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Legislation to Establish a Tribal Government for the Indians of North Carolina, Transmitting a Separate Resolution of June 30, 1913, Adopted by the Committee and Tribal Rights of the Indians of Robeson and Adjoining Counties of Southern Indians
Hoffman, H. B. (Francis H.)
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63d CONGRESS
3d SESSION
SENATE
DOCUMENT
No. 977
INDIANS OF NORTH CAROLINA
LETTER FROM
THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
TRANSMITTING
IN RESPONSE TO A SENATE RESOLUTION
LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH A TRIBAL GOVERNMENT
AND TRIBAL RIGHTS OF THE INDIANS
OF ROBESON AND ADJOINING COUNTIES
OF SOUTHERN INDIANS
JANUARY 5, 1915.—Referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs and ordered to be printed
JANUARY 13, 1915.—Additional communications ordered printed
WASHINGTON
1915

Page 1

CONTENTS

Page 2
Letter of transmittal 1
Legislation to establish a tribal government for the Indians of Robeson and adjoining counties in North Carolina 3
Section 1. Tribal government 3
Sec. 2. Office commissioner, tribal 3
Sec. 3. Tribal council, how constituted 3
Sec. 4. Tribal council, how organized 3
Sec. 5. Tribal council, powers 3
Sec. 6. Tribal council, how to act 3
Sec. 7. Tribal council, how to vote 3
Sec. 8. Tribal council, how to elect officers 3
Sec. 9. Tribal council, how to elect officers 3
Sec. 10. Tribal council, how to elect officers 3
Sec. 11. Tribal council, how to elect officers 3
Sec.

Chapter 25 of the aforesaid report (above referred to as above)

Chapter 25 of the aforesaid report (above referred to as above) contains certain recommendations and certain other matters, the Government have carefully considered the recommendations and other matters referred to in the said chapter and have decided as follows:- (1) Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be made the Chairman of the Cantonment Board, Ambala, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Ambala, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the Chairman of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself. (2) Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Ambala, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Ambala, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself. (3) Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Jullundur, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Jullundur, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself. (4) Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Dalhousie, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Dalhousie, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself. (5) Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Kasauli, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Kasauli, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself. (6) Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Kamal, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Kamal, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself. (7) Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Jullundur, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Jullundur, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself. (8) Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Dalhousie, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Dalhousie, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself. (9) Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Kasauli, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Kasauli, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself. (10) Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Kamal, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Kamal, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself. (11) Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Jullundur, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Jullundur, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself. (12) Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Dalhousie, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Dalhousie, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself. (13) Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Kasauli, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Kasauli, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself. (14) Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Kamal, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Kamal, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

(For the full text of the Notice of the Ordinance as given in case report, see Exhibit 1.)

Chapter 25 of the report referred to in the Notice of the Ordinance contains certain recommendations that the Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of the Cantonment Boards, Ambala, and Kasauli, be appointed by the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, and not by the Cantonment Boards themselves.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Ambala, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Ambala, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Jullundur, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Jullundur, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Dalhousie, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Dalhousie, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Kasauli, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Kasauli, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Kamal, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Kamal, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Jullundur, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Jullundur, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

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Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Kasauli, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Kasauli, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Kamal, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Kamal, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

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Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Ambala, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Ambala, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Jullundur, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Jullundur, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Dalhousie, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Dalhousie, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Kasauli, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Kasauli, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Kamal, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Kamal, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Jullundur, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Jullundur, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Dalhousie, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Dalhousie, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Kasauli, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Kasauli, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Kamal, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Kamal, is a very big one and it would not be proper that the President of the Board should be the Chief Commissioner himself.

Chapter 25 of the report referred to in the Notice of the Ordinance contains certain recommendations that the Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of the Cantonment Boards, Ambala, and Kasauli, be appointed by the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, and not by the Cantonment Boards themselves.

Government do not propose to take any action on the recommendation that the Chief Commissioner should be the President of the Cantonment Board, Ambala, for the reasons that the Cantonment Board, Ambala

The great pity was that during one of the most critical periods of British history, the Protestant Dissenters were deprived of their leaders, and the Church of England was left to the guidance of men who were not worthy to be her rulers. Of the Nonconformist ministers who had been ejected from their livings, some had died, and others had been imprisoned, or had fled to Holland or to the American colonies. Among those who had been imprisoned was Richard Baxter, who was released from prison in 1686 and died two years later. Among those who had fled to Holland was John Bunyan, who died in 1688. Among those who had fled to the American colonies was Increase Mather, who died in 1723. Among those who had died was John Owen, who died in 1683. Among those who had been imprisoned in the Tower of London was Thomas Ken, who was released from prison in 1688 and died in 1711. Among those who had been imprisoned in the Fleet was Richard Baxter, who died in 1691. Among those who had been imprisoned in the Marshalsea was Thomas Ken, who died in 1711. Among those who had been imprisoned in the Bridewell was Richard Baxter, who died in 1691. Among those who had been imprisoned in the Newgate was Thomas Ken, who died in 1711. Among those who had been imprisoned in the Ludgate was Richard Baxter, who died in 1691. Among those who had been imprisoned in the Wood Street was Thomas Ken, who died in 1711. Among those who had been imprisoned in the Cripplegate was Richard Baxter, who died in 1691. Among those who had been imprisoned in the Bridewell was Thomas Ken, who died in 1711. Among those who had been imprisoned in the Newgate was Richard Baxter, who died in 1691. Among those who had been imprisoned in the Ludgate was Thomas Ken, who died in 1711. Among those who had been imprisoned in the Wood Street was Richard Baxter, who died in 1691. Among those who had been imprisoned in the Cripplegate

based on any accurate knowledge of the coast, nor had the maker seen the map of the coast made by John White. It was drawn presumably to illustrate a story told by the Indians, and based on the information derived from them. It was sent in September, 1608, by Zuñiga, the Spanish minister in London, to his master, Philip III, and is now first published in Mr. Alexander Brown's "Genesis of the United States." The third source is a pamphlet called "A True and Sincere Discourse of the Purpose and Ende of the *Plantation* begun in *Virginia*," published in 1610. The fourth is Strachey's "History of Travaile into Virginia Britannia," published by the Hakluyt Society in 1849. Strachey came to Virginia as early as 1610, and became secretary of the council. His history is put by Mr. R. H. Major, his editor, between 1612 and 1616.

Captain Smith says in his "True Relation" that Opechancanough, one of the Indian kings, informed him "of certaine men cloathed at a place called Ocanahonan, cloathed like me." "The people cloathed at Ocamahowan, he also confirmed." Again: "We had agreed with the king of Paspahegh to conduct two of our men to a place called Panawicke, beyond Roonok, where he reported many men to be apparelled."2

2 Smith's Works, Arber's edition, 1884, pp. 17-23. See map on p. 83.

The map illustrating this "Relation" shows three rivers which are probably intended to represent the Roanoke, the Tar, and the Neuse. On the south side of the Roanoke is a place called Ocanahowan. On the upper waters of the Neuse is Pakrakanick, and near it the legend "Here remayneth 4 men clothed that came from Roonock to Ochanahowan." The peninsula known to the explorers of 1585 as

Dasamonguepeuk is called Pananiock, and the legend placed there says: "Here the king of Paspahege reported our men to be & wants to go." At a point on the James the map says: "Here Paspehege and 2 of our men landed to go to Panaweock." This expedition set out in January or February, 1608, and failed because the Indian king played the villain.

The managers of the Virginia Company in their "True and Sincere Declaration," referring to the Roanoke colony, say: "if with these [evils] we compare the advantages which we have gotten . . . in the *intelligence* of some of our nation planted by *Sir Walter Raleigh,* yet a live, within fifty mile of our fort, who can open the womb and bowels of this country; as is testified by two of our colony sent out to seek them, who (though denied by the savages speech with them) found *crosses* and *Letters* the *Characters* and assured Testimonies of *Christians* newly cut in the barks of trees."1

1 Brown, Genesis of the United States, i., 348.

Strachey says: At Peccarecamek and Ochanahoen . . . the people have houses built with stone walls, and one story above another, so taught them by those English who escaped the slaughter at Roanoak, at what time this our colony, under the conduct of Captain Newport, landed within the Chesapeake Bay." Powhatan had been instigated to this massacre by his priests. Seven persons escaped, four men, two boys, and a young maid. These fled up the Chowan River and were preserved at Ritanoe by a chief named Eyanoco, and, in return for protection, began to teach the savages the arts of civilized life.2

2 Strachey, pp. 50, 135. The expression used by Strachey with reference to the colony on page 152, where he says it will be related "in due place in this decade," indicates that he had some additional information in regard to their fate, but it was not given.

We are to remember always that the reports of Indians are vague and indefinite. This is to be expected of an uneducated people, but while varying in detail the substance may be depended on as essentially true. The vagueness in these cases is further increased by the fact that the English knew little from actual exploration of the regions involved. We are safe then in identifying: (1) Smith's Panawicke with the Pananiock and the Pananeock of the map. This is the name given to the territory known to the earlier explorers as Dasamonguepeuk. (2) The Ochanahonan and Ocamahowan of Smith and the Ocanahowan of the map are identical with Strachey's Ochanahoen. (3) The Pakrakanick of the map is identical with Strachey's Peccarecamek.

Taking these sources of information together and identifying the localities as we have done, it seems reasonable to conclude: (1) That about 1607 the colonists left on Roanoke Island in 1587, now intermixed with the Croatan Indians, were on the peninsula of Dasamonguepeuk and that fresh traces of them were seen about this time by explorers sent out from Jamestown. (2) That they heard of the arrival of Captain Newport in Chesapeake Bay, and that some of them made an effort to reach the colony at Jamestown. It is not necessary to suppose that there was a general migration of the whole Croatan tribe toward the Chowan. We may conclude that most of the original colonists who were then alive and some of the half-breeds undertook the journey. They were met with hostility by the emissaries

of Powhatan and some were slain.1

1 Purchas says Powhatan confessed to Smith that he had been present at the slaughter of the English. But this account did not seem satisfactory to Smith, for he says in his condensation of White's narrative for his General History of Virginia: "And thus we left seeking our colony, that was never any of them found or seen to this day, 1622." This shows that Strachey's account was not known in 1609, when Smith had given up the search and returned to England.--Arber's edition, 1884, p. 331.

(3) That others were protected and saved by a chief named Eyanoco, who was probably connected in some way with the Croatan tribe, for we must remember that when Lane was exploring these regions in 1586 he found Indians whose language Manteo could understand without an interpreter. (4) That according to the map they traveled from the region of the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers to the country known on it as Packrakanick and to Strachey as Peccarecamek. This was probably on the upper waters of the Neuse, in what may now be Wayne and Lenoir Counties. It is probable that they were rejoined by those who had not undertaken the expedition toward Virginia, and from this point they could have passed easily into Sampson and Robeson Counties in Conformity with their traditions, as related by Mr. McMillan.

Smith's "Relation," the map, and Strachey all tend to strengthen and explain the testimony of the next historical reference we have to the tribe. This is by John Lederer, a German, who made some explorations in eastern North Carolina, perhaps in the region south of the Roanoke River, in 1669-70. He mentions a powerful nation of bearded men two and one-half days' journey to the southwest, "which I suppose to be the Spaniards, because the Indians never have any" [beards].2

2 Hawks, History of North Carolina, ii, 50.

Dr. Hawks thinks that these "bearded men" may have been the settlers on the Cape Fear, but we know that this colony was disbanded in 1667. We have no records of any Spanish settlements as far north as this; and according to Mr. McMillan (p. 20), the mongrel tribe now known as Croatan Indians were occupying their present homes as early as 1650. The statement of Lederer can only refer to the Croatan tribe.

The next account we have of them is in 1704, when Rev. John Blair, then traveling as a missionary through the Albemarle settlements, tells of a powerful tribe of Indians living to the south of what is now Albemarle Sound, "computed to be no less than 100,000, many of which live amongst the English, and all, as I can understand, a very civilized people."3

3 Colonial Records of North Carolina, i, 603.

This account is very vague and indefinite, and the numbers are largely overestimated; but it can refer to no other tribe than the Croatans. They were then living southwest of Pamlico Sound and they alone had had civilized influences to bear upon them.

The next reference to the tribe is more definite. John Lawson, the first historian of North Carolina, explored all the region southwest of Pamlico Sound. He was thoroughly acquainted with the Indians in those sections. In writing of the Roanoke settlements he says: "A farther confirmation of this [the settlements of Raleigh] we have from the Hatteras (Croatan) Indians, who lived on Ronoack Island, or much frequented it. These tell us that several of their ancestors were white people and could talk in a book as we do; the truth of which is confirmed by gray eyes being frequently found amongst these Indians and no others. They value themselves extremely for their

affinity to the English, and are ready to do them all friendly offices. It is probable that this settlement miscarried for want of timely supplies from England; or through the treachery of the natives, for we may reasonably suppose that the English were forced to cohabit with them for relief and conservation; and that in process of time they conformed themselves to the manners of their Indian relations; and thus we see how apt human nature is to degenerate."1

1 Lawson, History of North Carolina (ed. 1860), pp. 108, 109.

Lawson wrote these words not later than 1709, as his book was first published in that year. It is impossible for the story told by him to be a tradition not founded on the truth, for he wrote within one hundred and twenty years of the original settlements at Roanoke, and he may have talked with men whose grandfathers had been among the original colonists.

The next witnesses in this chain of evidence are the early settlers in the Cape Fear section of North Carolina. Scotch settlements were made in Fayetteville as early as 1715.2

2 A house pulled down on Person Street, in Fayetteville, in 1889, fixes this date. This places the first settlements in this section at an earlier date than has been assigned them hitherto. (H. McMillan, in a letter to the writer.)

In 1730 Scotchmen began to arrive in what is now Richmond County, and French Huguenots were at the same time pressing up from South Carolina. The universal tradition among the descendants of these settlers is that their ancestors found a large tribe of Indians located on Lumber River, in Robeson County, who were tilling the soil, owning slaves, and speaking English. The descendants of *this* tribe are known to be the Croatan Indians of to-day.

We see, then, that the historical arguments which tend to identify the Croatans of to-day as the descendants of the colonists of 1587 possess an historical continuity from 1591 to the present time. There is also a threefold internal argument based (1) on the traditions of the Croatan Indians of to-day; (2) from their character and disposition; (3) from their forms of language and family names.

I. *Traditions.*--The Croatan Indians believe themselves to be the descendants of the colonists of 1587, and boast of their mixed English and Indian blood. They always refer to eastern North Carolina as Virginia, and say their former home was in Roanoke, in Virginia, which means the present counties of Dare, Tyrrell, Hyde, Craven, Carteret, and Jones, and of this residence their traditions are sufficiently clear. They say that they held communication with the east long after their removal toward the west, and one of these parties may have met Lawson about 1709. They know that one of their leaders was made Lord of Roanoke and went to England, but his name has been lost, the nearest approach to it being in the forms Maino and Mainor. They have a word "mayno," which means a very quiet, law-abiding people; and this, by a kind of metonomy, may be a survival of Manteo. When an old chronicler was told the story of Virginia Dare he recognized it, but her name is preserved only as Darr, Durr, Dorr. They say that, according to their traditions, Mattamuskeet Lake, in Hyde County, is a burnt lake, and so it is; but they have no traditions in regard to Roanoke River. They say, also, that some of the earlier settlers intermarried with them, and this may explain the presence of such names among them as Chavis (Cheves), Goins (O'Guin), Leary (O'Leary).

II. *Character and disposition.*--These Indians are hospitable to strangers and are ever ready to do a favor for the white people. They show a fondness for gay colors, march in Indian file, live retired from highways, never forget a kindness, an injury, nor a debt. They are the best of friends and the most dangerous of enemies. They are reticent until their confidence is gained, and when aroused are perfect devils, exhibiting all the hatred, malice, cunning, and endurance of their Indian ancestors.1

1 A fearful illustration of this spirit was shown in the career of Henry Berry Lowrie, "the great North Carolina bandit." In February, 1864, the Home Guard of Robeson County found Allen and William Lowrie, the father and brother of Henry Berry, guilty of receiving stolen goods, tried them by court-martial, and executed them under military law. The execution awakened the desire for revenge in the remaining brothers, and under the leadership of Henry Berry Lowrie they defied for ten years the authority of the county, the State, the Confederacy, and the United States. They killed the best men in the section, some for plunder, some for revenge, and some in self-defense. Henry Berry Lowrie was twenty-six at the time of his death, and in physique was a perfect Apollo. His countenance expressed the highest degree of firmness, courage, and decision of character. His forehead was high, broad, and massive; his eyes were a grayish hazel, his hair was straight and black, his chest was deep and broad; he was five feet ten inches high, weighed one hundred and fifty pounds, and was as elastic as rubber. He was always completely armed; in a belt he carried five long-range, six-barreled revolvers; a Henry rifle carrying sixteen cartridges was suspended at his back; a long knife and a double-barreled shotgun were found in his hands. His armament weighed not less than eighty pounds, but with it he could run, swim, bear weeks of exposure in the swamps, and travel by day and by night to an extent which would have killed a white man or negro. He slept on his arms, never seemed tired, and was never taken by surprise. During his long career of outlawry he was never untrue to a promise, never committed arson, nor insulted a white woman. A reward of ten thousand dollars was placed on his head; he was hunted by night and by day, but eluded all his pursuers, and perished on Feb. 20, 1872, from the accidental discharge of his gun. After the death of the chief the band lost much of the terror of its name, and two years later the last outlaw was slain. (*Cf.* The Lowrie History, as Acted in Part by Henry Berry Lowrie, the Great North Carolina Bandit, with Biographical Sketches of his Associates, by Mrs. Mary C. Norment, Wilmington, 1875. This book was written by Joseph B. McCallum; the chapter on the genealogy of the tribe is "notoriously unreliable"; it makes them all descendants of James Lowrie, who came to Robeson County from Virginia in 1769.)

At the same time they are remarkably clean in their habits, a characteristic not found in the pure-blooded Indian. Physicians who practice among them say they never hesitate to sleep or eat in the house of a Croatan. They are also great road builders, something unknown to the savage. They have some of the best roads in the State, and by this means connect their more distant settlements with those on Lumber River. One of these, the Lowrie road, has been open for more than a hundred years, and is still in use. It extends southwest from Fayetteville, through Cumberland and Robeson counties, to a settlement on the Pee Dee. It was over this road that a special courier bore to General Jackson in 1815 the news of the treaty of Ghent.

III. *Language and Family Names.* The speech of the Croatans is very pure English; no classical terms are used. It differs from that of the whites and from that of the blacks among whom they live. They have preserved many forms in good use three hundred years ago, but which are now obsolete in the written language and are found only in colloquial and dialectical English. They drawl the penult or final syllable in every sentence. They begin their salutations with "mon-n-n," which means man. This seems to be frequently used much in the sense of the German *mann sagt,* or the French *on dit,* their traditions usually beginning: "Mon, my fayther told me that his fayther told him," etc. They retain the parasitic (glide) y, which was an extremely common development in Anglo-Saxon, in certain words through the palatal influence of the previous consonant, pronouncing cow as *cy*-ow, cart as *cy*-art, card as *cy*-ard, girl as *gy*-irl, kind as *ky*-ind. The voiceless form *wh*ing is retained instead of the voiced wing. They have but two sounds for a, the short a being changed into o before nasals and representing Anglo-Saxon open o in mon. They use the northern lov*and* in place of the later hybrid loving. The Irish *fayther* is found for father. The dialectical

Jeans is found in place of James. They regularly use *mon* for man; *mension* for measurement; *aks* for ask; *hit* for it; *hosen* for hose; *housen* for houses; *crone* is to push down and *wit* means knowledge.1

1 The student of language will be interested in a paper on Early English Survivals on Hatteras Island, published by Prof. Collier Cobb, in which he points out the persistence of obsolete forms of speech still found among the "bankers" of the North Carolina coast and suggests that these people may themselves be connected with the Lost Colony.

The strongest evidence of all is furnished us by the family names of the Croatan Indians of to-day. John White, in his account of the settlement of 1587, has left us "the names of all the men, women, and children which safely arrived in Virginia and remained to inhabit there." These settlers were one hundred and seventeen in number, and had ninety-five different surnames; out of these surnames forty-one, or more than forty-three per cent, including such names as Dare, Cooper, Stevens, Sampson, Harvie, Howe, Cage, Willes, Gramme, Viccars, Berry, Chapman, Lasie, and Chevin, which are now rarely met with in North Carolina, are reproduced by a tribe living hundreds of miles from Roanoke Island, and after a lapse of three hundred years.2

2 Dr. Hawks reprints (History of North Carolina, i., 211, from Hakluyt) this list of names. Mr McMillan has compared it with the names of the Croatans, and, according to his authority, those writer below in italics are now found among the Croatans. See p. 54.

The chroniclers of the tribe say that the Dares, the Coopers, the Harvies, and others retained their purity of blood and were generally the pioneers in emigration. And still more remarkable evidence is furnished us by the fact that the traditions of every family bearing the name of one of the lost colonists point to Roanoke Island as the home of their ancestors.

TO SUMMARIZE: Smith and Strachey heard that the colonists of 1587 were still alive about 1607. They were then living on the peninsula of Dasamonguepeuk, whence they traveled toward the region of the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers. From this point they traveled toward the southwest and settled on the upper waters of the Neuse. John Lederer heard of them in this direction in 1670, and remarked on their beards, which were never worn by full-blooded Indians. Rev. John Blair heard of them in 1704. John Lawson met some of the Croatan Indians about 1709 and was told that their ancestors were white men. White settlers came into the middle section of North Carolina as early as 1715 and found the ancestors of the present tribe of Croatan Indians tilling the soil, holding slaves, and speaking English. The Croatans of to-day claim descent from the lost colony. Their habits, disposition, and mental characteristics show traces both of Indian and European ancestry. Their language is the English of three hundred years ago, and their names are in many cases the same as those borne by the original colonists. No other theory of their origin has been advanced, and it is confidently believed that the one here proposed is logically and historically the best, supported as it is both by external and internal evidence. If this theory is rejected, then the critic must explain in some other way the origin of a people which, after the lapse of three hundred years, show the characteristics, speak the language, and possess the family names of the second English colony planted in the western world.

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EXHIBIT CCC

EXTRACT FROM HISTORY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

[By Samuel A'Court Ashe.]

CHAPTER I.

REFERENCES TO THE COLONY, 1591-1709.

* * * * * * *

Whereas as I wrote unto yow in my last that I was goun to Weymouth to speak with a pinnes of mine arrived from Virginia, I found this bearer, Captayne Gilbert, ther also, who went on the same voyage. But myne fell 40 leaugs to the west of it, and this bearer as much to the east; so as neither of them spake with the peopell. But I do sende both the barks away agayne, having saved the charg in sarsephraze woode; but this bearer bringing sume 2200 waight to Hampton, his adventurers have taken away their parts and brought it to London. I do therefore humblie pray yow to deal withe my Lord Admirale for a letter to make seasure of all that which is come to London, either by his Lordship's octoretye or by the Judge: because I have a patent that all shipps and goods are confiscate that shall trade their without my leve. And whereas Sassaphraze was worth 10s., 12s. and 20s. per pound before Gilbert returned, his cloying of the market, will overthrow all myne and his own also. He is contented to have all stayde: not only for this present; but being to go agayne, others will also go and destroy the trade, which otherwise would yield 8 or 10 for one, in certainty and a return in XX weeks. * * * Letter of Sir Walter Raleigh to Sir Robert Cecil. Aug. 21, 1602 Edwards' Life of Raleigh, II, 251.)

I beseich yow, favor our right: and yow shall see what a prety, honorabell and sauf trade wee will make.

Yours ever to serve yow,

W. RALEGH.

[William Strachey was secretary of the colony of Virginia, and his "Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia" was apparently written after the colony had been seated at Jamestown six years--in 1613.]

The men, women and children of the first plantation at Roanoke were by practize and commandment of Powhatan (he himself persuaded thereunto by his priests) miserably slaughtered, without any offense given him, either by the first planted (who twenty and od years had peaceably lyved intermyxed with those Savages and were out of his territory) or by those who nowe are come to inhabit some parte of his desarte lands. (1613. William Strachey's Travaile into Virginia, 85.)

Southward they [Newport's exploring party] went to some parts of Chowanook and the Mangoangs, to search there those left by Sir Walter Raleigh, which parts--to the towne of Chesepeak--hath formerly been discovered by Mr. Harriott and Sir Ralph Lane.

The high land is in all likelihoodes, a pleasant tract, and the mould fruitful, especially what may lye to the Southward, where at Peccarecamek and Ochanahoen by the relation of Machumps,1

1 An Indian of Powhatan's tribe who had been to England.

the people have houses built with stone walls, and one story above another, so taught them by the English who escaped the slaughter at Roanoke, at which time this our Colony, under the conduct of Captain Newport, landed within the Chesepeake Bay, where the people breed up tame turkeys about their houses, and take apes in the mountains, and where at Ritanoc the Weroance Eyanoco preserved seven of the English alive, four men, and two boys and one young mayde (who escaped and fled up the river of Choanook) to beat his copper, etc. (Strachey, 26.)

[Powhatan] seems to command south and north from the Mangoangs and Chowanoaks, bordering upon Roanoke and the old Virginia, a town pallisadode standing at the north end of the bay. (Strachey, 48.)

He doth often send unto us to temporize with us, awaiting perhaps a fit opportunity (inflamed by his furious and bloody priests) to offer us a taste of the same cup which he made our poor countrymen drink of at Roanoke.

[In "The True and Sincere Declaration" made by the governor and councillors of the Jamestown settlement in December, 1609--they speak of having] intelligence of some of our nation planted by Sir Walter Raleigh, yet alive, within fifty miles of our fort, who can open the womb and bowels of this country; as is testified by two of our Colony sent out to seek them, who (though denied by the savages speech with them) found Crosses and Letters, the Characters and assured Testimonies of Christians, newly cut in the barks of trees. (Brown's Genesis, I, 349.)

[The discovery of these characters recently cut in the barks of trees at that time locates some of Raleigh's colony within fifty miles of Jamestown in 1608. The narrative continues:]

What he knew of the Dominions, he spared not to acquaint me with, as of certain men cloathed at a place called Ochanahonan, cloathed like me.

