that Xualla marked the greatest extent of her influence.

The Indians of Cofitachequi proper were probably affiliated with Muskogean speaking groups of the Coastal Plain of South Carolina and Georgia, and the Piedmont of Georgia (Coe 1952:308-309). The material remains associated with the major mound sites along the Pee Dee and the lower Wateree River show similarities with sites of these areas (cf. Coe 1952:308-309; Reid 1967). The Indians along the Catawba River, including the Issa/Yssa/Essaw and Xualla/Joara/Sitteree spoke a Siouan language. The material remains of the area inhabited by the Issa/Yssa/Essaw show the effects of interaction with the Pee Dee phase (see Chapters 15 and 17).

These two groups of Indians appear to have been the main constituents of the chiefdom of Cofitachequi. The chiefdom spread from Canos on the lower Wateree River (near Camden, South Carolina) to Xualla/Joara on the upper Catawba River at the foot of the Mountains (near Marion, North Carolina). Midway between these two were the Issa/Yssa, located just north of the last vestige of Pee Dee phase expansion. The Spaniards noted that the headman of the Issa/Yssa was a big (important) chief, who controlled

three villages (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:113). This person was the only Indian in the Carolina Piedmont who was said to have such power, other than the headmen of the province of Cofitachequi.

The following summary can be presented for this reconstruction of the grand chiefdom. Xualla and Issa were connected to the redistributive economy "controlled" by the principle chiefdom of Cofitachequi centered at Canos on the lower Wateree River. In this manner the redistributive network stretched from the Coastal Plain to the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains. The area covered by this aggregate chiefdom contains a great amount of ecological diversity, a main requirement for the well-being of a chiefdom (Service 1962:145).

Of the corporate groups along the Wateree/Catawba River, only the Yssa/Issa were organized into a mini-chiefdom. This may date to the Late Prehistoric period and interaction with the expanding Pee Dee culture. Following contact with the Spaniards, the Indians along the lower Wateree River, who composed the center of the grand chiefdom of Cofitachequi, began to decline, primarily due to the virulence of European introduced diseases. Over the period of time between the departure of the Spaniards and the appearance of the English in the 1670s, the Yssa/Issa rose to prominence as the Essaw Indians. By the early 1700s, these groups evolved into what came to be known as the Catawba nation, when the Catawba (Catapa/Kadapou) replaced the Essaw as the dominant Indian group of the Catawba River. Other tribes, such as the Santee, Congaree, Wateree, and Waxhaw came to occupy the areas formerly associated with the grand chiefdom of Cofitachequi along the Wateree River. A candidate for the descendants of the central people of the chiefdom are the Santee Indians (Baker 1974:39-48), whose chief, Lawson said (1967:27), had the power to put any of his subjects to death.

No other eighteenth century Indian leader in the Carolina Piedmont or Coastal plain had such authority reserved to himself. Another possible descendent is the Waxhaw (Hudson 1972:14-26; Baker 1974:151-153), whose distinctive physical characteristic of cranial deformation, which earned them the nickname of "flatheads", set them off from the other Indian groups of the Wateree River (Lawson 1967:39).

Hudson (1965:77-83) and Baker (1975:22-92) note that there was a marked difference between the sociopolitical organization exhibited by the Essaw and Catawba of the Catawba River, and that of the Piedmont groups to the north and northeast. Hints of this distinction are found in the Spanish chronicles of the late 1500s. The two women chiefs of Guatari, located on the lower Yadkin River, were said to be different from other chiefs, because the women were served by pages and ladies (Folmesbee and Lewis 1965:119). But only one town, Guatari, was under the control of these extraordinary queens.

The other Indian groups of the Carolina and Virginia Piedmont outside the Wateree/Catawba drainage exhibited a similar pattern. Only one group not associated with this drainage or some aspect of the main elements of the chiefdom of Cofitachequi is noted to have occupied more than one village. In 1671, Batts and Fallam reported that the Sapona lived in two villages. Other than their existence, no information about these two Sapona towns is provided in the ethnohistorical/historical records. After the 1670s, the presence of the Sapona in only one village is mentioned. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, it would appear that the groups of the Piedmont--the Tutelo, Occaneechi, Manaken, Eno, Shakori, Sara, Keyauwee, and Saxapahaw--possessed only solitary separate villages. Even though the data from the Spanish records of the Carolina

Piedmont for the seventeenth century are sketchy, no information is presented which contradicts the presence of such a pattern during that era. In the last quarter of the 1600s and the first decade of the 1700s, these groups gradually merged with one another into more inclusive villages, because of the severe pressures and tensions, including disease and warfare, derived from contact with the English.

Only a limited amount of data concerning the sociocultural organization of the Piedmont Hill Tribes is available for study. Most of it is associated with mortuary data derived from a limited amount of archaeological work at a few sites in the Carolina and Virginia Piedmont. These basic data were inaccessible for study in this dissertation, as others were attempting to study its pertinence to the sociocultural organization of these Indians (cf. Navey 1982). In the ethnohistorical/historical records there are precious few references to the social order of the Piedmont Hill Tribes. The more important of these will be included in the following discussion which centers on the Piedmont Indians north of the Catawba/Wateree River.

As most of the other Indian groups of the Southeastern United States (Hudson 1976:184-196), the Carolina and Virginia Hill Tribes were probably matrilineal in descent, and, possibly, matrilocal in residence as well. John Lawson graphically described this structure when he noted that the King of the Keyauwee, formerly a Congaree runaway,

got this Government by Marriage with the Queen; the Female Issue carrying the Heritage, for fear of Imposters; the Savages well knowing how much Frailty possesses the Indian Women, betwixt the Garters and the Girdle. (Lawson 1967:57).

A few years later, in 1715, Governor Spotswood (Brock 1882:88) of Virginia noted that the Piedmont Indian groups resident at Fort Christana, the Sapona, Occaneechi, Stukanox, and Tutelo, comprised "a people speaking

much the same language, and therefore confederated together, (tho still preserving their different Rules)...". The fact that these Indians spoke "much the same language" indicates that various dialects of the Siouan language stock were being spoken, not just one form of Siouan. In support of this view, Aidan Southall (1976:463), in a study of the Neur and Dinka of Africa, suggests that distinctions between segments of a population equivalent to "tribes" is related to linguistic differentiation.

The retention by each group of their own particular "Rules" would also imply that individual tribes were represented, not elements of a segmented tribe as defined by Sahlins (1968:20-23). In summary, after the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the individual names of the Piedmont Siouan groups, not associated with the Essaw/Catawba, appear to denote individual tribes. The pattern that existed before 1700 cannot be properly deciphered at this time. It is possible, based upon the presence of two Sapona villages in 1671, that the Siouan Hill Tribes were individual segmented tribes. As the Sapona example is the only record in either the Spanish or English/Colonial archives of a Siouan Hill Tribe with more than one village, this conclusion remains speculative.

A question that will be encountered again in the archaeology section (see Chapter 16), is the relationship of the Eno and Shakori Indians to the other tribes of the Piedmont. Both Swanton (1936:379) and Mooney (1894:62) classified these two groups as Siouan. Indications are present that this may not be true. In 1670, John Lederer (Talbot 1912:157) noted no differences between the Eno and Shakori, who lived within 14 miles of one another. Sometime after this date, the two groups merged together. In 1701, Lawson found the combined group living at the town of Adshusheer on the Eno River. Their leader at this time was Eno Will. Lawson (1967:62)

noted that Eno Will held sway over territory that stretched as far as the Haw River. In 1711, Eno Will represented the Eno (no reference to the Shakori) when they requested Virginia accept them as Tributaries. The last mention of the Eno is in 1715, when Governor Spotswood suggested that the Sara and Keyauwee be settled at Eno Town in North Carolina.

This short summary indicates that the Eno did move to either Virginia or to South Carolina when the Siouan Hill Tribes abandoned the Piedmont. The Occaneechi, a Siouan group, lived within the territory supposedly controlled by Eno Will in 1701. The Occaneechi possibly resided at, or near, the location of the old Shakori Town on the Eno River near Hillsborough, North Carolina. Also within the territory "controlled" by Eno Will were the Saxapahaw Indians. These Indians lived along the Haw River on the very edge of the Eno's territory. Neither of these two groups stayed in the Piedmont. The Occaneechi moved to Fort Christana in 1712, and the Saxapahaw were living along the lower Neuse River amongst the Tuscarora in 1711.

John Lawson (1967:242) listed the Eno as a town of the Tuscarora in 1709. The Indians Lawson (1967:242) identified as the Shakori at that time were probably the Saxapahaw (cf. Barnwell 1897/1898). Based on this slim evidence, it is proposed that the Eno and Shakori were not Siouan speaking tribes. Thus, the linguistic affiliation(s) of these two groups is problematical. The inclusion of Eno as a Tuscarora Town in 1709 is countered by Lawson's keeping the two separate during his journey of 1701. It is possible that the Eno and Shakori were an Iroquoian speaking tribe similar to the Neuse, Meherrin, and Nottoway of the Coastal Plain (cf. Boyce 1978). The ceramic assemblage associated with the posited Shakori site on the Eno River at Hillsborough, North Carolina (31Or11) shows strong

affinities with the middle section of the Roanoke River at the Fall Line (see Chapter 16).

Another group who may also have been Iroquoian are the Saxapahaw. This is suggested because these Indians removed from the Piedmont to the heartland of the Tuscarora just prior to the Tuscarora War. They did not follow the lead of the other Siouan groups of the Piedmont and move to either Fort Christana or the Pee Dee River. This, and the information presented for the Eno and Shakori, is admittedly circumstantial, but there does seem to be justification for separating the Eno, Shakori, and Saxapahaw from the other Siouan tribes.

Little direct evidence pertaining to the nature of the tribal organization characteristic of the Piedmont Hill Tribes, or the chiefdoms of the Wateree/Catawba and upper Pee Dee drainages is presently available in either the archaeological or ethnohistorical record. With future research, perhaps a more refined understanding of these tribes and chiefdoms can be achieved. But, it is likely that conflicting and/or vague observations will be encountered in the ethnohistorical/historical accounts, as has been illustrated in this discussion.

Of greater promise to the study of the sociocultural organization of the Piedmont Indians is the use of quantitative methods in archaeological investigations of social structure (cf. Brown 1971; Tainter 1977; H. Wilson 1983). Questions would change from what type (tribe, chiefdom, etc.) to why and how different social forms developed. The archaeological record associated with the Indian groups of the Carolina and Virginia Piedmont offers an excellent opportunity to implement such a method of investigation of social organization. Both tribes and chiefdoms of various levels of complexity seem to have been present, and all underwent numerous structural

and processual changes from the Late Prehistoric period, through the era of Spanish and English contact to their reduction to reservation status during and after the French and Indian War of the mid-eighteenth century, or extinction. Questions associated with a consideration of social organization using archaeological data, primarily mortuary data, will have to wait, as it lies outside the scope of this work. Other components of the archaeological data base will be considered here.

## Chapter 13

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ACCULTURATION AND CONTACT

Acculturation, one process of culture change, involves interaction between two (at least) cultures, one of which usually assumes a dominant position and the other a subordinate (Brain 1979:270). In the Southeast, the acculturation process consisted of a series of actions and reactions which transformed the Protohistoric and Historic Indians, ultimately, into assimilated peoples, unless they became extinct before the process was fulfilled. The alterations that occurred in the technological subsystem of the Piedmont Indians led to changes in the subsistence strategies, and, ultimately, to changes in the political, social, and religious spheres of Indian society (cf. Brain 1979:270-271).

Culture change derived from contact between differing cultural systems has received much attention in anthropology, and especially in archaeology (cf. Wesler 1977). The classic studies in acculturation that stem from the work of Lathrap (1956), were not ecologically oriented (Roy Dickens, personal communication, 1983). Basic concepts of feedback, even with the non-cultural environment, were lacking. However, these studies do provide information on the structure of acculturation, and terminology to describe contact.

In archaeological studies, contact can be described as the "intrusion of elements of one culture into the area of another" (Lathrap 1956:7), with these intrusions being either in the form of "site-units" or "trait-units". The former marks the physical appearance of a new culture within the

environment of an existing culture. This intrusion starts the flow of information via feedback loops between the components of all the cultural systems in the environment, which marks the beginning of the process that is acculturation.

Trait-unit intrusions represent artifacts and behavior patterns that are initially interchanged as information between the various adaptive cultural systems. As time passes, some of these items become incorporated within the respective cultural systems, and are replaced by other artifacts and behaviors as sources of intercourse. In this case, the process of "mapping" (the process of information flow by which a cultural system acquires knowledge concerning the environment, which is equivalent to the "development" of cognition) the European colonial system by the Indians of the Carolinas and Virginia interior proceeded at varying rates through either indirect contact via Indian intermediaries, or by direct contact with elements of the intrusive cultural system. Examples of the latter are the European traders, explorers, and ultimately, the colonists themselves.

Once the two systems interface with each other, information flow and mapping can take on two forms. In "directed" contact situations (Spicer 1961:521), definite political, economic, religious and/or moral sanctions are imposed by members of the dominant society on those of the subordinate. The intent is to induce modifications in the behavior patterns of the latter. If the desired structural and/or processual changes are not forthcoming, because either the coercive power or will/intent is lacking, the contact situation is classed as "non-directed". In the case of directed contact, one cultural system, the subordinate culture of our acculturation definition, is subjected to coercions by the dominate culture to adapt, which alters the former culture's evolutionary course (in the

specific sense, see Sahlins and Service 1962). With undirected contact, the subordinate cultural system remains relatively free of overt exogenous forces. Presumably, such cultures would have followed a different trajectory as they adjusted to fluctuations in the cultural and physical environment, than if outside influences are purposely applied. Also, endogenous information and feedback possibly would play a greater role in subsequent systemic modifications.

In the previous sections, I have outlined, using a culture history perspective, the structures of the Indian cultures of the Carolinas and Virginia. Changes in adaptive strategies can now be defined for the five episodes of European-Indian contact. The Prehistoric Period (prior to the arrival of the Europeans) was characterized by the structural relationships that arose from interaction between various Indian cultures without any foreign "European" intervention. In the Protohistoric Period (after the arrival of the Europeans, but before direct contact, interaction was mediated through intervening Indian groups who acted as filters for information flow. While basic structures of the Indian cultures seem to have remained directly unaffected, alterations were induced indirectly through changes in the environment, primarily in the introduction of diseases of European origin. Increased indirect contact led to intermittent direct intercourse after the appearance of the first European explorers and traders. At this time, the Early Contact period, information flow increased, but any cultural changes were undirected. The Contact period was one of prolonged or continual periodic interaction with the Europeans. The relations between the Indians and the Europeans evolved into concerted efforts by the latter (in this case, the English) to effect directed changes in the behavior of the former. Eventually, this led to

assimilation, and the culmination of the shifts in adaptations and adaptive strategies by the Indians. This phase was initiated when the Indians submitted to direct European control, usually through the institution of reservations. There were numerous points in the overall continuum where annihilation cut off the specific evolution of particular groups.

The concept of a "double frontier" was used by Kit Wesler (1977:55) to outline the overall pattern of changing Indian-European contact in the Middle Atlantic Province of the Eastern Seaboard. The first frontier was denoted by the area actually settled, or at least claimed, by the Europeans, i.e. the "settlement frontier". This was characterized by site-unit intrusions, and which expanded through time. Within the zone circumscribed by the settlement frontier, directed contact prevailed. Here, culture change seems to have proceeded at a rapid pace. Beyond the settled areas lay the land bounded by the limit to which the European explorers had penetrated and which the traders were frequently contacted. This section comprised the second frontier, called, appropriately, the "trade frontier" (Wesler 1977:56). Initially, interaction here was for the most part non-directed. Evidence of acculturation is found in the presence of trade goods and their influence upon the composition of the Indian's material culture. Native groups continued as the dominant cultural and political entities in the trade frontier. In the areas outside these two frontiers, labelled here the "incipient frontier", the Indians' knowledge of the Europeans continued to be through intervening Indian groups. Initially, few items of European manufacture reached these people, but as time passed the quantity of materials that was available to them increased. Acculturation was slight in the incipient frontier, and more a result of diffusion than contact.

A major problem with archaeological data is determining where assemblages could, or should, be placed in this acculturation continuum. Jeffrey Brain (1979:272) has devised a simple method for measuring the relative "degree" of acculturation through two dimensions commonly recovered archaeologically-- artifacts and the contexts in which they are found. Two categories of artifacts are defined, "traditional" and "European". The proportion of these two categories in the archaeological assemblage is then utilized to provide a rough guide of material culture replacement, and provide a rough measure of the degree of acculturation. Other, more subjective, studies of the replacement of Indian items by European goods have been conducted by a number of researchers over the years (e.g., Quimby 1939 and 1966; Wray and Schoff 1953; Goggin 1953; Smith 1956; Witthoft 1966; Tuck 1971; and Wesler 1977). Brain's work is unique in that he has devised a method of roughly quantifying the replacement.

To measure culture change (indirectly), Brain (1979:179) first computes an "innovation value" for five attributes exhibited by each artifact. The attributes are material, form, technique of manufacture, technique of use and function. Arbitrarily, a value of 0 or 1 are assigned for each of these. A value of 0 represents a traditional trait, a value of 1 an innovative/European inspired trait. After each attribute score is summed, a range from 0 to 5 is theoretically possible. Actually, 4 is the maximum total because of the overlap of the attributes of technique of use and function. A summed total of 0 indicates a traditional artifact, whereas a value of 4 denotes an item completely of European origin. In the latter case, it also usually would have to be assumed that the use and ultimate function of an artifact followed European fashion.

In order to isolate those artifacts with the highest innovation sums,

Brain (1979:179) states that it is necessary to determine the behavioral context in which the artifact is recovered. Otherwise, all one has is an inventory of artifacts. Therefore, the contexts and associations, labelled configurations by Brain (1979:179), are used to determine the proper innovation values of the artifacts. Where warranted, higher values would be assigned to items whose configuration within the material culture assemblage indicates that their use and probable function are after the European fashion. As an example, Brain (1979:179) notes that a scatter of nails might indicate the use of a new tool form, such as an awl, punch or engraver. He assigns an innovation value of 2 to this phenomenon. A rectangular pattern of nails, on the other hand, might suggest the presence of a structure inspired by European patterns. A higher value of 4 is assigned the nails in that instance.

Using this method, four broad classes of material culture can be defined (Brain 1979:274). First are those items of aboriginal manufacture with all attributes being traditional. The sum innovation total is 0. In a case where new forms (e.g., a ceramic plate) is introduced, but the five attributes remain traditional, a value of 1 is assigned. The second class is comprised of items that are of aboriginal manufacture, are made of new materials by new techniques, but that still possess old usages and functions. A perfect example would be brass gorgets. These items are given an innovation value of 2. Where new forms are introduced, such as tinkling cones, a higher value of 3 is appropriate. The last category of material items are those of European manufacture that are assimilated in unmodified forms. The entire range of sums from 1 to 4 is possible, depending upon how many of the attributes are displaced. A sum of 1 is given to those items of European manufacture which replace their aboriginal

counterparts, such as glass beads. Where new forms are also introduced (e.g., steel axes or glass bottles), an innovation value of 2 is indicated. If new techniques of use accompany the artifacts, for examples buttons and buckles, then a sum of 3 is possible. And an innovation value of 4 is assigned if new functions that follow European applications are implied. The example of the nails previously discussed illustrates this point. Table 6 is derived from Brain (1979:274), and depicts these levels of interpretation and examples of each that he provides.

Using the ethnohistorical and historical information presented in the previous chapters and the concepts discussed in this chapter, a general "typology" of the various Piedmont Indian groups and their associated material remains can be constructed for the period of interaction with the Europeans. After the establishment of Jamestown in 1607, the history of the Indian-Colonist relationship in the Virginias and Carolinas was marked by the expansion of the latter into the interior from their settlement frontiers along the Atlantic Coast. Likewise, the Spaniards had attempted to extend their influence during the sixteenth century into the interior, but ultimately failed in this task. Prior to the arrival of the Spanish in the New World, the aboriginal cultures continued along the same paths they had followed prehistorically. From 1492 until De Soto's expedition into the interior, the likelihood of contact between the interior Indians and the European explorers was very low. The latter kept to the coast, and any presence inland would have represented isolated trait-unit intrusions which filtered through the screen of numerous intervening Indian groups. Thus, the material culture configuration of the interior Indians would have changed little from that of the Prehistoric period. The time prior to De Soto marked the first Protohistoric phase on the Piedmont. As noted in

TABLE 6

ARTIFACT CATEGORIES AND INNOVATION VALUES DEVELOPED BY BRAIN  
 FOR THE ANALYSIS OF ARTIFACTS THAT COMPRISED THE TUNICA TREASURE  
 (TAKEN FROM TABLE 21 OF BRAIN 1979:274)

Category	Description	Examples	Innovation Value
Artifacts of aboriginal manufacture- traditional	Old materials, techniques of manufacture, techniques use, and functions	Pottery, stone tools, shell ornaments, basketry, bark cloth	0
	If new forms are introduced	Pottery pitcher	1
Artifacts of aboriginal manufacture-innovations	New materials and techniques of manufacture, but old usages and functions	Brass gorget, bracelet, jangler	2
	If new forms are also introduced	Tinkling cone, ecumoire gorget	3
Artifacts of European manufacture-accepted and essentially unmodified by the aborigines	European counterparts to aboriginal artifacts, but of new materials	Glass beads, vermillion, fabric, kaolin pipe, steel knife, ceramic bowl	1
	If new forms are also introduced	Steel axe, hoe, adze, folding knife, harpoon, ceramic pitcher, pewter jug, jewelry (earbob, ring, crucifix, bell), glass bottle, kettle	2
	If new techniques of use	Skillet, brazier, mattock, spade, drillbit, scissors, chisel, spoon, fork, buttons, buckles, strike-a-light, firearms	3
	If new functions also introduced which follow European usage	Drawknife, nails, sickle, wine taster, skimmer, bayonet, pike, grenade	4

Chapter 4, the archaeological recovery of the items that had made their way inland during this era would be most difficult, if not impossible.