[And again:] We had agreed with the King of Paspehegh to conduct two of our men to a place called Panawicke, beyond Roanoke where he reported many men to be apparelled. We landed him at Warraskoyack, where playing the villain and deluding us for rewarde, returned within three or four days after, without going further.

[Smith sent from Warraskoyack, Master Scitlemore and two guides to seek for the Lost Colony of Sir Walter Raleigh. (Smith's True Relation.)

Alexander Brown has found and embodied in his work a rude drawing sent by Francis Nelson from Virginia in 1608 to illustrate Smith's "True Relation," and the same year sent to Spain from London. (Brown's Genesis, I, 184. February, 1608.)

On this map, on the Chowan, or on the Nottoway, falling into the Chowan River, Ochanahonan is placed: and on the Tar, or upper Pamlico River, "Pakrakanick" is located: and near it is a legend: "Here remayneth 4 men clothed that came from Roanoak to Ochanahonan." Between the Chowan and the Moratoc (Roanoke River) on this map is a legend: "Here the King of Paspehegh reported our men to be, and wants to go." And that region is marked "Pananiock."

On the map, the point Warraskoyack, from which Master Scitlemore and two guides started, and where Smith landed "the King of Paspehegh to conduct two of our men to a place called Panawicke, beyond Roanoke," is on a stream that probably is intended to represent Nansemond River. (December, 1608.)

This map was drawn on the relation of some Indian. The Indians of the James River had no connection with those farther south. Powhatan's jurisdiction did not extend over the Chowanists or the Mongoaks. The Indian who gave the information on which the drawing was based probably had but little familiarity with the localities, knowing about the rivers but nothing of the coast. He knew that the first river was the Chowan and its tributaries; that the next was the Moratoc, and that farther on there was a third--the Tar. He probably knew nothing of the sounds. He placed the chief town of the Chowan Indians on the northeast side of the Chowan River, and Ochanahonan on the other side. It seems to the author of this work that Ochanahonan is probably the town called by Lane Ohanoak. On DeBry's map this town is placed above the town of Chowanoak, but in Lane's narrative it is located below that town.

The Indian account places Pananiock, where White's colony settled, between the Moratoc and the Chowan rivers, but as the Indian was probably not acquainted with the waters of the sound, and only knew that the Moratoc discharged itself some distance below the Chowan, he inaccurately indicates that both emptied into the ocean. In that he was mistaken; but he probably was correct in locating the settlement north of the Moratoc River. It was between the mouth of the Moratoc and the Chowan that Lane observed the "goodly highlands," and that location being substantially "fifty miles in the interior" from Roanoke Island, it is there we would expect to find the place of permanent settlement. And it is there that the Indian relation places it.

After the massacre, "four men and two boys and one young mayde" escaped and fled up the river of Chowanoak, and were preserved by the Weroance at Ritanoe. This flight could have been readily made from a point north of the Moratoc River. It is also stated that four men came to Ochanahonan. If there were still other fugitives than those preserved at Ritanoe, their journey through the woods would also indicate that Pananiock was on the north of the Moratoc.]

LAWSON'S SUGGESTIONS.

The first discovery and settlement of this country was by the procurement of Sir Walter Raleigh, in conjunction with some public spirited gentlemen of that age, under the protection of Queen Elizabeth; for which reason it was then named Virginia, which begun on that part called Roanoke Island, where the ruins of a

fort are to be seen at this day as well as some old English coins which have been lately found, and a brass gun, a powder horn and one small quarter-deck gun made of iron staves, which method of making guns might very probably be made use of in those days for the convenience of infant colonies. (Lawson's History of North Carolina, 108.)

A further confirmation of this we have from the Hatteras Indians who either then lived on Roanoke Island or much frequented it. These tell us that several of their ancestors were white people and could talk in a book as we do: the truth of which is confirmed by gray eyes being found frequently amongst these Indians and no others.

They value themselves extremely for their affinity to the English and are ready to do them all friendly offices. It is probable that this settlement miscarried for want of timely supplies from England, or through the treachery of the natives: for we may reasonably suppose that the English were forced to cohabit with them for relief and conversation: and that in process of time, they conformed themselves to the manners of their Indian relations; and thus we see how apt human nature is to degenerate.

THE HATTERAS INDIANS.

[The Hatteras Indians in 1585 were not under the same government as the savages on the mainland. They were a different tribe; and they were so few in numbers and so poor that when Lane was making a counterplot against Pemisapan and pretended that he was going to make a journey to Croatoan, he asked to be furnished with men to hunt for him while there, and with four days' provisions to last during his stay. No subsistence could be gotten from the Croatoans. A century later, in Lawson's time, that tribe had but sixteen fighting men, and even if all of these had a strain of English blood in them, their white ancestors might have been but a very small fraction of the English colonists. The tribe was still further reduced during the Indian War of 1711-15, when it adhered to the English. It lingered about its old home, suffering the fate of other small tribes, gradually becoming extinct. In 1763 some of the Hatteras and Mattamuskeet Indians were still living on the coast of Hyde, where a reservation had been set apart for them. Because names borne by some of the colonists have been found among a mixed race in Robeson County, now called Croatans, an inference has been drawn that there was some connection between them. (C. R., VI, 995.) It is highly improbable that English names would have been preserved among a tribe of savages beyond the second generation, there being no communication except with other savages. If English names had existed among the Hatteras Indians in Lawson's time, he probably would have mentioned it as additional evidence corroborating his suggestion deduced from some of them having gray eyes, and from their valuing themselves on their affinity to the English. It is also to be observed that nowhere among the Indians were found houses or tilled lands or other evidences of improvement on the customs and manners of the aborigines. When this mixed race was first observed by the early settlers of the upper Cape Fear, about 1735, it is said that they spoke English,

cultivated land, lived in substantial houses, and otherwise practised the arts of civilized life, being in these respects different from any Indian tribe. In 1754 they were described as being on "Drowning Creek, on the head of Little Peedee, fifty families, a mixed crew, a lawless people, possessed the lands without patent or paying quit rents; shot a surveyor for coming to view vacant lands, being enclosed in great swamps." (C. R., V, 161.) From that time to the present these people have remained in their settlement on Drowning Creek. It is worthy of remark that in 1754 they were not considered Indians, for the military officers of Bladen County particularly reported that there were no Indians in that county. Whatever may have been their origin and the origin of their English names, neither their names nor their English manners and customs could have been perpetuated from the time of the Lost Colony without exciting some remark on the part of explorers, or historians. Apparently that community came into being at a later date. Yet it is to be observed that many persons believe them to be the descendants of the Lost Colony; and the Legislature has officially designated them as "Croatans," and has treated them as Indians.1]

1 The subject of the connection of these Croatans with the colonists has been ably discussed by Mr. Hamilton McMillan and by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, who maintain that view with much plausibility.

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CHAPTER III.

LANE'S COLONY, 1585-86.

Lane's colony.--Arrival at Wokokon.--Secotan visited.--Aquascogoc burned by Grenville.--Disembarkation at Hattorask.--Settlement at Roanoke.--Fort Raleigh.--Explorations.--Manteo friendly.--Wanchese hostile.--The peril of famine.--Lane penetrates the Chowanoak; seizes Skyco; ascends the Moratoc.--Food exhausted.--The Indian conspiracy.--The hostiles gather at Dasamonquepeuc.--Lane strikes a blow and secures safety.--The arrival of Drake.--The departure of the colonists.--Arrival of Grenville's fleet.--Fifteen men left to hold possession.

THE FIRST COLONY.

Hastening to lay the foundations of a regal domain and with an eager anticipation of rich returns from his commercial dealings, Sir Walter now prepared a second expedition, which was to transport a hundred colonists for settlement in Virginia. Provisions were collected for a year's subsistence, by which time a new supply was to be furnished. The colonists were to be under the authority of Ralph Lane, as governor, who was chosen for this important post because he had already given the world assurance of his bravery, capacity, and resourcefulness. Among the enterprising men of that day he ranked high for energy, courage and versatile powers. Barlow, who, years before, had served with Raleigh in Flanders, was again to be with the party, and was to remain in Virginia as admiral; while Cavendish, afterward famous as a bold and skillful navigator, Thomas Hariot, highly distinguished as a mathematician and scientist, and John White, whose maps and admirable sketches, made in Virginia, are still extant, and who was deeply interested in the work of colonization, were likewise members of the company. At length, the preparations being completed, a fleet of seven vessels, all small, however,

and capable of entering the inlets of the Virginia sounds, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, a kinsman of Sir Walter Raleigh, and famous for his skill and bravery, set sail from Plymouth on April 9, 1585. After various adventures that caused delay, the fleet passed the Cape Fear on June 23d, and two days later came to anchor at Wokokon, now known as Ocracoke, southwest of Cape Hatteras. One of the vessels, under Captain Raymond, had, however, preceded the others, and having reached the vicinity twenty days earlier, had disembarked thirty-two men at Croatoan, a part of the sandbanks nearer the cape, that island also being called the "Admiral's Island," and Cape Hatteras itself was known as Cape Amadas.

EXPLORATION ON THE MAINLAND.

Some ten days were spent in examining the vicinity, and then, on July 11th, a considerable party embarked in four large boats, and taking provisions for eight days, passed over to the mainland, bordering on Pamlico Sound. They visited the Indian town of Pomeiok, and the great lake, Paquipe, and the town of Aquascogoc, and then Secotan, and explored the rivers of that region. During the expedition an Indian at Aquascogoc stole a silver cup from Sir Richard Grenville, and not restoring it, according to promise, Sir Richard went back from Secotan to that town for the purpose of regaining it; but the Indians had fled. So Sir Richard, to punish the theft, burned and spoiled their corn, which set those savages at enmity with the English.

Having gained some familiarity with those southern parts, the admiral weighed anchor, and turning the cape, reached Hattorask Inlet, having previously advised King Wingina at Roanoke Island of their coming. The colonists were accompanied by Manteo and Wanchese. The former had been strengthened in his friendship for the English, but the latter, whether because of apprehensions of their great power, which he had beheld in England, or because he belonged to that tribe on the Pamlico whose corn Sir Richard had destroyed, displayed an unfriendly disposition toward them. Arriving at Hattorask, the settlers disembarked on August 17th, and landed on Roanoke Island. Who now can enter fully into the feelings of those first adventurers, who in that summer time made their lodgment in the New World! The unknown country, the placid waters of the great sound, the delightful atmosphere and brilliant sunshine, and their difficult intercourse with the untutored savages who gathered around them--with their strange color, manners, and customs--and themselves so far removed from their distant homes--must have been constant subjects of reflection, mingling pleasure and apprehension, gratifying their spirit of adventure, and fostering hopes of personal reward, but ever startling them with the extreme novelty of their situation. A week after the landing Grenville took his departure, leaving the colonists established on Roanoke Island.

FORT RALEIGH ON ROANOKE ISLAND.

Lane at once began the erection of dwelling houses at a convenient point on the northern end of the island, and constructed a fort there, which he called Fort Raleigh; and from there excursions were made in every direction to get a better acquaintance with the country and

its products. To the southward they went eighty miles to Secotan, that lay near the mouth of the Neuse; to the north they reached the Chesipeans, some fifteen miles inland from the head of Currituck Sound, and temporarily a small number of the English established themselves in that region. From these Indians, as well as from information derived from those on the Chowan, Lane learned that there was a larger and better harbor not far distant to the northward. On the west they penetrated to Chowanoak, a large Indian town on the Chowan River, and in that region they found an Indian sovereign, or Weroance, who ruled about eight hundred warriors, having subject to him eighteen towns. These towns, however, never consisted of more than thirty houses, and generally of only ten or twelve. The houses were made with small poles fastened at the top, the sides being covered with bark, and usually about twenty feet long, although some were forty and fifty feet, and were divided into separate rooms.

In these explorations the colonists ascended the various rivers emptying into the sound, and became familiar with the adjacent country. Hariot devoted himself to the study of the natural history of the region and wrote a valuable account of the animals, the vegetables, the plants, and the trees found there, and White made many sketches that are still preserved in the British Museum.

FAMINE THREATENS THE COLONISTS.

Among the savages, Ensinore, the old father of Wingina and Granganimeo, and Manteo were friendly with the white strangers; but the other chieftains were not favorable to them, although their bearing was not openly hostile. Granganimeo unfortunately died shortly after the arrival of the colonists, and upon that event Wingina, the king, according to some usage, took the name of Pemisapan, and as time passed he began to intrigue against the English, in which he was joined by Wanchese, Terraquine, Osacan, and other head men of the Indians. Relying on an additional supply of provisions by Easter, the colonists had been improvident, and by spring had exhausted their stock, and the planting time of vegetables and corn had hardly come when they found themselves without food. Their reliance now, temporarily at least, was on the corn of the Indians, and that was difficult to obtain. Their situation had become one of peril, especially as the Indians were reluctant to supply them. Pemisapan, understanding their difficulties, and at heart their enemy, now warily devised a plan for their destruction. He instilled into the Chowanists and into the Mangoaks, a strong and warlike tribe inhabiting the region on the Moratoc, or Roanoke River, that the English were their enemies; and then he informed Lane that the Mangoaks had much corn and that there were rich mines of gold and copper and other minerals in their country, and that they possessed stores of pearls and precious stones. This appealed strongly to Lane's cupidity, and he eventually determined to visit them, and applied to Pemisapan for guides, and three Indians besides Manteo were assigned to accompany him. So in March Lane set out on his expedition, taking the pinnace and two smaller boats, with some 50 or 60 men. He visited all the towns on the water's edge, and was especially pleased with some high land seen before reaching Chowanoak, subject to that king, where there was a goodly cornfield and a

town called Ohanoak. Arriving at Chowanoak, he found a considerable assemblage there, the King Menatonon and his people being under apprehension that the English were enemies to them. Although Lane as a precautionary measure seized the person of the king and his young son, Skyco, he, nevertheless, was able to disarm their fears, and during a sojourn of two days with them obtained considerable information concerning the Mongoaks and their country, and also learned that by ascending the Chowan two days in a boat he would be within a four days' journey, by land, of a king's country that lay upon the sea. Obtaining some corn from Menatonon, and keeping Skyco as a hostage for further kindness, he sent the young Indian prince in the pinnace to the fort, and with the remaining boats and forty men pushed on up the Moratoc. His progress was slow, and he observed the difference between the strong current of that river and the sluggish waters of the great estuaries of the broad sound of Weapomeiok, as the country north of Albemarle Sound was then called.

EXPLORATION AND STARVATION.

The Mongoaks proved hostile, and when he had ascended the river two days, having progressed about thirty miles, they made an attack that was, however, easily repulsed. Then penetrating into the country, Lane found that the savages withdrew before him, removing all their corn and leaving nothing on which his men could subsist. His provisions being nearly out, he left it to the men to determine whether they should return or proceed; but they had two large mastiffs with them, and the men, declaring that the dogs prepared with sassafras would be good for two days' food, would not then abandon the expedition; and so they pushed on farther, but without any favorable result. At length, in danger of starvation, and their strength failing, they turned down stream, and in one day reached an island at the mouth of the river.

Their provisions now were entirely exhausted; but here, because of a heavy wind raising great billows in the sound, they were constrained to remain the whole of the next day. It was Easter eve; and Lane says they truly kept the fast. But Easter morn brought them new hope, and the storm ceasing, they entered the sound, and by four o'clock reached the Indian town of Chepanum (apparently on Durant's Neck, between Little and Perquimans rivers), which they found deserted; but fortunately there were fish in the weirs that furnished timely food; "for some of our company of the light-horsemen were far spent," those sailors who managed the canoes or light boats since called gigs being facetiously designated as "light-horsemen."

The next morning, refreshed and strengthened, they resumed their journey and returned to Roanoke in safety.

THE INDIANS BECOME HOSTILE.

In their absence, Pemisapan had stirred up the neighboring Indians to enmity against the remaining colonists, and hoping that his devices for the destruction of Lane's party had succeeded, he sought to strengthen the resolution of his followers by declaring that

INDIANS COOKING FISH.
(From the John White drawings in Ashe's History of North Carolina.)

Lane and his party had either died of starvation or had been cut off by the Mongoaks. Ensinore, who had urged more friendly counsels, had unfortunately died toward the end of March, and there was now no influence to counteract Pemisapan's hostility; and urged by him, the Indians would no longer render any assistance in the way of obtaining either fish or other food, and the situation of the colony was becoming extremely critical. The protracted absence of Lane's party added to their despondency, while it gave color to the report of their destruction. Such was the deplorable condition on the island when Lane's reappearance, contrary to the prophecies of his enemies, together with the accounts given by the Indians who had accompanied him of the ease with which he had overcome those Mongoaks who had fought him, caused a reaction in favor of the whites, and the Indians once more began to set weirs for them and aided them in planting corn, the planting season having now arrived. Still, until relief should come from England, or the crops just planted should mature, the colonists had to rely on such supplies as they could gather for themselves. In this extremity resort was had to the oyster beds found in the sound; and the better to subsist, the men were divided into small companies, and located at different points. Captain Stafford and twenty others were sent to Croatoan, where, while getting oysters, they could watch for the approach of the expected vessels bearing relief; at Hattorask a dozen more were stationed for the same purpose, while every week companies of fifteen or twenty were sent to the mainland to hunt for food. Thus they managed to exist through the month of May, waiting and watching in vain for the promised supplies from home.

In the meantime, Pemisapan, while preserving a friendly guise, began to plot anew against them, and instigated the hostile Indians to take the whites at a disadvantage, falling upon them while scattered and cutting them off in detail. To carry out this scheme he proposed to hold a great assembly of Indians, to last a month, by way of solemnizing the death of his father, Ensinore. This meeting was to be held on the mainland, at Desamonguepeuk, opposite Roanoke Island; and besides seven hundred neighboring warriors, it was to be attended by an equal number of the Mangoaks and Chesipeans, who were to come and lie secretly in the woods until the signal fires should give them the order to rise. As a part of the same plan, it was arranged that Terraquine, one of Pemisapan's chieftains, with twenty men, should set fire to the thatched roof of Lane's house, and when he should come out, they were to murder him. Another leader and squad were to deal with Hariot the same way; and, similarly, all of the principal men of the colony were to be surprised and overcome. Toward the end of May the neighboring Indians began to assemble on Roanoke Island, the night of June 10th being the time appointed for the others to meet and carry into effect the murderous plot.

Skyco, being the son of a king, on reaching the island had been taken by Pemisapan to reside with his own family, and as the young prince was held a prisoner and was deemed hostile to the English, the plot became known to him; but Lane had treated him with kindness and consideration, and the young boy in gratitude revealed to him all the details of the conspiracy. Confronted with such an emergency, Lane's strength of character and resolution promptly displayed

itself. Had he been a weaker man, not so resourceful, the colonists would probably have fallen victims to Indian strategy.

LANE'S STRATEGY.

Pemisapan had gone over to the mainland, ostensibly to see about his growing corn crops, but really to attend to collecting the hostile Indians. Lane, realizing that safety could only be secured by the death of this wily foe and of his coadjutors, resolved on an immediate stroke. He sent him word to return to the island, for having heard of the arrival of his fleet at Croatoan, he himself proposed to go there; and he wished Pemisapan to detail some of his men to fish and hunt for him at Croatoan, and he also wanted to purchase four days' supply of corn to take with him. Pemisapan, however, did not fall into the trap; but while promising to come, postponed doing so from day to day, waiting for the assembling of the hostile Indians. At length, on the last of May, all of Pemisapan's own people having begun to congregate on the island, Lane determined to wait no longer. So that night he ordered "the master of the light-horsemen," as he termed his chief boatman, with a few others to gather up at sunset all the canoes in the island, so as to prevent any information being conveyed to the mainland. As the "light-horsemen" were performing this duty, they saw a canoe departing from the island, and in seizing it two of the savages were killed. This aroused the Indians who were present, and they at once took themselves to their bows and the Englishmen to their muskets. Some few of the savages were killed in the encounter and the others fled down the island. At dawn the next morning, with the "light-horsemen" and a canoe carrying twenty-five others, with the "colonel of the Chesipeans," and "the sergeant major," Lane hastened to the mainland, and sent word to Pemisapan that he was coming to visit him, as he was about to depart for Croatoan, and wished to complain of the conduct of Osacan, who the night before had tried to convey away the prisoner Skyco, whom he had there handcuffed. The Indian king, ignorant of what had happened on the island, and not suspecting any hostile purpose, received Lane and his attendants, who, coming up, found him surrounded by seven or eight of his principal Weroances, together with many other warriors.

As soon as they met, Lane gave the agreed signal, "Christ, our Victory," and immediately the colonel of the Chesipeans, the sergeant major, and their company opened fire, and Pemisapan and his chief men were slain and the others dispersed. A blow so sudden and terrible paralyzed the Indians; the plot was abandoned and the danger averted.

DRAKE ARRIVES AND THE COLONISTS RETURN TO ENGLAND.

A week later, on June 8th, the colony was thrown into an ecstasy of excitement by the hasty arrival of a messenger from Stafford, who reported seeing off Croatoan a fleet consisting of more than twenty vessels; but war had the year before broken out between Spain and England, and it was not at first known whether the ships belonged to friends or foes. The next day, however, Stafford himself came, having walked twenty miles by land, bringing a letter, proffering

food and assistance, from Sir Francis Drake, then at Hattorask, who had just returned from sacking Santo Domingo, Cartagena and St. Augustine. With a joyful heart, Lane hastened to the fleet "riding at his bad harbor"; and Drake proposed to leave him a sufficient supply of provisions and a small vessel that could pass the inlet and lie within the sound. But before the necessary arrangements were completed a terrific storm came up that lasted three days, and the vessel which was to have been left was blown to sea and did not return; and much damage was done to the other ships of the fleet, and many pinnaces and smaller boats were entirely lost. After the storm had abated, Drake offered to leave another vessel, but he then had none that could enter the harbor; so the ship, if left, would have had to remain on the perilous coast. As an alternative proposition Drake offered to take the colonists aboard and transport them to England. After consideration, it was deemed best to accept this last offer, and the different companies into which the colony had been broken being again collected, they embarked on June 19th and safely reached Portsmouth on July 27th. Thus, after a nine months' residence, ended the first attempt to plant a colony on Roanoke Island.

In the meantime, a bark bearing advice that a new fleet was coming had been despatched from England, and somewhat later Sir Richard Grenville sailed with three vessels freighted with supplies and bringing other colonists. The first bark arrived immediately after the departure of Lane, and finding the settlement abandoned, returned to England; but when Sir Richard came, a fortnight later, he remained three weeks searching for the settlers and making explorations; and then putting fifteen men in the fort, with an ample supply of provisions, he sailed away on a cruise against the Spaniards.

CHAPTER IV.

WHITE'S COLONY, 1587-91.

Raleigh's embarrassments.--Conveys an interest in Virginia to Thomas Smith, John White, and associates.--The Citie of Raleigh in Virginia.--White's colony departs.--Howe murdered.--White despoils the fields of the hostiles.--Baptism of Manteo.--Birth and christening of Virginia Dare.--White returns to England.--The Armada.--White's first attempt to return to Virginia.--Raleigh makes further conveyance of his interest.--White sails in February, 1591.--Finds colony removed.--Mace's voyage.--Elizabeth dies.--Raleigh arrested for treason.--The settlement at Jamestown.--Fate of the Lost Colony.

RALEIGH'S EMBARRASSMENTS.

The unexpected return of Lane's colonists greatly disappointed Raleigh. His efforts at exploration and colonization had involved great expenditures. He had already disbursed forty thousand pounds in the enterprise, a sum approximating in this age half a million dollars, and that at a period when there was no great accumulation of wealth in England. He had now been at court some years and was a member of Parliament; and his fine powers and accomplishments, his versatility of genius and varied learning, commended him to the high favor of the queen, who gave substantial evidence of her inclination to push his fortunes. In 1584 she had bestowed on him a grant of

twelve thousand acres of forfeited land in Munster, Ireland, which he attempted to colonize with English tenants and where he employed a large force in cutting timber for market, which, however, did not turn out a profitable enterprise. Also, beginning in the same year, he received annually for five years profitable grants allowing him to export quantities of broadcloth from England--a sort of monopoly; and he likewise obtained a lucrative monopoly in the grant of the "farm of wines," vesting in him the power of selling licenses for the vending of wine and, in some measure, of regulating the price of that commodity throughout the kingdom. Some months after Lane's return, on the attainder of Anthony Babbington, the queen was also pleased to bestow on Raleigh all of the estates that had come to the Crown by the attainder, which gave him rich manors and broad acres in five counties of England. In July, 1585, when the war broke out with Spain, he was created Lord Warden of the Stannaries (Cornwall and Devon) and Vice-Admiral of Cornwall and Devon; and two years later he was appointed captain of the Queen's Guard, the office of a courtier, to succeed Hatton, who was to become Lord Chancellor. But neither his outlays in Ireland nor his expenditures for Virginia had yielded him any return, while his living at court, where he indulged in magnificent display, involved large expenses.

THE CITIE OF RALEIGH IN VIRGINIA.

Such were his circumstances when Lane's colony returned to England in the fall of 1586. But unwilling to abandon the enterprise and still hoping for profit from establishing a trade in Virginia, he now determined to associate merchants with him who would share the profits and the expenses. At that time some of the wealthy merchants of London were looking with eager eyes for new avenues of trade and commerce. Chief among these was Thomas Smith, whose subsequent enterprises led to his receiving knighthood at the hands of his appreciative sovereign; and of their number was Richard Hakluyt, to whom posterity is indebted for the collection and publication of many narratives of exploration and discovery in that interesting period. To Smith and eighteen other merchants who risked their money in the enterprise Raleigh granted free trade forever with his colony in Virginia, and to thirteen others he assigned the right of governing the colony. Of these John White, who had been in all the previous expeditions to Virginia, was constituted the governor, and the other twelve, who also were to accompany the colony, were nominated his assistants; among them Ananias Dare and Dionysius Harvie, who carried their wives with them, and the former of whom was White's son-in-law. These thirteen Raleigh, by patent, under the powers contained in his own charter, on January 7, 1587, erected into a corporation under the name of "The Governor and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia"; and the nineteen merchants were made members, "free of the corporation."

A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT ATTEMPTED.