With the appearance of De Soto in 1540, the first transition from the Protohistoric to the Historic period was initiated. But this initial encounter between Indian and European was brief, and contact was in the form of an undirected trait-unit intrusion. The material remains that resulted from De Soto's passing would have reflected little innovation, with values amounting to an occasional 1 or 2.

A more profound impact was provided by Juan Pardo's expeditions of 1566 and 1567, but that contact also lasted only a short time. Pardo attempted to co-opt the allegiance of the Indians for the Spaniards. The forts he constructed at various points represented the first site-unit intrusions in the interior. The potential for innovation within the aboriginal cultures during this time was certainly increased. Although the possibility of artifact associations with relatively high corresponding innovation values is greater, there may have been very few such artifacts left for archaeologists to recover. Whether the contact between the Spaniards and the Indians of the interior during Pardo's time was directed or undirected remains unresolved. I take the fact that the Spanish used military (manned forts) and religious (priests left behind at some of the outposts) coercion in their attempt to tie the Carolina Indians to them as an indication that the contact, however slight, was directed. There was only small-scale economic inducement, primarily through the dissemination of trade goods. The changes wrought by these forces upon the material culture subsystem of the Piedmont Siouans was probably greater than that caused by earlier direct and indirect contact. However, it was not as pervasive as the restructuring which resulted from the later interaction

with the English. The chance of the recovery and documentation of European items within the material remains of the sites associated with the forts constructed by Pardo was certainly increased over that associated with De Soto. The search for this information is difficult, as evidenced by the current lack of archaeological information about the Spanish intrusions into the Southeast. The possibility of innovation values for items up to 4 can not be dismissed, given the presence of site- and trait-unit intrusions in this "incipient" directed contact situation. The problem remains the documentation of this era archaeologically.

After the demise of the Spanish settlements north of the Georgia Coast, the Piedmont Siouans slipped back to a state properly classed as Protohistoric. Occasional Spanish explorers reached the fringe of their territory, but we have no record of direct contact with Europeans until the arrival of the English. Trait-unit intrusions, introduced through the Indian groups of the Coastal Plain and Piedmont to the south, probably continued. Only a few artifacts of European manufacture with low innovation values would have been produced by this indirect contact.

Until the early 1670s, the Carolina and Virginia Indians probably existed beyond the borders of the European trade and settlement frontiers. Documents of the Virginia colony possess no evidence of direct contact with the Indians southwest of the Appomattox River before that date. Probably, the intensity of trait-unit intrusions amongst these interior Indians increased by an unknown quantity as Virginia slowly expanded her settlement borders to the Piedmont by 1646. Until 1670, the Indians beyond the Occaneechi and Tuscarora had little, if any, direct interaction with the Europeans. Innovation values of the material culture remains would be low,

as only small amounts of European goods would have found their way to the Piedmont Indians.

Here, the main problem encountered by the archaeologist is how to differentiate the altered aboriginal material culture configurations of the seventeenth century (from English contact) from the patterns of the sixteenth (induced by the Spanish). The entire assemblage of material remains would have to be studied to solve this problem. Presumably, during the century following the end of direct Spanish contact, the Indian cultures of the area would have undergone various structural changes. These should be reflected in the archaeological record through typological and attribute studies.

After 1670, interaction of the Indians of the Carolina and Virginia hinterland with the Europeans increased dramatically. A second settlement frontier was established which competed with the Virginia colony (whose boundaries were formed by the forts along the Fall Line). The new site-unit intrusion was Charles Town and the colony of South Carolina on the Atlantic Coast. Shortly after this time, the two former Indian middlemen were overcome, and the outer limits of the English trade frontiers came to permanently encompass the Piedmont Siouans. Trait-unit intrusions were all that these Indians experienced prior to their move toward the English settlement frontier in the early 1700s. During this period, increasing numbers of European material objects were incorporated within the native cultural systems. The basic configuration remained aboriginal, but there was probably a noticeable replacement of Indian articles and patterns. With the passage of time, the type of contact changed from non-directed to directed as both Virginia and South Carolina attempted to tie individual Indian groups to them commercially. Since the primary inducement was

trade, South Carolina's superior location with respect to the more populous Indian groups was offset by Virginia's lower prices and superior transport system (horse trains versus human bearers). In the Piedmont of Virginia and the Carolinas, the acculturation rate represented by the innovation sums for the aboriginal material culture should demonstrate a steady increase through time, as reflected by the length of time direct contact was in force and the increased acceptance of European items to replace traditional Indian items. However, this material culture should show a continued resistance to European patterns of use and function.

Once the Indians' frontier became one of settlement rather than trade, the nature and results of contact also shifted. The Northern Siouans were all made Tributaries (see Chapter 8) by 1712. At that time directed change increased as political, military, religious, and educational forces were utilized, in addition to economic coercion, to effect restructuring of the native cultural systems. Charles Griffin, who was brought to Fort Christana to educate the Indian children (Headlam 1930:248), illustrates this condition at its most obvious level. The pattern of material culture of these Tributary Indians should possess fewer Indian traits and associations, and more European traits, as time passed. The acculturation process stopped short of assimilation, however.

In Virginia, the period of directed change lasted only as long as a viable skin-and-fur trade was a source of profit for the colonists. Following the colony's decline in this commerce, and the general decrease of her Tributaries, the Indians were left on their own. The educational and religious inducements effecting change also decreased. Although overt military coercion no longer existed, as the Colony protected the Indians from their enemies, the threat of its removal could have acted as a lever

to control the behavior and actions of the Tributaries. Political autonomy was in fact contested. For example, the control the English chose to exercise, by treaty, over matters the Sapona thought to be purely Indian was deeply resented by the latter. This resentment may have contributed to their supposed removal from under Virginia's authority for a short period in 1728, and permanently in 1740. Thus, the material culture of these Indians could possess vestiges of a native pattern to a late date.

The Southern Siouans avoided being brought under colonial English control for a longer period than did the Virginia Tributaries. The basic rate of acculturation should also differ. The process of replacement within the material culture of the two groups would have proceeded along approximately the same lines during the latter portions of the seventeenth century. Trait-unit changes would have been incorporated into a strong native pattern. Increasingly high innovation values should be observed, but assimilation would not be indicated. Trade continued to be the major force used to direct change amongst the Southern Siouans once they abandoned the Piedmont proper. Military action was contemplated during the Yamassee War, but was not initiated by South Carolina.

It was not until 1761 that the full weight of the European coercive powers was brought to bear on the remnants of the Piedmont Siouans (and associated tribes), who, by then, had been incorporated with the Catawba for some two decades. During the years just before the institution of reservation status, religious efforts were apparently increased to effect changes in the Catawba/Cheraw socio-cultural order. In 1758, the Reverend William Richardson (Randolph 1973:134) made references to having visited these two groups as part of his missionary work. At that time, he indicated a desire to return at a later date and pursue the conversion of

the Catawba. Political pressure had been used since the 1740s to get the Catawba, Cheraw, and other incorporated groups to stay together. By the end of the French and Indian War, the English had assumed almost complete authority over the Catawba. The process of assimilation of the Catawba (and Piedmont Siouans) into the Euro-American cultural system occurred over the era between the establishment of the reservation and the years following the end of the Revolutionary War. By this time, the last remnants of the patterns identified as Indian should have been removed from the material culture of the Catawba.

#### Summary

The preceding discussion has been somewhat sketchy for there are few archaeological assemblages from sites within the study area that could be used as examples (only selected artifact categories were available for study here), partially because the archaeological materials have yet to be adequately studied, and also because only a small number have seen more than limited excavation. However, Brain's model of material culture replacement, coupled with the various phases of Indian-European "history", should provide a method for evaluating archaeological complexes within an acculturation model when the data become available. For now the use of this method will be restricted to relative dating of some of the archaeological assemblages pertinent to the study of the Piedmont Indians. Certainly, before generalizations about varying rates of innovation and acculturation, directed versus undirected contact, and site-unit versus trait-unit intrusions, can be properly investigated, much more data from Late Prehistoric, Protohistoric and Historic Indian sites will have to be accumulated, and existing collections re-evaluated.

## Chapter 14

### INTRODUCTION TO THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND THE CERAMIC STUDIES

The artifact assemblages considered in this section are the product of various archaeological investigations that possessed different theoretical orientations and backgrounds. Sites with material available for study spanned the time from the earliest work on the Indians of the Piedmont in the late 1930s to the present. All were the products of systematic excavation, although the field techniques, which evolved as the years passed, have varied somewhat.

I intend to bring together information on the various Piedmont Indian cultures for each of the three aforementioned time periods. This endeavor, however, is hampered by the scarcity of excavated sites from the three eras. Also, research on the Piedmont groups is heavily biased in favor of the occupations along the Dan River, which produces an uneven coverage. One of the most serious shortcomings in the data base is a lack of information from the area of the Carolinas inhabited formerly by that group of Indians known as the "Catawba". Little of the prehistoric, protohistoric, and historic archaeological complexes in this river drainage is known. Other gaps are also present in the data.

As compared to the Historic period, the Late Prehistoric and Protohistoric periods of the Piedmont in general are well represented. The phase of interactions in the early Historic period (from around 1670 to the abandonment of the Piedmont by the Siouans in 1712) is poorly documented. Many of the sites traditionally thought to belong to this era exhibit material culture configurations that seem to be representative of indirect

contact associated with the Late Prehistoric, the Protohistoric period, or perhaps the very early Historic period, when the first direct contact between the English and the Indians was initiated. After proper evaluation, the results of most of the other short-term investigations conducted in the late 1930s in an attempt to identify the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Siouan groups of the Piedmont (cf. Coe 1964:6) have to be re-assigned to an earlier time period. Most of the identifications that stem from this early work have to be rejected, since the excavations were too small to properly evaluate what was a very complex question. The original scheme of this study, comparing data sets associated with certain known Piedmont groups across time and space, thus proved impossible as the identification and dating of the archaeological assemblages was in error. This forced a change in emphasis to a consideration of the basic cultural structures which the past archaeological work has uncovered, but never explicated.

In general, the following sites and their associated archaeological assemblages are assigned to each of the three broad temporal categories previously described (Table 7, Figure 14). Prehistoric sites, classed as such because they lack evidence of indirect or direct contact with the Europeans, include, from North Carolina, the site commonly called "Lower Sauro Town" (31Rk1); and from Virginia, the Reedy Creek Site (44Ha22), and the Leggett Site (44Ha23). All three of these sites are located on the Dan River. Following these in time, and quite removed in space, are two excavated villages thought for many years to have been associated with historically-known Siouan groups (Griffin 1945; Lewis 1952; Coe and Lewis 1952; Coe 1952a, 1952b, and 1964; Wilson 1977; and Gardner 1980). One, the Poole site (31Rd1), was thought to have been the location of John Lawson's Keyauwee Village of 1701. The other, the Wall Site (31Or11), was thought

TABLE 7

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES ASSOCIATED WITH EACH OF THE  
THREE TIME PERIODS IN THIS STUDY

## LATE PREHISTORIC

Sauro Town, 31Rk1  
Reedy Creek, 44Ha22  
Leggett Site, 44Ha23  
Catawba Valley Site, 31Id41

## PROTOHISTORIC

Poole site, 31Rd1  
Wall Site, 31Or11

## HISTORIC

Upper Saura Town, Locality 1, 31Sk1  
Upper Saura Town, Locality 2, 31Sk1a  
Bell Farm Site, 31Mk85

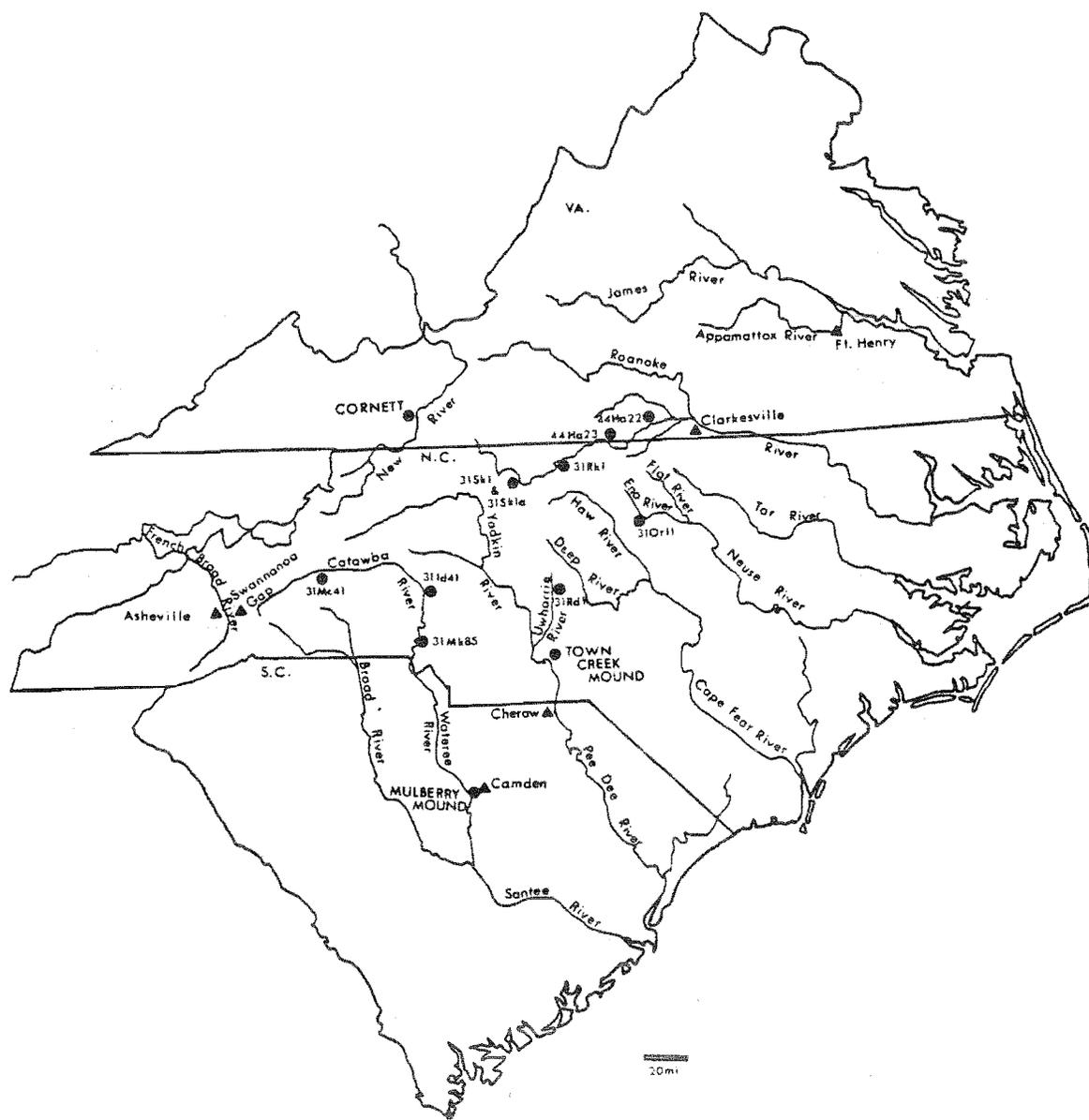


Figure 14.--Location of the sites mentioned in the archaeology studies.

to have been the Occaneechi Town visited by Lawson in the same year. As will be seen, both of these sites possess material assemblages that warrant assigning them to the Protohistoric rather than the Historic period. For the Historic period, there are two sites located within a quarter mile of one another on the Dan River in Stokes County, North Carolina. These two sites, along with a third located a half mile downstream, have commonly been referred to as "Upper Saura Town" since the early 1970s (Keel 1972; Coe 1976; Wilson 1977a, 1980). The earlier of these two sites appears to date about 1650-1675, when direct contact between the English in Virginia and the Indians south of the James River was consummated. The second occupation could be placed between 1680 and 1690.

In addition to these seven major archaeological assemblages, a limited amount of information is available from the Catawba River area just north of Charlotte, North Carolina. This material comes from small salvage excavations conducted during the early 1960s at two sites in the vicinity of Lake Norman Reservoir. The earlier of the two is 31Id41, and the later the Bell Farm Site (31Mk85). The former site appears to be prehistoric, or perhaps early protohistoric in age, as no items of European manufacture were found. The Bell Farm Site dates to sometime in the Historic period. Excavations were not initiated at this site until a short article in the Charlotte Observer Newspaper reported the activities there of pothunters, who reportedly removed many artifacts of European origin. A short excavation was conducted at this site in the fall of 1964 by the Research Laboratories of Anthropology in an attempt to recover some data before it was completely destroyed.

In the chapters that follow, a more detailed discussion will be presented on the excavations, material assemblages, and ceramics from each

of these sites. Included will be a general description of location, excavation, and relative chronological position of each site. A major focus of this section will be on the ceramic remains from each site.

#### Introduction to the Ceramic Analysis

Of all the ceramic assemblages considered here, only one, the Dan River Series, has been investigated and reported in detail (Lewis 1951; Coe and Lewis 1952; Coe 1952a; Gardner 1980). Thus, it will be necessary to provide a description of the various ceramics associated with the sites that have been tentatively identified as Siouan. To complete these descriptions the results of a low-level analysis of various ceramic attributes will be presented. This analysis aims at identifying modes and/or attributes distinctive of the ceramic tradition of each section of the Piedmont inhabited by a specific Siouan group.

To provide the descriptive coverage of the ceramics, a type-variety classification system is employed. The version utilized is similar to that formulated by Sabloff and Smith (1969) for Mayan ceramics, and used by Smith (1971), Brockington (1974), and Gardner (1980). Gardner (1980:22-26), in his consideration of Dan River ceramics, uses a modified type-variety system in which there are three hierarchical categories--ware, type, and variety. For the sake of clarity and continuity, the system he employs will be followed here as closely as possible.

The most inclusive level of the classification is the ware. Ceramics in this class are isolated by general similarities in construction, paste, temper, and form. The ware represents ceramics manufactured in the same region within the same cultural tradition. The ware is composed of different types that cover the temporal and spatial differences noted in

the tradition. A type is one class of ceramics within a ware, usually differentiated by surface treatment. In general, the examination of an average size sherd should suffice to circumscribe the different types present. This has been labelled the "rule of sortability" (Phillips 1958:119; 1970:26). A variety, the most basic category of the scheme, accounts for variation in selected attributes within types. The creation of varieties allows one to expand and refine types (Phillips 1970:26). The variation used to define varieties is of a magnitude which does not violate the "rule of sortability". If large variations are encountered, the creation of new types would be justified. Theoretically, varieties represent the smallest scale of temporal or areal variation of a type. As such, the range of these two variables covered by a variety is less than that of a type or ware.

Gardner (1980:25) introduces the concept of a variety group to crosscut the types and varieties of the hierarchical classification system. Essentially, the varieties of a type comprise the variety group. The varieties within such a collection usually differ only by surface treatment, whereas they share all other common attributes of the variety class. These varieties are typically found in association with one another in the archaeological record, and, according to Gardner (1980:25), are "assumed to be the product of a cultural group at a particular period of time."

In addition to this tripartate classification scheme is the concept of series (cf. Sears and Griffin 1950:1; Phillips, Ford and Griffin 1951:63-63). Sears and Griffin (1951:1) defined the series as "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". A series is similar to the variety group, but without the secure pattern of relationship that such a

variety group implies. The series is useful in the early stages of ceramic analysis when the full type and variety affiliations of the assemblage are not yet well defined.

In general, the typological system discussed above represents a method for constructing what has been termed "historical types" (Krieger 1944:273-277; Phillips, Ford and Griffin 1951:61-63; Rouse 1960:317-321; Sears 1960:326-327; Sabloff and Smith 1969:279; Whallon 1972:32). The term was coined by Krieger (1944:273), who stated that a valid typological method takes types "as specific groupings of structural features which have proved historical significance." Phillips, Ford and Griffin (1951:61) expressed the concept of historical types in their dichotomy of the study of archaeological materials. One camp interprets the objects in terms of the expressions of the ideas and behaviors of the people who made and used them. The other view takes the approach that archaeological materials, specifically ceramics, were useful in the determination of time-space relationships. The dichotomy is derived from the fact that the two lines of inquiry had been seen as mutually exclusive.