These preliminaries being arranged, a new colony was collected, consisting of one hundred and twenty-one persons, of whom seventeen were women, twelve apparently being wives accompanying their

husbands, and nine being children. On April 26, 1587, three vessels bearing the colonists left Portsmouth for Plymouth; and on May 8th finally took their departure from that port for Hattorask, where, after many adventures, two of them arrived on July 22d, and a few days later the other. Raleigh had given written directions that after taking in the fifteen men left by Grenville the vessels were to proceed to Chesapeake Bay, where a new settlement was to be made, and such was the purpose of Governor White. But when White with a part of his men had left the ship to visit Roanoke Island for the purpose of taking off the fifteen men, Ferdinando, the admiral, influenced the sailors to say that they could not be received back into the ship, thus constraining all the colonists to disembark. At sunset White's boat reached the island, but the only trace he could find of the men left by Grenville was the bones of one that lay unburied where he had been slain. The fort had been razed down, but the cottages were still standing, some of the outer planks, however, being torn off. Forced to remain there, White set the men at once to work to repair the buildings and to construct others. The colonists had hardly gotten established in their new homes, when George Howe, one of the assistants, having strayed off two miles from the fort catching crabs on the shore opposite the mainland, was set upon by some savages, receiving sixteen wounds from arrows, and was slain. This was an evidence of hostility that White at once sought to allay. He sent Stafford with twenty men, accompanied by Manteo, who along with another Indian, Towaye, had gone to England and had now returned to Croatoan, where Manteo's mother and kindred were; and from these friendly Indians it was learned that some savages from the mainland had taken the men left by Grenville unawares, had killed some of them, set fire to the house where they had taken refuge, and driven them from the island; they taking their boat and going to an island near Hattorask, after which they had never been seen. They also said that it was a remnant of Wingina's men dwelling at Dasamonquepeuc who had slain Howe. To establish more amicable relations with these hostile Indians, the Croatoans were requested to go over to their towns and proffer them the friendship of the English, who promised to forgive and forget all past offences; and it was agreed that this embassy was to return with the answer within seven days. At the end of the time, no answers being received, White deemed it best to strike a blow to show that the colonists were to be dreaded. At night, accompanied by Stafford and twenty-four men and Manteo, he crossed over to Dasamonquepeuc and secreted his force near the Indian town; and early in the morning he opened fire on some Indians discovered there. Unfortunately, these were not the hostiles, who, fearing punishment for the murder of Howe, had fled, leaving their corn standing in the fields; but they were some of the Croatoans who had gone there to gather the corn. White, disappointed in his revenge, despoiled the fields and returned home. The colony being now settled, on August 13th a ceremony was performed at Roanoke that gave expression to the gratitude of Raleigh and the colony for the faithful and friendly services of Manteo.

By command of Sir Walter, the rite of baptism was administered to Manteo, and there was conferred on him the order of Knighthood;

and he was created Lord of Roanoke and Dasamonguepeuk. And five days later another interesting event occurred, the birth of the first English child born in America. On August 18, 1587, Eleanor Dare, wife of Ananias Dare and a daughter of the governor, gave birth to a daughter, who the next Sunday was christened Virginia, because she was the first Christian born in the new country. A few days later, also, was born to Dionysius Harvie and his wife, Margery, a child, whose name, however, has not been preserved.

THE COLONISTS TO REMOVE INTO THE INTERIOR.

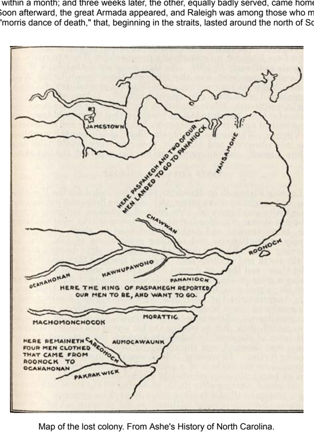
It was now discovered that certain other particular supplies were needed, as this was intended to be a permanent settlement; and there was consultation as to who should return with the fleet to obtain them. It was finally determined that White himself would answer the purpose best, and he agreed to go with the vessels back to England. But before his departure it was resolved that the colony should remove to some point about fifty miles in the interior; and it was agreed that they would, on departing from the island, leave some sign indicating their location; and if in distress, a cross would be the sign. It is probable that this point, fifty miles in the interior, where the colony was to locate, was the highland near Ohanoak, where there were goodly cornfields and pleasant surroundings.

At length, the fleet being ready to sail, on August 27th, after a month's sojourn with the colony, White embarked and departed for England. On the return voyage he met with many perilous adventures, but finally, about the middle of October, made land at Smerwick, on the west coast of Ireland, and in November reached Hampton. With him came to England still another Indian, who, accepting Christianity, was baptized at Bideford Church; but a year later died, and was interred there. When the colonists receded from White's view, as he left the shores of Virginia, they passed from the domain of history, and all we know is that misfortune and distress overtook them; and that they miserably perished, their sad fate being one of those deplorable sacrifices that have always attended the accomplishment of great human purposes.

CONDITIONS IN ENGLAND ON WHITE'S ARRIVAL.

On White's arrival, in November, 1587, seeking aid for the colony, doubtless the merchants and others who had ventured their means with Raleigh in this last attempt at colonization and trade in Virginia, were willing to respond; but there were rumors of the preparation in Spain of a great Armada to invade England, and an order had been issued forbidding the departure of any vessel from any English port. In that period of excitement and alarm, the necessities of the distant colonists were of less moment than the pressing matters at home. Still Raleigh, exerting his personal influence, obtained a license for two small vessels to sail, and on April 25, 1588, White departed with them from Bideford for Virginia. The captains, however, were more intent on a gainful voyage than on the relief of the colonists, and betook themselves to the hazardous business of making prizes. At length one of them, meeting with two ships of war, was after a bloody fight overcome and rifled, despoiled and disabled, and

she returned to England within a month; and three weeks later, the other, equally badly served, came home without having completed the voyage. Soon afterward, the great Armada appeared, and Raleigh was among those who made havoc of the Spanish galleons in the "morris dance of death," that, beginning in the straits, lasted around the north of Scotland and on the coast of Ireland. Immediately



Map of the lost colony. From Ashe's History of North Carolina.

on his return he was challenged to mortal combat by the queen's favorite, the handsome boy, Essex, and for a time retired to Ireland in seclusion. But soon all his powers and resources were employed in distressing Spanish commerce and in taking rich prizes, while England was again and again threatened with Spanish invasion. In the following March, 1589, because, perhaps, both of his

public employments and of the greater facilities of the merchants to care for the colonists, he transferred his rights in Virginia by an assignment or lease to Thomas Smith, White and others, and relinquished his interest in the colony. What particular efforts these merchants made to relieve the planters are not recorded; but White afterward mentioned "having at sundry times been chargeable and troublesome to Sir Walter for the supplies and relief of the planters in Virginia." Because of the inhibition of the sailing of merchant ships from England, no opportunity presented for White to return to Virginia until early in 1591. He then ascertained that John Watts of London, merchant, was about to send three vessels to the West Indies; but when they were ready to depart, a general stay was again commanded of all ships throughout England. Taking advantage of this circumstance, White applied to Sir Walter to obtain a special license for these vessels to sail, on condition that they would transport a convenient number of passengers with their furniture and necessaries to Virginia. The license was obtained by Raleigh, but the condition was not observed; and the only passenger they would take was White himself, and no provisions for the relief of the colonists.

WHITE SAILS FOR ROANOKE.

Leaving Plymouth on March 20, 1591, they sailed for the West Indies and sought to make prizes, and had some desperate encounters. Eventually, on August 3d, they reached Wokokon, but were driven off by a storm. On Monday, the 9th, however, the weather being fair, they returned and anchored and went on shore, obtaining a supply of fresh water and catching great stores of fish. On the morning of the 12th they departed, and toward night dropped anchor at the north end of Croatoan. The next morning they sounded the inlet there, and then, on August 15th, came to anchor at Hattorask, seeing a great smoke on Roanoke Island. The next morning, after directing signal guns to be fired, to warn the colonists of their presence, they entered the inlet; but observing a great smoke toward the southwest, they landed and proceeded to it, only to meet with disappointment. Returning to their vessels, the morning following they set off again; but on passing the bar one of the boats was upset, and seven of the crew, including the captain, the mate and the surgeon, were drowned, and the remaining men protested against proceeding further. Distressing, indeed, was the situation of White and unpropitious the outlook of a journey begun with such a calamity. But at length the men reluctantly yielded and the boats proceeded to the island, arriving after night, anchoring off the shore and sounding a trumpet call and familiar tunes to evoke a response. But all in vain. No answer came, although in the distance a firelight was seen. At break of day they landed and hastened to the fire, finding no sign of the English. Then pressing across the island, they skirted along its western shore until they came to the north point near where the settlement had been. There on the shore they found a tree on which had been cut the Roman letters C. R. O. With despondent hearts they proceeded to the place of settlement, and saw that the houses had been taken down and the place strongly enclosed with a high palisade of great trees, very like a fort; and on a tree was cut the word "Croatoan," but without the cross or sign of distress. The boats

were gone; the pieces of light ordnance had been taken away, only some of the heavier pieces remaining, and the fort was all grown up with grass and weeds, as if long since deserted. A trench in which White had buried his boxes had been opened and his maps and property scattered, and his armor lay on the ground, almost eaten through with rust. It was a scene of desolation. There was still a hope, yet it must have been but faint, that the colonists could be found at Croatoan. White had just sailed along that island and had anchored at its northern end and had beheld no sign of the presence of any English there. Returning to the inlet, it was, however, determined to go again to that island. But after they had weighed anchor, the design was relinquished; and one vessel returned to England and the other steered for the West Indies. From that time onward the English who settled in Virginia were known as Raleigh's Lost Colony. They were not forgotten, but were never discovered.

RALEIGH'S EFFORTS TO RELIEVE THE COLONY.

Greater enterprises now absorbed Raleigh, who had become one of the most heroic of that splendid company of heroes who brought lustre to the Elizabethan Age; but still, between 1587 and 1602, it is said that he sent out no less than five expeditions to seek his unfortunate company in Virginia. In 1602 he bought a ship, hired a crew, placed it under the command of Samuel Mace, who had twice before sailed for Virginia, and in March sent it forth to search for the colonists. Mace struck Virginia forty leagues southwest of Hatteras, and spent a month trading with the Indians as he scoured along the coast; but without going to Croatoan or

Hattorask, he returned to Weymouth in August. Raleigh hastened there to meet him, and found in the same harbor another vessel likewise just arrived from Virginia, but which had missed Roanoke also, by forty leagues to the northward. He, however, proposed to send them both away again, having saved the cost in the sassafras they brought, which he claimed because of his ownership of the land under his patent, no one having the right, he asserted, to trade in Virginia except by his license. The next year Richard Hakluyt, one of the grantees in the charter of the City of Raleigh, formally applied to Sir Walter for permission to sail to northern Virginia; but in the spring of that year, 1603, Elizabeth died, and before the summer had passed Raleigh was arrested for treason.

JAMESTOWN SETTLED--THE ROANOKE COLONY DISAPPEARS.

In the meantime the spirit of enterprise which had been stimulated by Raleigh's efforts at colonization had grown, and Thomas Smith and a few other London merchants, in 1599, had laid the foundations of the East India Company, whose great success led, in 1606, to the formation of another corporation, called the Virginia Company, with two divisions, at the head of one division being Thomas Smith, now knighted, and other London merchants and gentlemen who had been associated with Raleigh in his enterprise; and on December 19, 1606, Christopher Newport set sail with one hundred and forty-three immigrants and, on May 13th, settled Jamestown. The next year Newport

Page 86

was directed to make an expedition to find Raleigh's Lost Colony.

THE FATE OF WHITE'S COLONISTS.

The colonists, warned by previous mishaps, certainly brought with them sufficient supplies to last until a crop would mature in the fall of 1588, and they did not neglect to begin their planting operations.

On his return White found no sign of any planting on Roanoke Island; nor was there evidence of any conflict with the savages--no graves, no butchery. The dwellings had been taken down and removed, and the light ordnance had been carried away. The growth of weeds indicated that two seasons had passed since the removal, and apparently the spot had not been revisited by the colonists in many months.

On his departure for England, the avowed intention was for the colonists to settle fifty miles in the interior; and when he coasted along Croatoan leisurely he observed no sign of their presence on the shore. Instead of establishing themselves on that barren sandbank, exposed to the attacks of the Spaniards, with no inviting streams, nor fertile fields, nor shady forests, they looked westward for a secure and agreeable location for their permanent settlement. Fifty miles would have brought them to the "goodly highlands, on the left hand between Muscamunge and Chowanoak," where the Indians already had fertile cornfields; and there, according to Indian statements of different sources, they appear to have seated themselves on what are now the pleasant bluffs of Bertie County.

Several vessels were at different times despatched to search for them; but none of these entered the great sounds. At length, after Jamestown was settled, Newport in 1608 was specially directed to make an exploration to discover them. An expedition by water did not proceed far and was without result. A searching party by land penetrated to the territory of the Chowanists and Mangoaks, but did not find the colonists.

Smith in his "True Relation" (1608) repeats information derived from the king of the Paspehegh Indians, who resided above Jamestown, to the effect that there were men apparelled like himself at Ochanahonan, which seems to have been on the Nottoway; and that there were many at Panawicke, a region apparently between the Chowan and Roanoke rivers. Five years later, William Strachey, the secretary of the Jamestown colony, gave some account of the missing colonists derived from Machumps, a friendly Indian of considerable intelligence, who had been to England and who came freely and often to Jamestown. At Peccarecamek and Ochanahonan, the Indians had houses built with stone walls, one story above another, having been taught by the English who escaped the slaughter at the time of the landing at Jamestown. And at Ritanoe there were preserved seven of the colonists, four men, two boys and a young maid, who having escaped, fled up the Chowan.

For more than twenty years the colonists were reported to have lived peaceably with the Indians and to have intermixed with them in their locality, beyond the territory of Powhatan; and then on the arrival of the colonists at Jamestown, Powhatan, persuaded by his bloody priests, procured their slaughter, he being present on the

Page 87

occasion. Some escaped; but none ever had communication with the Jamestown settlers.

Peccarecamek was apparently on the upper Pamlico, or Tar River; and perhaps a trace of English blood might be found in the aggressiveness and fierceness of the Indians of that region a century later.

TRACES OF THE COLONISTS.

If others were preserved on the sandbanks, as they might well have been, escaping in their pinnace through the waters of the sound, a trace of them possibly came down to posterity through their intermixture with the Hatteras Indians. That small tribe had always been friendly with the whites; and as late as 1709, grey eyes were found among them and they cherished a friendship with the English because of their affinity, according to their own traditions. Yet there were other opportunities for an admixture of the races. Thirty-two men of Captain Raymond's company were among them twenty days before the arrival of Lane's colony, and the following summer Captain Stafford and twenty men were with them until Drake came in June, and doubtless others were stationed there the next year to keep watch for the expected return of White, until all hope had expired. Other than these possible traces no memorial has ever been discovered of the existence of the Lost Colony, whose mournful fate, involved in mystery, has ever been a fruitful theme of song and story.

Page 88

EXHIBIT D.

NOTES OF LEDERER'S TRAVELS IN NORTH CAROLINA AND COMMENTS BY DR. HAWKS.

[Reprinted from Hawks' History of North Carolina, Vol. 2.]

No. VII.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DISCOVERIES OF JOHN LEDERER.

In three several Marches from Virginia to the west of Carolina, and other parts of the Continent; begun in March, 1669, and ended in September, 1670. Collected and translated out of Latin from his discourse and writings, by Sir William Talbot, Baronet. Printed in London, in 1672. [Reprinted from a copy in the author's library.]

[John Lederer was a learned German, who lived in Virginia during the administration of Sir William Berkeley. Little was then known of the mountainous part of that State, or of what was beyond. Berkeley commissioned Lederer to make explorations, and accordingly he went upon three several expeditions. The first was from the head of York River due west to the Appalachian Mountains; the second was from the falls of James River, west and southwest, and brought him into North Carolina, through several of the counties of which he travelled; the third was from the falls of the Rappahannock, westward, to the mountains.

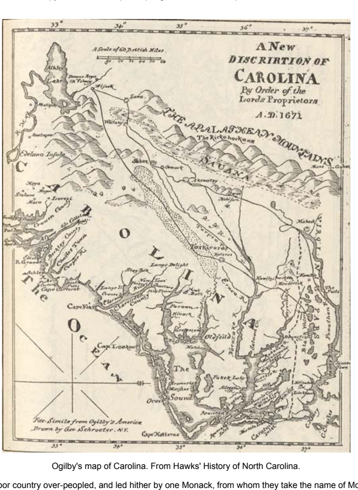
Certain Englishmen were appointed by Berkeley to accompany him; these, however, forsook him and turned back. Lederer proceeded, notwithstanding, alone; and on his return to Virginia (which, by the way, was never expected), met with insult and reproaches, instead of the cordial welcome to which he was entitled. For this he was indebted to his English companions who had forsaken him; and so active were they in creating a prejudice against him, that he was not safe among the people of Virginia, who had been told that the public taxes of that year had all been expended in his wanderings.

Under these circumstances he went into Maryland, and there succeeded finally in obtaining a hearing from the governor, Sir William Talbot, and in submitting his papers to him. The governor, though at first much prejudiced against the man by the stories he had heard, yet found him, as he says, "a modest, ingenious person, and a pretty scholar;" and Lederer vindicated himself "with so convincing reason and circumstance," as Talbot says, that he quite removed all unfavorable impressions, and the governor himself took the trouble to translate from the Latin and publish Lederer's account of his journeyings.

A map of his explorations accompanies Talbot's translation, and by the aid of that we have endeavored to trace, as well as we could, the German's wanderings within the present boundaries of North Carolina.]

Page 89

The twentieth of May, 1670, one Major Harris and myself, with twenty Christian horse and five Indians, marched from the falls of James River, in Virginia, towards the Monakins; and on the two-and-twentieth were welcomed by them with volleys of shot. Near this village we observed a pyramid of stones piled up together, which, their priests told us, was the number of an Indian colony drawn out

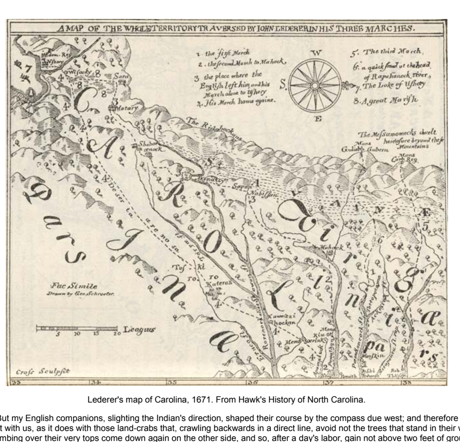


Ogilby's map of Carolina. From Hawks' History of North Carolina.

by lot from a neighbor country over-peopled, and led hither by one Monack, from whom they take the name of Monakin. Here inquiring the way to the mountains, an ancient man described, with a staff, two paths on the ground, one pointing to the *Mahocks,* and the other to the *Nahyssans.*

Page 90

[The Mahocks, from Lederer's map, would appear to have been living near the dividing line of Nelson and Albemarle counties, at the junction of the Rockfish with the James River. The locality of the Nahyssans appears, from Robert Morden's map of Carolina (1687), and also from Ogilby's, to have been west of the Mahocks, between them and the first range of the mountains.]



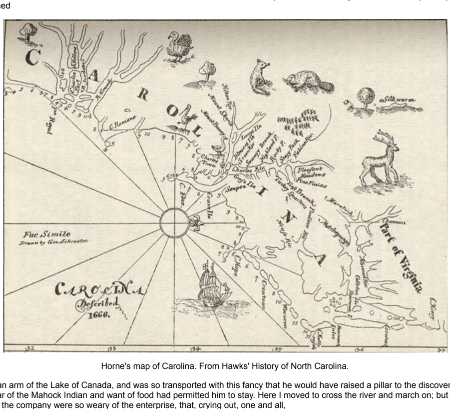
Lederer's map of Carolina, 1671. From Hawk's History of North Carolina.

But my English companions, slighting the Indian's direction, shaped their course by the compass due west; and therefore it fell out with us, as it does with those land-crabs that, crawling backwards in a direct line, avoid not the trees that stand in their way, but climbing over their very tops come down again on the other side, and so, after a day's labor, gain not above two feet of ground. Thus we, obstinately pursuing a due west course, rode over steep and craggy cliffs

Page 91

which beat our horses quite off the hoof. In these mountains we wandered from the 25th of May till the 3d of June, finding very little sustenance for man or horse, for these places are destitute both of grain and herbage.

The third of June we came to the south branch of James River, which Major Harris, observing to run northwardly, vainly imagined



Horne's map of Carolina. From Hawks' History of North Carolina.

to be an arm of the Lake of Canada, and was so transported with this fancy that he would have raised a pillar to the discovery, if the fear of the Mahock Indian and want of food had permitted him to stay. Here I moved to cross the river and march on; but the rest of the company were so weary of the enterprise, that, crying out, one and all,

Page 92

they would have offered violence to me, had I not been provided with a private commission from the Governor of Virginia to proceed, though the rest of the company should abandon me--the sight of which laid their fury.

The lesser hills, or *Akontshuck,* are here impassable, being both steep and craggy. The rocks seemed to me, at a distance, to resemble eggs set up on end.

James River is here as broad as it is about a hundred miles lower, at Monakin; the passage over it is very dangerous by reason of the rapid torrents made by rocks and shelves forcing the water into narrow channels. From an observation which we made of straws and rotten chunks[1]

1 This word is very generally used at the South, and means sometimes the end of small logs, partly burned, and then extinguished; and at others, as in this case, broken fragments of moderate size from decayed trees.

hanging in the boughs of trees on the bank, and two-and-twenty feet above water, we argued that the melted snow falling from the mountains swelled the river to that height, the flood carrying down that rubbish which, upon the abatement of the inundation, remained in the trees.

The air in these parts was so moist that all our biscuits became mouldy and unfit to be eaten, so that some nicer stomachs, who, at our setting out, laughed at my provision of Indian-meal parched, would gladly now have shared with me; but I being determined to go upon further discoveries, refused to part with any of that which was to be my most necessary sustenance.

The fifth of June, my company and I parted, good friends, they back again, and I, with one Susquehanna Indian, named Jackzetavon, only, in pursuit of my first enterprise, changing my course from west to southwest and by south to avoid the mountains. Major Harris, in parting, gave me a gun, believing me a lost man, and given up as a prey to Indians or savage beasts, which made him the bolder to report strange things in his own praise and my disparagement, presuming I would never appear to disprove him. This, I suppose, and no other, was the cause that he did with so much industry procure me discredit and odium; but I have lost nothing by it but what I never studied to gain, which is popular applause.

From the fifth, which was Sunday, until the ninth of June, I travelled through difficult ways, without seeing any town or Indian, and then I arrived at Sapon, a town of the Nahyssans, about a hundred miles distant from Mahock, situate upon a branch of *Shawan,* alias *Rorenock* River.

[By *Shawan,* Lederer means Chowan, which he here confounds with Roanoke. On Morden's map (1687), and on Ogilby's (1671), the Chowan is called *Rokahak,* while the Moratoc or Roanoke is called *Noratoke.* The Staunton and the Dan form the latter river, and it was probably on some of the tributaries of the first-named stream he struck, perhaps on the Staunton itself, just before its junction with the Dan. He had changed his course, as he tells us, to S. W. by S., to avoid the mountains, and the only streams to which this course would bring him are the Staunton and its northern tributaries.]

And though I had just cause to fear these Indians, because they had been in continual hostility with the Christians for ten years before, yet presuming that the truck which I carried with me would procure

Page 93

my welcome, I adventured to put myself into their power, having heard that they never offer any injury to a few persons, from whom they apprehend no danger; nevertheless they examined me strictly, whence I came, whither I went, and what my business was. But after I had bestowed some trifles of glass and metal amongst them, they were satisfied with reasonable answers, and I received with all imaginable demonstrations of kindness, as offering of sacrifice, a compliment showed only to such as they design particularly to honor; but they went further, and consulted their gods, whether they should not admit me into their nation and councils, and oblige me to stay among them by a marriage with the king's or some of their great men's daughters. But I, though with much ado, waived their courtesy, and got my passport, having given my word to return to them within six months.

Sapon is within the limits of the province of Carolina, and as you may perceive by the figure, has all the attributes requisite to a pleasant and advantageous seat; for, though it stands high and upon a dry land, it enjoys the benefit of a stately river and a rich soil, capable of producing many commodities, which may hereafter render the trade of it considerable.

[We must here remember that the dividing line between the present States of Virginia and Carolina was not then established as it is now recognized. From Lederer's map, it appears that all that part of Virginia lying south of James River, and extending as far westward as the Blue Ridge, was considered by him as part of Carolina, and is so designated on his map. Sapon, however, would appear from his map to have been in North Carolina, or just beyond the present boundary, in Virginia. Morden places it just south of the dividing line, in Carolina, on the upper waters of what we call the Roanoke. It was the chief town of the Nahyssans.]

Not far distant from hence, as I understood from the Nahyssan Indians, is their king's residence, called *Pintahoe,* upon the same river, and happy in the same advantages both for pleasure and profit, which my curiosity would have led me to see, were I not bound, both by oath and commission, to a direct pursuance of my intended purpose of discovering a passage to the further side of the mountains. This nation is governed by an absolute monarch; the people of a high stature, warlike, and rich. I saw great store of pearl unbored in their little temples or oratories, which they had won, amongst other spoils, from the Indians of Florida, and hold in as great esteem as we do.

From hence, by the Indians' instructions, I directed my course to *Akenatzy,* an island bearing south and by west, and about fifty miles distant, upon a branch of the same river, from Sapon.

[This island *Akenatzy* is possibly what is found on Lawson's map of 1709, under the name of *Aconeche,* in the Roanoke River.]

The country here, though high, is level, and for the most part a rich soil, as I judged by the growth of the trees; yet where it is inhabited by Indians it lies open in spacious plains, and is blessed with a very healthful air, as appears by the age and vigor of the people; and though I travelled in the month of June, the heat of the weather hindered me not from riding at all hours without any great annoyance from the sun. By easy journeys I landed at *Akenatzy* upon the twelfth of June. The current of the river is here so strong that my

Page 94

horse had much difficulty to resist it, and I expected every step to be carried away with the stream.

This island, though small, maintains many inhabitants, who are fixed here in great security, being naturally fortified with fastnesses of mountains, and water on every side. Upon the north shore they yearly reap great corps of corn, of which they always have a twelve-month's provision aforehand, against an invasion from their powerful neighbors. Their government is under two kings, one presiding in arms, the other in hunting and husbandry. They hold all things, except their wives, in common; and their custom in eating is, that every man, in his turn, feasts all the rest, and he that makes the entertainment is seated betwixt the two kings, when, having highly commended his own cheer, they carve and distribute it among the guests.

At my arrival here I met four stranger Indians, whose bodies were painted in various colors with figures of animals whose likeness I had never seen; and by some discourse and signs which passed between us, I gathered that they were the only survivors of fifty who set out together in company from some great island, as I conjecture, to the northwest; for I understood that they crossed a great water, in which most of their party perished by tempest, the rest dying in the marshes and mountains by famine and hard weather, after a two months' travel by land and water in quest of this island of *Akenatzy.*

The most reasonable conjecture that I can frame out of this relation is, that these Indians might come from the island of *New Albion* or *California,* from whence we may imagine some great arm of the Indian Ocean or bay stretches into the continent towards the *Apalatæan* Mountains in the nature of a midland sea, in which many of these Indians might have perished. To confirm my opinion in this point, I have heard several Indians testify that the nation of *Rickohockans,* who dwell not far to the westward of the *Apalatæan* Mountains, are seated upon a land, as they term it, of great waves--by which, I suppose, they mean the sea-shore.

[However reasonable this conjecture may have appeared at the time to Lederer, with such geographical knowledge as was then possessed, we think, if we mistake not the locality in which the German then was, a much more reasonable supposition can be formed by us at this day. He was on an island in the Roanoke River, and, as we think, in that part of the river that flows between Halifax and Northampton counties. The four Indians had probably come from the northeast or east, and the great water they crossed was nothing more than the Sound, for their whole journey had occupied a space of time much too short for a travel from any great body of water to the west or northwest. If, however, they came from the northwest, it must have been from the borders of the great lakes, which, we think, was the land of the *Rickohockans,* whom he mentions in the next paragraph as *distinct* from these four Indians. He entertained, it will be observed, an opinion very common at that day, that the Gulf of Mexico extended northwardly into the continent much further than it does, and he had a very imperfect conception of the entire breadth of the continent.]

The next day after my arrival at *Akenatzy,* a *Rickohockan* ambassador, attended by five Indians whose faces were colored with *auripigmentum* (in which mineral these parts do much abound), was

Page 95

received, and that night invited to a ball, of their fashion; but in the height of their mirth and dancing, by a smoke contrived for that purpose, the room was suddenly darkened, and, for what cause I know not, the Rickohockan and his retinue barbarously murdered. This struck me with such an affrightment, that the very next day, without taking my leave of them, I slunk away with my Indian companion. Though the desire of informing myself further concerning some minerals, as *auripigmentum,*&c., which I there took especial notice of, would have persuaded me to stay longer among them, had not the bloody example of their treachery to the Rickohockans frightened me away.

The fourteenth of June, pursuing a south southwest course, sometimes by a beaten path and sometimes over hills and rocks, I was forced to take up my quarters in the woods; for though the *Oenock* Indians, whom I then sought, were not, in a direct line, above thirty odd miles distant from *Akenatzy,* yet the ways were such, and obliged me to go so far about, that I reached not *Oenock* until the sixteenth.

[We are not without knowledge of the locality of the *Ohanoaks.* They were in the present county of Bertie, on its eastern side (see vol. i., p. 113). It would, therefore, seem that Lederer travelled down from Northampton, on the eastern side of the Roanoke into Bertie, towards the Chowan.]

The country here, by the industry of these Indians, is very open, and clear of wood. Their town is built round a field, where, in their sports, they exercise with so much labor and violence and in so great numbers, that I have seen the ground wet with the sweat that dropped from their bodies. Their chief recreation is slinging of stones.

Fourteen miles west-southwest of the *Oenocks* dwell the *Shackory* Indians, upon a rich soil, and yet abounding in antimony, of which they showed me considerable quantities. Finding them agree with the *Oenocks* in customs and manners, I made no stay there, but passing through their town I travelled till the nineteenth of June, and then, after a two days' troublesome journey through thickets and marsh-grounds, I arrived at *Watary,* above forty miles distant, and bearing west-southwest to *Shakor.*

I departed from *Watary* the one-and-twentieth of June, and keeping a west course for near thirty miles I came to *Sara.* Here I found the ways more level and easy. I did likewise, to my no small admiration, find hard cakes of white salt among them; but whether they were made of sea-water or taken out of salt-pits I know not, but am apt to believe the latter, because the sea is so remote from them.

From *Sara* I kept a south-southwest course until the five-and-twentieth of June, and then I reached *Wisacky.* This three days' march was more troublesome to me than all my travels besides, for the direct way which I took from *Sara* to *Wisacky* is over a continued marsh overgrown with reeds, from whose roots spring knotty stumps, as hard and sharp as flint. I was forced to lead my horse most part of the way, and wonder that he was not either plunged in the bogs or lamed by those rugged knots.

This nation is subject to a neighbor king residing upon the bank of a great lake called *Ushery,* environed of all sides with mountains and *Wisacky* marsh.

The six-and-twentieth of June, having crossed a fresh river which runs into the lake of Ushery, I came to the town, which was more

Page 96

populous than any I had seen before in my march. The king dwells some three miles from it, and therefore I had no opportunity of seeing him the two nights which I stayed there. This prince, though his dominions are large and populous, is in continual fear of the *Oustack* Indians, seated on the opposite side of the lake, a people so addicted to arms that even their women come into the field and shoot arrows over their husbands' shoulders, who shield them with leathern targets.

The water of *Ushery* Lake seemed to my taste a little brackish, which I rather impute to some mineral waters which flow into it, than to any saltness it can take from the sea, which we may reasonably suppose is a great way from it. Many pleasant rivulets fall into it, and it is stored with great plenty of excellent fish. I judged it to be about ten leagues broad, for were not the other shore very high it could not be discerned from *Ushery.* How far this lake tends west-wardly, or where it ends, I could neither learn nor guess.

[It is difficult to determine what lake it is that Lederer calls *Ushery;* it was, however, in the midst of extensive swampy lands, or, as he terms them, marsh. We have such lands in Bertie, Martin, Beaufort, Washington, Tyrrel, and Hyde counties, and particularly in the three last named, where such lands, reclaimed, form some of our richest plantations. Was he somewhere in this region of swamp lands? The only lakes, however, of much importance are Lake Phelps and Matamuskeet Lake. If he were on the eastern side of the Roanoke, he could not have reached these without crossing the river, and yet his itinerary mentions no such crossing. Neither are we aided by the name he gives to the Indians on the opposite side of the lake: we know of no tribe called *Oustack* Indians. The nearest approach to it is *Newsiok,* on the waters of Neuse, and not on any lake. If, when he left the island *Akenatzy* in the Roanoke, he crossed to the *western* bank of the river, he might have found swampy lands in Martin, Beaufort, and Washington counties, supposing him to have been wandering towards *Hyde;* but how then would he have passed through the region of the *Ohanoaks,* which was certainly in Bertie? Beside, Matamuskeet, if that be the lake referred to, was not called *Ushery* by the natives. Its Indian name was *Paquipe.* If we suppose Lake Phelps to be meant, how shall we reconcile such a conjecture with the size he gives? Lake Phelps, we think, is not thirty miles broad. We believe him to have been somewhere in the region of marshy lands we have named; but as to Lake *Ushery,* we freely confess we cannot fix its locality. Col. Byrd says that the Indians living *on the Santee River* were called the Usheries.]

Here I made a day's stay to inform myself further in these countries; and understood both from the *Usheries* and some *Sara* Indians that came to trade with them, that two days' journey and a half from hence to the southwest, a powerful nation of bearded men were seated, which I suppose to be the Spaniards, because the Indians never have any, it being a universal custom among them to prevent their growth by plucking the young hair out by the roots.

[Lederer made his journey in 1669-70, and may be correct in supposing the bearded men to be Spaniards; but at that date there was a settlement of Englishmen that would answer the description here given. The settlers on the Cape Fear from Barbadoes commenced their colony in 1664, and these may have been the bearded men referred

Page 97

to. He is in error, however, as to the distance of the bearded men from the Indians. It was more than a journey of two days and a half.]

Not thinking fit to proceed further, the eight-and-twentieth of June I faced about and looked homewards. To avoid *Wisacky* marsh I shaped my course northeast; and after three days' travel over hilly ways, where I met with no path or road, I fell into a barren, sandy desert, where I suffered miserably for want of water,--the heat of summer having drunk all the springs dry, and left no sign of any, but the gravelly channels in which they run: so that if now and then I had not found a standing pool, which provident nature set round with shady oaks, to defend it from the ardor of the sun, my Indian companion, horse, and self had certainly perished with thirst. In this distress we travelled till the twelfth of July, and then found the head of a river, which afterwards proved *Eruco;* in which we received, not only the comfort of a necessary and seasonable refreshment, but likewise the hopes of coming into a country again, where we might find game for food at least, if not discover some new nation or people. Nor did our hopes fail us; for after we had crossed the river twice, we were led by it, upon the fourteenth of July, to the town of *Katearas,* a place of great Indian trade and commerce, and chief seat of the haughty emperor of the *Taskiroras,* called *Kaskusara,* vulgarly called *Kaskous.* His grim majesty, upon my first appearance, demanded my gun and shot, which I willingly parted with, to ransom myself out of his clutches; for he was the most proud, imperious barbarian that I met with in all my marches. The people here at this time seemed prepared for some extraordinary solemnity; for the men and the women of better sort had decked themselves very fine with pieces of bright copper in their hair and ears and about their arms and necks, which upon festival occasions they use as an extraordinary bravery: by which it would seem this country is not without rich mines of copper. But I durst not stay to inform myself in it, being jealous of some sudden mischief towards me from *Kaskous,* his nature being bloody, and provoked upon any slight occasion.

Therefore, leaving *Katearas,* I travelled through the woods until the sixteenth, upon which I came to *Kawitziokan,* an Indian town upon a branch of *Rorenoke* River, which here I passed over, continuing my journey to *Menchoerink;* and on the seventeenth departing from thence, I lay all night in the woods, and the next morning betimes going by *Natoway,* I reached that evening *Apamatuck,* in Virginia, where I was not a little overjoyed to see Christian faces again.

[From Lederer's account, the conjecture that seems most probable is, that taking a course southwest and by south from the falls of James River, he came upon the Roanoke in North Carolina, and crossed it at the island which he calls *Akenatzy,* if he crossed it at all. This island is between Halifax and Northampton, I apprehend. His wandering then took him into some of those counties where our swamp lands are most abundant, and he certainly was in Bertie, from which, pursuing a northeast course, he returned to Virginia, and crossing the Nottoway, proceeded to the Appomatox, which he followed to its junction with the James. The distances he gives, added together, after his entrance into North Carolina, would make his wanderings in our State some two hundred miles; and as he was among

Page 98

the *Ohanoaks* and *Tuscaroras,* he was certainly in Bertie. He, however, was not the first European who had seen that land. Eighty-five years before, the hardy adventurers under Lane had placed their feet upon it, though their inland explorations were much less extensive than those of Lederer. It is proper, however, to add, that from the localities he names, as they appear on Ogilby's map (1671), which we subjoin to this account, his wanderings would appear to have been much more extensive than we have made them. *Watery, Sara, Wisacki,* and *Ushery* would all appear to have been in South Carolina, the last directly west of Charleston. If he made this journey, then, entering the State somewhere in Warren county, he must have crossed it in a southwestern line, and passing through Robeson county into South Carolina, must have traversed that State also in its entire width. We cannot believe this. The time occupied would not have been sufficient for it. Lederer's itinerary presents difficulties which we confess we cannot satisfactorily solve.

On the map of Lederer, as well as on that of Ogilby, both of which we subjoin, the reader will perceive a river named *Torpoeo.* This is erroneously made to empty into the Roanoke. A comparison of its position with other localities shows it to have been what is commonly, though improperly, called the *Tar* River. Its name is not Tar, though Col. Byrd called it by that name more than one hundred years ago. Others have supposed its original Indian name to be *Taw* or *Tau,* which Williamson, with his customary dogmatism, ignorantly states meant "Health." It never had such a meaning in any dialect of the Algonquin or Iroquois that we have met with--and these were the two mother languages of the Indians of the eastern side of North Carolina--nor was there any such Indian word, as far as we can discover; though such a *syllable,* formed from an Indian word, is found in the composition of Indian words, according to the known polythinseticism of our Indian tongues. But the river was, notwithstanding, called *Taw,* for we find (as I am informed by a friend[1]

1 H. T. Clark, Esq., of Edgecombe.

) that name applied in a patent of 1729. Wheeler, Simms, Emmons, and Cook, all modern authorities, repudiating "Tar," call it "*Tau.*" Mr. Clark thinks that, from analogy, it should be written Taw, and cites the names H*aw,* Cat*aw*ba, Chicka*saw,* Choc*taw,* where the syllable terminates with *w.* But the fact is, that in the orthography of Indian names and words, it is important to know to what country the individual belonged who first wrote them down for the eye of civilized man; otherwise the pronunciation may be mistaken. For ourselves, while we are quite sure the river's true name never was Tar, we doubt whether Taw is the original word. Words of one syllable are exceedingly rare in the Indian languages, and especially in the names of *places.* They are almost invariably compounds. Its Indian name was *Torpoeo,* and we think it should be so called now. Taw is but a corruption of the first syllable *Tor.* We have tried in vain to discover the meaning of the compound Tor-pæo.]

Page 99

EXHIBIT E.

LAWSON'S HISTORY OF CAROLINA.

The history of Carolina; containing the exact description and natural history of that country; together with the present state thereof. And a journal of a thousand miles, travel'd thro' several nations of Indians, giving a particular account of their customs, manners, &c. By John Lawson, Gent. Surveyor-General of North Carolina. London: Printed for T. Warner, at the Black-Boy in Pater-Noster Row, 1718. Price bound five shillings.

To His Excellency WILLIAM Lord CRAVEN, Palatine; The most Noble, HENRY Duke of BEAUFORT; The Right Hon*ble* JOHN Lord CARTERET; The Honble MAURICE ASHLEY, Esq; Sir JOHN COLLETON, Baronet, JOHN DANSON, Esq; And the rest of the True and Absolute Lords-Proprietors of the Province of *Carolina in America.*

MY LORDS, As Debts of Gratitude ought most punctually to be paid, so, where the Debtor is uncapable of Payment, Acknowledgments ought, at least, to be made. I cannot, in the least, pretend to retaliate *Your Lordships* Favours to me, but must farther intrude on that Goodness of which I have already had so good Experience, by laying these Sheets at *Your Lordships* Feet, where they beg Protection, as having nothing to recommend them, but Truth; a Gift which every Author may be Master of, if he will.

I here present *Your Lordships* with a Description of your own Country, for the most part, in her Natural Dress, and therefore less vitiated with Fraud and Luxury. A Country, whose Inhabitants may enjoy a Life of the greatest Ease and Satisfaction, and pass away their Hours in solid Contentment.

Those Charms of *Liberty* and *Right,* the Darlings of an *English* Nature, which *Your Lordships* grant and maintain, make you appear Noble Patrons in the Eyes of all Men, and we a happy People in a Foreign Country; which nothing less than Ingratitude and Baseness can make us disown.

As Heaven has been liberal in its Gifts, so are *Your Lordships* favourable Promoters of whatever may make us an easy People; which, I hope, *Your Lordships* will continue to us and our Posterity; and that we and they may always acknowledge such Favours, by banishing from among us every Principle which renders Men factious and unjust, which is the hearty Prayer of,

MY LORDS, *Your Lordships most obliged, most humble, and most devoted Servant,*

JOHN LAWSON.

PREFACE.

'TIS *a great Misfortune, that most of our Travellers, who go to this vast Continent in* America, *are Persons of the meaner Sort, and generally of a very slender Education; who being hir'd by the Merchants, to trade amongst the* Indians, *in which Voyages they often spend several Years, are yet, at their Return, uncapable of giving any reasonable Account of*

Page 100

what they met withal in those remote Parts; tho' the Country abounds with Curiosities worthy a nice Observation. In this Point, I think, the French *outstrip us.*

First, *By their Numerous Clergy, their Missionaries being obedient to their Superiors in the highest Degree, and that Obedience being one great Article of their Vow, and strictly observ'd amongst all their Orders.*

Secondly, *They always send abroad some of their Gentlemen in Company of the Missionaries, who, upon their Arrival, are order'd out into the Wilderness, to make Discoveries, and to acquaint themselves with the Savages of* America; *and are oblig'd to keep a strict Journal of all the Passages they meet withal, in order to present the same not only to their Governors and Fathers, but likewise to their Friends and Relations in* France; *which is industriously spread about that Kingdom, to their Advantage. For their Monarch being a very good Judge of Mens Deserts, does not often let Money or Interest make men of Parts give Place to others of less Worth. This breeds an Honourable Emulation amongst them, to outdo one another, even in Fatigues, and Dangers whereby they gain a good Correspondence with the* Indians, *and acquaint themselves with their Speech and Customs; and so make considerable Discoveries in a short time. Witness, their Journals from* Canada, *to the Missisipi, and its several Branches, where they have effected great Matters, in a few Years.*

Having spent most of my time, during my eight Years Abode in Carolina, *in travelling; I not only survey'd the Sea-Coast and those Parts which are already inhabited by the Christians, but likewise view'd a spatious Tract of Land, lying betwixt the Inhabitants and the Ledges of Mountains, from whence our noblest Rivers have their Rise, running towards the Ocean, where they water as pleasant a Country as any in* Europe; *the Discovery of which being never yet made publick, I have, in the following Sheets, given you a faithful Account thereof, wherein I have laid down every thing with Impartiality, and Truth, which is indeed, the Duty of every* Author, *and preferable to a smooth stile, accompany'd with Falsities and Hyperboles.*

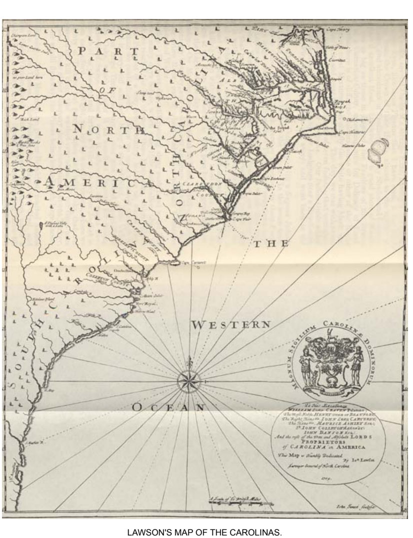
Great Part of this pleasant and healthful Country is inhabited by none but Savages, who covet a Christian Neighborhood, for the Advantage of Trade, and enjoy all the Comforts of Life, free from Care and Want.

But not to amuse my Readers any longer with the Encomium of Carolina, *I refer 'em to my* Journal, *and other more particular Description of that Country and its Inhabitants, which they will find after the* Natural History *thereof, in which I have been very exact, and for Method's sake, rang'd each Species under its distinct and proper Head.*

* * * * * * *

Friday.--The next day, we were preparing for our Voyage, and baked some Bread to take along with us. Our Landlord was King of the *Kadapau Indians,* and always kept two or three trading Girls in his Cabin. Offering one of these to some of our Company, who refused his Kindness, his Majesty flew into a violent Passion, to be thus slighted, telling the *Englishmen,* they were good for nothing. Our old Gamester, particularly, hung his Ears at the Proposal, having too lately been a Loser by that sort of Merchandize. It was observable, that we did not see one Partridge from the *Waterrees* to this place, tho' my Spaniel-Bitch, which I had with me in this Voyage, had put up a great many before.

Page 100a



LAWSON'S MAP OF THE CAROLINAS.

Page 101

Saturday.--On *Saturday* Morning, we all set out for *Sapona,* killing, in these Creeks, several Ducks of a strange Kind, having a red Circle about their Eyes, like some Pigeons that I have seen, a Top-knot reaching from the Crown of their Heads, almost to the middle of their Backs, and abundance of Feathers of pretty Shades and Colours. They prov'd excellent Meat. Likewise, here is good store of Woodcocks, not so big as those in *England,* the Feathers of the Breast being of a Carnation-Colour, exceeding ours for Delicacy of Food. The Marble here is of different Colours, some or other of the Rocks representing most Mixtures, but chiefly the white having black and blue Veins in it, and some that are red. This day, we met with seven heaps of Stones, being the Monuments of seven *Indians,* that were slain in that place by the *S'nnagers,* or *Troquois.* Our *Indian* Guide added a Stone to each heap. We took up our Lodgings near a Brook-side, where the *Virginia* Man's Horses got away; and went back to the *Kadapau's.*

Sunday.--This day, one of our Company, with a *Sapona Indian,* who attended *Stewart,* went back for the Horses. In the mean time, we went to shoot Pigeons, which were so numerous in these Parts, that you might see many Millions in a Flock; they sometimes split off the Limbs of stout Oaks, and other Trees, upon which they roost o' Nights. You may find several *Indian* Towns, of not above 17 Houses, that have more than 100 Gallons of Pigeons Oil, or Fat; they using it with Pulse, or Bread, as we do Butter, and making the Ground as white as a sheet with their Dung. The *Indians* take a Light, and go among them in the Night, and bring away some thousands, killing them with long Poles, as they roost in the Trees. At this time of the Year, the Flocks, as they pass by, in great measure, obstruct the Light of the day.

Monday.--On *Monday,* we went about 25 Miles, travelling through a pleasant dry Country, and took up our Lodgings by a Hillside, that was one entire Rock, out of which gush'd out pleasant Fountains of well-tasted Water.

Tuesday.--The next day, still passing along such Land as we had done for many days before, which was, Hills and Vallies, about 10 a Clock we reach'd the Top of one of these Mountains, which yielded us a fine Prospect of a very level Country, holding so, on all sides, farther than we could discern. When we came to travel through it, we found it very stiff and rich, being a sort of Marl. This Valley afforded as large Timber as any I ever met withal, especially of Chesnut Oaks, which render it an excellent Country for raising great Herds of Swine. Indeed, were it cultivated, we might have good hopes of as pleasant and fertile a Valley, as any our *English* in *America* can afford. At Night, we lay by a swift Current, where we saw plenty of Turkies, but perch'd upon such lofty Oaks, that our Guns would not kill them, tho' we shot very often, and our Guns were very good. Some of our Company shot several times, at one Turkey, before he would fly away, the Pieces being loaded with large Gooseshot.

Wednesday.--Next Morning, we got our Breakfast; roasted Acorns being one of the Dishes. The *Indians* beat them into Meal, and thicken their Venison-Broth with them; and oftentimes make a palatable Soop. They are used instead of Bread, boiling them till the Oil swims on the top of the Water, which they preserve for use,

Page 102

eating the Acorns with Flesh-meat. We travell'd, this day, about 25 Miles, over pleasant *Savanna* Ground, high, and dry, having very few Trees upon it, and those standing at a great distance. The Land was very good, and free from Grubs or Underwood. A Man near *Sapona* may more easily clear 10 Acres of Ground, than in some places he can one; there being much loose Stone upon the Land, lying very convenient for making of dry Walls, or any other sort of durable Fence. This Country abounds likewise with curious bold Creeks, (navigable for small Craft) disgorging themselves into the main Rivers, that vent themselves into the Ocean. These Creeks are well stor'd with sundry sorts of Fish, and Fowl, and are very convenient for the Transportation of what Commodities this Place may produce. This Night, we had a great deal of Rain, with Thunder and Lightning.

Thursday.--Next Morning it proving delicate Weather, three of us separated ourselves from the Horses, and the rest of the Company, and went directly for *Sapona* Town. That day, we pass'd through a delicious Country, (none that I ever saw exceeds it.) We saw fine bladed Grass, six Foot high, along the Banks of these pleasant Rivulets: We pass'd by the Sepulchres of several slain *Indians.* Coming, that day, about 30 Miles, we reach'd the fertile and pleasant Banks of *Sapona* River, whereon stands the *Indian* Town and Fort. Nor could all *Europe* afford a pleasanter Stream, were it inhabited by *Christians,* and cultivated by ingenious Hands. These *Indians* live in a clear Field, about a Mile square, which they would have sold me; because I talked sometimes of coming into those Parts to live. This most pleasant River may be something broader than the *Thames* at *Kingston,* keeping a continual pleasant warbling Noise, with its reverberating on the bright Marble Rocks. It is beautified with a numerous Train of Swans, and other sorts of Water-Fowl, not common, though extraordinary pleasing to the Eye. The forward Spring welcom'd us with her innumerable Train of small Choristers, which nhabit those fair Banks; the Hills redoubling, and adding Sweetness to their melodious Tunes by their shrill Echoes. One side of the River is hemm'd in with mountainy Ground, the other side proving as rich a Soil to the Eye of a knowing Person with us, as any this Western World can afford. We took up our Quarters at the King's Cabin, who was a good Friend to the *English,* and had lost one of his Eyes in their Vindication. Being upon his march towards the *Appallache* Mountains, amongst a Nation of *Indians* in their Way, there happen'd a Difference, while they were measuring of Gunpowder; and the Powder, by accident, taking fire, blew out one of this King's Eyes, and did a great deal more mischief, upon the spot: Yet this *Sapona* King stood firmly to the *English* Man's Interest, with whom he was in Company, still siding with him against the *Indians.* They were intended for the *South Sea,* but were too much fatigued by the vast Ridge of Mountains, tho' they hit the right Passage; it being no less than five days Journey through a Ledge of Rocky Hills, and sandy Desarts. And which is yet worse, there is no Water, nor scarce a Bird to be seen, during your Passage over these barren Crags and Valleys. The *Sapona* River proves to be the *West* Branch of *Cape-Fair,* or *Clarendon* River, whose Inlet, with other Advantages, makes it appear as noble a River to plant a Colony in, as any I have met withal.