Types derived in the course of studies that pursued time-space questions were labelled "historical" by Irving Rouse (1960:317-318). The use and study of historical types involved the researcher in the empirical study of the distribution of cultures in time and space (Phillips, Ford and Griffin 1951:61). For historical types, it was stated that

....at certain stages in the development of archaeological knowledge they are indispensable. Until a certain amount of order has been achieved in respect to time-space relations on a regional scale, it may be questioned whether satisfactory cultural inferences can be drawn from any archaeological materials. (Phillips, Ford and Griffin 1951:61).

This did not deny that other forms of analysis were possible and desirable. Phillips, Ford and Griffin (1950) strongly implied that the opposite was true given their identification of two broad interests which were served by ceramic analysis. The dichotomy has been expressed by most other researchers involved in the study of ceramics (Rouse 1960:318-321; Rands 1961:331; Sabloff and Smith 1969:279-283), and served as a good portion of the basis for the debate on typology in which Albert Spaulding (1953:305; 1954) and James Ford (1954:390-391) were involved during the 1950s. This lesson has not always been taken to heart, however.

Michael Smith (1979) criticised a type-variety analysis of a group of Maya ceramics conducted by James Gifford. In attempting to restudy the data presented in a type variety format, Smith was frustrated in his attempt to conduct an attribute analysis based on the published information. This led to the conclusion that "ceramic data presented to the highest standards of type-variety analysis simply cannot be used for independent reanalysis" (Smith 1979:822). Brockington (1974:35) noted that the type-variety method of analysis cannot be use to solve all analytical problems, but need only be pertinent to the questions asked of the data. This was essentially the reply that Christopher Peebles (1979) and Joseph Ball (1979) provided the languishing Smith. Brockington's philosophy has been followed here in this study.

This warning serves well to introduce the second aspect of the ceramic study contained herein. The Protohistoric and Historic periods have been noted to be marked by an increase in the diversity and randomness of associated attributes found within particular ceramic assemblages of particular areas due to increased population movement, a deteriorating social order, and other tensions (Deetz 1965, 1967; Davis 1981:66-68). To

deal with this perceived chaos, and the plethora of types and varieties that would and did result, Dave Davis (1981:73) advocated a typological method that involved modes as the basic unit of analysis. Rouse (1960:313) defined modes as a standard, concept, or custom which governed the behavior of the "artisans" of a community. The modes appear as attributes on the artifacts produced. Modes express the society's customary ways of making and using particular artifact classes (Rouse 1960:313). To delimit modes, a ceramic collection should be examined in terms of the artisan's behavior patterns--starting with the materials used, then the techniques of manufacture, and finally shape, decoration, and use (Rouse 1960:313). From this analysis, a series of classes would be created by the researcher, each with one or more diagnostic attributes indicative of discrete modes. Discrete, independent modes form the basis of analysis, and not their combination on any one artifact (Rouse 1960:313). Thus, Rouse (1960:315) defined two kinds of modes, "the concepts of material, shape and decoration to which the artisans conformed", and the "customary procedures followed in making and using the artifact." Attributes are best defined as individual features such as paste, rim shape, surface color, etc. (Smith, Willey and Gifford 1960:331), which combine to illustrate the modes.

In an attempt to isolate, through their material record, the influences which impinged upon the various Siouan groups, an analysis of selected ceramic attributes was undertaken. First, a typological-taxonomic study was conducted to provide a basic delineation of the temporal and spatial parameters of the pottery collections. The subsequent analysis, concerned primarily with the distribution and association of surface finish, vessel shape and decoration, served to define the individual attributes which occurred amongst the various ceramics commonly associated

with the Piedmont groups. Thus, the ceramics from each of the three time periods, Late Woodland/Late Prehistoric, Protohistoric and Historic, were examined to see what attributes could be tied to either local or "foreign" traditions (ceramic wares). The local complex would have been indicative of individual Indian groups, or a collection of closely associated groups, depending upon the kind, number and distribution of selected ceramic traits. Foreign elements could have been derived from a number of cultures from surrounding areas, including the Pee Dee Focus of the Carolina Piedmont, the Pisgah and Qualla Phases of the Appalachian Mountains, various groups and ceramic assemblages of Virginia (which have remained poorly documented), the Iroquois and their predecessors on the Coastal Plain, the "Catawba" and their nebulous ceramics, and the Larmar horizon style.

#### Techniques of Ceramic Analysis

The ceramics utilized in this study were restricted to rim sherds, sections of pots with rims (rim section with neck, rim section with neck/shoulder, etc.), and whole pots. The latter were not plentiful. Limitations of time, lab space, and access, combined with the kinds of questions asked, served to restrict the typological analysis to a consideration of just these three classes of sherds. Some of the assemblages, primarily those associated with Dan River ceramics, have been the subject of numerous typological studies (see above). Other ceramic complexes profitted from the combination of the analysis performed for this study with the previous unpublished/uncirculated work. The ceramics from 310r11 and 31Rd1, once proposed as sites of the early eighteenth century Occaneechi and Keyauwee, respectively, fell into this category. For the

ceramics from the occupations along the Dan River at 3lSk1 and 3lSkla, the typological analyses presented here should be viewed as preliminary. The classification of "series" proved most useful in this instance. It is expected that more complete investigations of the ceramics, and the Protohistoric and Historic Dan River sites, in the future will provide a better understanding and fuller description.

Once the typological concerns were settled, the problem of the spatial and contextual relationships of the known series was addressed. In general terms, the various ceramics could be placed in relation to one another and to the three temporal periods according to the nature of the archaeological assemblage to which they belonged. Little more was attempted. Gaps were present in the ceramic sequences for every section of the Virginia and Carolina Piedmont. The only area for which a reasonable knowledge of these traditions is available is the Dan River. Even here the various types and varieties can be placed only in relative chronological position. When the regions outside the Dan were examined, a far worse situation was encountered. Here, isolated ceramic assemblages might exist for one of the three temporal periods, but not the other two. Or two ceramic assemblages might be present for the Protohistoric period, but separated by a gap of an unknown number of years. What came before and/or after is not known. Nor, for the most part, are absolute dates available for any of the assemblages.

For the typological analysis, the procedure followed was to first describe each sherd as to temper, size of temper, surface finish, interior finish, lip type, rim form, vessel form, wall thickness at the rim, color range, vessel type, and decoration. Limitations of lab space made it impossible to lay out the ceramics from an entire site at the same time. Instead, smaller units (usually a square or feature) were sorted at

the same time. Whenever possible ceramics were selected only from features for analysis. When this was not feasible, usually because of the small quantities of sherds contained in the archaeological assemblage, ceramics from zones below the plowed and disturbed levels were incorporated. Inclusion of these non-feature sherds increased the probability that greater spans of time were included within the parameters of the study, which may have affected presumed associations.

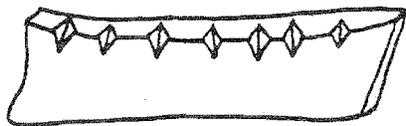
Once the sherds from the excavation unit had been divided on the basis of temper and surface finish, the attributes present for each sherd were recorded. Each specimen was sketched, and its profile drawn. Sherds determined to belong to the same vessel were treated as single observations. Table 8 lists the 22 attributes that were inventoried. Illustrated in Figures 15 and 16 are most of the decorations encountered during analysis. Figure 17 shows the three typical vessel types encountered in the study and the various landmarks of each that will be referenced in the discussions to follow.

The overriding aim of the non-typological analysis was to identify those attributes which had some content/contextual significance. As an adjunct to this study, questions of diversity and randomness were also considered. Unfortunately, the small number of observations for all attributes precluded any statistically meaningful study of changes in the occurrence of attributes related to an investigation of randomness. Before taking up these questions, the temporal and spatial relationships of the ceramics will be considered through the presentation of the results of the typological studies, and an examination of the material culture remains associated with the ceramics from each site.

TABLE 8

## ATTRIBUTE DATA RECORDED DURING THE CERAMIC ANALYSIS

Temper  
Temper size (in mm)  
Surface finish  
Interior finish  
Liptype  
Rimtype  
Vesselform  
Wall thickness (in mm)  
Color  
Lip Decoration  
Lip/Rim Decoration  
Rim Decoration  
Neck Decoration  
Neck/Shoulder Decoration  
Shoulder Decoration  
Miscellaneous Unique Design Elements  
Diameter of the oriface (in mm)  
Location of neck below lip (in cm)  
Location of shoulder below lip (in cm)  
Rim fold width (in mm)  
Rim fold thickness (in mm)



"V" SHAPED NOTCHES



FINGERTIP NOTCHES



SINGLE LINE INCISED  
PARALLEL TO THE LIP



FINGERNAIL IMPRESSIONS



MULTIPLE LINES INCISED PARALLEL  
TO THE LIP



CIRCULAR REED PUNCTATIONS



CIRCULAR PUNCTATIONS



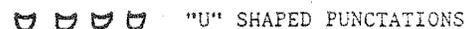
OBLONG PUNCTATIONS



RECTANGULAR PUNCTATIONS



QUARTER-MOON PUNCTATIONS



"U" SHAPED PUNCTATIONS



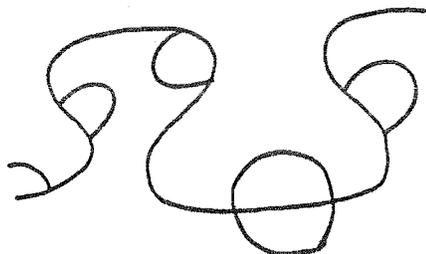
SHORT INCISED LINES PERPENDICULAR TO THE LIP



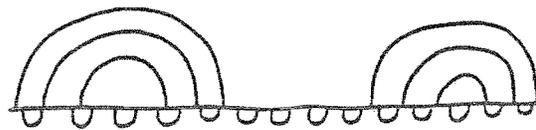
INCISED INVERTED "V's"



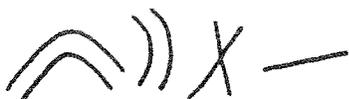
Figure 15.--Decorative elements present in the ceramic assemblages. Not pictured are fingerpinched, shallow fingertip impressed, smoothed bands, and brushed bands. These are illustrated in the photographs that accompany the discussion of the individual ceramic assemblages.



COMPLICATED CURVILINEAR INCISED DESIGN  
31Id41



INCISED LINE WITH HALF CONCENTRIC CIRCLES ON TOP  
AND "U" SHAPED PUNCTATIONS UNDERNEATH  
31Or11



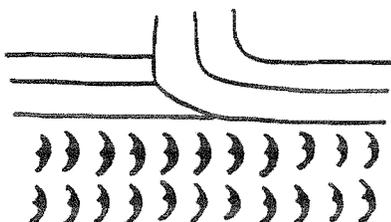
SETS OF TWO INCISED LINES, USUALLY IN A CURVE  
AND AN "X" WITH AN OCCASIONAL STRAY LINE  
31Or11



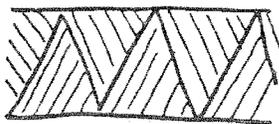
INCISED BENT LINE  
31Or11



INCISED  
FLINTLOCK RIFLE  
31Sk1a



THREE LINES WITH TAIL INCISED PARALLEL TO THE LIP  
WITH A DOUBLE ROW OF QUARTER-MOON PUNCTATIONS BELOW  
31Sk1a



INCISED INVERTED "V's"  
WITH INCISED FILL LINES  
31Mk85



FIVE LINES WITH A HALF CIRCLE DESIGN  
ELEMENT INCISED PARALLEL TO THE LIP  
31Mk85

Figure 16.--Complicated incised and/or punctate decorative elements present in the ceramic assemblages.

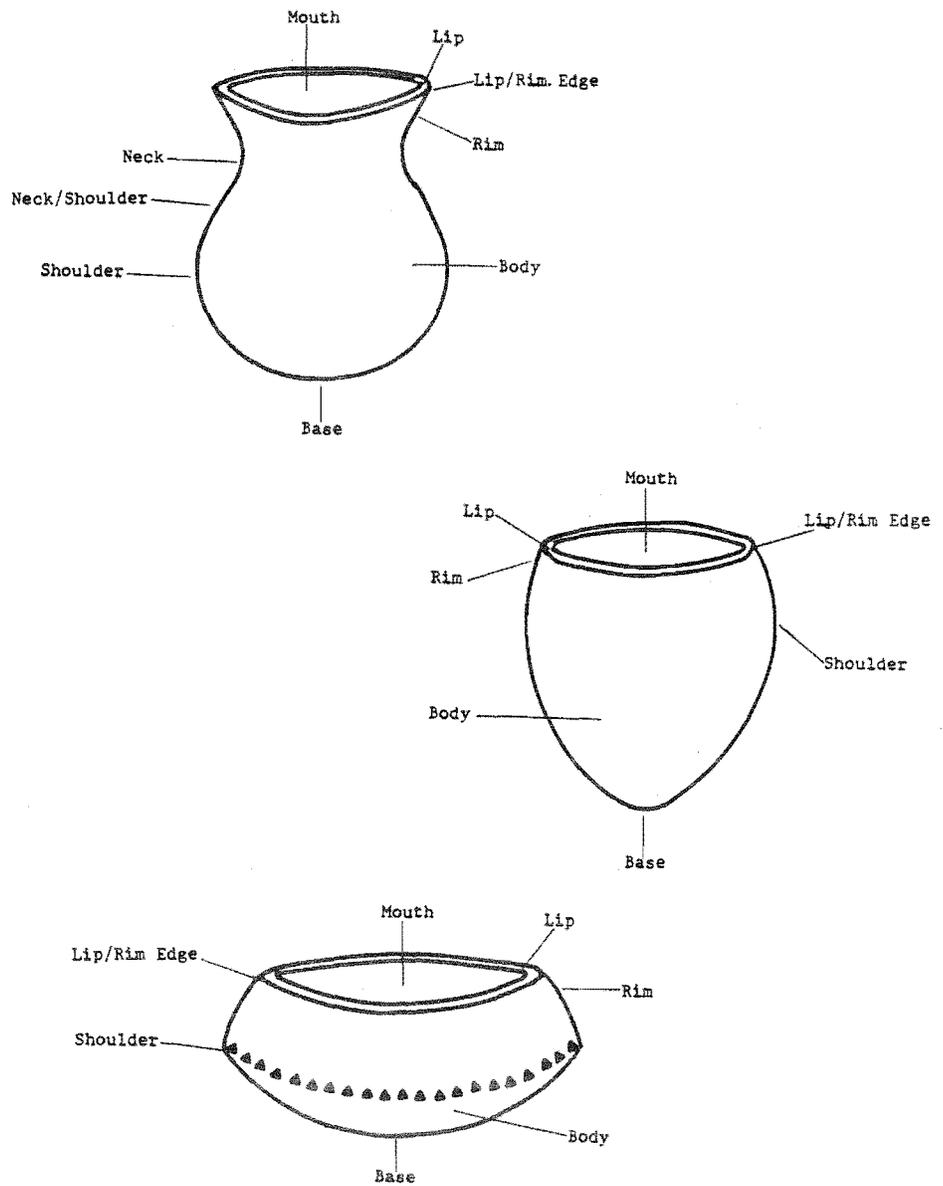


Figure 17.--Vessel sections for the vessel types delimited in the ceramic analysis.

## Chapter 15

### PREHISTORIC CERAMICS

The three sites thought to be representative of the Late Prehistoric period are located along the middle and lower reaches of the Dan River in North Carolina and Virginia (Figure 14). Ceramics associated with two of them, 31Rk1 and 44Ha23, have been typed as Dan River (see below). The pottery from the other site, 44Ha22, have been classified as Clarkesville (see below). The exact relationships of the Dan River and Clarkesville series has never been made clear by past researchers. The present study does not consider this question in detail either, for the relations of the latter with the other ceramics of the Roanoke River drainage has to be addressed first. This subject lies outside the scope of the questions at hand or of the data sets available for study. The first sites considered are those with Dan River ceramics, as this has been the best described and studied of all the series, wares, types, and varieties identified for the Piedmont.

#### Sauro Town (31Rk1)

The site known as "Lower Saura Town" is located on the south bank of the Dan River near the town of Eden, North Carolina in Rockingham County (Figure 14). It lies a short distance downstream from the confluence of the Smith (Irwin) River with the Dan. This locale was interpreted by early researchers (Griffin 1945; Lewis 1951; Coe and Lewis 1952; Coe 1952a) as being in the same location as a "grassy field" encountered by William Byrd II in 1733 (Byrd 1966:398). Until recently (Coe 1976; Wilson 1977; Gardner

1980) this site had been depicted as the home of the Sara Indians of 1700, an interpretation based on statements made by Byrd in 1733 and a few years later in 1735 (Byrd 1929). The chronological position of the site and its ceramics can now be moved back in time to the Late Prehistoric period.

The only excavations conducted at the site consisted of a small area opened up by Joffre L. Coe in the spring of 1938 (Lewis 1951:206). The purpose of the dig was to recover information on the identification of the Siouan Indians of the Carolina Piedmont and their possible affiliation with the Fort Ancient Phase of the Ohio Valley (cf. Griffin 1945; Coe 1964:6; Coe 1982). An area comprising a total of 550 square feet was excavated. Stratigraphy consisted of plow disturbed soil over what was identified as a midden, which in turn overlay a sterile sandy subsoil. A total of eight features was discovered, one of which was the greater part of a small Dan River Net Impressed jar. While around 60 postholes were observed, no burials were encountered. The bulk of the ceramics recovered belong to the Dan River Series, although a small number of sherds that were called Pee Dee, Caraway, Hillsboro, and "Catawba" types, and some unaffiliated sherds, were present.

Lewis' (1951:291) dating of 31Rk1 to between 1625 and 1675 was accepted by most other researchers at the time (Griffin 1945:323; Coe and Lewis 1952:1; Coe 1952b:1). The basis for this dating was the ethnohistoric evidence and cross-dating with the Pee Dee Focus of the central Piedmont of North Carolina (cf. Coe 1952:308; Reid 1967:59-63). The latter was thought by researchers of Lewis' time to fall between A.D. 1550 and 1650 (Coe 1952:308). The lack of European trade goods in an undisturbed context, the re-evaluation of the Pee Dee Focus, and more recent work on the Dan River, have combined to force a revision of "Sauro

Town's" chronological position (Coe 1976; Wilson 1977; Gardner 1980). Gardner (1980:79-80) infers the possibility of a later occupation at the site due to the presence of untyped burnished pottery thought to be similar to "Catawba" ceramics. Likewise, the grass fields found by Byrd and his party was taken to indicate the presence of some group, presumably the Sara, on the site within a decade or so of 1733 (Gardner 1980:79-80). This would have been well after the Sara and the other Siouan groups had abandoned all of the Piedmont to the roving bands of Seneca and other Northern Iroquois groups. As will be seen, Gardner placed the earlier ceramic varieties of the Dan River Ware somewhere between the years A.D. 1300 and 1550 as a guess. Precise dating of the Dan River materials from 3lRkl, the type site for the ceramics, has yet to be accomplished. For present purposes, the lack of European trade items in an undisturbed context indicates that the site is of the Prehistoric or possibly Early Protohistoric, period.

#### Ceramics From "Sauro Town"

The Dan River Series was first defined in Ernst Lewis' master's thesis (1951), and again later in a short treatise by Coe and Lewis (1952) in the Prehistoric Pottery of the Eastern United States. "Sauro Town", 3lRkl, is the type site for the series. Dan River ceramics have been described by the following characteristics (Lewis 1951:214-253; Coe and Lewis 1952). Temper included in the paste varies widely from considerable amounts of coarse sand to sand incorporated with pieces of crushed quartz. The majority of the prepared quartz particles are between 2mm and 4mm in size, although some are as large as 10mm in length. Surface finishes (Table 9) include, in order of popularity, net impressing, plain/roughly smoothed, corncob impressed, cordmarked, brushed, and complicated stamped. The last treatment is represented by only six sherds which comprise but 36 square

TABLE 9

SURFACE TREATMENTS FOR THE DAN RIVER SERIES IDENTIFIED  
FOR THE CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE AT 31Rk1

1  
By Percentage

Surface Finish	Plowed Soil	Level One	Level Two	Features	Total
Net Impressed	68.3	73.4	71.3	65.3	69.5
Smoothed	24.3	18.0	21.5	24.0	22.7
Corncob Impressed	3.7	3.3	4.0	3.5	3.6
Cordmarked	2.6	4.1	2.2	3.5	3.0
Brushed/scraped	1.1	1.2	0.9	1.7	1.2
Complicated Stamped	-	-	-	2.1	0.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

2  
By Count

Surface Finish	Number	Percentage
Net Impressed	3,599	69.5
Smoothed	1,176	22.7
Corncob Impressed	187	3.6
Cordmarked	153	2.9
Brushed/scraped	60	1.2
Complicated Stamped	6	0.1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5.181</b>	<b>100.0</b>

1- Taken from Table II of Lewis (1951:221).

2- Taken from Coe and Lewis (1952:1).

inches of a single vessel and whose design is unidentified. The paste of these complicated stamped sherds is close to the average for the Dan River Series. These sherds were interpreted (Lewis 1951:259, 292; Coe 1952a:310) as representing an intrusion of Pee Dee influence into the material culture (ceramics), and by inference the other cultural sub-systems of the cultures of the Dan River area.