Page 103

The *Saponas* had (about 10 days before we came thither) taken Five Prisoners of the *Sinnagers* or *Jennitos,* a Sort of People that range several thousands of Miles, making all Prey they lay their Hands on. These are fear'd by all the savage Nations I ever was among, the Westward *Indians* dreading their Approach. They are all forted in, and keep continual Spies and Out-Guards for their better Security. Those Captives they did intend to burn, few Prisoners of War escaping that Punishment. The Fire of Pitch-Pine being got ready, and a Feast appointed, which is solemnly kept at the time of their acting this Tragedy, the Sufferer has his Body stuck thick with Light-Wood-Splinters, which are lighted like so many Candles, the tortur'd Person dancing round a great Fire, till his Strength fails, and disables him from making them any farther Pastime. Most commonly, these Wretches behave themselves (in the Midst of their Tortures) with a great deal of Bravery and Resolution, esteeming it Satisfaction enough, to be assur'd, that the same Fate will befal some of their Tormentors, whensoever they fall into the Hands of their Nation. More of this you will have in the other Sheets.

The *Toteros,* a neighbouring Nation, came down from the Westward Mountains, to the *Saponas,* desiring them to give them those Prisoners into their Hands, to the Intent they might send them back into their own Nation, being bound in Gratitude to be serviceable to the *Sinnagers,* since not long ago, those Northern-*Indians* had taken some of the *Toteros* Prisoners, and done them no Harm, but treated them civilly whilst among them, sending them, with Safety, back to their own People, and affirming, that it would be the best Method to preserve Peace on all Sides. At that, time these *Toteros, Saponas,* and the *Keyauwees,* 3 small Nations, were going to live together, by which they thought they should strengthen themselves, and become formidable to their Enemies. The Reasons offer'd by the *Toteros* being heard, the *Sapona* King, with the Consent of his Counsellors, deliver'd the *Sinnagers* up to the *Toteros,* to conduct them home.

Friday Morning, the old King having shew'd us 2 of his Horses, that were as fat, as if they had belong'd to the *Dutch* Troopers, left us, and went to look after his Bever-Traps, there being abundance of those amphibious Animals in this River, and the Creeks adjoining. Taken with the Pleasantness of the Place, we walk'd along the River-side, where we found a very delightful island, made by the River, and a Branch; there being several such Plots of Ground environ'd with this Silver Stream, which are fit Pastures for Sheep, and free from any offensive Vermin. Nor can any thing be desired by a contented Mind, as to a pleasant Situation, but what may here be found; Every Step presenting some new Object, which still adds Invitation to the Traveller in these Parts. Our *Indian* King and his Wife entertain'd us very respectfully.

Saturday. Jan. 31.--On *Saturday,* the *Indians* brought in some Swans, and Geese, which we had our Share of. One of their Doctors took me to his Cabin, and shew'd me a great Quantity of medicinal Drugs, the Produce of those Parts; Relating their Qualities as to the Emunctories they work'd by, and what great Maladies he had heal'd by them. This Evening, came to us the Horses, with the Remainder of our Company, their *Indian* Guide (who was a Youth of this Nation)

Page 104

having kill'd in their Way, a very fat Doe, Part of which they brought to us.

Sunday.--This day, the King sent out all his able Hunters, to kill Game for a great Feast, that was to be kept at their Departure, from the Town, which they offer'd to sell me for a small matter. That Piece of Ground, with a little Trouble, would make an *Englishman* a most curious Settlement, containing above a Mile square of rich Land. This Evening, came down some *Toteros,* tall, likely Men, having great Plenty of Buffelos, Elks, and Bears, with other sort of Deer amongst them, which strong Food makes large, robust Bodies. Enquiring of them, if they never got any of the *Bezoar* Stone, and giving them a Description how it was found, the *Indians* told me, they had great plenty of it; and ask'd me, What use I could make of it? I answer'd them, That the white Men us'd it in Physick, and that I would buy some of them, if they would get it against I came that way again. Thereupon, one of them pull'd out a Leather-Pouch, wherein was some of it in Powder; he was a notable Hunter, and affirm'd to me, That that Powder, blown into the Eyes, strengthen'd the Sight and Brain exceedingly, that being the most common Use they made of it. I bought, for 2 or 3 Flints, a large Peach-Loaf, made up with a pleasant sort of Seed; and this did us a singular Kindness, in our Journey. Near the Town, within their clear'd Land, are several *Bagnios,* or Sweating-Houses, made of Stone, in Shape like a large Oven. These they make much Use of; especially, for any Pains in the Joints, got by Cold, or Travelling. At Night, as we lay in our Beds, there arose the most violent N. W. Wind I ever knew. The first Puff blew down all the *Palisadoes* that fortify'd the Town; and I thought it would have blown us all into the River, together with the Houses. Our one-ey'd King, who pretends much to the Art of Conjuration, ran out in the most violent Hurry, and in the Middle of the Town, fell to his Necromantick Practice; tho' I thought he would have been blown away or kill'd, before the *Devil* and he could have exchang'd half a dozen Words; but in two Minutes, the Wind was ceas'd, and it became as great a Calm, as I ever knew in my Life. As I much admir'd at that sudden Alteration, the old Man told me, the *Devil* was very angry, and had done thus, because they had not put the *Sinnagers* to Death.

On *Monday* Morning, our whole Company, with the Horses, set out from the *Sapona-Indian* Town, after having seen some of the Locust, which is gotten thereabouts, the same Sort that bears Honey. Going over several Creeks, very convenient for Water-Mills, about 8 Miles from the Town, we pass'd over a very pretty River, call'd Rocky River, a fit Name, having a Ridge of high Mountains running from its Banks, to the Eastward; and disgorging itself into *Sapona*-River; so that there is a most pleasant and convenient Neck of Land, betwixt both Rivers, lying upon a Point, where many thousand Acres may be fenced in, without much Cost or Labour. You can scarce go a Mile, without meeting with one of these small swift Currents, here being no Swamps to be found, but pleasant, dry Roads all over the Country. The Way that we went this day, was as full of Stones, as any which *Craven,* in the West of *Yorkshire,* could afford, and having nothing but *Moggisons* on my Feet, I was so lam'd by this stony Way, that I thought I must have taken up some Stay in those Parts. We went, this day, not above 15 or 20

Page 105

Miles. After we had supp'd, and all lay down to sleep, there came a Wolf close to the Fire-side, where we lay. My Spaniel soon discover'd him, at which, one of our Company fir'd a Gun at the Beast; but, I believe, there was a Mistake in the loading of it, for it did him no Harm. The Wolf stay'd till he had almost loaded again, but the Bitch making a great Noise, at last left us and went aside. We had no sooner laid down, but he approach'd us again, yet was more shy, so that we could not get a Shot at him.

Tuesday.--Next day, we had 15 Miles farther to the *Keyauwees.* The Land is more mountainous, but extremely pleasant, and an excellent Place for the breeding Sheep, Goats, and Horses; or Mules, if the *English* were once brought to the Experience of the Usefulness of those Creatures. The Valleys are here very rich. At Noon, we pass'd over such another stony River, as that eight Miles from *Sapona.* This is call'd *Heighwaree,* and affords as good blue Stone for Mill-Stones, as that from *Cologn,* good Rags, some Hones, and large Pebbles, in great abundance, besides Free-Stone of several Sorts, all very useful. I knew one of these Hones made use of by an Acquaintance of mine, and it prov'd rather better than any from *Old Spain,* or elsewhere. The Veins of Marble are very large and curious on this River, and the Banks thereof.

Five Miles from this River, to the N. W. stands the *Keyauwees* Town. They are fortify'd in, with wooden Puncheons, like *Sapona,* being a People much of the same Number. Nature hath so fortify'd this Town, with Mountains, that were it a Seat of War, it might easily be made impregnable; having large Corn-Fields joining to their Cabins, and a *Savanna* near the Town, at the Foot of these Mountains, that is capable of keeping some hundred Heads of Cattle. And all this environ'd round with very high Mountains, so that no hard Wind ever troubles these Inhabitants. Those high Clifts have no Grass growing on them, and very few Trees, which are very short, and stand at a great Distance one from another. The Earth is of a red Colour, and seems to me to be wholly design'd by Nature for the Production of Minerals, being of too hot a Quality, to suffer any Verdure upon its Surface. These *Indians* make use of Lead-Ore, to paint their Faces withal, which they get in the neighbouring Mountains. As for the refining of Metals, the *Indians* are wholly ignorant of it, being content with the *Realgar.* But if it be my Chance, once more to visit these Hilly Parts, I shall make a longer Stay amongst them: For were a good Vein of Lead found out, and work'd by an ingenious Hand, it might be of no small Advantage to the Undertaker, there being great Convenience for smelting, either by Bellows or Reverberation; and the Working of these Mines might discover some that are much richer.

At the Top of one of these Mountains, is a Cave that 100 Men may sit very conveniently to dine in; whether natural, or artificial, I could not learn. There is a fine Bole between this Place, and the *Saps.* These Valleys thus hemm'd in with Mountains, would (doubtless) prove a good place for propagating some sort of Fruits, that our Easterly Winds commonly blast. The Vine could not mis of thriving well here; but we of the Northern Climate are neither Artists, nor curious, in propagating that pleasant and profitable Vegetable. Near the Town, is such another Current, as *Heighwaree.* We being six in Company, divided ourselves into Two Parties; and it was my

Page 106

Lot to be at the House of *Keyavwees Jack,* who is King of that People. He is a *Congree-Indian,* and ran away when he was a Boy. He got this Government by Marriage with the Queen; the Female Issue carrying the Heritage, for fear of Impostors; the Savages well knowing, how much Frailty possesses the *Indian* Women, betwixt the Garters and the Girdle.

Wednesday.--The next day, having some occasion to write, the *Indian* King, who saw me, believ'd that he could write as well as I. Whereupon, I wrote a Word, and gave it him to copy, which he did with more Exactness, than any *European* could have done, that was illiterate. It was so well, that he who could read mine, might have done the same by his. Afterwards, he took great Delight in making Fish-hooks of his own Invention, which would have been a good Piece for an Antiquary to have puzzled his Brains withal, in tracing out the Characters of all the Oriental Tongues. He sent for several *Indians* to his Cabin, to look at his Handy-work, and both he and they thought, I could read his Writing as well as I could my own. I had a Manual in my Pocket, that had King *David's* Picture in it, in one of his private Retirements. The *Indian* ask'd me, Who that Figure represented? I told him, It was the Picture of a good King, that liv'd according to the Rules of Morality, doing to all as he would be done by, ordering all his Life to the Service of the Creator of all things; and being now above us all, in Heaven, with God Almighty, who had rewarded him with all the delightful Pleasures imaginable in the other World, for his Obedience to him in this; I concluded, with telling them, that we received nothing here below, as Food, Raiment, *&c.* but what came from that Omnipotent Being. They listned to my Discourse with a profound Silence, assuring me, that they believ'd what I said to be true. No Man living will ever be able to make these *Heathens* sensible of the Happiness of a future State, except he now and then mentions some lively carnal Representation, which may quicken their Apprehensions, and make them thirst after such a gainful Exchange; for, were the best Lecture that ever was preach'd by Man, given to an ignorant sort of People, in a more learned Style, than their mean Capacities are able to understand, the Intent would prove ineffectual, and the Hearers would be left in a greater Labyrinth than their Teacher found them in. But dispense the Precepts of our Faith according to the Pupil's Capacity, and there is nothing in our Religion, but what an indifferent Reason is, in some measure, able to comprehend; tho' a *New-England* Minister blames the *French* Jesuits for this way of Proceeding, as being quite contrary to a true Christian Practice, and affirms it to be no ready, or true Method, to establish a lively Representation of our Christian Belief amongst these Infidels.

All the *Indians* hereabouts carefully preserve the Bones of the Flesh they eat, and burn them, as being of Opinion, that if they omitted that Custom, the Game would leave their Country, and they should not be able to maintain themselves by their Hunting. Most of these *Indians* wear Mustachoes, or Whiskers, which is rare; by reason the *Indians* are a People that commonly pull the Hair of their Faces, and other Parts, up by the Roots, and suffer none to grow. Here is plenty of Chesnuts, which are rarely found in *Carolina,* and never near the Sea, or Salt-Water; tho' they are frequently in such Places in *Virginia.*

Page 107

At the other House, where our Fellow Travellers lay, they had provided a Dish, in great Fashion amongst the *Indians,* which was Two young Fawns, taken out of the Doe's Bellies, and boil'd in the same slimy Bags Nature had plac'd them in, and one of the Country-Hares, stew'd with the Guts in her Belly, and her Skin with the Hair on. This new-fashion'd Cookery wrought Abstinence in our Fellow-Travellers, which I somewhat wonder'd at, because one of them made nothing of eating *Allegators,* as heartily as if it had been Pork and Turneps. The *Indians* dress most things after the Wood-cock Fashion, never taking the Guts out. At the House we lay at, there was very good Entertainment of Venison, Turkies, and Bears; and which is customary amongst the *Indians,* the Queen had a Daughter by a former Husband, who was the beautifullest *Indian* I ever saw, and had an Air of Majesty with her, quite contrary to the general Carriage of the *Indians.* She was very kind to the *English,* during our Abode, as well as her Father and Mother.

Thursday.--This Morning, most of our Company having some Inclination to go straight away for *Virginia,* when they left this Place; I and one more took our leaves of them, resolving (with God's Leave) to see *North-Carolina,* one of the *Indians* setting us in our way. The rest being indifferent which way they went, desired us, by all means, to leave a Letter for them, at the *Achonechy*-Town. The *Indian* that put us in our Path, had been a Prisoner amongst the *Sinnagers;* but had out-run them, although they had cut his Toes, and half his Feet away, which is a Practice common amongst them. They first raise the Skin, then cut away half the Feet, and so wrap the Skin over the Stumps, and make a present Cure of the Wounds. This commonly disables them from making their Escape, they being not so good Travellers as before, and the Impression of their Half-Feet making it easy to trace them. However, this Fellow was got clear of them, but had little Heart to go far from home, and carry'd always a Case of Pistols in his Girdle, besides a Cutlass, and a Fuzee. Leaving the rest of our Company at the *Indian*-Town, we travell'd, that day, about 20 Miles, in very cold, frosty Weather; and pass'd over two pretty Rivers, something bigger than *Heighwaree,* but not quite so stony. We took these two Rivers to make one of the Northward Branches of *Cape-Fair* River, but afterwards found our Mistake.

Friday.--The next day, we travell'd over very good Land, but full of Free-Stone, and Marble, which pinch'd our Feet severely. We took up our Quarters in a sort of *Savanna*-Ground, that had very few Trees in it. The Land was good, and had several Quarries of Stone, but not loose, as the others us'd to be.

Saturday.--Next Morning, we got out Breakfasts of Parch'd Corn, having nothing but that to subsist on for above 100 Miles. All the Pine-Trees were vanish'd, for we had seen none for two days. We pass'd through a delicate rich Soil this day; no great Hills, but pretty Risings, and Levels, which made a beautiful Country. We likewise pass'd over three Rivers this day; the first about the bigness of *Rocky* River, the other not much differing in Size. Then we made not the least Question, but we had pass'd over the North-West Branch of *Cape-Fair,* travelling that day above 30 Miles. We were much taken with the Fertility and Pleasantness of the Neck of Land between these two Branches, and no less pleas'd, that we had pass'd the River, which us'd to frighten Passengers from fording it. At last, determining

Page 108

to rest on the other side of a Hill, which we saw before us; when we were on the Top thereof, there appear'd to us such another delicious, rapid Stream, as that of *Sapona,* having large Stones, about the bigness of an ordinary House lying up and down the River. As the Wind blew very cold at N.W. and we were very weary, and hungry, the Swiftness of the Current gave us some cause to fear; but, at last, we concluded to venture over that Night. Accordingly, we stripp'd, and with great Difficulty, (by God's Assistance) got safe to the North-side of the famous *Hau*-River, by some called *Rearkin;* the *Indians* differing in the Names of Places, according to their several Nations. It is call'd *Hau*-River, from the *Sissipahau Indians,* who dwell upon this Stream, which is one of the main Branches of *Cape-Fair,* there being rich Land enough to contain some Thousands of Families; for which Reason, I hope, in a short time, it will be planted. This River is much such another as *Sapona;* both seeming to run a vast way up the Country. Here is plenty of good Timber, and especially, of a Scaly-bark'd Oak; And as there is Stone enough in both Rivers, and the Land is extraordinary Rich, no Man that will be content within the Bounds of Reason, can have any grounds to dislike it. And they that are otherwise, are the best Neighbours, when farthest off.

Sunday.--As soon as it was day, we set out for the *Achonechy*-Town, it being, by Estimation, 20 Miles off, which, I believe, is pretty exact. We were got about half way, (meeting great Gangs of Turkies) when we saw, at a Distance, 30 loaded Horses, coming on the Road, with four or five Men, on other Jades, driving them. We charg'd our Piece, and went up to them: Enquiring, whence they came from? They told us, from *Virginia.* The leading Man's Name was *Massey,* who was born about *Leeds* in *Yorkshire.* He ask'd, from whence we came? We told him. Then he ask'd again, Whether we wanted any thing that he had? telling us, we should be welcome to it. We accepted Two Wheaten Biskets, and a little Ammunition. He advised us, by all means, to strike down the Country for *Ronoack,* and not think of *Virginia,* because of the *Sinnagers,* of whom they were afraid, tho' so well arm'd, and numerous. They persuaded us also, to call upon one *Enoe Will,* as we went to *Adshusheer,* for that he would conduct us safe among the *English,* giving him the Character of a very faithful *Indian,* which we afterwards found true by Experience. The *Virginia*-Men asking our Opinion of the Country we were then in? we told them, it was a very pleasant one. They were all of the same Opinion, and affirm'd, That they had never seen 20 Miles of such extraordinary rich Land, lying all together, like that betwixt *Hau*-River and the *Achonechy* Town. Having taken our Leaves of each other, we set forward; and the Country, thro' which we pass'd, was so delightful, that it gave us a great deal of Satisfaction. About Three a Clock, we reach'd the Town, and the *Indians* presently brought us good fat Bear, and Venison, which was very acceptable at that time. Their Cabins were hung with a good sort of Tapestry, as fat Bear, and barbakued or dried Venison; no *Indians* having greater Plenty of Provisions than these. The Savages do, indeed, still possess the Flower of *Carolina,* the *English* enjoying only the Fag-end of that fine Country. We had not been in the Town 2 Hours, when *Enoe-Will* came into the King's Cabin; which was our Quarters. We ask'd him, if he would conduct us to

Page 109

the *English,* and what he would have for his Pains; he answer'd, he would go along with us, and for what he was to have, he left that to our Discretion.

Monday.--The next Morning, we set out, with *Enoe- Will,* towards *Adshusheer,* leaving the *Virginia* Path, and striking more to the Eastward, for *Ronoack.* Several *Indians* were in our Company belonging to *Will's* Nation, who are the *Shoccories,* mixt with the *Enoe-Indians,* and those of the Nation of *Adshusheer. Enoe-Will* is their chief Man, and rules as far as the Banks of *Reatkin.* It was a sad stony Way to *Adshusheer.* We went over a small River by *Achonechy,* and in this 14 Miles, through several other Streams, which empty themselves into the Branches of *Cape-Fair.* The stony Way made me quite lame; so that I was an Hour or two behind the rest; but honest *Will* would not leave me, but bid me welcome when we came to his House, feasting us with hot Bread, and Bears-Oil; which is wholsome Food for Travellers. There runs a pretty Rivulet by this Town. Near the Plantation, I saw a prodigious overgrown Pine-Tree, having not seen any of that Sort of Timber for above 125 Miles: They brought us 2 Cocks, and pulled their

larger Feathers off, never plucking the lesser, but singeing them off. I took one of these Fowls in my Hand, to make it cleaner than the *Indian* had, pulling out his Guts and Liver, which I laid in a Bason; notwithstanding which, he kept such a Struggling for a considerable time, that I had much ado to hold him in my Hands. The *Indians* laugh'd at me, and told me, that *Enoe- Will* had taken a Cock of an *Indian* that was not at home, and the Fowl was designed for another Use. I conjectur'd, that he was design'd for an Offering to their God, who, they say, hurts them, (which is the Devil.) In this Struggling, he bled afresh, and there issued out of his Body more Blood than commonly such Creatures afford. Notwithstanding all this, we cook'd him, and eat him; and if he was design'd for him, cheated the Devil. The *Indians* keep many Cocks, but seldom above one Hen, using very often such wicked Sacrifices, as I mistrusted this Fowl was designed for.

Our Guide and Landlord *Enoe-Will* was of the best and most agreeable Temper that ever I met with in an *Indian,* being always ready to serve the *English,* not out of Gain, but real Affection; which makes him apprehensive of being poison'd by some wicked *Indians,* and was therefore very earnest with me, to promise him to revenge his Death, if it should so happen. He brought some of his chief Men into his Cabin, and 2 of them having a Drum, and a Rattle, sung by us, as we lay in Bed, and struck up their Musick to serenade and welcome us to their Town. And tho' at last, we fell asleep, yet they continu'd their Consort till Morning. These *Indians* are fortify'd in, as the former, and are much addicted to a Sport they call *Chenco,* which is carry'd on with a Staff and a Bowl made of Stone, which they trundle upon a smooth Place, like a Bowling-Green, made for that Purpose, as I have mention'd before.

Tuesday.--Next Morning, we set out, with our Guide, and several other *Indians,* who intended to go to the *English,* and buy Rum. We design'd for 'a Nation about 40 Miles from *Adshusheer,* call'd the Lower Quarter: The first Night, we lay in a rich *Perkoson,* or low Ground, that was hard-by a Creek, and good dry Land.

Page 110

Wednesday.--The next day, we went over several Tracts of rich Land, but mix'd with Pines and other indifferent Soil. In our way, there stood a great Stone about the Size of a large Oven, and hollow; this the *Indians* took great Notice of, putting some Tobacco into the Concavity, and spitting after it. I ask'd them the Reason of their so doing, but they made me no Answer. In the Evening, we pass'd over a pleasant Rivulet, with a fine gravelly Bottom, having come over such another that Morning. On the other side of this River, we found the *Indian* Town, which was a Parcel of nasty smoaky Holes, much like the *Waterrees;* their Town having a great Swamp running directly through the Middle thereof. The Land here begins to abate of its Height, and has some few Swamps. Most of these *Indians* have but one Eye; but what Mischance or Quarrel has bereav'd them of the other I could not learn. They were not so free to us, as most of the other *Indians* had been; Victuals being somewhat scarce among them. However, we got enough to satisfy our Appetites. I saw, among these Men, very long Arrows, headed with Pieces of Glass, which they had broken from Bottles. They had shap'd them neatly, like the Head of a Dart; but which way they did it, I can't tell. We had not been at this Town above an Hour, when two of our Company, that had bought a Mare of *John Stewart,* came up to us, having receiv'd a Letter by one of *Will's Indians,* who was very cautious, and asked a great many Questions, to certifie him of the Person, e'er he would deliver the Letter. They had left the Trader, and one that came from *South-Carolina* with us, to go to *Virginia;* these Two being resolved to go to *Carolina* with us.

Thursday.--This Day fell much Rain, so we staid at the *Indian* Town.

Friday.--This Morning, we set out early, being four *English*-Men, besides several *Indians.* We went 10 Miles, and were then stopp'd by the Freshes of *Enoe*-River, which had rais'd it so high, that we could not pass over, till it was fallen. I enquir'd of my Guide, Where this River disgorg'd it self? He said, It was *Enoe*-River, and run into a Place call'd *Enoe*-Bay, near his Country, which he left when he was a Boy; by which I perceiv'd, he was one of the *Cores* by Birth: This being a Branch of *Neus*-River.

Saturday.--This Day, our Fellow-Traveller's Mare ran away from him; wherefore, *Will* went back as far as the lower Quarter, and brought her back.

Sunday.--The next Day, early, came two *Tuskeruro Indians* to the other side of the River, but could not get over. They talk'd much to us, but we understood them not. In the Afternoon, *Will* came with the Mare, and had some Discourse with them; they told him, The *English,* to whom he was going, were very wicked People; and, That they threatned the *Indians* for Hunting near their Plantations. These Two Fellows were going among the *Schoccores* and *Achonechy Indians,* to sell their Wooden Bowls and Ladles for Raw-Skins, which they make great Advantage of, hating that any of these Westward *Indians* should have any Commerce with the *English,* which would prove a Hinderance to their Gains. Their Stories deterr'd an Old *Indian* and his Son, from going any farther; but *Will* told us, Nothing they had said should frighten him, he believing them to be a couple of Hog-stealers; and that the *English* only sought Restitution of their Losses, by them; and that this was the

Page 111

only ground for their Report. *Will* had a Slave, a *Sissipahau-Indian* by Nation, who killed us several Turkies, and other Game, on which we feasted.

Monday.--This River is near as large as *Reatkin;* the South-side having curious Tracts of good Land, the Banks high, and Stone-Quarries. The *Tuskeruros* being come to us, we ventur'd over the River, which we found to be a strong Current, and the Water about Breast-high. However, we all got safe to the North-Shore, which is but poor, white, sandy Land, and bears no Timber, but small shrubby Oaks. We went about 10 Miles, and sat down at the Falls of a large Creek, where lay mighty Rocks, the Water making a strange Noise, as if a great many Water-Mills were going at once. I take this to be the Falls of *Neus*-Creek, called by the *Indians, Wee quo Whom.* We lay here all Night. My Guide *Will* desiring to see the Book that I had about me, I lent it him; and as he soon found the Picture of King *David,* he asked me several Questions concerning the Book, and Picture, which I resolv'd him, and invited him to become a Christian. He made me a very sharp Reply, assuring me, That he lov'd the *English* extraordinary well, and did believe their Ways to be very good for those that had already practis'd them, and had been brought up therein; But as for himself, he was too much in Years to think of a Change, esteeming it not proper for Old People to admit of such an alteration. However, he told me, If I would take his Son *Jack,* who was then about 14 Years of Age, and teach him to talk in that Book, and make Paper speak, which they call our Way of Writing, he would wholly resign him to my Tuition; telling me, he was of Opinion, I was very well affected to the *Indians.*

Tuesday.--The next Morning, we set out early, and I perceiv'd that these *Indians* were in some fear of Enemies; for they had an Old Man with them, who was very cunning and circumspect, wheresoever he saw any Marks of Footing, or of any Fire that had been made; going out of his Way, very often, to look for these Marks. We went, this day, above 30 Miles, over a very level Country, and most Pine Land, yet intermix'd with some Quantities of Marble; a good Range for Cattel, though very indifferent for Swine. We had now lost our rapid Streams, and were come to slow, dead Waters, of a brown Colour, proceeding from the *Swamps,* much like the Sluices in *Holland,* where the Track-*Scoots* go along. In the Afternoon, we met two *Tuskeruros,* who told us, That there was a Company of Hunters not far of, and if we walk'd stoutly, we might reach them that Night. But *Will* and He that own'd the Mare, being gone before, and the Old *Indian* tired, we rested, that Night, in the Woods, making a good light Fire, Wood being very plentiful in these parts.