Interior surfaces are either scraped (27.5%) or smoothed (72.5%), with the latter obviously predominating. The percentage of scraped sherds is lower than the 65 to 100% found in Uwharrie ceramics, a Prehistoric Late Woodland ceramic ware postulated to be ancestral to Dan River ceramics by Coe at that time (Lewis 1951:224). And it is higher than the zero percentage of scraped interiors noted for Caraway ceramics, thought by Coe to be the direct descendent of Dan River ceramics (Lewis 1951:224).

Five dominant "modes" (Table 10) are noted for decoration (Lewis 1951:228-233). Punctations predominate, and usually consist of a fairly large oblong impression, oriented vertically, and placed as a band at the neck. The second most frequent decoration horizontal incising placed only on the neck and upper shoulder of a jar. Four, five, and six line motifs are noted. Following this in popularity are fingertip punctations, as either actual fingerpinched impressions, fingertip impressed, where the end of the finger is impacted upon and into the surface, or rarely, fingernail punctations, where only the fingernail is used. Another form of incising is slanting, oblique lines, usually consisting of six lines per element. The direction of the lines in each element is either parallel to one another, or combined to form inverted v's with half of the total number of lines committed to each side. The least common of the five dominant decorative "modes" is a band of short incised lines. These are

TABLE 10

STRATIGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF DECORATIVE ELEMENTS AT 31rk1 BY  
 PERCENTAGE AND COUNT--THE COUNT IS IN PARENTHESES  
 (TAKEN FROM TABLE 4 OF LEWIS (1951:229))

Decorative Element	Plowed Soil	Level One	Level Two	Fea.	Total
Punctate Band	31.5 (87)	35.8 (24)	16.6 (4)	13.0 (3)	30.2 (118)
Horizontal Incised Lines	25.3 (70)	23.8 (16)	16.6 (4)	17.4 (4)	24.1 (94)
Finger Punctuation	16.6 (46)	16.4 (11)	20.8 (5)	8.7 (2)	16.4 (64)
Long Oblique Incising	11.2 (31)	8.9 (6)	29.1 (7)	47.8 (11)	14.1 (55)
Band of Short Incised Lines	7.9 (22)	8.9 (6)	8.3 (2)	8.7 (2)	8.2 (32)
Zoned Punctations	2.5 (7)	2.9 (2)	- -	- -	2.3 (9)
Punctate Band, Combined with Horizontal Incising	2.5 (7)	- -	8.3 (2)	- -	2.3 (9)
Curvilinear Incising	0.7 (2)	- -	- -	4.3 (1)	0.8 (3)
Punctate Band, Combined with Short Incised Lines	0.7 (2)	1.5 (1)	- -	- -	0.8 (39)
Short Incised Lines, Combined with Zoned Punctuation	0.4 (1)	- -	- -	- -	0.3 (1)
Short Incised Lines, Combined with Horizontal Incising	0.4 (1)	- -	- -	- -	0.3 (1)
Punctate Band, Combined with Long Oblique Lines	- -	1.5 (1)	- -	- -	0.3 (1)
TOTAL	100. (276)	100. (67)	100. (24)	100. (23)	100. (390)

vertical or slanted, and vary from five evenly spaced impressions to deep irregularly shaped gouges. Minor motifs present include zoned punctations; punctate bands combined with horizontal incising; curvilinear incising; a punctate band combined with zoned punctations; short incised lines combined with horizontal incising; and a punctate band combined with long oblique lines. All of these represent combinations of the five major decorative "modes".

Vessel forms (Lewis 1951:233-241; Coe and Lewis 1952:2) observed are jars and bowls, with the former predominating. Sherds associated with jars account for 86% of the rims. The jars possess slightly everted, everted-flaring and everted-almost-straight rims. Only rarely are any folded rims noted. The bowls have rims that are predominately straight, with only infrequent examples of inverted forms. Lips for both jars and bowls are rounded, flat, or thinned. Usually they possess v-shaped notches on the exterior edge of the lip. The lips of a few of the bowls are punctated.

The shape of the vessel body for jars is globular. Jars range in size from 12 cm to 39cm in diameter at the mouth, and in height from 14cm to 55cm. Bottoms are usually sharply rounded, and bases curved or conical. Appendages present include strap handles and flat lugs. Bowls are usually straight sided to only slightly incurved. The mouth diameter of bowls lies between 17 and 25cm. Bottoms are assumed to mimic the shapes present for the jars.

As stated earlier, the Dan River series as originally defined was presumed to have been associated with the Sara Indians of the Dan River between A.D. 1625 and 1675 (Coe 1952a:309, 1952b:1). The series was placed midway on a hypothesized developmental continuum, with the Late Woodland

Uwharrie ceramics at one end and the Caraway pottery associated with the Historic Keyauwee Indians of 1700 at the other (Lewis 1951:224; Coe 1952a:309, n.d.). One characteristic used to distinguish the two poles was the presence of scraped interiors on Uwharrie pots, and smoothed or burnished interiors on Caraway/Keyauwee pots. Since the Dan River material displayed both smoothing and scraping, it was considered to represent the middle section of the continuum.

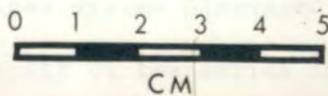
Supporting this thesis was the presence of Pee Dee ceramics among other Dan River ceramic assemblages along the Dan, and Pee Dee-inspired complicated stamped designs on Dan River type pottery at 31Rk1 (Lewis 1951:259, 292; Coe 1952a:310). Lewis (1951:292) also reported at least one Pee Dee site that possessed "Sara trade material", which was not specified, but probably consisted of Dan River ceramics. It was from the Pee Dee Focus that "Lamar" traits were introduced into the Siouan ceramic assemblages of the Carolinas (Coe 1952a:308-309). A total of eighteen sherds that could be typed as Pee Dee were recovered from 31Rk1--seven from Level 1 of the undisturbed soil, and eleven in the plowzone. At a site (31Rk12) just upstream from "Sauro Town", a Pee Dee pot stamped with a Pee Dee rectilinear design (Plate I) was found with two Dan River Net Impressed vessels in a burial. The Pee Dee pot possessed rim nodes typical of the Pee Dee series (cf. Reid 1967).

Other ceramics, which were also thought to postdate the 1625-1650 occupation of the Sara, were found in the plowzone at 31Rk1. A total of five sherds typed as Hillsboro (three simple stamped and two plain/smoothed), and eight Caraway plain/smoothed sherds were present. These ceramics were thought to be associated with the Occaneechi and Keyauwee Indians of 1700-1725 respectively (Coe 1952b:1). Thus, the Pee

Plate I.--Pee Dee jar from Burial 3 at 31Rk12. The surface finish is rectilinear complicated stamped and a applique strip with nodes has been placed along the top of the rim.



2371p43



Dee ceramics considered to be contemporaneous with Dan River ceramics, and those postulated as postdating Dan River--Caraway and Hillsboro--were found in stratigraphically correct relationships. Almost half of the Pee Dee sherds came from Level 1 of the undisturbed "midden", whereas only one of the twelve Caraway and Hillsboro sherds was from this undisturbed zone.

As already noted, Hillsboro and Caraway ceramics have been moved back in time to a Late Prehistoric/Protohistoric time slot, which forces a readjustment of the chronological position of the Dan River material from the type site (31Rk1) to an earlier time also. The presence of the Pee Dee-Dan River relationship offers little help in cross-dating Dan River ceramics, for the duration of the Pee Dee Focus in North Carolina cannot be securely dated beyond a position somewhere between A.D. 1300 and 1600.

The moving of Dan River ceramics from 31Rk1 back in time also casts doubt on the hypothesized Uwharrie-Dan River-Caraway ceramic tradition. This matter will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter 18. The recent work of Paul Gardner, who refined the definition of Dan River ceramics, will be considered next.

#### The Dan River Type and Two Varieties

Gardner (1980:54-55) recast the Dan River series into a type-variety format based on the typological system discussed in Chapter 14. The revision was marked by the split of the series into two varieties based on differences in temper. Gardner (1980:54-55) created a Dan River Variety for the Dan River Type of the Dan River Ware in which the temper consists of coarse river sand, or a mixture of river sand and crushed quartz. Particle size of the sand ranges from 0.5mm to 1.5mm, and the crushed quartz from 1.5mm to 8mm. Surface finishes include, in order of popularity, net impressing, cordmarking, smoothing, brushing/scraping, and

corncob impressing. Vessel forms noted are globular jars and bowls. Lip decorations are predominately notched and plain, and, on occasion, the surface finish (net, cord, and corncob impressions) is continued onto the lip from the body proper. Only rarely is the lip punctated. Neck decorations usually consist of a horizontal band of finger pinching or fingernail punctations. Occasionally trailed lines, circular and "angular" punctations are placed on the neck. The Dan River series originally defined by Lewis (1951) and Coe and Lewis (1952) is subsumed within the Dan River Variety Group (Gardner 1980:56-62). The temporal range for these ceramics is placed between A.D. 1300 and circa 1550, based on radiocarbon dates obtained from Dan River assemblages in Virginia.

The other variety of the Dan River Type is named the Stokes Variety Group (Gardner 1980:63-68). This is differentiated from the Dan River Variety on the basis of the reduced size of the sand used as temper in the former. The Clarkesville Series, originally defined by Clifford Evans (1955), is placed within this group. The temper consists of medium to fine river sand, presumably with particle sizes not exceeding .50mm. Surface finishes include the same array as the Dan River Variety Group. Smoothing, however, replaces cordmarking as the second most frequent treatment. Sherd texture is hard, compact, and not as gritty as the Dan River Varieties. The other characteristics including form and decoration are essentially the same for both groups (Gardner 1980:63). The chronological position of the Stokes material was placed around A.D. 1550-1725, following and replacing the Dan River Varieties (Gardner 1980:63).

The analysis Gardner performed did not include any of the ceramics from the type site, 31Rkl. Instead, three sites from Virginia and only one from the Dan River of North Carolina provided the data. One of the

Virginia sites, 44Ha23, will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. The pottery from 31Rk1 will now be examined in light of Gardner's revisions.

#### Attribute Analysis of Ceramics from "Sauro Town", 31Rk1

The pottery from the type site was the first of all the collections to be analyzed for this study. The primary reason was to provide a "feel" for the ceramics in relation to those that would be encountered in all the later analyses. As noted, the temporal placement of the pottery from 31Rk1 has proved to be a perplexing problem. No radiocarbon dates were ever determined for this particular site, as it was excavated some 13 years before the advent of that technique. Cross-dating with the Pee Dee Focus has proved to be of little additional benefit, as this material cannot be precisely dated within a span of three hundred years.

In relation to the Leggett Site (see below, this chapter), the small quantity of Dan River sherds with cordmarked surfaces at Lower Sauro Town implies that the former site is earlier. This would hold if the hypothesized decline in the popularity of cordmarking through time for the Dan River Ware is true. A radiocarbon date of A.D. 1495±80 (UGA 1367), along with another date of A.D. 1155±100 (UGA 1591), was obtained from the Leggett Site (Egloff et al. 1980:18). Taking the former reading as being the more correct of the two, and combining it with the fact that smoothing as a surface finish supposedly grew to prominence late in most ceramic traditions (Coe and Lewis 1951:1), 31Rk1 probably can be placed in the mid- to late sixteenth century.

A total of 90 rimsherds are available for study from the 1937 excavations at "Sauro Town". Because sherds from disturbed contexts are not used, and rimsherds from the same pot are restricted to a single

observation for analysis, the total number utilized differs from that used by Lewis. As only eight features were uncovered by the work there, the two levels of the undisturbed "midden" zone within each five foot square are treated as separate analytical units. Thus, sherds selected for analysis are taken from features, postholes and the undisturbed "midden" at the site. All of the ceramics are placed in the Dan River Variety Group of the Dan River Type. The information offered below is taken from the analysis of the collection by the author, and serves for comparison with the other ceramic assemblages in this study. Plates II-III illustrate a sample of the sherds and decorations from 31Rkl.

The technical details of the pottery differ little from those noted for the Dan River Ware by Lewis (1951), Coe and Lewis (1952), and Gardner (1980). Temper used is varying amounts of coarse sand whose quartz particles ranges in size from around .25mm up to 1.09mm. The mean size of the quartz particles is .59mm. Large pieces of both unmodified and prepared quartz are evident, with the former outnumbering the latter. Also, crushed feldspar occasionally occurs.

The split in the size of temper in the Dan River ceramics observed by Gardner (1980) for his Dan River and Stokes Variety Groups is not present in the "Sauro Town" assemblage. The variability in the size and quantity of the sand used as temper appears across all surface finishes. Previously, other researchers (Evans 1955; Holland 1970) attempted to maintain a temper dichotomy in the Dan River ceramics they studied, but ultimately found that it was of little value. There is more to the problem than just variations in temper between early and late Dan River/Stokes Varieties as Gardner postulated. More will be said on this subject later.

The same vessel forms and rim types (Table 11; and Figures 18-19) documented by the earlier work of Lewis (1951) and Coe and Lewis (1952) are present. Constricted neck jars with everted rims are most common, and the rims are almost never folded. Bowls have rims that are straight to only slightly incurved, seldom noticeably incurved.

Decorations (Table 12) are placed most often on the lip/rim edges of vessels (n=37, 41.57% of 90 rims), followed, in decreasing order, by the lip (n=32, 35.96%), neck/shoulder (n=4, 36.36% of all neck/shoulder vessel sections present), rim (n=18, 20.23%), and neck (n=12, 13.48%). No shoulder decorations are present. Discounting plain smoothed lips (n=68), the most frequent decorative element (Table 13, and see Figure 15) are v-shaped notches (n=40), usually situated on either the lip/rim edge (n=27) or the lip (n=13). Next in frequency are fingertip punctate/pinched/impressed elements (n=30) placed primarily on the lip (n=14), lip/rim edge (n=9), and neck (n=4), and less often on the rim (n=2) and the neck/shoulder (n=1). Smoothed bands (n=12), sometimes combined with other decorations (n=5), are the next most popular design. By themselves, they are found only on the rim (n=12). When used in conjunction with other designs, usually incised inverted v's (n=4), smoothed bands occur on the neck (n=3), neck/shoulder (n=1) and rim (n=1). This last occurrence is in association with fingertip punctates. A variation of the smoothed band is one that has been brushed. These appear only on a rim.

Of the incised designs, those identified as inverted v's are the most prevalent (n=6). The neck is preferred for the execution of this design (n=4), usually on a smoothed band (n=3). The rim and neck/shoulder follow with one each, the latter into a smoothed band. Of the lines incised

across a vessel parallel to the lip, a single line motif occurs three times, and multiple incised lines twice. One each of the former design are found on the lip, rim, and neck/shoulder. Multiple incised parallel lines are placed only on the neck and neck/shoulder.

Another form of decoration, if it can be labelled such, is the continuation of the surface finish from the body onto the lip. Four instances are noted, two net impressed, one cordmarked and one corncob impressed. Other miscellaneous designs encountered, again questionable as true decorations, include one lug on a net impressed sherd, probably from a jar, and an irregularly shaped "node" (pimple ?) that had been constructed by pulling clay up into a mound from the surrounding exterior vessel wall. This "node" is on the rim, and the clay used to form it is obtained from the neck area.

As would be expected net impressed surface finishes (Table 14) and jar vessel forms (Table 15) possess most of the decorations just discussed. This is because both jars and bowls are apt to have net impressed surfaces, and jars are by far the most numerous vessel form. Smoothed, smoothed over net, and brushed/scraped surface finishes occur only on jars (Table 16). Of note to this analysis, and those of the future, is the very low incidence of folded/thickened rims which are quite common on Clarkesville ceramics. Only two such rim forms exist in the entire Sauro Town collection. One is cordmarked and the other corncob impressed. Both are from jars. On the cordmarked sherd, the surface finish is continued onto the lip. The corncob impressed sherd possesses a smoothed rim fold. Both of these folded rim sherds have general attributes similar to the rest of the ceramic assemblage from 31Rk1.

TABLE 11

SURFACE FINISH, INTERIOR FINISH, LIPTYPE, VESSELFORM AND RIMTYPE  
ATTRIBUTES IDENTIFIED IN THE CERAMIC COLLECTION FROM 31Rk1

## SURFACE FINISH

Finish	Number	Percentage
Net Impressed, Knotted	29	32.584
Net Impressed, General	25	28.090
Net Impressed, Looped	17	19.101
Corncob Impressed	7	7.865
Brushed/scraped	4	4.494
Cordmarked	4	4.494
Smoothed	3	3.371
TOTAL	89	100.00

## INTERIOR FINISH

Finish	Number	Percentage
Smoothed	34	38.202
Smoothed over scraped	11	12.360
Scraped	39	43.820
Part Smoothed/Part Scraped	1	1.124
Plain	4	4.494
TOTAL	89	100.00

## LIPTYPES

Form	Number	Percentage
Rounded	49	55.056
Rounded/Thinned	29	32.584
Flat	11	12.360
TOTAL	89	100.00

## VESSELFORM

Form	Number	Percentage
Jar	74	83.146
Bowl	15	16.854
TOTAL	89	100.00

TABLE 12

DECORATIONS PRESENT AND PLACEMENT OF DECORATIONS BY VESSEL SECTION,  
31Rk1

Decoration	Lip	Lip/		Neck	Neck/		Total
		Rim	Rim		Shoulder	Shoulder	
V-shaped Notches	13	27	-	-	-	-	40
Fingertip Treatment	14	9	2	4	1	-	30
Smoothed Bands	-	-	12	-	-	-	12
Smoothed Bands w/ Designs	-	-	1	3	1	-	5
Brushed Band	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Incised Inverted v's	-	-	1	4	1	-	6
Single Incised Line	1	-	1	-	1	-	3
Multiple Incised Line	-	-	-	1	1	-	2

Placement of Decorations by Vessel Section

Section	Occurrences	Number Decorated	Percentage Decorated
Lip	89	32	35.96
Lip/Rim	89	37	41.57
Rim	89	18	20.23
Neck	22	12	54.55
Neck/Shoulder	11	4	36.36
Shoulder	9	-	-

TABLE 13

INDIVIDUAL DECORATIONS PRESENT BY VESSEL SECTION,  
31Rk1

Lip Decorations	Number	Percentage	Sample Percentage
V-shaped Notches	13	40.625	14.607
Fingertip Notches	13	40.625	14.607
Fingertip Notches, Interior Edge of Lip	1	3.125	1.124
Line Incised down Middle	1	3.125	1.124
Net Impressing	2	6.250	2.247
Cordmarking	1	3.125	1.124
Corncob Impressing	1	3.125	1.124
TOTAL	32	100.000	35.96
Lip/Rim Decorations	Number	Percentage	Sample Percentage
V-shaped Notches	27	72.973	30.337
Fingertip Notches	9	24.324	10.112
Lug	1	2.703	1.124
TOTAL	37	100.00	41.57
Rim Decorations	Number	Percentage	Sample Percentage
Smoothed Band	12	66.667	13.483
Fingertip Punctate	1	5.556	1.124
Fingertip Punctate, into Smoothed Band	1	5.556	1.124
Single Line Incised Parallel to the Lip	1	5.556	1.124
Brushed Band	1	5.556	1.124
Incised Inverted v's, 3 lines per side	1	5.556	1.124
Irregular Shaped "Node"	1	5.556	1.124
TOTAL	18	100.00	20.83

TABLE 13--Continued

Neck Decorations	Number	Percentage	Sample Percentage
Fingertip Punctate	4	33.333	18.182
Incised Inverted v's on a Smoothed Band	3	25.000	13.636
Incised Inverted v's Circular Punctations over Incised Inverted v's (?)	1	8.333	4.545
U-shaped Punctations	1	8.333	4.545
Oblong Punctations	1	8.333	4.545
Multiple Lines Incised Parallel to Lip	1	8.333	4.545
TOTAL	12	100.00	100.00

Neck/Shoulder Decorations	Number	Percentage	Sample Percentage
Line Incised Parallel to Lip	1	25.00	9.09
Multiple Lines Incised Parallel to Lip	1	25.00	9.09
Fingertip Punctations	1	25.00	9.09
Incised Inverted v's on a Smoothed Band	1	25.00	9.09
TOTAL	4	100.00	36.36

TABLE 14  
CROSSTABULATION OF SURFACE FINISH AND DECORATIONS, 31Rk1

LIP DECORATIONS

Decoration	Net General	Surface Finish			Corncob	Total
		Net Knotted	Net Looped	Net Cord		
V-shaped Notches	3	5	4	-	1	13
Fingertip Notches	5	4	2	-	2	13
Fingertip Notches, Interior edge of Lip	1	-	-	-	-	1
Line Incised down Middle	-	-	1	-	-	1
Net Impressing	-	1	1	-	-	2
Cordmarking	-	-	-	1	-	1
Corncob Impressing	-	-	-	-	1	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>32</b>

LIP/RIM DECORATIONS

Decoration	Net General	Surface Finish				Brushed	Smoothed	Total
		Net Knotted	Net Looped	Net Cord	Net Corncob			
V-shaped Notches	7	10	8	1	1	-	-	27
Fingertip Punctate	2	3	-	-	1	1	1	9
Lug	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>37</b>

RIM DECORATIONS

Decoration	Net General	Surface Finish			Corncob	Brushed	Total
		Net Knotted	Net Looped	Net Cord			
Smoothed Band	3	4	1	-	2	2	12
Fingertip Punctate	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Fingertip Punctate into a Smoothed Band	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Single Line Incised Parallel to Lip	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Brushed Band	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Incised Inverted v's	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Irregular Shaped Node	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>18</b>

TABLE 14--Continued

## NECK DECORATIONS

Decoration	Surface Finish						Total
	Net General	Net Knotted	Net Looped	Cord	Brushed	Smoothed	
Fingertip Punctate	-	2	1	-	-	1	4
Incised Inverted v's in Smoothed Band	2	1	-	-	-	-	3
Incised Inverted v's	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Circular Punctations over Inverted v's (?)	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
U-shaped Punctations	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Oblong Punctations	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Multiple Lines Incised Parallel to Lip	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>

## NECK/SHOULDER DECORATIONS

Decoration	Surface Finish			Total
	Net	Net	Net	
		Knotted	Looped	
Line Incised Parallel to Lip	-	-	1	1
Multiple Lines Incised Parallel to Lip	1	-	-	1
Fingertip Punctations	1	-	-	1
Incised Inverted v's on a Smoothed Band	-	-	1	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>

TABLE 15

## CROSSTABULATION OF VESSEL FORM AND DECORATION, 31Rk1

## LIP DECORATIONS

Decoration	Vessel Form		
	Jar	Bowl	Total
V-shaped Notches	11	2	13
Fingertip Notches	11	2	13
Fingertip Notches, Interior edge of Lip	-	1	1
Line Incised down Middle	1	-	1
Net Impressing	2	-	2
Cordmarking	1	1	1
Corncob Marking	1	-	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>32</b>

## LIP/RIM DECORATIONS

Decoration	Vessel Form		
	Jar	Bowl	Total
V-shaped Notches	24	3	27
Fingertip Notches	9	-	9
Lug	1	-	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>37</b>

## RIM DECORATIONS

Decoration	Vessel Form		
	Jar	Bowl	Total
Smoothed Band	11	1	12
Fingertip Punctate	1	-	1
Fingertip Punctate into a Smoothed Band	1	-	1
Single Line Incised Parallel to the Lip	1	-	1
Brushed Band	1	-	1
Incised Inverted v's	-	1	1
Irregular Shaped Node	1	-	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>18</b>

TABLE 15--Continued

## NECK DECORATIONS

Decoration	Vessel Form		
	Jar	Bowl	Total
Fingertip Punctate	4	-	4
Incised Inverted v's into a Smoothed Band	3	-	3
Incised Inverted v's	1	-	1
Circular Punctations over Incised Inverted v's (?)	1	-	1
U-shaped Punctations	1	-	1
Oblong Punctations	1	-	1
Multiple Lines Incised Parallel to the Lip	1	-	1
TOTAL	12	-	12

## NECK/SHOULDER DECORATIONS

Decoration	Vessel Form		
	Jar	Bowl	Total
Line Incised Parallel to Lip	1	-	1
Multiple Lines Incised Parallel to the Lip	1	-	1
Fingertip Punctate	1	-	1
Incised Inverted v's into a Smoothed Band	1	-	1
TOTAL	4	-	4

TABLE 16

## CROSSTABULATION OF SURFACE FINISH AND VESSEL FORM, 31Rk1

Surface Finish	Vessel Form		Total
	Jar	Bowl	
Net, General	20	6	26
Net, Knotted	24	5	29
Net, Looped	14	2	16
Cordmarked	4	2	4
Corncob Impressed	5	2	7
Brushed/Scraped	4	-	4
Smoothed	3	-	3
TOTAL	74	15	89

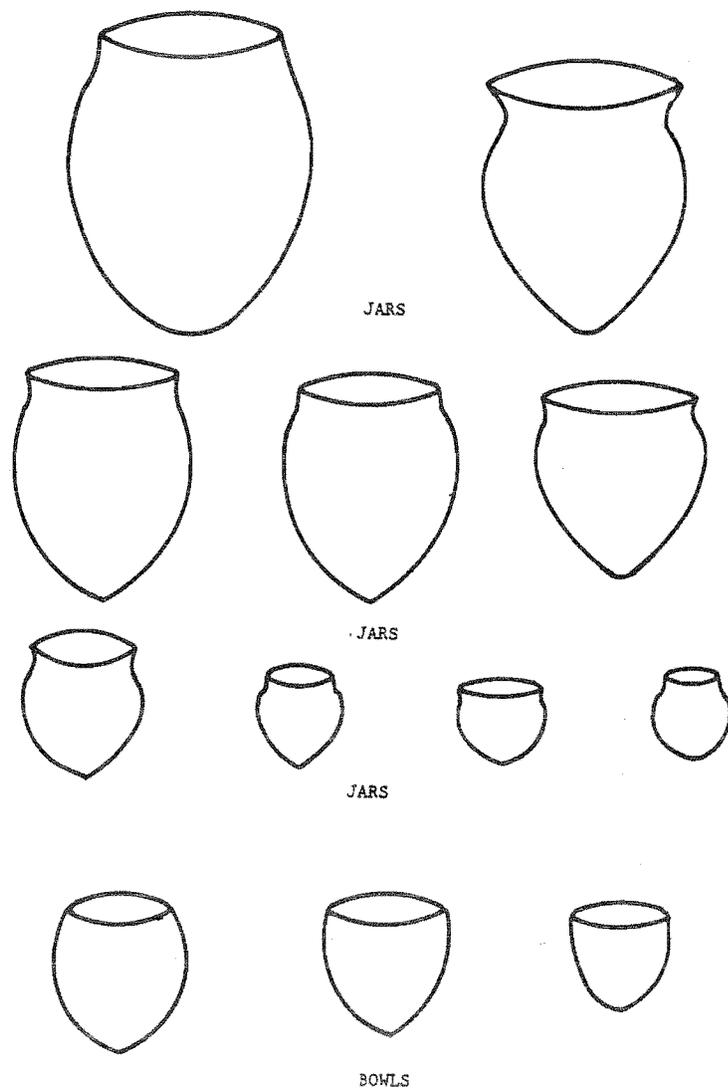


Figure 18.--Vessel forms (reconstructed) present, 31Rkl. (from Lewis 1951:239, Plate VI; Coe and Lewis 1952:Figure 1).

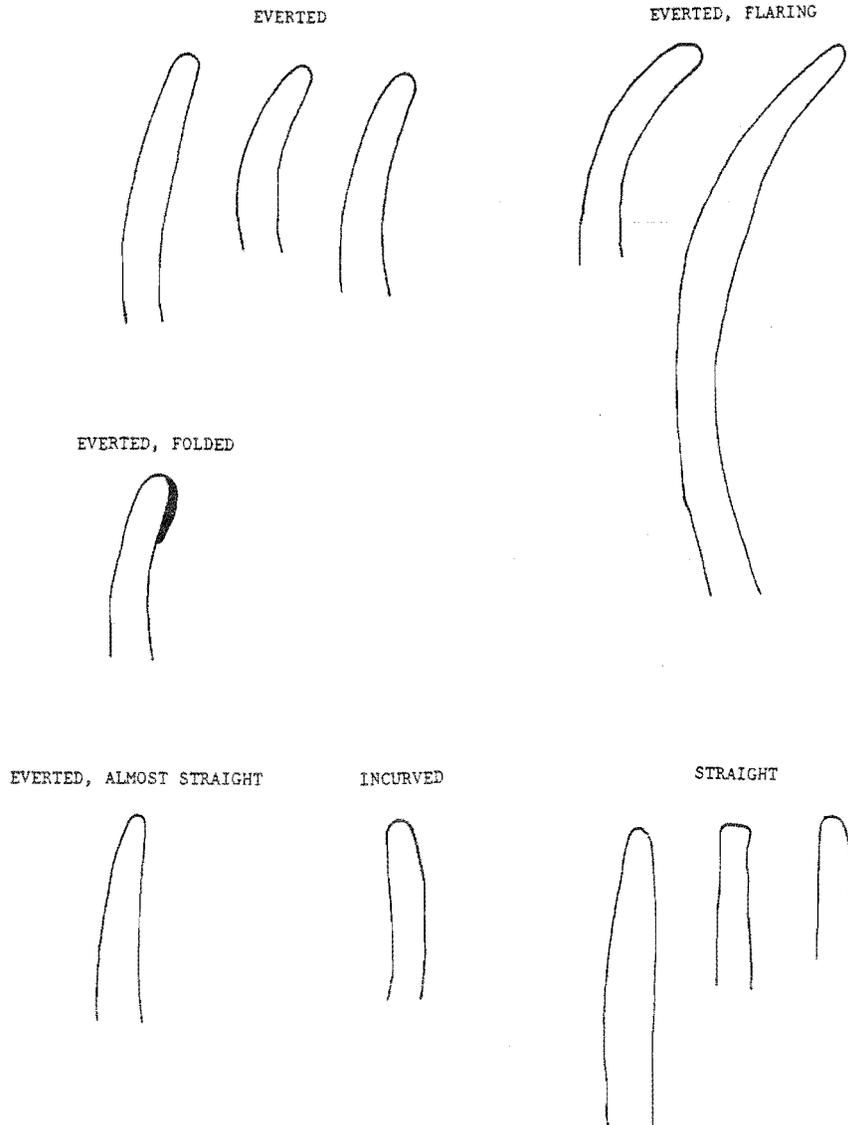
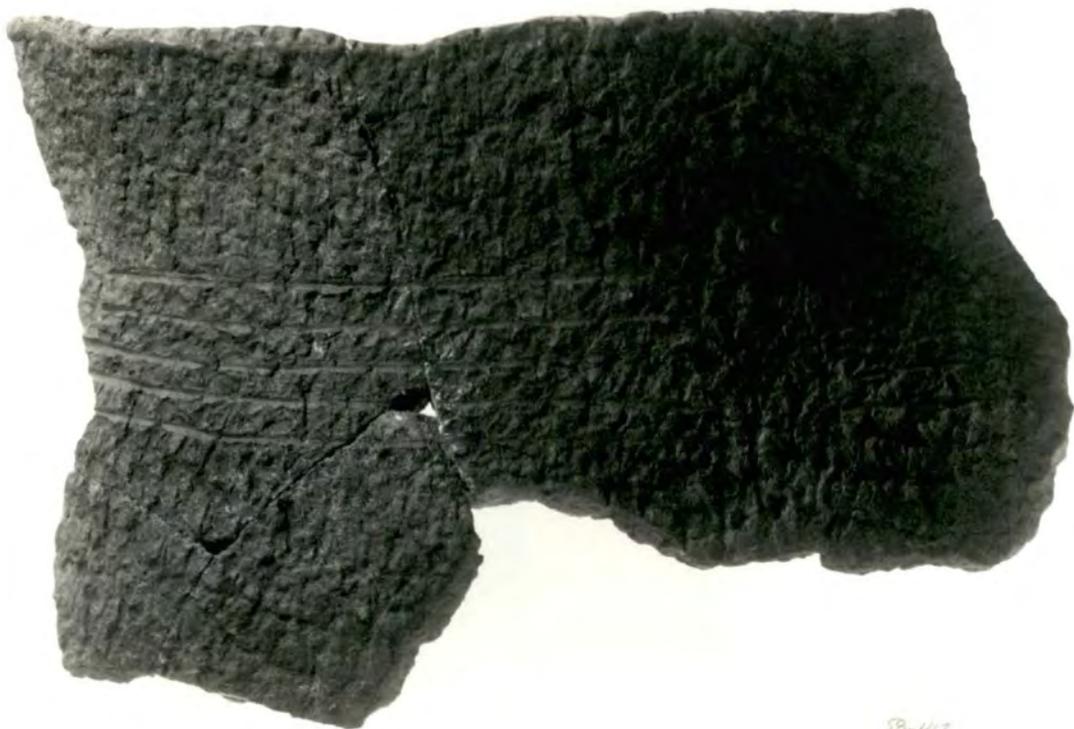


Figure 19.--Rim profiles, 31Rk1.

Plate II.--Dan River Net Impressed variety Dan River ceramics from 31Rk1. Decorations are: (top) five lines incised parallel to the lip just above the neck; (bottom) v-shaped notches cut across a smoothed lip.



SBp 112



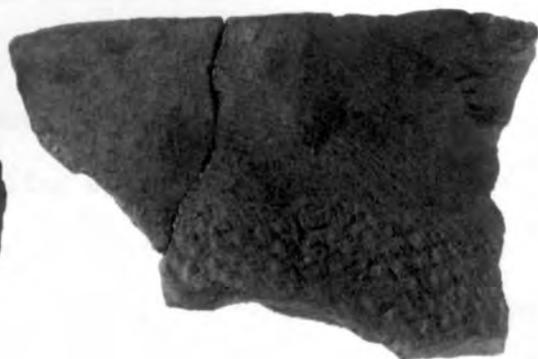
SBp 119



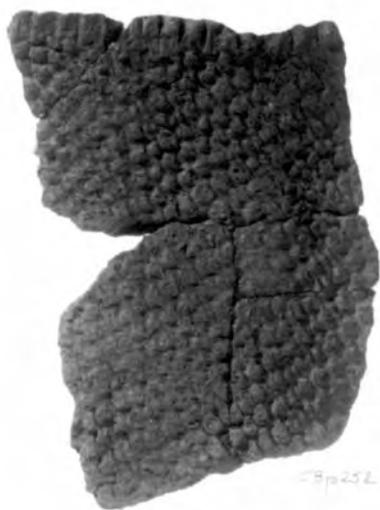
Plate III.--Decorations on Dan River Net Impressed variety Dan River sherds from 31Rk1. Decorations are: (top left) incised inverted v's on a smoothed band across the neck; (top right) brushed rim; (bottom left) v-shaped notches cut across the lip-rim edge with a smoothed lip; (bottom right) u-shaped notches placed on the exterior edge of a smoothed lip and four slanted incised lines placed just above the neck.



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58p432



58p252



58p432

## Leggett Site (44Ha23)

The other assemblage that possesses Dan River ceramics is the Leggett Site (44Ha23). This site is located in Halifax County, Virginia, on the west bank of the Dan River just above the North Carolina State Line (Figure 14). The Virginia State Library conducted salvage excavations at this site in the summer of 1976, after land-leveling operations by the landowners uncovered a number of features. The background information for this discussion is taken from a short report on the results of the archaeology (Egloff et al. 1970). The excavated assemblage is stored at the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology in Williamsburg, Virginia (since relocated to Yorktown), where the author was provided access to the material for study.

An area approximately 250 feet in diameter was investigated by use of a controlled surface collection and the excavation of selected pits. A total of 25 features were removed. Samples of feature fill were waterscreened through 1/4" and 1/16" mesh screen to recover small items, primarily floral and faunal remains. The rest of the soil was passed through 1/2" mesh screen. Ceramics, faunal material, and floral materials, with corn beans and hickory nut shell included among the latter remains, were recovered from the features. Two conflicting radiocarbon dates, one of A.D. 1155±100 (UGA 1591) and the other of A.D. 1495±80 (UGA 1367) were obtained from two different features. The early date obtained is misleading, if not absolutely incorrect. The date of A.D. 1495 has been accepted as better reflecting the true chronological position of the site and its associated ceramic assemblage (Egloff et al. 1980:18; Gardner 1980:81). Also, Gardner (1980:81) argued that the large percentage of cordmarked (20.3% of all sherds) versus smoothed (3.0%) surface finishes in

the Dan River ceramics from the site supported the A.D. 1500 date, and could be interpreted to indicate a somewhat earlier date. Probably, the material was Prehistoric, as no items of European manufacture were recovered from anywhere on the site.

#### The Dan River/Stokes Variety Groups at the Leggett Site

The Dan River ceramics from the 25 features at the Leggett Site (Table 17) are placed by Gardner (1980:96) into either the Dan River or Stokes Variety Groups. Of the 600 sherds classified as Dan River, 409 (68.2%) are identified with the earlier Dan River Variety Group. Surface finishes present, in descending order by count, are net impressed, cordmarked, smoothed, corncob impressed and brushed (or scraped). A total of 65 sherds are unidentified. Of the 191 sherds typed as belonging to the Stokes Variety Group, the rank order of the surface finishes by occurrence is net impressed, cordmarked, smoothed, brushed (or scraped), and corncob impressed, with 32 being unidentified.

As noted, Gardner (1980:80) favors the A.D. 1495 radiocarbon date for the assemblage, and states that it is probable that this marked the upper time limit for the site. This is based on the popularity of cordmarked surface treatments (23% of all sherds in the Dan River Variety Group and 15% in the Stokes) versus smoothed (3% for both) in the collection. This mirrors the hypothesis that cordmarking decreases through time in the ceramic traditions of the Piedmont (cf. Lewis 1951:291; Coe and Lewis 1952; Gardner 1980:82).

In relation to the ceramics from 31Rk1, the large percentage of cordmarked pottery at the Leggett Site indicates that it predates the North Carolina type site. A problem with the Dan River/Stokes Variety Groups proposed by Gardner is illustrated by the Leggett ceramics. While the

TABLE 17

THE TWO VARIETIES OF DAN RIVER WARE IDENTIFIED BY  
GARDNER AT THE LEGGETT SITE, 44H&23  
BY SURFACE FINISH  
(DERIVED FROM TABLE 9 OF GARDNER (1980:96))

Surface Finish	Dan River Variety Group		Stokes Variety Group		Total	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Net Impressed	222	54.279	120	62.827	342	57.000
Cordmarked	94	22.983	28	14.660	122	20.333
Smoothed	13	3.178	5	2.618	18	3.000
Corncob Impressed	10	2.445	3	1.571	13	2.167
Brushed/scraped	5	1.222	3	1.571	8	1.333
TOTAL	409	100.00	191	100.00	600	100.00

Stokes Variety Group supposedly postdates the Dan River Variety Group, the relative percentages of cordmarked surfaces to smoothed are similar for both in the pottery collection. One would expect the reverse to be true, with more smoothed surfaces than cordmarked for the Stokes material, given its chronological placement of A.D. 1550-1725. Since Feature 5, radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1495, contained 44 sherds of the Stokes Variety Group, and 79 of the Dan River Variety Group, the former probably dates at least as early as 1495, and earlier if Gardner's supposition about cordmarked versus smoothed surfaces is true. This is a good deal earlier than the A.D. 1550 stated as the beginning date for the Stokes Variety Group (Gardner 1980:63). Also, as Gardner's Dan River Variety Group contains the type material from 31Rk1, the ceramics there should possess more cordmarked surfaces relative to smoothed. This is not the case for either Lewis's analysis (Lewis 1951:221), the report issued by Coe and Lewis (1952:1), or the study contained in this work (see above, this chapter). One interpretation of this data is that the division noted by Gardner is due to the natural variation in the amount of temper included in the ceramics from any assemblage. Evans (1955) and Holland (1970) documented the same effect. In the studies that follow, the same phenomenon will be underscored. The fact that the two variety groups at the Leggett Site contain the same relative percentages of cordmarked to smoothed surfaces suggests that factors other than time are the cause for the two varieties. For now the Stokes Variety Group should be held in abeyance. Most of the material, or at least that from the Leggett Site, can probably be lumped with the Dan River Variety Group.

### Attribute Analysis of the Ceramics from the Leggett Site

A total of only 22 rimsherds comprise the sample of the sherds available for study from the Leggett Site's ceramic collection. Temper is coarse sand with medium to large sized quartz particles. Most of the particles are not prepared, and range from .20mm to .55mm in size. The mean size of the particles is .31mm. The split noted by Gardner for the Dan River ceramics from Leggett could not be maintained, as the variation appears to reflect the amount of sand included as temper.

Surface finishes noted are the same as those documented by Gardner (Table 18). Net impressed predominates, followed by smoothed, cordmarked, corncob impressed, corncob marked rim/net impressed body (included with the net impressed category), and one corncob rim/smoothed body (included with the smoothed category). Interior finishes are predominately smoothed (n=18), with only four having been scraped (Table 18). Liptypes are either flat (n=11), rounded (n=9) or rounded/thinned (n=2).

Vessel shapes noted are essentially the same as those described for the Dan River Series in general. A total of 21 of the rimsherds are everted, indicating that they are from jars (Table 18 and Figure 20). Out of these 21 everted sherds, one is folded. Only one incurved rim, net impressed and identified with a bowl, is present.

The most prevalent decoration (Table 19) is some form of fingertip punctate/notched/pinched treatment (n=11). This is followed by v-shaped notches (n=4), and circular reed punctates (n=1). The continuation of the surface finish onto the lip accounts for the other four decorations present. The lip/rim edge has the most decorations (n=11), and the highest percentage of this vessel section is decorated (50.0% of all lip/rim edges

have decorations). Following this, by percentage decorated, are the neck (n=3, 37.5%), lip (n=5, 22.7%), and the neck/shoulder area (n=1, 14.3%).

For the lip decorations (Table 20), the great majority represent the continuation of the surface finish from the body, either net impressing (n=3) or cordmarked (n=1). The other decoration present is a v-shaped notched lip. For the lip/rim edge, fingertip impressed/pinched notches are the most numerous (n=7), with the rest being v shaped notches (n=3). Only fingertip punctate/pinched designs (n=3) appear on the neck. The solitary neck/shoulder decoration is a line of circular reed punctates.