Wednesday.--Next Day, about 10 a Clock, we struck out of the Way, by the Advice of our Old *Indian.* We had not gone past two Miles, e'er we met with about 500 *Tuskeruros* in one Hunting-Quarter. They had made themselves Streets of Houses, built with Pine-Bark, not with round Tops, as they commonly use, but Ridge-Fashion, after the manner of most other *Indians.* We got nothing amongst them but Corn, Flesh being not plentiful, by reason of the great Number of their People. For tho' they are expert Hunters, yet they are too populous for one Range; which makes Venison very scarce to what it is amongst other *Indians,* that are fewer; no Savages

Page 112

living so well for Plenty, as those near the Sea. I saw, amongst these, a Humpback'd *Indian,* which was the only crooked one I ever met withal. About two a Clock, we reach'd one of their Towns, in which there was no body left, but an Old Woman or two; the rest being gone to their Hunting Quarters. We could find no Provision at that Place. We had a *Tuskeruro* that came in company with us, from the lower Quarter, who took us to his Cabin, and gave us what it afforded, which was Corn-meat.

Thursday.--This Day, we pass'd through several Swamps, and going not above a dozen Miles, came to a Cabin, the Master whereof us'd to trade amongst the *English.* He told us, If we would stay Two Nights, he would conduct us safe to them, himself designing, at that time, to go and fetch some Rum; so we resolved to tarry for his Company. During our Stay, there happen'd to be a Young Woman troubled with Fits. The Doctor who was sent for to assist her, laid her on her Belly, and made a small Incision with Rattle-Snake-Teeth; then laying his Mouth to the Place, he suck'd out near a Quart of black conglutinated Blood, and *Serum.* Our Landlord gave us the Tail of a Bever, which was a choice Food.

Friday.--There happen'd also to be a Burial of one of their Dead, which Ceremony is much the same with that of the *Santees,* who make a great Feast at the Interment of their Corps. The small Runs of Water hereabout, afford great Plenty of Craw-Fish, full as large as those in *England,* and nothing inferior in Goodness.

Saturday Morning, our Patron, with *Enoe Will,* and his Servant, set out with us, for the *English.* In the Afternoon, we ferried over a River, (in a *Canoe*) called by the *Indians, Chattookau,* which is the N. W. Branch of *Neus*-River. We lay in the *Swamp,* where some *Indians* invited us to go to their Quarters, which some of our Company accepted, but got nothing extraordinary, except a dozen Miles March out of their Way: The Country here is very thick of *Indian* Towns and Plantations.

Sunday.--We were forced to march, this day, for Want of Provisions. About 10 a Clock, we met an *Indian* that had got a parcel of Shad-Fish ready barbaku'd. We bought 24 of them, for a dress'd Doe-Skin, and so went on, through many *Swamps,* finding, this day, the long ragged Moss on the Trees, which we had not seen for above 600 Miles. In the Afternoon, we came upon the Banks of *Pampticough,* about 20 Miles above the *English* Plantations by Water, though not so far by Land. The *Indian* found a *Canoe,* which he had hidden, in which we all got over, and went about six Miles farther. We lay, that Night, under two or three Pieces of Bark, at the Foot of a large Oak. There fell abundance of Snow and Rain in the Night, with much Thunder and Lightning.

Monday.--Next Day, it clear'd up, and it being about 12 Miles to the *English,* about half-way we passed over a deep Creek, and came safe to Mr. *Richard Smith's,* of *Pampticough*-River, in *North-Carolina;* where being well receiv'd by the Inhabitants, and pleas'd with the Goodness of the Country, we all resolv'd to continue.

FINIS

Page 113

A DESCRIPTION OF NORTH-CAROLINA.

CAROLINA HOW BOUNDED.

THE Province of *Carolina* is separated from *Virginia* by a due West-Line, which begins at *Currituck*-Inlet, in 36 Degrees, 30 Minutes, of Northern-Latitude, and extends indefinitely to the Westward, and thence to the Southward, as far as 29 Degrees; which is a vast Tract of Sea-Coast. But having already treated, as far as is necessary, concerning South-*Carolina,* I shall confine myself, in the ensuing Sheets, to give my Reader a Description of that Part of the Country only, which lies betwixt *Currituck* and *Cape-Fair,* and is almost 34 Deg. North. And this is commonly call'd *North Carolina.*

This Part of *Carolina* is faced with a Chain of Sand-Banks, which defends it from the Violence and Insults of the *Atlantick* Ocean; by which Barrier, a vast Sound is hemm'd in, which fronts the Mouths of the Navigable and Pleasant Rivers of this Fertile Country, and into which they disgorge themselves.

INLETS.

Thro' the same are Inlets of several Depths of Water. Some of their Channels admit only of Sloops, Brigantines, small Barks, and Ketches; and such are *Currituck, Ronoak,* and up the Sound above *Hatteras:* Whilst others can receive Ships of Burden, as *Ocacock, Topsail*-Inlet, and *Cape-Fair;* as appears by my Chart.

FIRST COLONY OF CAROLINA.

The first Discovery and Settlement of this Country was by the Procurement of Sir *Walter Raleigh,* in Conjunction with some publick-spirited Gentlemen of that Age, under the Protection of Queen *Elizabeth;* for which Reason it was then named *Virginia,* being begun on that Part called *Ronoak*-Island, where the Ruins of a Fort are to be seen at this day, as well as some old *English* Coins which have been lately found; and a Brass-Gun, a Powder-Horn, and one small Quarter deck-Gun, made of Iron Staves, and hoop'd with the same Metal; which Method of making Guns might very probably be made use of in those Days, for the Convenience of Infant-Colonies.

HATTERAS INDIANS.

A farther Confirmation of this we have from the *Hatteras Indians,* who either then lived on *Ronoak*-Island, or much frequented it. These tell us, that several of their Ancestors were white People, and could talk in a Book, as we do; the Truth of which is confirm'd by gray Eyes being found frequently amongst these *Indians,* and no others. They value themselves extremely for their Affinity to the *English,* and are ready to do them all friendly Offices. It is probable, that this Settlement miscarry'd for want of timely Supplies from *England;* or thro' the Treachery of the Natives, for we may reasonably suppose that the *English* were forced to cohabit with them, for Relief and Conversation; and that in process of Time,

Page 114

they conform'd themselves to the Manners of their *Indian* Relations. And thus we see, how apt Humane Nature is to degenerate.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S SHIP.

I cannot forbear inserting here, a pleasant Story that passes for an uncontested Truth amongst the Inhabitants of this Place; which is, that the Ship which brought the first Colonies, does often appear amongst them, under Sail, in a gallant Posture, which they call Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Ship; And the truth of this has been affirm'd to me, by Men of the best Credit in the Country.

SECOND SETTLEMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA--PLEASANTNESS OF CAROLINA.

A second Settlement of this Country was made about fifty Years ago, in that part we now call *Albemarl*-County, and chiefly in *Chuwon* Precinct, by several substantial Planters, from *Virginia,* and other Plantations; Who finding mild Winters, and a fertile Soil, beyond Expectation, producing every thing that was planted, to a prodigious Increase; their Cattle, Horses, Sheep, and Swine, breeding very fast, and passing the Winter, without any Assistance from the Planter; so that every thing seem'd to come by Nature, the Husbandman living almost void of Care, and free from those Fatigues which are absolutely requisite in Winter-Countries, for providing Fodder and other Necessaries; these Encouragements induc'd them to stand their Ground, altho' but a handful of People, seated at great Distances one from another, and amidst a vast number of *Indians* of different Nations, who were then in *Carolina.* Nevertheless, I say, the Fame of this new-discover'd Summer-Country spread thro' the neighbouring Colonies, and, in a few Years, drew a considerable Number of Families thereto, who all found Land enough to settle themselves in, (had they been many Thousands more) and that which was very good and commodiously seated, both for Profit and Pleasure. And indeed, most of the Plantations in *Carolina* naturally enjoy a noble Prospect of large and spacious Rivers, pleasant Savanna's, and fine Meadows, with their green Liveries, interwoven with beautiful Flowers, of most glorious Colours, which the several Seasons afford; hedg'd in with pleasant Groves of the ever-famous Tulip-tree, the stately Laurel, and Bays, equalizing the Oak in Bigness and Growth; Myrtles, Jessamines, Wood-bines, Honeysuckles, and several other fragrant Vines and Ever-greens, whose aspiring Branches shadow and interweave themselves with the loftiest Timbers, yielding a pleasant Prospect, Shade and Smell, proper Habitations for the Sweet-singing Birds, that melodiously entertain such as travel thro' the Woods of *Carolina.*

The Planters possessing all these Blessings, and the Produce of great Quantities of Wheat and *Indian* Corn, in which this Country is very fruitful, as likewise in Beef, Pork, Tallow, Hides, Deer-Skins, and Furs; for these Commodities the *New-England*-Men and *Bermudians* visited *Carolina* in their Barks and Sloops, and carry'd out what they made, bringing them, in Exchange, Rum, Sugar, Salt, Molosses, and some wearing Apparel, tho' the last at very extravagant Prices.

As the Land is very fruitful, so are the Planters kind and hospitable to all that come to visit them; there being very few Housekeepers,

Page 115

but what live very nobly, and give away more Provisions to Coasters and Guests who come to see them than they expend amongst their own families.

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE INDIANS OF NORTH-CAROLINA.

THE *Indians,* which were the Inhabitants of *America,* when the *Spaniards* and other *Europeans* discover'd the several Parts of that Country, are the People which we reckon the Natives thereof; as indeed they were, when we first found out those Parts, and appear'd therein. Yet this has not wrought in me a full Satisfaction, to allow these People to have been the Ancient Dwellers of the New-World, or Tract of Land we call *America.* The Reasons that I have to think otherwise, are too many to set down here; but I shall give the Reader a few, before I proceed; and some others he will find scatter'd in my Writings elsewhere.

WOOD UNDER GROUND--SHELLS SOME FATHOMS IN THE EARTH, THE SEA PROBABLY HAS THROWN UP IN PART OF THIS COUNTRY--MEXICO BUILDINGS.

In *Carolina* (the Part I now treat of) are the fairest Marks of a Deluge, (that at some time has probably made strange Alterations, as to the Station that Country was then in) that ever I saw, or, I think, read of, in any History. Amongst the other Subterraneous Matters, that have been discover'd, we found, in digging of a Well that was twenty six foot deep, at the Bottom thereof, many large Pieces of the Tulip-Tree, and several other sorts of Wood, some of which were cut and notch'd, and some squared, as the Joices of a House are, which appear'd (in the Judgment of all that saw them) to be wrought with Iron Instruments; it seeming impossible for any thing made of Stone, or what they were found to make use of, to cut Wood in that manner. It cannot be argu'd, that the Wood so cut, might float from some other Continent; because Hiccory and the Tulip-Tree are spontaneous in *America,* and in no other Places, that I could ever learn. It is to be acknowledg'd, that the *Spaniards* give us Relations of magnificent Buildings, which were raised by the *Indians* of *Mexico* and other Parts, which they discover'd, and conquer'd; amongst whom no Iron Instruments were found: But 'tis a great Misfortune, that no Person in that Expedition was so curious, as to take an exact Draught of the Fabricks of those People, which would have been a Discovery of great Value, and very acceptable to the Ingenious; for, as to the Politeness of Stones, it may be effected by Collision, and Grinding, which is of a contrary Nature, on several Accounts, and disproves not my Arguments, in the least.

EARTHEN POTS UNDER GROUND.

The next is, the Earthen Pots that are often found under Ground, and at the Foot of the Banks where the Water has wash'd them away. They are for the most part broken in pieces; but we find them of a different sort, in Comparison of those the *Indians* use at this day,

Page 116

who have had no other, ever since the *English* discover'd *America.* The Bowels of the Earth cannot have alter'd them, since they are thicker, of another Shape, and Composition, and nearly approach to the Urns of the Ancient *Romans.*

INDIAN PEACHES--THE STONE--WATERMELON AND GOURDS THE INDIANS HAVE ALWAYS HAD.

Again, the Peaches, which are the only tame Fruit, or what is Foreign, that these People enjoy, which is an Eastern Product, and will keep and retain its vegetative and growing Faculty, the longest of any thing of that Nature, that I know of. The Stone, as I elsewhere have remark'd, is thicker than any other sort of the Peaches in *Europe,* or of the *European* sort, now growing in *America,* and is observed to grow if planted, after it has been for several years laid by; and it seems very probable, that these People might come from some Eastern Country; for when you ask them whence their Fore-Fathers came, that first inhabited the Country, they will point to the Westward and say, *Where the Sun sleeps, our Forefathers came thence,* which, at this distance, may be reckon'd amongst the Eastern Parts of the World. And to this day, they are a shifting, wandring People; for I know some *Indian* Nations, that have chang'd their Settlements, many hundred Miles; sometimes no less than a thousand, as is prov'd by the *Savanna Indians,* who formerly lived on the Banks of the *Messiasippi,* and remov'd thence to the Head of one of the Rivers of South-*Carolina;* since which, (for some dislike) most of them are remov'd to live in the Quarters of the *Iroquois* or *Sinnagars,* which are on the Heads of the Rivers that disgorge themselves into the Bay of *Chesapeak.* I once met with a young *Indian* Woman, that had been brought from beyond the Mountains, and was sold a Slave into *Virginia.* She spoke the same language, as the *Coranine Indians,* that dwell near Cape-*Look-out,* allowing for some few words, which were different, yet no otherwise, than that they might understand one another very well.

INDIAN WELL SHAP'D PEOPLE.

The *Indians* of North-*Carolina* are a well-shap'd clean-made People, of different Statures, as the *Europeans* are, yet chiefly inclin'd to be tall. They are a very straight People, and never bend forwards, or stoop in the Shoulders, unless much overpower'd by old Age. Their Limbs are exceeding well-shap'd. As for their Legs and Feet, they are generally the handsomest in the World. Their Bodies are a little flat, which is occasion'd, by being laced hard down to a Board, in their Infancy. This is all the Cradle they have, which I shall describe at large elsewhere. Their Eyes are black, or of a dark Hazle; the White is marbled with red Streaks, which is ever common to these People, unless when sprung from a white Father or Mother. Their Colour is of a tawny, which would not be so dark, did they not dawb themselves with Bears Oil, and a Colour like burnt Cork. This is begun in their Infancy, and continued for a long time, which fills the Pores, and enables them better to endure the Extremity of the Weather. They are never bald on their Heads, although never so old, which, I believe, proceeds from their Heads being always uncover'd,

Page 117

and the greasing their Hair (so often as they do) with Bears Fat, which is a great Nourisher of the Hair, and causes it to grow very fast. Amongst the Bears Oil (when they intend to be fine) they mix a certain Red Powder, that comes from a Scarlet Root which they get in the hilly Country, near the Foot of the great Ridge of Mountains, and it is no where else to be found. They have this Scarlet Root in great Esteem, and sell it for a very great Price, one to another. The Reason of its Value, is because they not only go a long way for it, but are in great Danger of the *Sinnagars* or *Iroquois,* who are mortal Enemies to all our *Indians,* and very often take them Captives, or kill them, before they return from this Voyage. The *Tuskeruros* and other *Indians* have often brought this Seed with them from the Mountains; but it would never grow in our Land. With this and Bears Grease they anoint their Heads and Temples, which is esteem'd as ornamental, as sweet Powder to our Hair. Besides this Root has the Virtue of killing Lice, and suffers none to abide or breed in their Heads. For want of this Root, they sometimes use *Pecoon*-Root, which is of a Crimson Colour, but it is apt to die the Hair of an ugly Hue.

NO DWARF--INDIAN TOBACCO.

Their Eyes are commonly full and manly, and their Gate sedate and majestick. They never walk backward and forward as we do, nor contemplate on the Affairs of Loss and Gain; the things which daily perplex us. They are dexterous and steady both as to their Hands and Feet, to Admiration. They will walk over deep Brooks, and Creeks, on the smallest Poles, and that without any Fear or Concern. Nay, an *Indian* will walk on the Ridge of a Barn or House and look down the Gable-end, and spit upon the Ground, as unconcern'd, as if he was walking on *Terra firma.* In Running, Leaping, or any such other Exercise, their Legs seldom miscarry, and give them a Fall; and as for letting any thing fall out of their Hands, I never yet knew one Example. They are no Inventors of any Arts or Trades worthy mention; the Reason of which I take to be, that they are not possess'd with that Care and Thoughtfulness, how to provide for the Necessaries of Life, as the *Europeans* are; yet they will learn any thing very soon. I have known an *Indian* stock Guns better than most of our *Joiners,* although he never saw one stock'd before; and besides, his Working-Tool was only a sorry Knife. I have also known several of them that were Slaves to the *English,* learn Handicraft-Trades very well and speedily. I never saw a Dwarf amongst them, nor but one that was Hump-back'd. Their Teeth are yellow with Smoaking Tobacco, which both Men and Women are much addicted to. They tell us, that they had Tobacco amongst them, before the *Europeans* made any Discovery of that Continent. It differs in the leaf from the sweet-scented, and *Oroonoko,* which are the Plants we raise and cultivate in *America.* Theirs differs likewise much in the Smell, when green, from our Tobacco, before cured. They do not use the same way to cure it as we do; and therefore, the Difference must be very considerable in Taste; for all Men (that know Tobacco) must allow, that it is the Ordering thereof which gives a Hogoo to that Weed, rather than any Natural Relish it possesses,

Page 118

when green. Although they are great Smokers, yet they never are seen to take it in Snuff, or chew it.

They have no Hairs on their Faces (except some few) and those but little, nor is there often found any Hair under their Arm-Pits. They are continually plucking it away from their Faces, by the Roots. As for their Privities, since they wore Tail-Clouts, to cover their Nakedness, several of the Men have a deal of Hair thereon. It is to be observ'd, that the Head of the *Penis* is cover'd (throughout all the Nations of the *Indians* I ever saw) both in Old and Young. Although we reckon these a very smooth People, and free from Hair; yet I once saw a middle-aged Man, that was hairy all down his Back; the Hairs being above an Inch long.

FEW CRIPPLES--INDIANS GOOD EYES.

As there are found very few, or scarce any, Deformed, or Cripples, amongst them, so neither did I ever see but one blind Man; and then they would give me no Account how his Blindness came. They had a Use for him, which was, to lead him with a Girl, Woman, or Boy, by a String; so they put what Burdens they pleased upon his Back, and made him very serviceable upon all such Occasions. No People have better Eyes, or see better in the Night or Day, than the *Indians.* Some alledge, that the Smoke of the Pitch-Pine, which they chiefly burn, does both preserve and strengthen the Eyes; as, perhaps, it may do, because that Smoak never offends the Eyes, though you hold your Face over a great Fire thereof. This is occasion'd by the volatile Part of the Turpentine, which rises with the Smoke, and is of a friendly balsamick Nature; for the Ashes of the Pine-Tree afford no fix'd Salt in them.

NOT PAIR THEIR NAILS.

They let their Nails grow very long, which, they reckon, is the Use Nails are design'd for, and laugh at the *Europeans* for pairing theirs, which they say disarms them of that which nature designed them for.

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And since I hinted at a Regulation of the Savages, and to propose a way to convert them to Christianity, I will first particularize the several Nations of *Indians* that are our Neighbours, and then proceed to what I promis'd.

Tuskeruro Indians are fifteen Towns, *viz. Haruta, Waqui, Contahnah, Anna Ooka, Conaub-Kare Harooka, Una Nauban, Kentanuska, Chunaneets, Kenta, Eno, Naur-begh-ne, Oonoffoora, Tofneoc, Nonawharitse, Nursoorooka;* Fighting Men 1200. *Waccon.* Towns 2, *Tupwauremau, Tooptatmeer,* Fighting Men 120. *Machapunga,* Town 1, *Maramiskeet,* Fighting Men 30. *Bear* River, Town 1, *Raudauquaquank,* Fighting Men 50. *Maberring Indians,* Town 1, *Maberring* River, Fighting Men 50. *Chuwon Indians,* Town 1, *Bennets* Creek, Fighting Men 15. *Paspatank Indians,* Town 1, *Paspatank* River, Fighting Men 10. *Poteskeit,* Town 1, *North* River, Fighting Men 30. *Nottaway Indians,* Town 1, *Winoack* Creek, Fighting Men 30. *Hatteras* Town 1, Sand Banks, Fighting Men 16. *Connamox Indians,* Towns 2, *Coranine, Raruta,* Fighting Men 25. *Neus Indians,* Towns

Page 119

2, *Chattooka, Rouconk,* Fighting Men 15. *Pampticough Indians,* Town 1, *Island,* Fighting Men 15. *Taupim Indians,* 6 People. These five Nations of the *Totero's, Sapona's, Keiauwee's, Aconechos,* and *Schoccories,* are lately come amongst us, and may contain, in all, about 750 Men, Women and Children. Total 4780

Now, there appears to be one thousand Six hundred and twelve Fighting Men, of our Neighbouring *Indians;* and probably, there are three Fifths of Women and Children, not including Old Men, which amounts to four thousand and thirty Savages, besides the five Nations lately come. Now, as I before hinted, we will see what grounds there are to make these People serviceable to us, and better themselves thereby.

On a fair Scheme, we must first allow these Savages what really belongs to them, that is, what good Qualities, and natural Endowments, they possess, whereby they being in their proper Colours, the Event may be better guess'd at, and fathom'd.

First, they are as apt to learn any Handicraft, as any People that the World affords; I will except none; as is seen by their Canoes and Stauking Heads, which they make of themselves; but to my purpose, the *Indian* Slaves in South *Carolina,* and elsewhere, make my Argument good.

Secondly, we have no disciplin'd Men in *Europe,* but what have, at one time or other, been branded with Mutining, and Murmuring against their Chiefs. These savages are never found guilty of that great Crime in a Soldier; I challenge all Mankind to tell me of one Instance of it; besides, they never prove Traitors to their Native Country, but rather chuse Death than partake and side with the Enemy.

They naturally possess the Righteous Man's Gift; they are Patient under all Afflictions, and have a great many other Natural Vertues, which I have slightly touch'd throughout the Account of these Savages.

They are really better to us than we are to them; they always give us Victuals at their Quarters, and take care we are arm'd against Hunger and Thirst: We do not so by them (generally speaking) but let them walk by our Doors Hungry, and do not often relieve them. We look upon them with Scorn and Disdain, and think them little better than Beasts in Humane Shape, though if well examined, we shall find that, for all our Religion and Education, we possess more Moral Deformities, and Evils than these Savages do, or are acquainted withal.

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Page 120

EXHIBIT F.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE INDIANS OF ROBESON COUNTY.

[By A. W. McLean.]

It is our purpose to state some facts relating to the Indians now residing in Robeson and adjoining counties in North Carolina. These peculiar and interesting people have been the subject of much historical research during the last half century.

The first white settlers who located in the section now comprised in Robeson County were French Huguenots, who immigrated in large numbers from France to South Carolina after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and some of them had penetrated as far north as the boundary line of North Carolina, only a few miles from the present location of the Indians in Robeson County, in the early part of the eighteenth century. Scotch immigrants settled in the upper section of what is now Robeson County as early as 1730. When these white settlers first arrived they found located on the waters of the Lumbee, as Lumber River was then called, a tribe of Indians speaking broken English, tilling the soil in a rude manner, and practicing in rather imperfect ways some of the arts practiced by the civilized people of Europe. There is abundant evidence that the land lying on the Lumbee River and upon the large creeks and swamps which are tributary to it was a great Indian camping ground. While there were many small tribes of Indians inhabiting this section of eastern North Carolina, the tribe formerly known as "Croatans," now known as "Indians of Robeson County," occupied the territory as far southwest as the Peedee River, in South Carolina, but the principal seat was on the Lumber River, a tributary of the Peedee, and the settlement extended along this river for at least 20 miles, the center of this settlement being about the site of the present town of Pembroke. At first they held their lands in common by right of possession, and this continued until the coming of the white man, when ownership in severalty gradually took the place of ownership in common; however, up to this day most of the people own their lands by right of possession, which has ripened into perfect title.

Hon. Hamilton McMillan, an experienced historian of marked ability, published in 1888 and again in 1907 an account of these people under the title of "Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony." Mr. McMillan's opinion is that the Indians now residing in Robeson and adjoining counties are descended from Sir Walter Raleigh's lost colony, left by Gov. White on Roanake Island in 1587, and there are many plausible arguments advanced by Mr. McMillan for his theory. Another school of local historians contend that these Indians are descended from some other settlement of English-speaking people along the coast of North Carolina, probably near Lockwoods Folly, in Brunswick County, N. C. It is generally admitted by the adherents of both of these theories that these people are of undoubted

Page 121

Indian origin and that they have at some time in the past become mixed to a more or less extent with persons of English blood. The purpose of this sketch is not to decide between these conflicting contentions, for this is immaterial to the purpose of this inquiry.

"TO WHAT TRIBE OF INDIANS DO THEY BELONG?"

We are of the opinion that they were originally a part of the great Cherokee Tribe of Indians which inhabited the western and central portions of Carolina before the advance of the white man.

Indeed, Mr. McMillan, in his account before referred to, takes the position that they are of Cherokee descent, though we confess that we can not reconcile this contention with his main contention that they are descendants of Gov. White's or Sir Walter Raleigh's lost colony.