The association of the decorations with surface finish (Table 21) underscores the predominance of net impressed treatments. As expected, most of the lip decorations are on net impressed sherds (n=3), as this is the most frequent surface finish. The cordmarked lip is on a cordmarked sherd. And the v-shaped notches are found in association with a smoothed surface. For the lip/rim edge, net impressing continues to predominate, with five of the fingertip notched, and two of the v-shaped notched, decorations. Two smoothed surfaces have one example each of these two lip/rim designs. Of the three neck decorations (fingertip punctate/pinched) present, two are on specimens with smoothed surfaces, and one is on a net impressed surface. The circular reed punctate from the neck/shoulder area is combined with a smoothed finish. As for vessel form, all the decorations are on jars, with the exception of one. A bowl (or, rather an incurved rim) possesses an example of net impressing on its lip-- a continuation of the surface finish of the vessel.

TABLE 18

SURFACE FINISH, INTERIOR FINISH, LIP TYPE, VESSEL FORM AND RIMTYPES  
PRESENT AT 44Ha23

SURFACE FINISH

Finish	Number	Percentage
Net impressed, General	1	4.545
Net impressed, Knotted	10	45.455
Net impressed, Looped	2	9.091
Smoothed	4	28.181
Cordmarked	2	9.091
Corncob impressed	1	4.545
Corncob rim/Net impressed body	1	4.545
Corncob rim/Smoothed body	1	4.545
TOTAL	22	100.000

INTERIOR FINISH

Finish	Number	Percentage
Smoothed	15	68.182
Smoothed over scraped	3	13.634
Scraped	4	14.182
TOTAL	22	100.000

LIPTYPE

Form	Number	Percentage
Rounded	9	40.009
Rounded/thinned	2	9.091
Flat	11	50.000
TOTAL	22	100.000

RIMTYPE

Finish	Number	Percentage
Everted	17	77.273
Everted, flaring	2	9.091
Everted, flaring, folded	1	4.545
Slightly everted, almost straight	1	4.545
Incurved	1	4.545
TOTAL	22	100.000

TABLE 18—Continued

Form	Number	Percentage
Jar	21	95.455
Bowl	1	4.545
TOTAL	22	100.000

TABLE 19

DECORATIONS PRESENT AND PLACEMENT OF DECORATIONS  
BY VESSEL SECTION AT 44Ha23

## DECORATIONS PRESENT BY VESSEL SECTION

Decoration	Location					Total
	Lip	Lip/ Rim	Rim	Neck	Neck/ Shoulder	
V-shaped Notches	1	3	-	-	-	4
Fingertip Treatment	-	8	-	3	-	11
Circular Reed Punctations	-	-	-	-	1	1
Net Impressing	3	-	-	-	-	3
Cordmarking	1	-	-	-	-	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>20</b>

## PLACEMENT OF DECORATIONS BY VESSEL SECTION

Section	Occurrences	# Decorated	% Decorated
Lip	22	5	22.73
Lip/Rim	22	11	50.00
Rim	22	-	-
Neck	8	3	37.50
Neck/Shoulder	7	1	14.29
Shoulder	6	-	-

TABLE 20

## DISTRIBUTION OF DECORATIONS BY VESSEL SECTION, 44Ha23

LIP DECORATIONS			
Decoration	#	%	Sample %
V Shaped Notches	1	20.000	4.550
Net Impressing	3	60.000	13.640
Cordmarking	1	20.000	4.550
TOTAL	5	100.00	22.740

LIP/RIM DECORATIONS			
Decoration	#	%	Sample %
V-Shaped Notches	3	27.273	13.640
Fingertip Notched/Pinched	8	72.727	36.360
TOTAL	11	100.00	50.00

NECK DECORATIONS			
Decoration	Number	Percentage	Sample Percentage
Fingertip Punctate/ Pinched	1	100.00	37.500

TABLE 21

## CROSSTABULATION OF DECORATIONS AND SURFACE FINISH, 44Ha23

## LIP DECORATIONS

Surface Finish	V-shaped Notches	Net Impressing	Cordmarking	Total
Net, Knotted	-	1	-	1
Net, Looped	-	2	-	2
Cordmarked	-	-	1	1
Smoothed	1	-	-	1
TOTAL	1	3	1	5

## LIP/RIM DECORATIONS

Surface Finish	V-shaped Notches	Fingertip Notched	Total
Net, General	-	1	1
Net, Knotted	2	3	5
Cordmarked	-	1	1
Corncob Impressed	-	1	1
Smoothed	1	1	2
Corncob Rim/Net Body	-	1	1
TOTAL	3	8	11

## NECK DECORATIONS

Surface Finish	Decoration
	Fingertip Notched/Punctate
Net, General	1
Smoothed	1
Corncob Rim/Smoothed Body	1
TOTAL	3

## NECK/SHOULDER DECORATIONS

Surface Finish	Decoration
	Circular Reed Punctation
Smoothed	1

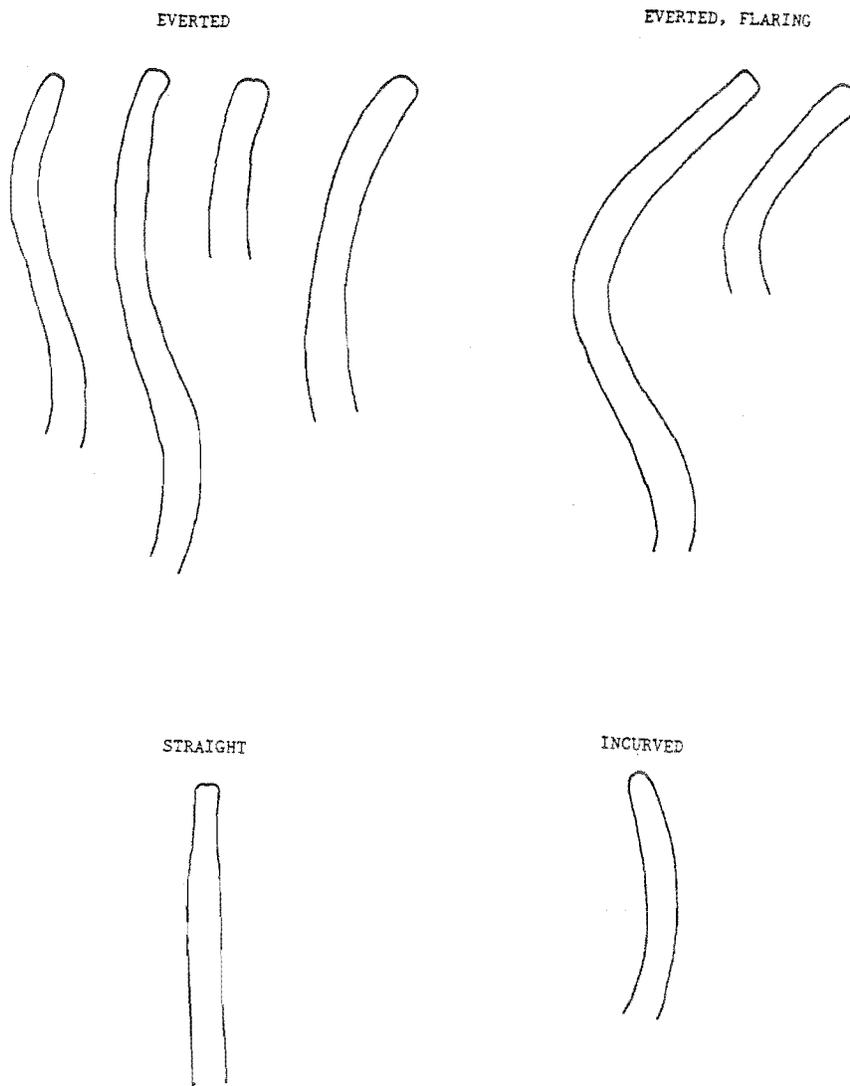


Figure 20.--Rim profiles, 44Ha23.

### The Reedy Creek Site (44Ha22)

Although a report on the Reedy Creek Site has been issued recently (Coleman 1983), the information presented here is taken from an earlier, unpublished draft (Coleman 1976) of the same report. The site is located on the north bank of the Dan River, just west of Reedy Creek at South Boston, Virginia (Figure 14). Excavations were conducted in the late summer and fall of 1975 by the Virginia State Library. Impetus for the project was provided by the proposed expansion of the existing wastewater sewage treatment plant by the city of South Boston. To isolate the major occupation areas, a series of 18 five foot square test pits, and 3 five by ten foot squares, were removed. A section of the tract where these tests exposed features and burials had its topsoil stripped off by a road grader. Excavation was then concentrated on excavating the burials and features in the areas to be impacted by construction.

A total of nine burials and 48 features were removed during the course of the work. Portions of a palisade line, and a single structure, interpreted as the remnants of a circular house, were documented. The major class of artifacts recovered was ceramics, although quantities of animal bone, charred plant remains, chipped stone, and other material were also found. The ceramics were primarily of two types (Coleman 1976:37)-- Clements, defined by Coe (1964), and Clarkesville, originally defined by Evans (1955) and Miller (1962). Only a few sherds of the Middle Woodland Clements pottery type were present, as the great majority were Clarkesville.

The relationships of Clarkesville ceramics, and thus the assemblage at Reedy Creek, has been a problem in the archaeology of the Roanoke drainage since before the series was first formally described in the mid-1950s

(Evans 1955). Most researchers have usually equated Clarkesville with Dan River ceramics in the later portions of the Late Woodland period (Coe 1952b; Evans 1955; Miller 1962; Gardner 1980). Adding to the confusion, a single radiocarbon date for the Reedy Creek Site of A.D. 1150±65 (800±65 B.P., UGA 1258) was obtained from charcoal in a feature that contained only Clarkesville ceramics (Coleman 1976:17). This is a number of years earlier than the A.D. 1400 date usually associated with the beginnings of Dan River ceramics. As no trade items of European manufacture were recovered from any of the features or undisturbed sections of 44Ha22, it certainly did not date to the Historic period, and probably not to the Protohistoric. Its relationship to the Dan River ceramics has yet to be made explicit, and for now, only a general inter-relationship between the two is suggested.

#### The Ceramics from Reedy Creek

The majority of the sherds from the site were typed as Clarkesville or Clements by Nick Coleman, who consulted with Joffre Coe of the Research Laboratories of Anthropology at the University of North Carolina before finalizing his classification (Coleman 1976:ii; personal communication, 1981). Coleman (1976:41-48) described the Clarkesville ceramics from 44Ha22 following the type descriptions provided by Evans (1955) and Miller (1962), and the information given by Coe. Temper consists of fine to coarse sand, with fine to medium predominating. Larger inclusions (no size range was provided) appear to be accidental. Decorations consist of punctated and incised designs, fingerpinched/jabbed/fingernail impressed motifs, and notches placed on lips or the bottom of some of the rim folds. Surface treatments (Table 22) consist of net impressing, smoothing, cordmarking,

TABLE 22

DISTRIBUTION OF SURFACE FINISHES ON THE CLARKESVILLE CERAMICS  
 ANALYZED BY COLEMAN FROM THE REEDY CREEK SITE, 44Ha22  
 (DERIVED FROM TABLE 6 IN COLEMAN (1976:83))

Surface Finish	Plowzone		Undisturbed (Below Plowzone)		Features		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Net Impressed	1409	60.9	176	58.5	1844	74.8	3429	67.5
Smoothed	649	28.1	72	24.0	348	14.2	1069	21.1
Cordmarked	189	8.2	34	11.2	142	5.8	365	7.2
Brushed/scraped	40	1.7	12	4.0	59	2.4	111	2.2
Corncob Impressed	21	0.9	6	2.0	63	2.5	90	1.7
Simple Stamped	4	0.2	1	0.3	8	0.3	13	0.3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2312</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2464</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>5077</b>	<b>100.0</b>

"combing" (brushing), corncob impressing and simple stamping (through marked). Interior surfaces are either smoothed or scraped.

The lips of the Clarkesville ceramics are rounded, flat, or thinned. Rims are occasionally folded (or thickened). These folds range from 14.7mm to 24.4mm in thickness. Vessel forms include globular jars with conoidal to rounded bottoms, constricted necks, and straight to everted rims. Bowls are small to medium in size, and possess rounded bodies, conoidal or rounded bases, and straight to slightly incurved rims. It should be noted that Evans (1955:49-55) noticed no bowl forms in his consideration of Clarkesville ceramics, only jars or "ollas". As already stated, the exact temporal and spatial relationships of Clarkesville pottery have yet to be determined. Coe (1952b:1) assigned the ceramics to the Occaneechi and Saponi Indians of the Roanoke River during the period from 1625 and 1675. Evans (1955:112) saw similarities between Clarkesville and the Radford ceramic series of southwestern Virginia. In Evan's interpretation, Clarkesville represented the migration of a group of people to the Roanoke River from the west. This was supported by a view that Clarkesville ceramics represented an abrupt change with the earlier ceramics of the middle Roanoke River (Coleman 1976:52; cf. Evans 1955:112; Coe 1964:100). General differences in temper, vessel firing, vessel form and surface treatment were noted in support of this thesis. The rarity of cordmarked surfaces, and the absence of fabric impressed surfaces marked the main differences of Clarkesville from the earlier period (Coe 1964:100).

Researchers have also noted similarities between the Clarkesville and the Dan River Series (Lewis 1951:292-293; Coe 1952b:310; Evans 1955:136; Coleman 1976:53-54). Gardner (1980:36, 63) has gone so far as to class

Clarkesville as a component of his Stokes Variety Group of the Dan River Ware. The folded (or thickened) rims of the Clarkesville pottery was not considered sufficient evidence to warrant the promulgation of a new type (Gardner 1980:45-52). Rather, the folded rim was interpreted as an example of a mode, which, following Smith, Willey and Gifford's definition (1960:31), crosscut types and varieties, and displayed significance in its own right (Gardner 1980:52).

In general, differences between Clarkesville and Dan River ceramics are seen in the prevalence of certain attributes (Coe 1977). Clarkesville pottery is generally net impressed, with looped varieties predominating. Cordmarking is rare. Jars possess rounded bottoms. Rims are folded to give a collar, and the bottom of the rim folds are decorated. Punctations are the most popular kind of decoration. Some scraping of interiors occurs, but it is not widespread. Dan River ceramics, on the other hand, according to Coe (1977), possess more decorations and more complicated incised designs. Fingerpinching, incising, and slashing occurs on lips, rims, and especially the neck. On the last named vessel section, bands of incised motifs are frequent. Lips are usually notched. Punctations also are present. Cordmarked surface finishes are an important minority type. And knotted net is used more frequently in Dan River ceramics (Coe 1977). For now the discussion will be stopped, and the analysis of the attributes associated with Clarkesville ceramics presented.

#### Ceramic Attributes from 44Ha22

This study is based on a collection of 62 vessel rim sections present in the features at Reedy Creek. Plates IV-VI illustrate examples of the various surface finishes and decorations present in the ceramic collection from 44Ha22. Medium to coarse sand is used as temper in the Clarkesville

ceramics at the site. The size of the quartz particles varies from about .20mm to 1.06mm in size, with the mean being .66mm. The surface finish (Table 23) is dominated by net impressing, with smoothing, cordmarking, brushing/scraping, and simple stamping also evidenced. The simple stamping is slanted in one direction, and is not cross-stamped or overstamped. This may have been due, however, to the relatively small size of the sherd upon which it occurs. Smoothed interior surfaces predominate (n=43, 69.4%), as only 19 (30.7%) have been scraped. As for lip type, rounded and rounded/thinned forms (n=42, 67.7%) outnumber flat and flat/thinned types (n=20, 32.3%).

The hallmark of Clarkesville ceramics is the folded rims on jars. Of the 56 everted rim profiles (Figure 21), 23 (41.1%) are folded, thickened, or have sections folded/not folded (Table 23). Over half (58.9%) of the everted rims are not folded in any manner, a very large figure. Six (9.7%) of the 62 total rims are either straight or incurved, and represent bowls. As with the other ceramic assemblages placed in the Prehistoric period, jars are the major vessel form, comprising 90.3% of the identified vessels. Bowls account for the other 9.7%. The technical data on the jar and bowl shapes present does not differ from that offered earlier by Coleman (1976).

Decorations (Table 24) are usually confined to the lip/rim edge (n=23) and the lip (n=20). The only other vessel section decorated is a rim that has a single smoothed band on it. The most common type of decoration (Table 25) are v shaped notches (n=16) cut into the lip/rim edge (n=13) and the lip (n=4). Following this is the fingertip notched/punctate group, present on a total of 15 specimens. Ten are on the lip/rim edge and five on the lip. A solitary instance of smoothing is present on a rim fold from a net impressed vessel. Aside from smoothed/plain treatments (n=42), the most common lip decoration is for the surface finish to be extended from

TABLE 23

SURFACE FINISH, INTERIOR FINISH, LIPTYPE, RIMTYPE AND  
VESSELFORM PRESENT IN THE CERAMIC COLLECTION FROM 44Ha22

## SURFACE FINISH

Surface Finish	Number	Percentage
Net Impressed, Knotted	30	48.387
Net Impressed, Looped	12	19.355
Smoothed	8	12.903
Cordmarked	4	6.452
Corncob Impressed	4	6.452
Brushed/Scraped	2	3.226
Simple Stamped	1	1.613
Corncob Rim/Net Body	1	1.613
TOTAL	62	100.00

## INTERIOR FINISH

Finish	Number	Percentage
Smoothed	39	62.903
Smoothed over scraped	4	6.452
Scraped	19	30.645
TOTAL	62	100.00

## LIPTYPES

Form	Number	Percentage
Rounded	31	50.000
Rounded/thinned	11	17.742
Flat	18	29.032
Flat/thinned	2	3.226
TOTAL	62	100.00

TABLE 23—Continued

RIMTYPE		
Form	Number	Percentage
Everted	28	45.161
Everted, flaring	5	8.065
Everted, folded	14	22.580
Everted, part folded/part not	2	3.226
Straight	3	4.839
Incurved	3	4.839
TOTAL	62	100.00

VESSEL FORM		
Form	Number	Percentage
Jar	56	90.323
Bowl	6	9.677
TOTAL	62	100.00

TABLE 24  
 DECORATIONS PRESENT AND PLACEMENT OF DECORATIONS  
 BY VESSEL SECTION, 44Ha22

## DECORATIONS PRESENT

Decoration	Location			Total
	Lip	Lip/ Rim	Rim	
V-shaped Notches	3	13	-	17
Fingertip Treatment	5	10	-	15
Smoothed Band	-	-	1	1
Net Impressing	10	-	-	10
Cordmarkings	1	-	-	1
Corncob Impressing	1	-	-	1
Total	20	23	1	45

## PLACEMENT OF DECORATIONS BY VESSEL SECTION

Section	Occurrences	Number Decorated	Percentage Decorated
Lip	62	20	32.26
Lip/Rim	62	23	37.10
Rim	62	1	1.61
Neck	13	-	-
Neck/Shoulder	3	-	-
Shoulder	2	-	-

TABLE 25  
DISTRIBUTION OF DECORATIONS BY VESSEL SECTION, 44Ha22

LIP DECORATIONS			
Decoration	Number	Percentage	Sample Percentage
V-shaped Notches	3	0.15	4.839
Fingertip Notches	3	0.15	4.839
Fingertip Impressed, Interior edge of Lip	1	0.05	1.613
Fingertip and V-shaped Notches	1	0.05	1.613
Net Impressing	10	50.00	16.129
Cordmarking	1	0.05	1.613
Corncob Impressing	1	0.05	1.613
TOTAL	20	100.00	32.26

## LIP/RIM DECORATIONS

Decoration	Number	Percentage	Sample Percentage
V-shaped Notches	13	56.522	20.968
Fingertip Notches	10	43.478	16.129
TOTAL	23	100.00	37.10

## RIM DECORATIONS

Decoration	Number	Percentage	Sample Percentage
Smoothed Band (rim fold)	1	100.00	1.613

TABLE 26

## CROSSTABULATION OF SURFACE FINISH AND DECORATIONS, 44Ha22

## LIP DECORATIONS

Decoration	Surface Finish					Corncob Rim/		Total
	Net Knotted	Net Looped	Cord	Corncob	Brushed	Net	Body	
V-shaped Notches	2	-	-	-	-	1		3
Fingertip Notches	3	-	-	-	-	-		3
Fingertip Impressed, Interior edge of Lip	-	-	-	1	-	-		1
Fingertip and V-shaped Notches	-	-	-	-	1	-		1
Net Impressing	6	4	-	-	-	-		10
Cordmarking	-	-	1	-	-	-		1
Corncob Impressing	-	-	-	1	-	-		1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>20</b>

## LIP/RIM DECORATIONS

Decoration	Surface Finish					Total
	Net Knotted	Net Looped	Cord	Corncob	Simple Stamped	
V-shaped Notches	10	1	-	1	1	13
Fingertip Notches	5	3	2	-	-	10
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>23</b>

## RIM DECORATIONS

Decoration	Surface Finish	
	Net, Knotted	
Smoothed Band (rim fold)	1	

TABLE 27  
 CROSSTABULATION OF DECORATIONS AND VESSEL FORMS, 44Ha22

## LIP DECORATIONS

Decoration	Vessel form		
	Jar	Bowl	Total
V-shaped Notches	3	-	3
Fingertip Notches	3	-	3
Fingertip Impressed, Interior edge of Lip	1	-	1
Fingertip and V-shaped Notches	1	-	1
Net Impressing	10	-	10
Cordmarking	1	-	1
Corncob Impressing	1	-	1
TOTAL	20	-	10

## LIP/RIM DECORATION

Decoration	Vessel form		
	Jar	Bowl	Total
V-shaped Notches	13	-	13
Fingertip Notches	10	-	10
TOTAL	23	-	23

## RIM DECORATIONS

Decoration	Vessel form		
	Jar	Bowl	Total
Smoothed Band (rim fold)	1	-	1

TABLE 28

## CROSSTABULATION OF SURFACE FINISH AND RIMTYPE, 44Ha22

Surface Finish	RIMTYPE						Total
	Everted	Everted Flaring	Everted Folded	Everted, Part Folded/Part Not	Straight	Incurved	
Net Impressed, Knotted	15	3	5	6	1	-	30
Net Impressed, Looped	3	1	5	2	1	-	12
Smoothed	4	-	-	1	-	3	8
Crodmarked	1	1	1	-	1	-	4
Corncob Impressed	3	-	1	-	-	-	4
Brushed/Scraped	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Simple Stamped	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Corncob Rim/ Net Body	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>62</b>

TABLE 29

## CROSSTABULATION OF DECORATIONS WITH RIMTYPE, 44Ha22

## LIP DECORATIONS

Decoration	Rimtype				Straight	Total
	Everted	Everted, Flaring	Everted, Folded	Everted, Part Folded/ Part Not		
V-shaped Notches	1	1	-	-	1	3
Fingertip Notches	2	-	-	1	-	3
Fingertip Impressed, Interior edge of Lip	1	-	-	-	-	1
Fingertip and V-shaped Notches	-	-	1	-	-	1
Net Impressing	2	3	2	3	-	10
Cordmarking	-	1	-	-	-	1
Corncob Impressing	-	-	1	-	-	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>20</b>

## LIP/RIM DECORATIONS

Decoration	Rimtype			Total
	Everted	Everted, Folded	Everted, Part Folded/ Part Not	
V-shaped Notches	7	4	1	12
Fingertip Notches	5	2	2	9
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>21</b>

## RIM DECORATIONS

Decoration	Rimtype	
	Everted	Folded
Smoothed Band (rim fold)	1	

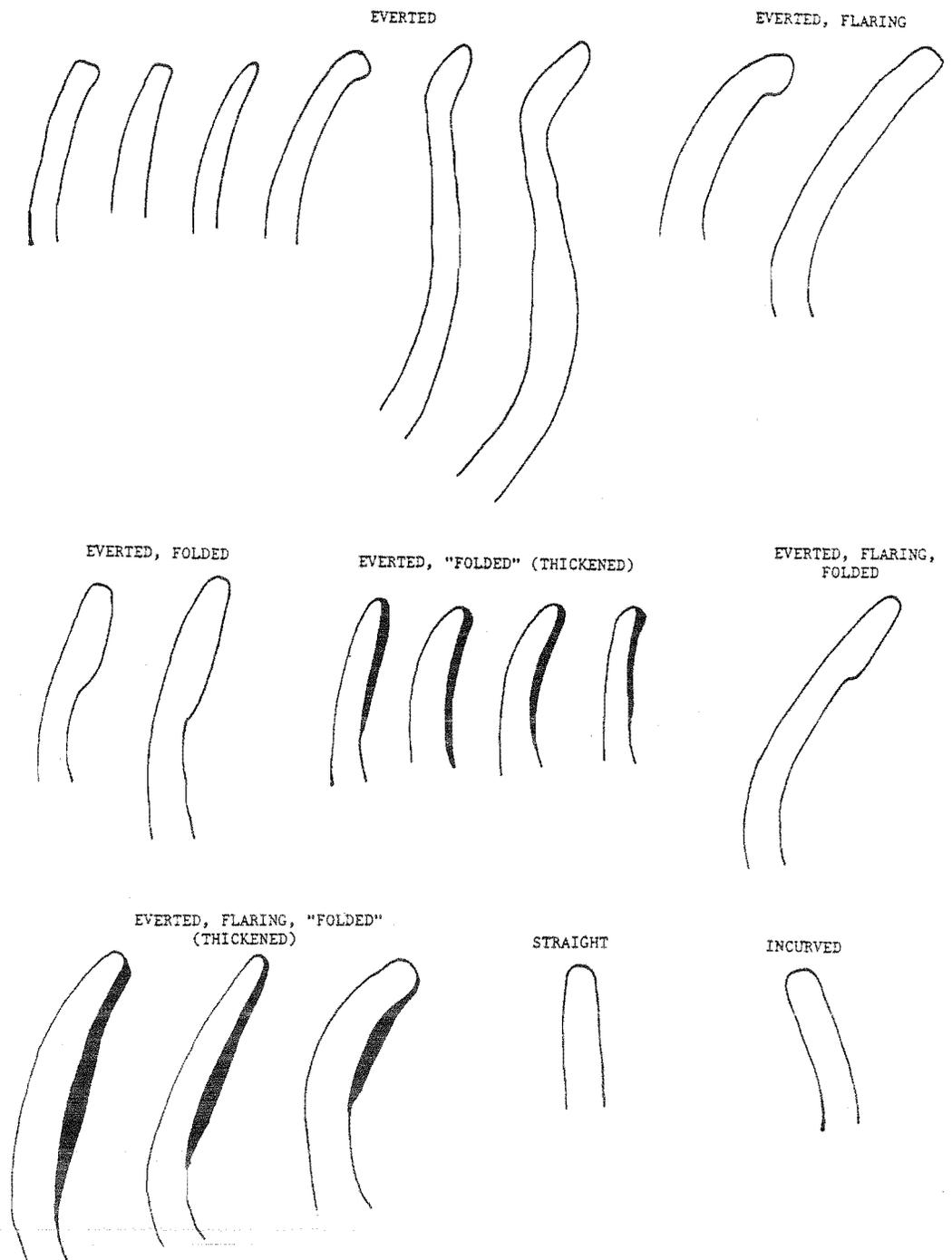


Figure 21.--Rim profiles, 44Ha22.

Plate IV.--Dan River Net Impressed variety Dan River sherds from 44Ha22. Decorations are: (a) turned over lips with u-shaped notches placed across the lip; (b) net impressing continued onto the lip; (c) v-shaped notches cut across a smoothed lip (left), and a smoothed band at the top of the rim (right); (d) v-shaped notches cut into the exterior edge of the lip onto the top of the rim; (e) u-shaped notches cut across a smoothed lip of a knotted-net impressed sherd.

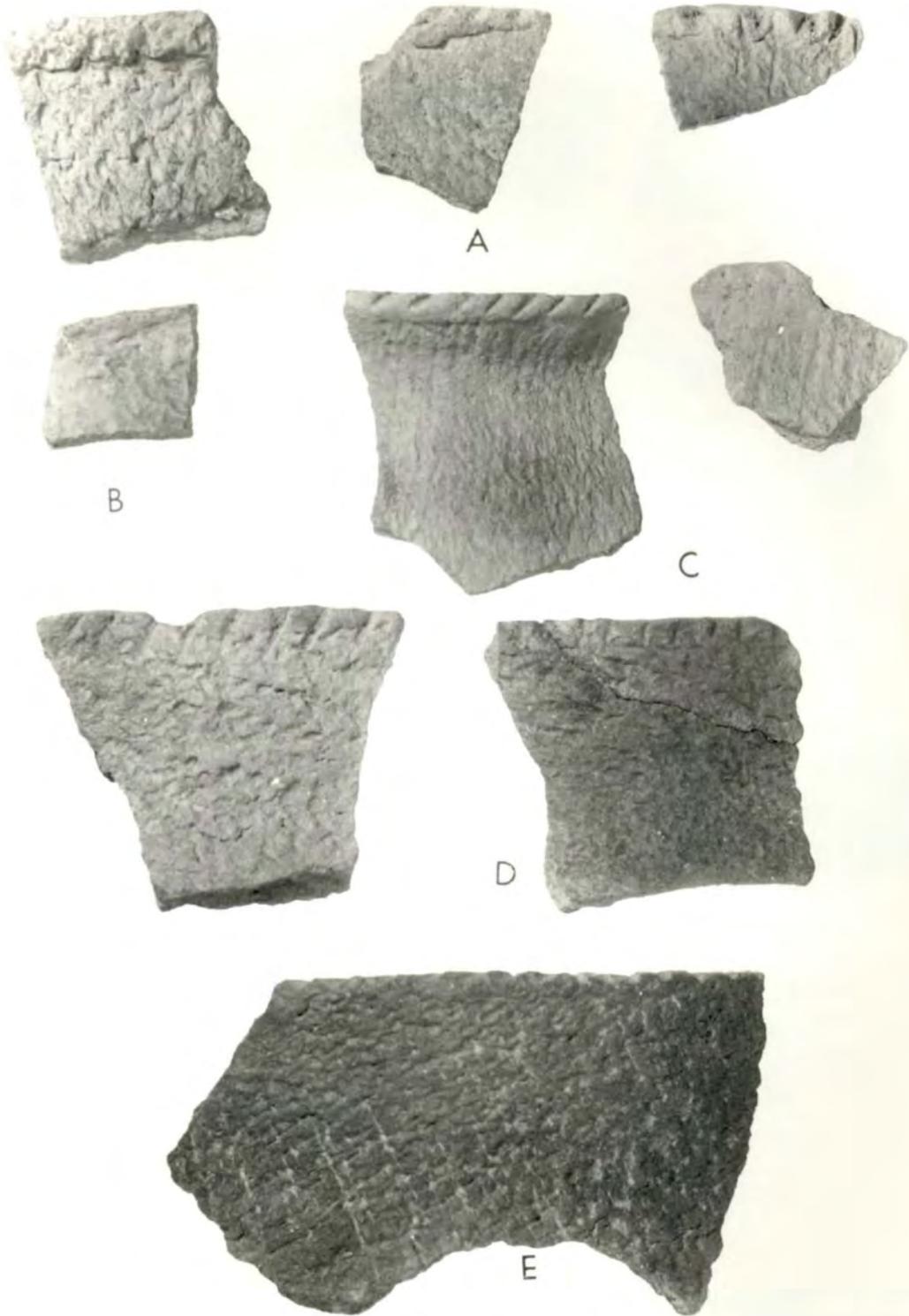


Plate V.--"Clarkesville" net impressed sherds from 44Ha22.  
Decorations are: (a) u-shaped notches cut across three-fourths of a rim fold into the exterior edge of the lip (left), u-shaped notches cut across the lip-rim edge of a folded rim (center), and shallow u-shaped notches placed on the exterior edge of a turned over lip (right); (b) u-shaped notches cut across the lip-rim edge with a narrow smoothed band at the top of the rim; (c) smoothed, turned over lips; (d) smoothed lip; (e) net impressing continued onto the lip (left, center and right).



A



B

C



D

E

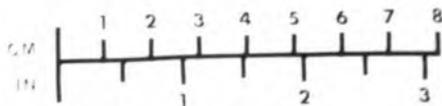


Plate VI.--Miscellaneous sherds from 44Ha22. (a) Dan River Smoothed variety Dan River; (b) Dan River Smoothed variety Dan River with a plain neck; (c) "Clarkesville" smoothed with fingernail punctations placed along the top of the rim fold; (d) "Clarkesville" corncob impressed sherds with v-shaped notches cut across the lip (left), and v-shaped notches cut across the lip-rim edge (center); (e) "Clarkesville" brushed with a smoothed rim fold; (f) Dan River Cordmarked variety Dan River (left), and "Clarkesville" cordmarked with v-shaped notches cut into the lip-rim edge.



A



B



C



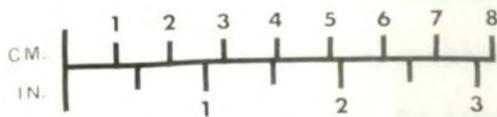
D



E



F



the body onto the lip (n=12). Net impressed lip treatments predominate (n=10), with one cordmarked and one corncob impressed lip also present.

Given the preponderance of net impressed surface finishes, most of the decorative motifs (n=35) occur on sherds with that treatment (Table 26). As for vessel type, none of the bowls are decorated, as all 44 decorations are on jars (Table 27).

In considering Clarkesville ceramics, the major attribute used to delimit the series is the folded rim. The crosstabulation of surface finish with rimtype, in general, does not produce any differential associations (Table 28). It appears that bowls are either net impressed or smoothed. Also, the occurrences of lip/rim decorations (Table 29) is spread evenly across folded and non-folded everted rims, reflecting the relative numbers of each. The lip decorations, however, show that 18 (85.7%) have been executed on non-folded rims, and only 3 (14.3%) on folded rimsherds. Not much could be made of the fact that the only rim decoration present (smoothed band) is on a rim fold, other than to note the general absence of decorations on rims in the assemblage.

#### A Catawba River Valley Site

This short discussion is intended to provide some idea, as vague as it might be, of what was occurring in the Catawba area during the Late Prehistoric period. No series or types will be presented, only a general description of the pottery and its attributes. In this region few collections with ceramics from an undisturbed context are available for study. The ceramics included here came from one site, and represent the largest collection known to the author for the Catawba River. The assemblage consists of sherds, whole pots, and portions of whole vessels

obtained from a site on the Catawba River north of Charlotte, North Carolina, in an area that has since been covered by the waters of Lake Norman. Surveys conducted during the early 1960s recorded archaeological sites along the Catawba that would be flooded by the lake construction. A bulldozer cut at one site, 31Id41 in Iredell County (Figure 14) produced a washout. From this disturbed area, large sherds and a few broken pots were recovered. A series of nine squares were placed adjacent to the bulldozer cut/washout and excavated. Under the disturbed top soil, an old humus zone was found which overlay a sandy subsoil. A number of chipped stone projectile points, grinding stones, hammerstones, sherds, and a clay pipe were retrieved from the dig.

Of the 2982 sherds and one small pot recovered, 16 data "observations" were obtained for this study. The specific and relative dating of the assemblage and the ceramics is by no means secure. The lack of any items of European manufacture suggests a Late Prehistoric chronological position for the material. This assignment is made with a great deal of trepidation, and should not be taken as hard and fast. An aid in dating the material to the Prehistoric (possibly early Protohistoric) period is provided by the recovery of a few Pee Dee type sherds from the old humus zone. This indicates that the ceramic assemblage is generally coeval to Dan River material from 31Rk1 and 31Rk12, which also possess Pee Dee pottery.

Plates VII-X illustrate some of the various surface finishes and decorations present on the sherds from 31Id41. The ceramics are tempered with varying amounts of fine to medium sand, whose quartz particles range from .08mm up to .38mm in size. The mean is .17mm. Three of the sherds appear to have no temper in the paste. The quantity of sand included as temper ranges from small to moderate. This produces a tripartate division

in the sherds that corresponds to the amount of sand present in the paste--none, small and moderate. Burnished and smoothed sherds appear to have less sand added to their paste than the stamped and impressed sherds have. Probably this phenomenon is due to the fact that the process of smoothing and burnishing is easier on vessels whose paste possesses little sand.

Surface finishes present are, in order of popularity (Table 30), burnished (n=6), smoothed (n=4), concentric circle (n=3) and filfot scroll (n=1) complicated stamped, and corncob impressed (n=2). Interior finishes are overwhelmingly burnished (n=12), with the rest being smoothed (n=4). Lips are usually flat (n=5), flat/thinned (n=5), rounded/thinned (n=4), or rounded (n=2).

Vessels present (Figure 22) include jars with everted/flaring rims (n=5) (Figure 23), and long-necked, only slightly everted, rims (n=4); cazuela bowls (n=3); hemispherical bowls (n=2); and bowls with straight to only slightly incurved rims (n=2). Body shape is rounded to globular for both the jars and bowls. Bases are rounded or flat.

The number of decorations noted (Tables 31 and 32) is as limited as the sample size. Punctations are the most numerous, being either circular (n=4) or oblong (n=1). The rest of the designs, shallow fingertip impressions, applique rim strips, continuous complicated incised designs, and v shaped notches, are represented by only one example each. Also, a burnished lip is present on a sherd with a complicated stamped surface and burnished interior. The rim (n=4, 25% of 16 rims present), neck/shoulder (n=1, 25% of 4 occurrences) and shoulder (n=2, 25% of 8) are the most frequently decorated sections of a vessel (Table 31).

By vessel form (Table 33), the jars possess the majority of all the decorations that occur. This includes the only burnished lip, both lip/rim

decorations, and all three rim decorations. The cazuela bowls have all the shoulder decorations. The miscellaneous unique designs, a continuous curvilinear incised motif that covers the rim, shoulder and body, is on a hemispherical bowl.

The distribution of the decorations by surface finish is also restricted (Table 34). A complicated stamped concentric circle surface treatment possesses the one burnished lip present, one of the lip/rim decorations (shallow fingertip impressions), and two of the three rim motifs. These latter two motifs are large circular reed punctations into the rim itself ( $n=2$ ), and into an applique strip ( $n=1$ ). The other lip/rim decoration (v-shaped notches) is also associated with a complicated stamped surface, the filfot scroll type. The third type of rim decoration, large circular reed punctates, is on a jar with a smoothed surface, as is the miscellaneous unique design. The punctated shoulder decorations are all on burnished vessels.

The jars are decorated with notches and shallow fingertip impressions on the lip/rim edge, and large circular "reed" punctations into the rim or an applique strip on the rim. The reed punctates are large and sloppily applied, providing a node-like appearance. Curvilinear complicated stamped surface treatments associated with jars are the concentric circle and filfot scroll. The complicated incised design ( $n=1$ ) is on a hemispherical bowl that has been smoothed. The cazuela bowls are burnished, and possess punctations (circular or oblong) on their shoulders. Lips are seldom decorated on any of the vessels, except when the interior surface finish is continued onto it. Lip/rim edges also possess few decorations.

TABLE 30

SURFACE FINISH, INTERIOR FINISH, LIPTYPE, RIMTYPE, AND VESSEL FORM  
PRESENT, 311d41

Finish	SURFACE FINISH	
	Number	Percentage
Burnished	6	37.50
Smoothed	3	18.75
Corncob Impressed	2	12.50
Complicated Stamped, Concentric Circle	2	12.50
Complicated Stamped, Filfot Scroll	2	12.50
Smoothed over check stamped	1	6.25
TOTAL	16	100.00

Finish	INTERIOR FINISH	
	Number	Percentage
Burnished	12	75.00
Smoothed	4	25.00
TOTAL	16	100.00

Form	LIPTYPE	
	Number	Percentage
Rounded	2	12.50
Rounded/thinned	4	25.00
Flat	5	31.25
Flat/thinned	5	31.25
TOTAL	16	100.00

Form	RIM TYPE	
	Number	Percentage
Everted	6	37.50
Everted, Flaring	3	18.75
Straight	1	6.25
Incurved	6	37.50
TOTAL	16	100.00

Form	VESSEL FORM	
	Number	Percentage
Jar	9	56.25
Bowl	2	12.50
Hemispherical Bowl	2	12.50
Cazuella Bowl	3	18.75
TOTAL	16	100.00

TABLE 31

## DECORATIONS PRESENT AND PLACEMENT OF DECORATIONS, 31Id41

## DECORATIONS PRESENT

Decoration	Lip/		Shoulder	Mud <sup>1</sup>	Total
	Rim	Rim			
Shallow Fingertip Impressions	1	-	-	-	1
Circular Punctations	-	2	2	-	4
Oblong Punctations made by two quarter moons	-	-	1	-	1
V-shaped Notches	-	1	-	-	1
Applique Strip	-	1	-	-	1
Complicated Incised Design	-	-	-	1	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9</b>

## PLACEMENT OF DECORATIONS BY VESSEL SECTION

Section	Occurrences	Number Decorated	Percentage Decorated
Lip	16	-	-
Lip/Rim	16	2	12.50
Rim	16	3	18.75
Neck	4	-	-
Neck/Shoulder	8	-	-
Shoulder	7	3	42.86

TABLE 32  
DISTRIBUTION OF DECORATIONS BY VESSEL SECTION, 311d41

## LIP/RIM DECORATIONS

Decoration	Number	Percentage	Sample Percentage
V-shaped Notches	1	50.00	6.25
Shallow Fingertip Impressions	1	50.00	6.25
TOTAL	2	100.00	12.50

## RIM DECORATIONS

Decoration	Number	Percentage	Sample Percentage
Circular Punctations	1	50.00	6.25
Circular Punctations into applique rim strip, giving the appearance of nodes	1	50.00	6.25
TOTAL	2	100.00	12.50

## SHOULDER DECORATIONS

Decoration	Number	Percentage	Sample Percentage
Circular Punctations	2	66.667	28.571
Oblong Punctations made with two quarter moons	1	33.333	14.286
TOTAL	3	100.00	42.857

## MISCELLANEOUS UNIQUE DESIGN

Decoration	Number	Percentage
Complicated Incised Design	1	100.00

TABLE 33  
 CROSSTABULATION OF VESSEL FORM AND DECORATIONS, 311d41

## LIP DECORATIONS

Form	DECORATION Burnished
Jar	6
Bowl	2
Hemispherical Bowl	2
Cazuela Bowl	2
Total	12

## LIP/RIM DECORATIONS

Form	Decoration		Total
	V-shaped Notches	Shallow Fingertip Impressions	
Jar	1	1	2

## RIM DECORATIONS

Form	Decoration		Total
	Circular Punctations	Circular Punctations into Applique Strip	
Jar	1	1	2

## SHOULDER DECORATIONS

Form	Decoration		Total
	Circular Punctations	Oblong Punctations made with two Quarter Moons	
Cazuela Bowl	2	1	3

## MISCELLANEOUS UNIQUE DESIGN

Form	Decoration Complicated Incised Design
Hemispherical Bowl	1

TABLE 34

## CROSSTABULATION OF SURFACE FINISH AND DECORATIONS, 311d41

## LIP DECORATIONS

Finish	Decoration	
	Burnishing	
Smoothed		3
Smoothed over Check		-
Burnished		5
Corncob		2
Concentric Circles		2
Filfol Scroll		-
Total		12

## LIP/RIM DECORATIONS

Finish	Decoration		Total
	V-shaped Notches	Shallow Fingertip Impressions	
Concentric Circle	-	1	1
Filfol Scroll	1	-	1
Total	1	1	2

## RIM DECORATIONS

Finish	Decoration		Total
	Circular Punctations	Circular Punctations with Applique Strip	
Smoothed	1	-	1
Burnished	1	-	1
Concentric Circle	-	1	1
Total	2	1	3

## SHOULDER DECORATIONS

Finish	Decoration		Total
	Circular Punctations	Oblong Punctations with two Quarter Moons	
Burnished	2	1	3

TABLE 34--Continued

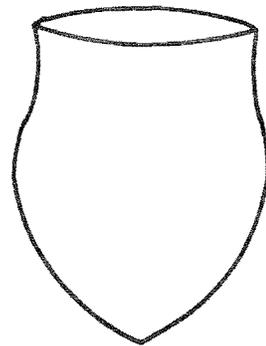
## MISCELLANEOUS UNIQUE DESIGNS

Finish

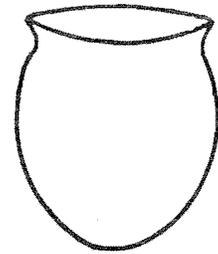
Decoration  
Complicated Incised Design

Smoothed

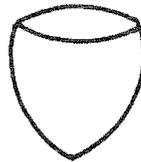
1



LONG-NECKED JAR



FLARING, OPEN-MOUTHED JAR



BOWL



CAZUELLA BOWLS



HEMISPHERICAL BOWL

Figure 22.--Vessel forms (reconstructed) present, 31Id41.