Long before historians began to study the origin of these people they claimed to be of Cherokee descent. In fact, they have always claimed that they were originally a part of the Cherokee Tribe and that they gave up their tribal relation after they had participated with the white man in the war against the Tuscaroras. These Indians had great roads or trails connecting their settlements with the principal seat of the Cherokee Tribe in the Allegheny Mountains. There is a well-authenticated tradition among them, handed down through several generations, that this small remnant, after participating with the whites in the war against the Tuscaroras, took up many of the habits and customs of the white man, and therefore refused to remove west with the great Cherokee Tribe. It is also certain that in this they were influenced by the admixture of Anglo-Saxon blood, which had taken place to some extent even in that remote period.

On a map (being map No. 1) of the transactions of the American Ethnological Society the Yemassees are assigned to the region bordering on the Savannah River; the Cherokees to the mountain region; the Cheraws from the Yemassees along the coastal region to the Pamlicos on Pamlico Sound; the Tuscaroras along the Roanoke River, and just south of them, on the Nuese, the Woocons; and the Catawbas in central North and South Carolina.

It appears from Gregg's History of The Old Cheraws that originally the Cherokees occupied the territory assigned on the map to the Catawbas. According to their tradition, the Catawbas, about the time of the settlement of North America by the whites, occupied a region far to the northward, from whence they removed to the South. Being a numerous and warlike race, they vanquished the tribes with whom they came in conflict on the way, until they met the Cherokees on the banks of the river now called the Catawba. Here a sanguinary battle ensued, the loss on both sides being heavy, though neither party gained a victory. Terms of peace were agreed on, the Cherokees moving to the west and the Catawbas taking their country. This tradition is said to be confirmed by ethnological research. The Cheraws embraced all the small tribes of the Santee, Congaree, Wateree, Waccamaw, and Pedee. The Cheraws appear to have been a branch of the Cherokees. In the language of the Cherokees "chera" means fire. From the terminals of names Gregg connects the two tribes. He says: "If, about the period of their distinctive existence

Page 122

as a tribe, being possibly an offshoot from the Cherokees, at the era of some internal struggle and partial dismembership of that once powerful and widely extended nation," etc. And, otherwise, he suggests that the Cheraws once belonged to the Cherokees.

In the early days of the settlement he says that there were 28 small tribes in South Carolina, and, in 1700, William Gale, of Albermarle, mentioned that he "was just setting out on a four months' voyage to the Cape Fear, where he had sent a shallop's load of goods to trade with the Indians." Apparently he intended to pass up that river and go as far west as the mountains to trade with the Indians. He said that there were 13 different tribes with which he was well acquainted and had free commerce.

There were many small tribes of Indians from the Neuse to the Savannah, those on the Cape Fear being Congarees, who were really "Cheraws," and the Cheraws, as Gregg indicates, were doubtless an offshoot of the original Cherokees who remained in their several localities at the time of the settlement by the Catawbas and the removal of the great bulk of the Cherokees to the mountains.

These circumstances are corroborative of the opinion of Giles Leitch that the Indians of Robeson County possessed the characteristics of the Cherokees.

The first permanent settlement on the Cape Fear, at old Brunswick, was about 1725. At that time there were many small Indian tribes throughout that region. Some ten years later settlers had penetrated well into the interior and found on the upper Cape Fear a community who had some European characteristics, evidently having mingled to some extent with some of the European races. Such is the first known reference to this settlement. Later, in 1752, there is a reference to them as occupying the territory which they now hold in what is now Robeson County, and it was then reported that they shot at a surveyor who went among them to survey land against their claims.

At that time the remnants of small Indian tribes still existed throughout that region.

The last battle with the Indians in making the original settlements near the seacoast was, according to tradition, at the Sugar Loaf, a few miles north of the site of Fort Fisher, in 1725, when the whites took possession of the lower part of the Cape Fear River. The royal governor eight years later estimated the Indians who were considered a part of the population for their friendly associations as numbering 800. On the outskirts of the settlements there were various small tribes of Indians inhabiting the wilderness in lower North Carolina and in South Carolina. In 1740 a Mr. Vaughn appropriated a large tract of land in Duplin County, together with a hundred slaves, to the purpose of Christianizing five Indian tribes in that vicinity. As the country became settled these remnants disappeared, and doubtless many of the Indians of that region went to live with that nucleus in the territory now confined in Robeson County. This seems to be the most probable account of the origin of this peculiar people, many of whom throughout all the generations appear to have been full-blood Indians, having, as Leitch says, the characteristics of the Cherokees, with whom, in the previous century, they were closely allied. By their traditions some Indians from that region accompanied Col. Barnwell to the Albemarle in January, 1712, and it appears that Barnwell passed close by their settlements.

Page 123

It was among the Cherokees that many men were enlisted to fight the Tuscaroras in 1713, when North Carolina called upon South Carolina for assistance. This call was responded to by hundreds of white men, Cherokees and other Indians under Col. Barnwell. Along the great Lowrie road Col. Barnwell passed with his army to fight the Tuscaroras. The army took the upper road at Fayetteville and crossed the Cape Fear at Averasboro. Ramsay, in his history of South Carolina, says, in volume 1, page 156: "Gov. Craven lost no time in forwarding a force to their assistance. The assembly voted £4,000 for the service of the war. A body of militia, consisting of 600 men under the command of Col. Barnwell, marched against the savages; 218 Cherokees under the command of Capts. Harford and Turston, 79 Creeks under Capt. Hastings, 41 Catawbas under Capt. Cantey, 28 Yemassees under Capt. Pierce, joined the Carolinians in this expedition." This army passed through Robeson County, and there are traditions among the Indians of Robeson County regarding the army of "Bonnul," as they pronounced the name of Barnwell. One of these traditions is that several of the Cherokees, on their return from the Tuscarora war, located in Robeson County, bringing their prisoners with them as slaves. These prisoners intermarried among the Cherokees and became free, as was the custom among Indian tribes.

The Cherokees, from whom the Indians of Robeson County claim descent, were to some extent an agricultural people. The clay pottery found in this section is ornamented by having a full ear of corn rolled over the surface while the material of the pottery was in a plastic state. In the beginning of the War of Independence the colonial troops captured thousands of bushels of corn among the Cherokees in the mountains of western North Carolina.

The universal tradition among the Indians found in Robeson County, N. C., and counties adjoining is that they are the descendants of English people and the Cherokees.

Their Indian ancestors, the Cherokees, according to their tradition, had their principal abiding place in the mountains to the west, and had trails or roads lead ng to various points on the coast. On the principal one of these roads, known as the Lowrie road, they had settlements on the Neuse River, on the waters of Black River, on the Cape Fear, Lumbee, and as far as the Santee in South Carolina. Their principal settlement was in the territory along the Lumbee and covering a large part of the present county of Robeson, and extending through what is now Cumberland County as far as Averasboro on the Cape Fear. They had other trails leading from the mountains eastward, and three of them united with the Lowrie road or trail where there was a crossing of the Cape Fear where the present town of Fayetteville is situated.

John Brooks (ancestor of Aaron Brooks, now living near Pates, in Robeson County) was a soldier in the American Army at the Battle of Eutaw Springs. Soon after returning from the Revolutionary War he died, leaving his widow, Betsy Brooks. Her name appears in the United States census of 1790 as the head of a family.

Jacob Locklear also served in the American Army at the Battle of Eutaw Springs, and at other places. This Jacob Locklear had a brother, William Locklear, who was known as "Lazy Will." This "Lazy Will Locklear" spoke the Cherokee language and often held

Page 124

conversations in Cherokee with Randall Locklear, Elizabeth Lowery, and others. The tradition handed down by the descendants of Lazy Will Locklear is that he and certain others of the Indians remained and settled on Long Swamp and Lumber River, in Robeson County, when the other Indians left for the West. It is also a tradition in this family that Lazy Will Locklear and others of the Indians fought under Gen. Barnwell. It is also stated that there was a battle between some of the Indians and others near the present town of Red Springs, and there is an Indian mound there which is pointed out to this day. Recent investigations disclose the skeletons of a number of Indians who were buried there. The remains were found to be buried in the usual manner of Indian burying grounds.

Daniel Locklear, now living near Buie, in Robeson County, is a great-great-grandson of the Jacob Locklear above mentioned.

The original Lowery Road, now known by that name which passes through Robeson County and referred to in the Hamilton McMillan History of the Indians, was said to have been used by the Indians in traveling from Eastern North Carolina, then known as Roanoke in Virginia, to the Cheraw and other Indian settlements in South Carolina. It was first an Indian trail and was afterwards a post road.

Jordon Chavis, son of Julia Chavis and grandson of Ishmael Chavis, is now 75 years of age. He states that his father and grandfather always told him that their people were Cherokee Indians.

Preston Locklear, age 75 years, states that he and his ancestors were always known as Indians and that his parents taught him that his people lived here in Robeson County long before the white people came here.

Isaac Brayboy, age 74, states that his parents and grandparents told him that their people were Cherokee Indians; that the name was originally "Braveboy." This name is recorded in the census of 1790.

James Brayboy, now 82 years of age, states that his father and grandfather always told him that his people were Indians by the name of Braveboy. That they were living on Lumber River and Long Swamp, in Robeson County, when the white people first came to this country; that they were friendly with the white people and that they helped the white people to drive out the unfriendly Indians.

It will be noted that in the census of 1790 the name now known as "Locklear" is spelled "Lockaleer." It is said among the Indians to-day that this name in Indian language was originally "Locklaha."

As further confirming the Cherokee origin of these people, they have a tradition that the brother of James Lowery, and one of those who fought in the Revolution, was John Lowery, who was the head man among the Cherokees, and that he was one of those who made a treaty on behalf of the Cherokees with the Federal Government. Of this they had a tradition, none of them being able to read or write. On examination, it has been found that John Lowery did sign the treaty on behalf of the Cherokees made in 1806. (See second volume, Treaties, p. 91, Congressional Library.)

This John Lowery was the great-granduncle of Sinclair Lowery, now living in Robeson County, at the age of 78 years.

From the "War Map," in Winsor's History of America, giving the routes taken by Barnwell and taken by the two Moores, it appears that Barnwell, who had 50 whites and some 400 Indians, passed along

Page 125

the Santee to the Congaree, then up the Wateree to the vicinity of the Catawba, embodying detachments of all these tribes in his force; that turning east he crossed the Peedee, and then continued east a considerable distance and took a northeast course, crossing the Cape Fear about where Fayetteville is; then ascending that river to about the vicinity of Averasboro he took a northeast course to Torhunte, on the Cotechne. He reached the Neuse, about Fort Barnwell, in January 1712.

After a great battle, in which his Indians made many prisoners, they returned to South Carolina; and later he, being wounded, likewise returned.

The war breaking out again, South Carolina sent another force under Col. James Moore, 33 whites and 1,000 Indians. Col. Moore pursued the same route to the Pedee, but then turned to the northeast and crossed the Cape Fear at the junction of the Haw and Deep, and then went on to Torhunte. He arrived December 1, 1712. His brother, Maj. Maurice Moore, quickly followed him with another large force of Indians. His route lay still farther west by Trading Ford (near Salisbury), and after crossing the Deep he came east by Occoneechee, where Hillsboro is, and eastward to Torhunte. All these routes were Indian trails. It is to be noted that Barnwell alone passed through what is now Robeson County, and as until recently there never was any publication made of his route, it may be affirmed that the tradition stated is remarkable and noteworthy.

Although many other Indians from South Carolina accompanied Col. James Moore to the Albemarle the following winter, and a few weeks later still others accompanied Col. Maurice Moore, these expeditions did not pass through the Robeson region, and the local traditions are connected only with Barnwell. It is safe to say that these people could have known nothing of these matters except from actual tradition.

In 1756 a similar force of Indians from South Carolina accompanied Col. Hugh Waddell in his expedition to the north for the relief of the more northern colonies in the French and Indian War. While there is no particular record of the fact, yet as small numbers of Indians from almost every settlement composed this force, doubtless some belonged to these tribes that finally made up the population in Robeson County.

Gregg says that most of these smaller tribes eventually united with the Catawbas, and about 1743 the language of the Catawbas is said to have consisted of twenty different dialects.

The remaining Indians, in the course of settlement, passed from view, although "brief allusions are found in our early period to the several tribes in the acts of the assembly passed for the regulation and support of the Indian trade."

As the Indian element in the present population of Robeson County is certainly derived from the former Indians of that region, these people are entitled to share in any feeling of appreciation we may have of the general conduct of all these friendly tribes during the period of settlement and in colonial times.

During the Revolution some of these Indians served in the Continental ranks, as well as in the more local organizations raised by the State of North Carolina.

Page 126

The territory embraced in Robeson County was much divided in sentiment, and toward the close of the Revolution it was the scene of a murderous civil warefare of unparalleled atrocity.

The tradition of these people that some of their leaders fought on the side of the Colonies seems to be corroborated by certain circumstances. Giles Leitch says that during the Revolution some of these families acquired a considerable number of slaves. Had they acquired them from North Carolinians, these slaves would have been recovered on the return of peace. Such slaves as the British captured, they sent either to Florida or Nova Scotia. It is therefore probable that these slaves held by these Robeson County Indians were acquired from South Carolina. Marion raised his celebrated band largely in that part of North Carolina, and as an inducement for serving with him he offered as pay to his North Carolina troopers slaves taken from the South Carolina Loyalists. So many of these slaves were thus taken and held by his North Carolina troopers that after the war the question of their return became a matter of State legislation.

After the war, feeling against the local Tories ran so high that they were discriminated against and severe tests of loyalty were applied. There seems to have been no feeling against these Indians, for although not white they were allowed to vote as "freemen," without any change being made in the law to include them, although only whites had earlier been allowed to vote. They voted until 1835, when the Constitution was changed by the insertion of the word "white."[1]

1 All freemen voted before 1835.--S.B.W.

Had they been of the Tory element probably they would not have been allowed the right of suffrage, because the feeling against the Tories was very bitter, especially in that region where they lived.

During the War of 1812 they were enrolled in the militia; and among others, Charles Oxendine, Thomas Locklier, John Drinkwater, Hugh Locklear, William Bullard, Elias Bullard, Richard Bullard, and Stephen Cumboe were in the companies of militia detached from the Robeson regiments for service in that war. (See Muster Rolls Troops of 1812, State Library at Raleigh.)

Up to 1835 these Indians were entitled to vote, and some of them owned slaves. A number of them appear as heads of families in the United States census of 1790.

After 1835 these people could not vote, nor were they prior to the Civil War admitted to the public schools when they were established.

In 1867 they were allowed to vote under the reconstruction acts, and under the constitution adopted in 1868, and were entitled to attend the negro schools, but not the schools for the whites. But they refused absolutely to attend the negro schools, and thus were debarred from school privileges.

Attention was drawn to their peculiar social status, and as they were of undoubted Indian extraction Hon. Hamilton McMillan, who inquired into their history, reached the conclusion that they were descended from the Indians on Croatan Sound and derived their white blood from the lost colony of 1587. This idea was based on their partly civilized condition when first observed by the early settlers of that region about 1730. Under that impression, the legislature in 1885 provided separate common schools for them under the name of the "Croatan Indians."

Page 127

The word "Croatan" is not a generic or tribal name, but was purely local, and this appellation was given to these Indians in the act of the legislature in 1885 at the instance of the Hon. Hamilton McMillan. The name having been suggested by the word "Croatan" which was found on a tree after the disappearance of Gov. John White's lost colony. In 1911 the legislature changed the name to "Indians of Robeson County."

But whatever the origin of the Indians of this community was, it is certain that from the first settlement they have been separated from the other inhabitants of that region, and are of Indian descent, with Indian characteristics, with complexion, features, and hair of the Indian race, and are now borne on the census rolls as Indians.

NEED OF BETTER SCHOOL FACILITIES.

While they have the ordinary common schools and a small normal school, as they can not attend the high institutions provided on the one hand for the whites and on the other hand for the negroes, their educational facilities are limited.

It is very desirable, therefore, that additional educational facilities should be afforded them, especially in the way of higher academic and industrial education.

It appears that they have capacity for agriculture and the mechanic arts, and readily become skilled in them when trained. A mechanical and industrial school would be of great benefit to them.

In like manner the training of the girls in the domestic arts and economics would be of great benefit.

These people never had a reservation set apart for them, as the Catawbas had not far to the west of them.

The bill under consideration, which has passed the Senate, provides for an appropriation of $50,000 to erect buildings for a school for these Indians at or near Pembroke, in Robeson County.

According to the census of 1910, the number of these Indians in Robeson County was 5,895. There are also about 1,500 to 2,000 in adjoining counties in North and South Carolina, making a settlement in all of about 8,000 persons. In 1909 there were enrolled in the ordinary common free schools provided by the State 1,594 of these Indian children. The average length of the term of their school districts was 82 days. The only school facilities enjoyed by them other than the ordinary common school above mentioned is a normal school for the training of teachers, provided for by the State at an annual cost of $2,250. Under the laws of North Carolina, which provide for the absolute separation of the races, they are not entitled to attend the university for men, the State normal and industrial college for women, or the agricultural and mechanical college for either the white or negro races. They are therefore entirely without the facilities for industrial or higher academic education. There has always been a feeling among these people and their white neighbors that the Federal Government should make some provision for them, for the reason that the Government does expend large sums of money every year in providing schools for other nonreservation Indians in all sections of the country. The present Indian appropriation bill provides for

Page 128

more than a million dollars for this purpose, some provisions in that bill being as follows:

For support and education of three hundred and seventy-five Indian pupils at the Indian school at Genoa, Nebraska, and for pay of superintendent, $62,300; for general repairs and improvements, $4,500; in all, $66,800.

For support and education of one hundred and eighty Indian pupils at the Indian school at Cherokee, North Carolina, and for pay of superintendent, $30,000; for general repairs and improvements, $6,000; in all, $36,000.

For support and education of one hundred Indian pupils at the Indian school, Bismarck, North Dakota, and for pay of superintendent, $18,200; for general repairs and improvements, $2,000; in all, $20,200.

For support and education of Indian pupils at the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and for pay of superintendent, $132,000; for general repairs and improvements, $20,000; in all, $152,000.

For support and education of one hundred and seventy-five Indian pupils at the Indian school at Pierre, South Dakota, and for pay of superintendent, $32,000; for general repairs and improvements, $10,000; in all, $42,000.

For the support and education of two hundred and ten Indian pupils at the Indian school at Hayward, Wisconsin, and for pay of superintendent, $36,670; for general repairs and improvements, $2,500; in all, $39,170.

It appears from a letter from the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, that there are 22 nonreservation Indian schools in various parts of the United States now supported by the Government, none of these being situated in the Southern States.

It appears that these schools are not connected with reservations or agencies, but are maintained especially for Indians of any tribe coming usually from that part of the country in which the school is situated, and pupils are admitted whose parents are entirely free from governmental control or guardianship, and who in some cases hold their lands without restriction, the only condition of admittance being that they would otherwise be deprived of an opportunity to obtain an education, academic or industrial. It is submitted that the condition of the Indians in question fully meets these requirements, because they are debarred by the laws of the State of North Carolina from attending the colleges and schools of higher education, both academic and industrial.

LETTER OF A. W. McLEAN, SEPTEMBER 7, 1914.

LUMBERTON, N. C., September 7, 1914.

The honorable COMMISSIONER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I promised Mr. O. M. McPherson, special Indian agent, who recently spent some time in Lumberton investigating the Cherokee Indians of Robeson County, that I would probably send him some further information in connection with these Indians which he might be able to use in making his report.

I have made a very careful study of the history of these Indians for a number of years. In a hearing before the Committee on Indian Affairs of the House of Representatives on Friday, February 14, 1913, I submitted an historical sketch of these Indians, a copy of which I furnished to Mr. McPherson. Supplementing that sketch, I desire to submit the following as bearing upon their contention that they are of Cherokee origin:

My opinion is, from a very exhaustive examination made before and after the hearing above mentioned, that these Indians are not

Page 129

only descendants of Sir Walter Raleigh's lost colony, as contended by Mr. Hamilton McMillan in his statement, a copy of which Mr. McPherson has in his possession, but that they are also mixed with the Cherokee Indians. In the first place, these Indians have contended from time immemorial that they were of Cherokee descent, and they further have had a tradition among them that their ancestors, or some of them, came from "Roanoke and Virginia." Roanoke and Virginia, of course, originally comprised all of eastern North Carolina, including Roanoke Island, the settlement of Sir Walter Raleigh's lost colony.

In the great war with the Tuscaroras in eastern North Carolina Barnwell's army was made up largely of Indians, and especially Cherokee Indians. The only serious contention made against the claim that they are Cherokees is that the Cherokees live farther west. In view of their tradition that upon their return from eastern North Carolina with Barnwell's army some of them stopped and settled in Robeson County, there seems to be nothing in this contention. This tradition is borne out by the fact that the great road traveled by Barnwell in his expedition to eastern North Carolina was along the Lowrie Road, which passes immediately through the present settlement of these Indians. (See Williamson's History of North Carolina, Vol. I, pp. 194, etc. See also History of the Old Cheraws, by Gregg, pp. 1 to 31. See especially map between pp. 2 and 3, which shows that the Cheraws were located in all that section between the Cape Fear River and the Catawba River. See also on page 7 reference to Lederer's journey, in which it is stated that he made his journey entering the State of North Carolina somewhere in Robeson County, crossing in a southwestern line, and passing through Robeson County into South Carolina. His road was along the Great Lowrie Road, which was originally an Indian trail, and which passes directly through the heart of the Indian settlement in Robeson County. See also Hawks's History of North Carolina.)

As will be noted from the historical sketch given by me at the committee hearing hereinbefore mentioned, John Lowrie signed a treaty on the part of the Cherokee Indians with the United States Government in 1806. This John Lowrie was the ancestor of some of the Lowrie Indians now living in Robeson County. His brother, James Lowrie, was one of the most prominent Indians in the county in the year 1810.

Several of these Indians served in the Revolutionary War. John Brooks was granted a pension by the United States Government for services in the Revolutionary War. (See warrant No. 80030, issued to John Brooks for 160 acres of bounty land for his services in the Revolutionary War. See also Revolutionary War pension file No. 6732, pension order.) In Volume XXII of the North Carolina State Records, pages 56 and 57, it appears that the following Indians of Robeson County received a pension from the Government for service in the Revolutionary War: John Brooks, James Brooks, Berry Hunt, Thomas Jacobs, Michael Revells, Richard Bell, Samuel Bell, Primas Jacobs, Thomas Cummings, and John Hammond, these pensions having been granted under the Federal acts of 1818 and 1832.

In 1871, while Congress was investigating the operations of the Ku-Klux, the Hon. Giles Leach, then a prominent lawyer residing

Page 130

at Lumberton, Robeson County, was summoned to appear before a congressional committee in Washington to testify in regard to the condition of affairs in Robeson County. He was naturally very unfriendly to the Indians, because he admitted in his testimony that he was employed by the State of North Carolina to prosecute some of them. Notwithstanding his prejudice, when asked the question as to what race the Lowries and the other Indians belonged to, he said:

Well, sir, I desire to tell you the truth as near as I can. I think they are a mixture of Spanish and Indian. They have straight black hair and many of the characteristics of the Cherokee Indians in our State.

When asked the question as to what blood there was in the Lowrie family, he said:

I think the father was an Indian. I think the family had about all the characteristics of the Cherokee Indians of our State. The mother was named Cumboe, and I think it very likely that there may have been some white blood in the Cumboe family. The Lowrie family is Indian.

I regard this testimony of the Hon. Giles Leach as very important as bearing upon the fact that these Indians are of Cherokee descent, because, as stated, he was strongly prejudiced against them and evidently gave no testimony favorable to them except where he felt obliged to do so.

It is inconceivable that these Indians should have had a tradition in their families which can be traced for more than a hundred years to the effect that they were of Cherokee origin unless there was something in the statement. It will be noted in the pamphlet published by the Hon. Hamilton McMillan that they always claimed to him that they were of Cherokee origin. The investigation I have made of them for the last 20 or 25 years has elicited the universal tradition and history that their Indian blood was Cherokee. It is entirely possible, of course, that there may have been a mixture of some other Indian blood. In fact, it is generally believed that the Cheraws and a number of other native Indian tribes who originally lived on the border line of North and South Carolina were mixed more or less with the Cherokee Indians.

The fact that such reliable historians as Capt. S. A. Ashe, the author of a history of North Carolina, Hon. Hamilton McMillan, a man now over 80 years of age, who has lived in this section all his life and who has made a special study of these Indians, and the Hon. Giles Leach, who was one of the most noted local historians who ever lived in this section--the very fact, I say, that they have all stated that it is their positive opinion from their investigations that these people have Cherokee blood in them is, when coupled with their own universal tradition to that effect, conclusive proof that they have Cherokee blood in their veins. Indeed, it would be practically impossible to prove the family or tribal relation of any people by stronger or more convincing proof.

I inclose statement of Wash Lowrie, a very old Indian, which is practically the same as the others with whom I have talked for the last 25 years.

Yours, truly,

A. W. MCLEAN.

Page 131

STATEMENT OF WASH LOWRIE TO A. W. MCLEAN.

On July 14, 1914, I interviewed Wash Lowrie at his home on the Lowrie Road, about 2 miles north of Pembroke. He stated that he lacked a few months of being 80 years of age. That his father was Daniel Lowrie, who died about 1864, age 73 years, and Daniel Lowrie was a natural son of James Lowrie. This James Lowrie was one of the original Indians in this section and was very well off at the time of his death in 1810. (See his will, recorded in book of wills No. 1, p. 121, office clerk superior court, Robeson County.) The mother of Daniel Lowrie was Sarah Locklear. Other descendants of James Lowrie now living in this section are the following: Luther Dees and John Dees, sons of Silas Lowrie, who was a son of Thomas Lowrie, and Thomas Lowrie was a son of James Lowrie. Sinclair Lowrie and James Lowrie and Pert Ransom are all children of Allen Lowrie, who was a son of the original James Lowrie. This James Lowrie first lived in the upper part of Robeson County, now Hoke County. He afterwards moved to Harpers Ferry, on Lumber River, and maintained first a ferry and afterwards a toll bridge at that point. He laid out and constructed the Lowrie Road. Wash Lowrie says that this James Lowrie was a nephew of Col. John Lowrie, who was one time chief of the Cherokees and who signed a treaty on behalf of the Cherokees to the United States Government. He further states that he knew old John Brooks well, having seen him a number of times before he died. This John Brooks was a soldier in the Revolutionary War. (See application for pension in the records of the War Department at Washington.) Wash Lowrie says that old John Brooks died at the age of about 110 years. His application for pension states that he was about 90 or 96 years old when the pension was granted. Says that he was told by Aaron Revels, then 100 years old, and Daniel Lowrie, his father, then 73 years old, and Joe Chavis, age 90, that these Indians in Robeson County came from Roanoke, in Virginia. That after remaining in Robeson County for some time they went to the mountains with the other Cherokees, but a number returned on account of leaving relatives in Robeson County, where they had mixed with the other tribes and probably with several of the whites.