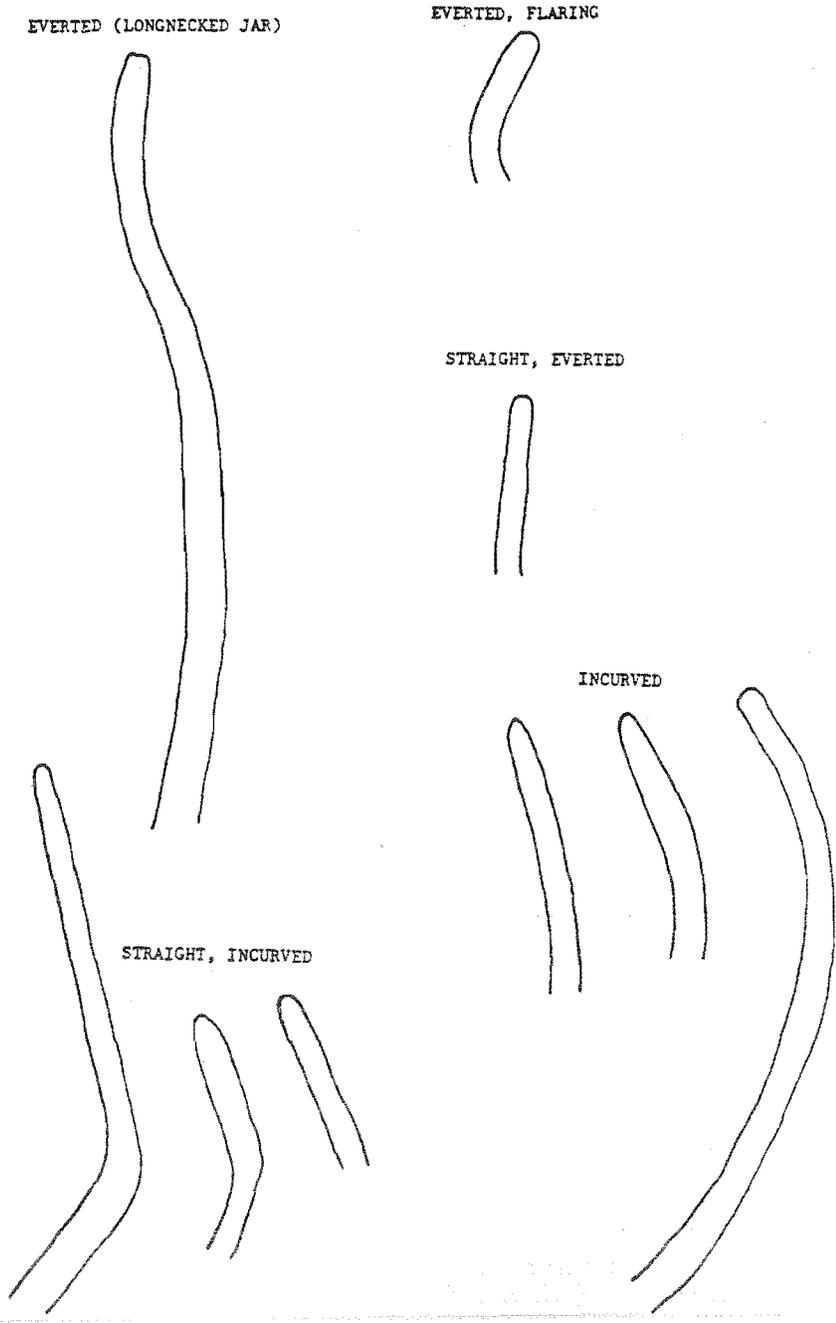


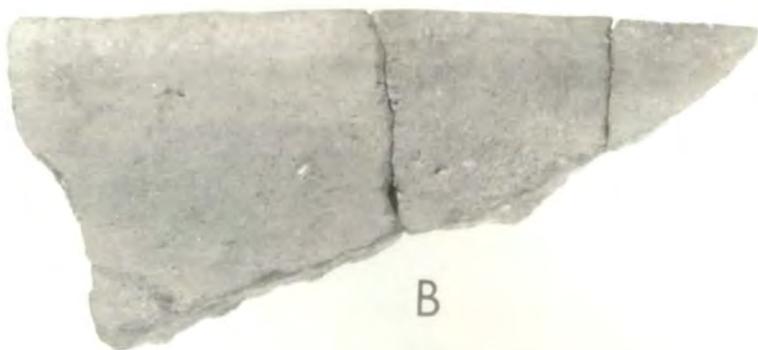
Figure 23.--Rim profiles, 311d41.

Plate VII.--Miscellaneous sherds from 31Id41. (a) smoothed rim from a cazuela bowl; (b) smoothed rim from a hemispherical bowl; (c) smoothed, everted rim from a jar with a node strip at the top of the rim just under the lip; (d) rim from a smoothed-over-corn-cob impressed jar; and (e) rim from a concentric circle complicated stamped jar.



A

1041p14



B

1041p2



C

1041p4



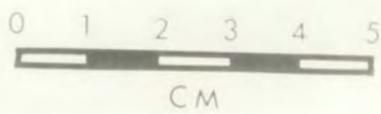
D

1041p47



E

1041p47



CM

Plate VIII.--Corncob impressed jar (left), and a burnished bowl (right)  
with a complicated incised design, from 31Id41.



1041p?



1041p4

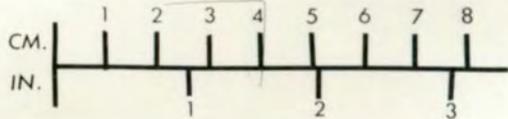


Plate IX.--Straight-necked cazuela bowl from 31Id41. Diamond-shaped punctations placed in the shoulder.



1041p4

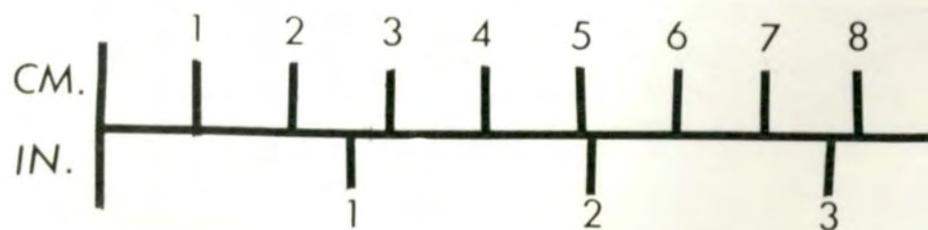


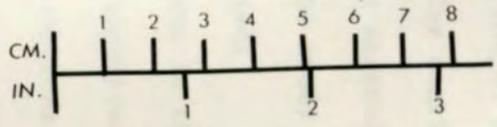
Plate X.--Complicated stamped body sherds recovered from 31 Id41.  
(left) concentric circle design, and (right) filfot scroll design.



1041p1



1041p2



1041p1

### Summary of the Prehistoric Ceramics

The ceramics from the Dan River attributed to the Prehistoric period in this study are a fairly homogeneous lot. As a group, they possess certain attributes that separates them from what exists in other areas, in particular the lower section of the Catawba River. Attributes common to the Dan River sites include the use of finger treatments of some type (punctate/pinched/notched/fingernail impressed), and v-shaped notches as decorations on the lips and lip/rim edge (Table 35). The continuation of the surface finish onto the lip is present in all three assemblages, and reaches its zenith in the Clarkesville ceramics from the Reedy Creek Site, 44Ha22. Surface finishes are most commonly net impressed.

Differences appear between the three Dan River sites in the placement and occurrence of decorative elements other than the fingertreatments and v-shaped notches. From 31Rkl, "Sauro Town", all vessel sections are decorated at least 20% of the time, except for the shoulder (Table 36). No decorations are found there. Smoothed bands, linear incised designs, and combinations of the two, are fairly common on the rim, neck and neck/shoulder areas (Table 37).

The Clarkesville ceramics from Reedy Creek, on the other hand, possess, with one exception, decorations only on the lip and lip/rim edge. A smoothed band is present on one folded rimsherd. Linear incising is absent from this ceramic collection.

The material from the Leggett Site, 44Ha23, lies somewhere between the other two sites as far as the placement and occurrence of decorations are concerned. The lip and lip/rim edge possess the majority of the decorations, which consist of v-shaped notches and finger treatments. The latter are also found on the neck (the only occurrence of a neck

decoration in the 44Ha23 collection). Also, a single neck/shoulder decoration, circular reed punctates, is present. The fact that neck and neck/shoulder decorations exist in the Leggett Site material, and the lack of folded rims, highlight the connections with the Dan River ceramics from "Sauro Town". The absence of rim decorations, smoothed bands, and linear incising is similar to the Clarkesville ceramics from Reedy Creek.

Taking up the association of decorations with surface finishes (Table 38), net impressed treatments possess most of the decorations, followed by corncob and cordmarked. Smoothed and brushed/smoothed surfaces account for a number of the decorations in the Dan River Series ceramics, but relatively few ( $n=1$ ) in the Clarkesville. This general pattern is also present in the distribution of decorations across vessel types. The "Sauro Town" and Reedy Creek materials are at either end of a continuum, with the Leggett ceramics in the middle. Jars possess the greatest number of designs for all three assemblages. But the percentages varies from site to site. About 9.7% of the total number of decorations occur on bowls in the ceramics from Sauro Town, but none is noted on bowls in the Clarkesville material from Reedy Creek. The Dan River material from Leggett is again midway between the other two collections, as 5% ( $n=1$ ) of the decorations are on bowls.

To sum up the situation for the Prehistoric ceramics from the Dan River region, the three assemblages differ from one another in the presence and occurrence of certain attributes. The small size of the sample analyzed from the Leggett Site certainly affects the comparisons. The fact that this site appears to be earlier than the the material from Sauro Town is demonstrated by the differential occurrence and placement of designs between the two. The presence of smoothed bands and linear incised designs

in the Dan River ceramics from Sauro Town may indicate that these elements were assimilated into the series sometime after A.D.1500. Possible sources of these traits could not be determined. Additional research involving other Dan River and non-Dan River assemblages of the entire Late Prehistoric period, and a complete study of these ceramics, and the Leggett and "Sauro Town" pottery that includes all vessel sections (not just those associated with rims in some fashion) has to be conducted before a more comprehensive explanation can be offered.

Setting aside the differences among the "Sauro Town" and Leggett materials, the Dan River Series and Clarkesville ceramics differ in both the presence, and distribution of attributes. Questions of time, space, and content mark the relationship of the two, and need to be investigated. Given the relative lack of cordmarked surfaces in the representative assemblages from "Sauro Town" and Reedy Creek, the two collections appear to be roughly contemporary. The differences denoted by the presence of linear incised designs, decorated bowls, and lack of rim folds in Dan River ceramics all occur at the attribute level. Typologically, the two ceramics are similar in construction, and the execution of surface and interior finishes, so that Phillip's rule of sortability requires that the two be typed as the same. Given the differential occurrence of the attributes named above, the best solution would be to create a Clarkesville Variety Group within the Dan River Ware. Gardner's submerging these ceramics within a Stokes Variety Group serves no useful purpose other than to hide the problem from view. Implicit in the scheme proposed here is the confinement of each of these two ceramic groups to distinct areas during the Late Prehistoric/Early Protohistoric period. The Clarkesville material is associated with the middle reaches of the Roanoke River above the Fall Line, and the lower Dan

River. Ceramics of the Dan River Series are restricted primarily to the middle and upper Dan River drainage.

Turning our attention to the southern section of the North Carolina Piedmont, the pottery from the Catawba River during the Late Prehistoric period is markedly different from that of the Dan River region. Bowl forms, surface finishes and decorations differ significantly between the two areas. The presence of burnished and complicated stamped surfaces, cazuela and hemispherical bowl forms, the use of circular reed punctations to create 'pseudo-nodes', and applique rim strips, all illustrate the direct influences that emanated from the Pee Dee, and Pee Dee related, culture (cf. Reid 1965, 1967) of the Wateree River in South Carolina, and the Little River section of the Pee Dee River in south-central North Carolina. Given the small sample size of the Catawba River ceramic collection from 31Id41, not much beyond this can be comfortably said. Pee Dee influences are present in the Dan River Series assemblages in North Carolina. An attempt to incorporate these foreign modes of surface finish, vessel shape and decoration, similar to that illustrated in the 31Id31 material, is not evidenced at this early date in the Dan River assemblages. The differences between the Dan River and the Catawba River collections in the placement of decorations, the decorative elements that occur, and the association of these designs with vessel forms and surface finish, underscores this interaction dichotomy.

TABLE 35

## DECORATIVE ELEMENTS PRESENT BY VESSEL SECTION AT FOUR PREHISTORIC SITES

31Rk1						
	Lip	Lip/Rim	Rim	Neck	Neck/Shoulder	Total
V-shaped Notches	14	27	-	-	-	41
Finger Treatment	14	9	2	4	1	30
Smoothed Band	-	-	13	3	1	17
Brushed Band	-	-	1	-	-	1
Incised Inverted v's	-	-	1	4	1	6
Single Lines Incised						
Parallel to Lip	1	-	1	-	1	3
Multiple Lines Incised						
Parallel to Lip	-	-	-	1	1	2
Surface Finish on Lip	4	-	-	-	-	4
Circular Reed Punctate	-	-	-	-	-	-
Applique Strip	-	-	-	-	-	-
Complicated Incised/ Punctated Design	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	33	36	18	12	5	104
44Ha23						
V-shaped Notches	1	3	-	-	-	4
Finger Treatment	-	8	-	3	-	11
Smoothed Band	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brushed Band	-	-	-	-	-	-
Incised Inverted v's	-	-	-	-	-	-
Single Lines Incised						
Parallel to Lip	-	-	-	-	-	-
Multiple Lines Incised						
Parallel to Lip	-	-	-	-	-	-
Surface Finish on Lip	4	-	-	-	-	4
Circular Reed Punctate	-	-	-	-	1	1
Applique Strip	-	-	-	-	-	-
Complicated Incised/ Punctated Design	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	5	11	-	3	1	20

Table 35--Continued

Decorative Element	44Ha22						Total
	Lip	Lip/Rim	Rim	Neck	Neck/ Shoulder	Shoulder	
V-shaped Notches	3	13	-	-	-	-	16
Finger Treatment	5	10	-	-	-	-	15
Smoothed Band	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Brushed Band	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Incised Inverted v's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Single Lines Incised							
Parallel to Lip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Multiple Lines Incised							
Parallel to Lip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Surface Finish on Lip	12	-	-	-	-	-	12
Circular Reed Punctate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Applique Strip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Complicated Incised/ Punctated Design	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>44</b>

31Id41							
V-shaped Notches	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Finger Treatment	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Smoothed Band	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brushed Band	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Incised Inverted v's	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Single Lines Incised							
Parallel to Lip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Multiple Lines Incised							
Parallel to Lip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Surface Finish on Lip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Circular Reed Punctate	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
Applique Strip	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Complicated Incised/ Punctated Design	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>

TABLE 36

## PLACEMENT OF DECORATION BY VESSEL SECTION OF FOUR PREHISTORIC SITES

Vessel Section	31Rk1		44Ha23		44Ha22		31Id41	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Lip	32	36.0	5	22.7	20	32.3	2	12.5
Lip/Rim	37	41.6	11	50.0	23	37.1	2	12.5
Flm	18	20.2	-	-	1	1.6	3	18.8
Neck	12	54.6	3	37.5	-	-	-	-
Neck/Shoulder	4	36.4	1	14.3	-	-	-	-
Shoulder	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	25.0

TABLE 37

CROSSTABULATIONS OF SURFACE FINISH AND DECORATION LOCATION  
FOR FOUR PREHISTORIC SITES

Surface Finish	31Rk1					Total
	Lip	Lip/ Rim	Rim	Neck	Neck/ Shoulder	
Net Impressed (all)	27	31	12	9	4	83
Corncob Impressed	4	2	2	-	-	8
Cordmarked	1	2	1	1	-	5
Brushed/Scraped	-	1	3	1	-	5
Smoothed 1	-	1	-	1	-	2
Simple Stamped	-	-	-	-	-	-
Complicated Stamped	-	-	-	-	-	-
Burnished	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>103</b>

Surface Finish	44Ha23					Total
	Lip	Lip/ Rim	Rim	Neck	Neck/ Shoulder	
Net Impressed (all)	3	7	-	1	-	11
Corncob Impressed	-	1	-	-	-	1
Cordmarked	1	1	-	-	-	2
Brushed/Scraped	-	-	-	-	-	-
Smoothed 1	1	2	-	2	1	6
Simple Stamped	-	-	-	-	-	-
Complicated Stamped	-	-	-	-	-	-
Burnished	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>20</b>

Surface Finish	44Ha22					Total
	Lip	Lip/ Rim	Rim	Neck	Neck/ Shoulder	
Net Impressed (all)	16	19	1	-	-	36
Corncob Impressed	2	1	-	-	-	3
Cordmarked	1	2	-	-	-	3
Brushed/Scraped	1	-	-	-	-	1
Smoothed 1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Simple Stamped	-	1	-	-	-	1
Complicated Stamped	-	-	-	-	-	-
Burnished	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>44</b>

1

slanting one way

TABLE 37--Continued

	31Id41				
	Lip	Lip/ Rim	Rim	Shoulder	Total
Net Impressed (all)	-	-	-	-	-
Corncob Impressed	-	-	-	-	-
Cordmarked	-	-	-	-	-
Brushed/Scraped	-	-	1	-	1
Smoothed 1	-	-	-	-	-
Simple Stamped	-	-	-	-	-
Complicated Stamped	2	2	1	-	5
Burnished	-	-	1	3	4
Total	2	2	3	3	10

1  
slanting one way

TABLE 38

CROSTABULATION OF VESSEL FORM AND DECORATION LOCATION  
FOR FOUR PREHISTORIC SITES

31Rk1							
Vessel Form	Lip	Lip/ Rim	Rim	Neck	Neck/ Shoulder	Shoulder	Total
Jar	27	34	16	12	4	-	93
Bowl	5	3	2	-	-	-	10
Cazuella Bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	32	37	18	12	4	-	103
44Ha23							
Jar	4	11	-	3	1	-	19
Bowl	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Cazuella Bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	5	11	-	3	1	-	20
44Ha22							
Jar	21	23	1	-	-	-	44
Bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cazuella Bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	21	23	1	-	-	-	44
31Id41							
Jar	1	2	3	-	-	-	6
Bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cazuella Bowl	1	-	-	-	-	3	4
Total	2	2	3	-	-	3	10