The United States census of 1790 shows only a few Indian families in Robeson County at the time of taking that census.

Wash Lowrie states further that he has often heard of Hugh Locklear, who served in the War of 1812, and that Nelson Locklear, now living in Robeson County, is a great grandson of this Hugh Locklear, and that Hector Locklear's wife is a great granddaughter. That he has often heard of Stephen Cumbo, who was a soldier in the War of 1812. That Abbie Cumbo, who married Allen Lowrie, was a daughter of this Stephen Cumbo.

This Wash Lowrie is now in very bad health, having suffered a stroke of paralysis, but his mind and memory seem to be good. He has many of the characteristics of the Indians. An enlarged photograph can be obtained, as he has one hanging in his bedroom.

Page 132

OFFICE LETTER OF SEPTEMBER 14, 1914, TO A. W. MCLEAN.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1914.

Mr. A. W. MCLEAN,
President Bank of Lumberton, Lumberton, N. C.

DEAR SIR: The office has received your letter of September 7, 1914, submitting certain matter relating to the Indians of Robeson County, N. C., and the same has been referred to Special Agent McPherson for consideration in connection with his investigation of the affairs of said Indians, in obedience to Senate resolution 410 and the instructions of this office.

Very respectfully,

E. B. MERITT,
Assistant Commissioner.

Page 133

EXHIBIT G.

HISTORY OF THE CHEROKEE INDIANS.

[From Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.]

THE TRADITIONARY PERIOD.

The Cherokee were the mountaineers of the South, holding the entire Allegheny region from the interlocking head-streams of the Kanawha and the Tennessee southward almost to the site of Atlanta, and from the Blue Ridge on the east to the Cumberland Range on the west, a territory comprising an area of about 40,000 square miles, now included in the States of Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Their principal towns were upon the headwaters of the Savannah, Hiwassee, and Tuckasegee, and along the whole length of the Little Tennessee to its junction with the main stream. Itsâtĭ, or Echota, on the south bank of the Little Tennessee, a few miles above the mouth of Tellico River, in Tennessee, was commonly considered the capital of the nation. As the advancing whites pressed upon them from the east and northeast the more exposed towns were destroyed or abandoned and new settlements were formed lower down the Tennessee and on the upper branches of the Chattahoochee and the Coosa.

As is always the case with tribal geography, there were no fixed boundaries, and on every side the Cherokee frontiers were contested by rival claimants. In Virginia, there is reason to believe, the tribe was held in check in early days by the Powhatan and the Monacan. On the east and southeast the Tuscarora and Catawba were their inveterate enemies, with hardly even a momentary truce within the historic period; and evidence goes to show that the Sara or Cheraw were fully as hostile. On the south there was hereditary war with the Creeks, who claimed nearly the whole of upper Georgia as theirs by original possession, but who were being gradually pressed down toward the Gulf until, through the mediation of the United States, a treaty was finally made fixing the boundary between the two tribes along a line running about due west from the mouth of Broad River on the Savannah. Toward the west, the Chickasaw on the lower Tennessee and the Shawano on the Cumberland repeatedly turned back the tide of Cherokee invasion from the rich central valleys, while the powerful Iroquois in the far north set up an almost unchallenged claim of paramount lordship from the Ottawa River of Canada southward at least to the Kentucky River.

On the other hand, by their defeat of the Creeks and expulsion of the Shawano, the Cherokee made good the claim which they asserted to all the lands from upper Georgia to the Ohio River, including the rich hunting grounds of Kentucky. Holding as they did the great mountain barrier between the English settlements on the coast and the French or Spanish garrisons along the Mississippi and the Ohio, their geographic position, no less than their superior number, would

Page 134

have given them the balance of power in the South but for a looseness of tribal organization in striking contrast to the compactness of the Iroquois league, by which for more than a century the French power was held in check in the north. The English, indeed, found it convenient to recognize certain chiefs as supreme in the tribe, but the only real attempt to weld the whole Cherokee Nation into a political unit was that made by the French agent, Priber, about 1736, which failed from its premature discovery by the English. We frequently find their kingdom divided against itself, their very number preventing unity of action, while still giving them an importance above that of neighboring tribes.

The proper name by which the Cherokee call themselves is Yûñ'wiyă', or Ani'-Yûñ'wiyă' in the third person, signifying "real people," or "principal people," a word closely related to Oñwe-hoñwe, the name by which the cognate Iroquois know themselves. The word properly denotes "Indians," as distinguished from people of other races, but in usage it is restricted to mean members of the Cherokee Tribe, those of other tribes being designated as Creek, Catawba, etc., as the case may be. On ceremonial occasions they frequently speak of themselves as Ani'-Kitu' hwagĭ, or "people of Kitu'hwa," an ancient settlement on Tuckasegee River and apparently the original nucleus of the tribe. Among the western Cherokee this name has been adopted by a secret society recruited from the full-blood element and pledged to resist the advances of the white man's civilization. Under the various forms of Cuttawa, Gattochwa, Kittuwa, etc., as spelled by different authors, it was also used by several northern Algonquian tribes as a synonym for Cherokee.

Cherokee, the name by which they are commonly known, has no meaning in their own language, and seems to be of foreign origin. As used among themselves the form is Tsa'lăgĭ' or Tsa'răgĭ'. It first appears as Chalaque in the Portuguese narrative of De Soto's expedition, published originally in 1557, while we find Cheraqui in a French document of 1699, and Cherokee as an English form as early, at least, as 1708. The name has thus an authentic history of 360 years. There is evidence that it is derived from the Choctaw word *choluk* or *chiluk,* signifying a pit or cave, and comes to us through the so-called Mobilian trade language, a corrupted Choctaw jargon formerly used as the medium of communication among all the tribes of the Gulf States, as far north as the mouth of the Ohio. Within this area many of the tribes were commonly known under Choctaw names, even though of widely differing linguistic stocks, and if such a name existed for the Cherokee it must undoubtedly have been communicated to the first

Spanish explorers by De Soto's interpreters. This theory is borne out by their Iroquois (Mohawk) name, Oyata'ge'ronon', as given by Hewitt, signifying "inhabitants of the cave country," the Allegheny region being peculiarly a cave country, in which "rock shelters," containing numerous traces of Indian occupancy, are of frequent occurrence. Their Catawba name also, Mañterañ, as given by Gatschet, signifying "coming out of the ground," seems to contain the same reference. Adair's attempt to connect the name Cherokee with their word for fire, *atsila,* is an error founded upon imperfect knowledge of the language.

Among other synonyms for the tribe are Rickahockan, or Rechahecrian, the ancient Powhatan name, and Tallige', or Tallige'wi, the

Page 134a

MAP OF THE CHEROKEE COUNTRY.
(From Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.)

Page 135

ancient name used in the Walam Olum chronicle of the Lenape'. Concerning both the application and the etymology of this last name there has been much dispute, but there seems no reasonable doubt as to the identity of the people.

Linguistically the Cherokee belong to the Iroquoian stock, the relationship having been suspected by Barton over a century ago, and by Gallatin and Hale at a later period, and definitely established by Hewitt in 1887.[1]

1 Barton, Benj. S., New Views on the Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America, p. xlv, passim; Phila., 1797; Gallatin, Albert, Synopsis of Indian Tribes, Trans. American Antiquarian Society, II, p. 91; Cambridge, 1836; Hewitt, J. N. B., The Cherokee an Iroquoian Language, Washington, 1887, (MS. in the archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology).

While there can now be no question of the connection, the marked lexical and grammatical differences indicate that the separation must have occurred at a very early period. As is usually the case with a large tribe occupying an extensive territory, the language is spoken in several dialects, the principal of which may, for want of other names, be conveniently designated as the Eastern, Middle, and Western. Adair's classification into "Ayrate" (*e'ladĭ*), or low, and "Ottare" (*â'talĭ*), or mountainous, must be rejected as imperfect.

The Eastern dialect, formerly often called the Lower Cherokee dialect, was originally spoken in all the towns upon the waters of the Keowee and Tugaloo, head streams of Savannah River, in South Carolina and the adjacent portion of Georgia. Its chief peculiarity is a rolling *r,* which takes the place of the *l* of the other dialects. In this dialect the tribal name is Tsa'răgĭ', which the English settlers of Carolina corrupted to Cherokee, while the Spaniards, advancing from the south, became better familiar with the other form, which they wrote as Chalaque. Owing to their exposed frontier position, adjoining the white settlements of Carolina, the Cherokee of this division were the first to feel the shock of war in the campaigns of 1760 and 1776, with the result that before the close of the Revolution they had been completely extirpated from their original territory and scattered as refugees among the more western towns of the tribe. The consequence was that they lost their distinctive dialect, which is now practically extinct. In 1888 it was spoken by but one man on the reservation in North Carolina.

The Middle dialect, which might properly be designated the Kituhwa dialect, was originally spoken in the towns on the Tuckasegee and the headwaters of the Little Tennessee, in the very heart of the Cherokee country, and is still spoken by the great majority of those now living on the Qualla Reservation. In some of its phonetic forms it agrees with the Eastern dialect, but resembles the Western in having the *l* sound.

The Western dialect was spoken in most of the towns of east Tennessee and upper Georgia and upon Hiwassee and Cheowa Rivers in North Carolina. It is the softest and most musical of all the dialects of this musical language, having a frequent liquid *l* and eliding many of the harsher consonants found in the other forms. It is also the literary dialect, and is spoken by most of those now constituting the Cherokee Nation in the West.

Scattered among the other Cherokee are individuals whose pronunciation and occasional peculiar terms for familiar objects give indication of a fourth and perhaps a fifth dialect, which can not now be localized. It is possible that these differences may come from foreign

Page 136

admixture, as of Natchez, Taskigi, or Shawano blood. There is some reason for believing that the people living on Nantahala River differed dialectically from their neighbors on either side.

The Iroquoian stock, to which the Cherokee belong, had its chief home in the North, its tribes occupying a compact territory which comprised portions of Ontario, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, and extended down the Susquehanna and Chesapeake Bay almost to the latitude of Washington. Another body, including the Tuscarora, Nottoway, and perhaps also the Meherrin, occupied territory in northeastern North Carolina and the adjacent portion of Virginia. The Cherokee themselves constituted the third and southernmost body. It is evident that tribes of common stock must at one time have occupied contiguous territories, and such we find to be the case in this instance. The Tuscarora and Meherrin, and presumably also the Nottoway, are known to have come from the north, while traditional and historical evidence concur in assigning to the Cherokee as their early home the region about the headwaters of the Ohio, immediately to the southward of their kinsmen, but bitter enemies, the Iroquois. The theory which brings the Cherokees from northern Iowa and the Iroquois from Manitoba is unworthy of serious consideration.

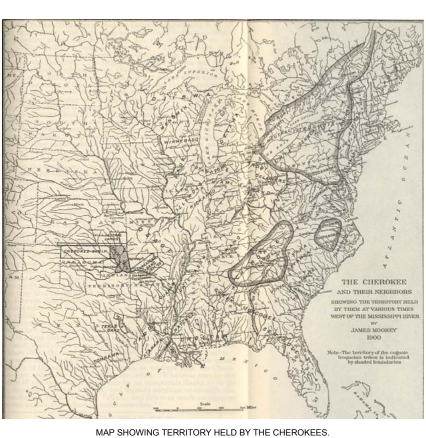
The most ancient tradition concerning the Cherokee appears to be the Delaware tradition of the expulsion of the Talligewi from the North as first noted by the missionary Heckewelder in 1819, and published more fully by Brinton in the Walam Olum in 1885. According to the first account, the Delawares, advancing from the west, found their further progress opposed by a powerful people called Alligewi or Talligewi, occupying the country upon a river which Heckewelder thinks identical with the Mississippi, but which the sequel shows was more probably the Upper Ohio. They were said to have regularly built earthen fortifications, in which they defended themselves so well that at last the Delawares were obliged to seek the assistance of the "Mengwe," or Iroquois, with the result that after a warfare extending over many years the Alligewi finally received a crushing defeat, the survivors fleeing down the river and abandoning the country to the invaders, who thereupon parceled it out amongst themselves, the "Mengwe" choosing the portion about the Great Lakes while the Delawares took possession of that to the south and east. The missionary adds that the Allegheny (and Ohio) River was still called by the Delawares the Alligewi Sipu, or river of the Alligewi. This would seem to indicate it as the true river of the tradition. He speaks also of remarkable earthworks seen by him in 1789 in the neighborhood of Lake Erie, which were said by the Indians to have been built by the extirpated tribe as defensive fortifications in the course of this war. Near two of these, in the vicinity of Sandusky, he was shown mounds under which it was said some hundreds of the slain Talligewi were buried.[1]

1 Heckewelder, John, Indian Nations of Pennsylvania, pp. 47-49, ed. 1876.

As is usual in such traditions, the Alligewi were said to have been of giant stature, far exceeding their conquorers in size.

In the Walam Olum, which is, it is asserted, a metrical translation of an ancient hieroglyphic bark record discovered in 1820, the main tradition is given in practically the same way, with an appendix which follows the fortunes of the defeated tribe up to the beginning of the historic period, thus completing the chain of evidence.

Page 136a



MAP SHOWING TERRITORY HELD BY THE CHEROKEES.
(From Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.)

Page 137

In the Walam Olum also we find the Delawares advancing from the west or northwest until they come to "Fish River"--the same which Heckewelder makes the Mississippi. On the other side, we are told, "The Talligewi possessed the East." The Delaware chief "desired the eastern land," and some of his people go on, but are killed by the Talligewi. The Delawares decide upon war and call in the help of their northern friends, the "Talamatan," i. e., the Wyandot and other allied Iroquoian Tribes. A war ensues which continues through the terms of four successive chiefs, when victory declares for the invaders, and "all the Talega go south." The country is then divided, the Talamatan taking the northern portion, while the Delawares "stay south of the lakes." The chronicle proceeds to tell how, after eleven more chiefs have ruled, the Nanticoke and Shawano separate from the parent tribe and remove to the south. Six other chiefs follow in succession until we come to the seventh, who "went to the Talega Mountains." By this time the Delawares have reached the ocean. Other chiefs succeed, after whom "the Easterners and the Wolves"--probably the Mahican or Wappinger and the Munsee--move off to the northeast. At last, after six more chiefs, "the whites came on the eastern sea," by which is probably meant the landing of the Dutch on Manhattan in 1609. We may consider this a tally date, approximating the beginning of the seventeenth century. Two more chiefs rule, and of the second we are told that "He fought at the south; he fought in the land of the Talega and Koweta," and again the fourth chief after the coming of the whites "went to the Talega." We have thus a traditional record of a war of conquest carried on against the Talligewi by four successive chiefs, and a succession of about twenty-five chiefs between the final expulsion of that tribe and the appearance of the whites, in which interval the Nanticoke, Shawano, Mahican, and Munsee branched off from the parent tribe of the Delawares. Without venturing to entangle ourselves in the devious maze of Indian chronology, it is sufficient to note that all this implies a very long period of time--so long, in fact, that during it several new tribes, each of which in time developed a distinct dialect, branch off from the main Lenapé stem. It is distinctly stated that all the Talega went south after their final defeat; and from later references we find that they took refuge in the mountain country in the neighborhood of the Koweta (the Creeks), and that Delaware war parties were still making raids upon both these tribes long after the first appearance of the whites.

Although at first glance it might be thought that the name Talligewi is but a corruption of Tsalagi, a closer study leads to the opinion that is a true Delaware word, in all probability connected with *waloh* or *walok,* signifying a cave or hole (Zeisberger), whence we find in the Walam Olum the word *oligonunk* rendered as "at the place of caves." It would thus be an exact Delaware rendering of the same name, "people of the cave country," by which, as we have seen, the Cherokee were commonly known among the tribes. Whatever may be the origin of the name itself, there can be no reasonable doubt as to its application. "Name, location, and legends combine to identify the Cherokees or Tsalaki with the Tallike; and this is as much evidence as we can expect to produce in such researches."[1]

1 Brinton, D. G., Walam Olum, p. 231; Phila., 1885.

Page 138

The Wyandot confirm the Delaware story and fix the identification of the expelled tribe. According to their tradition, as narrated in 1802, the ancient fortifications in the Ohio Valley had been erected in the course of a long war between themselves and the Cherokee, which resulted finally in the defeat of the latter.[1]

1 Schoolcraft, H. R., Notes on the Iroquois, p. 162: Albany, 1847.

The traditions of the Cherokee, so far as they have been preserved, supplement and corroborate those of the northern tribes, thus bringing the story down to their final settlement upon the headwaters of the Tennessee in the rich valleys of the southern Alleghenies. Owing to the Cherokee predilection for new gods, contrasting strongly with the conservatism of the Iroquois, their ritual forms and national epics had fallen into decay even before the Revolution, as we learn from Adair. Some vestiges of their migration legend still existed in Haywoods's time, but it is now completely forgotten both in the East and in the West.

According to Haywood, who wrote in 1823 on information obtained directly from leading members of the tribe long before the Removal, the Cherokee formerly had a long migration legend, which was already lost, but which, within the memory of the mother of one informant--say about 1750--was still recited by chosen orators on the occasion of the annual green-corn dance. This migration legend appears to have resembled that of the Delawares and the Creeks in beginning with genesis and the period of animal monsters, and thence following the shifting fortune of the chosen band to the historic period. The tradition recited that they had originated in a land toward the rising sun, where they had been placed by the command of "the four councils sent from above." In this pristine home were great snakes and water monsters, for which reason it was supposed to have been near the sea-coast, although the assumption is not a necessary corollary, as these are a feature of the mythology of all the eastern tribes. After this genesis period there began a slow migration, during which "towns of people in many nights' encampment removed;" but no details are given. From Heckewelder it appears that the expression, "a night's encampment," which occurs also in the Delaware migration legend, is an Indian figure of speech for a halt of one year at a place.[2]

2 Heckewelder, Indian Nations, p. 47, ed. 1876.

In another place Haywood says, although apparently confusing the chronologic order of events: "One tradition which they have amongst them says they came from the west and exterminated the former inhabitants; and then says they came from the upper parts of the Ohio, where they erected the mounds on Grave creek, and that they removed thither from the country where Monticello (near Charlottesville, Virginia) is situated."[3]

3 Haywood, John, Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee, pp. 225-226; Nashville, 1823.

The first reference is to the celebrated mounds on the Ohio near Moundsville, below Wheeling, West Virginia; the other is doubtless to a noted burial mound described by Jefferson in 1781 as then existing near his home, on the low grounds of Rivanna river opposite the site of an ancient Indian town. He himself had opened it and found it to contain perhaps a thousand disjointed skeletons of both adults and children, the bones piled in successive layers, those near the top being least decayed. They showed no signs of violence, but were evidently the accumulation of long years from the neighboring Indian town. The distinguished

Page 139

writer adds: "But on whatever occasion they may have been made, they are of considerable notoriety among the Indians: for a party passing, about thirty years ago (i. e., about 1750), through the part of the country where this barrow is, went through the woods directly to it without any instructions or inquiry, and having staid about it some time, with expression which were construed to be those of sorrow, they returned to the high road, which they had left about half a dozen miles to pay this visit, and pursued their journey."[1]

1 Jefferson, Thomas, Notes on Virginia, pp. 136-137; ed. Boston, 1802.

Although the tribe is not named, the Indians were probably Cherokee, as no other southern Indians were then accustomed to range in that section. As serving to corroborate this opinion we have the statement of a prominent Cherokee chief, given to Schoolcraft in 1846, that according to their tradition his people had formerly lived at the Peaks of Otter, in Virginia, a noted landmark of the Blue Ridge, near the point where Staunton river breaks through the mountains.[2]

2 Schoolcraft, Notes on the Iroquois, p. 163, 1847.

From a careful sifting of the evidence Haywood concludes that the authors of the most ancient remains in Tennessee had spread over that region from the south and southwest at a very early period, but that the later occupants, the Cherokee, had entered it from the north and northeast in comparatively recent times, overrunning and exterminating the aborigines. He declares that the historical fact seems to be established that the Cherokee entered the country from Virginia, making temporary settlements upon New River and the upper Holston, until, under the continued hostile pressure from the north, they were again forced to remove farther to the south, fixing themselves upon the Little Tennessee, in what afterward became known as the middle towns. By a leading mixed blood of the tribe he was informed that they had made their first settlements within their modern home territory upon Nolichucky River, and that, having lived there for a long period, they could give no definite account of an earlier location. Echota, their capital and peace town, "claimed to be the eldest brother in the nation," and the claim was generally acknowledged.[3]

3 Haywood, Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee, pp. 233, 236, 269, 1823.

In confirmation of the statement as to an early occupancy of the upper Holston region, it may be noted that "Watauga Old Fields," now Elizabethtown, were so called from the fact that when the first white settlement within the present State of Tennessee was begun there, so early as 1769, the bottom lands were found to contain graves and other numerous ancient remains of a former Indian town which tradition ascribed to the Cherokee, whose nearest settlements were then many miles to the southward.

While the Cherokee claimed to have built the mounds on the upper Ohio, they yet, according to Haywood, expressly disclaimed the authorship of the very numerous mounds and petroglyphs in their later home territory, asserting that these ancient works had exhibited the same appearance when they themselves had first occupied the region.[4]

4 Haywood, Nat. and Aborig. Hist. Tennessee, pp. 226, 234, 1823.

This accords with Bartram's statement that the Cherokee, although sometimes utilizing the mounds as sites for their own town houses, were as ignorant as the whites of their origin or purpose, having only a general tradition that their forefathers had found them in much the same condition on first coming into the country.[5]

5 Bartram, Wm., Travels, p. 365; reprint, London, 1792.

Page 140

Although, as has been noted, Haywood expresses the opinion that the invading Cherokee had overrun and exterminated the earlier inhabitants, he says in another place, on half-breed authority, that the newcomers found no Indians upon the waters of the Tennessee, with the exception of some Creeks living upon that river, near the mouth of the Hiwassee, the main body of that tribe being established upon and claiming all the streams to the southward.[1]

1 Haywood, op. cit., pp. 234-237.

There is considerable evidence that the Creeks preceded the Cherokee, and within the last century they still claimed the Tennessee, or at least the Tennessee watershed, for their northern boundary.

There is a dim but persistent tradition of a strange white race preceding the Cherokee, some of the stories even going so far as to locate their former settlements and to identify them as the authors of the ancient works found in the country. The earliest reference appears to be that of Barton in 1797, on the statement of a gentleman whom he quotes as a valuable authority upon the southern tribes. "The Cheerake tell us, that when they first arrived in the country which they inhabit, they found it possessed by certain 'moon-eyed people,' who could not see in the daytime. These wretches they expelled." He seems to consider them an albino race.[2]

2 Barton, New Views, p. xliv, 1797.

Haywood, twenty-six years later, says that the invading Cherokee found "white people" near the head of the Little Tennessee, with forts extending thence down the Tennessee as far as Chickamauga Creek. He gives the location of three of these forts. The Cherokee made war against them and drove them to the mouth of Big Chickamauga Creek, where they entered into a treaty and agreed to remove if permitted to depart in peace. Permission being granted, they abandoned the country. Elsewhere he speaks of this extirpated white race as having extended into Kentucky and probably also into western Tennessee, according to the concurrent traditions of different tribes. He describes their houses, on what authority is not stated, as having been small circular structures of upright logs, covered with earth which had been dug out from the inside.[3]

3 Haywood, Nat. and Aborig. Hist. Tennessee, pp. 166, 234-235, 287-289, 1823.

Harry Smith, a half-breed born about 1815, father of the late chief of the East Cherokee, informed the author that when a boy he had been told by an old woman a tradition of a race of very small people, perfectly white, who once came and lived for some time on the site of the ancient mound on the northern side of Hiwassee, at the mouth of Peachtree Creek, a few miles above the present Murphy, North Carolina. They afterward removed to the West. Colonel Thomas, the white chief of the East Cherokee, born about the beginning of the century, had also heard a tradition of another race of people, who lived on Hiwassee, opposite the present Murphy, and warned the Cherokee that they must not attempt to cross over to the south side of the river or the great leech in the water would swallow them.[4]

4 See story, "The Great Leech of Tlanusi'yĭ," p. 328.

They finally went west, "long before the whites came." The two stories are plainly the same, although told independently and many miles apart.

Page 141

THE PERIOD OF SPANISH EXPLORATION--1540-?

The definite history of the Cherokee begins with the year 1540, at which date we find them already established, where they were always afterward known, in the mountains of Carolina and Georgia. The earliest Spanish adventurers failed to penetrate so far into the interior, and the first entry into their country was made by De Soto, advancing up the Savannah on his fruitless quest for gold, in May of that year.

While at Cofitachiqui, an important Indian town on the lower Savannah governed by a "queen," the Spaniards had found hatchets and other objects of copper, some of which was of finer color and appeared to be mixed with gold, although they had no means of testing it.[1]

1 Garcilaso de la Voga, La Florida del Inca, pp. 129, 133-134; Madrid, 1723.

On inquiry they were told that the metal had come from an interior mountain province called Chisca, but the country was represented as thinly peopled and the way as impassable for horses. Some time before, while advancing through eastern Georgia, they had heard also of a rich and plentiful province called Coca, toward the northwest, and by the people of Cofitachiqui they were now told that Chiaha, the nearest town of Coca province, was twelve days inland. As both men and animals were already nearly exhausted from hunger and hard travel, and the Indians either could not or would not furnish sufficient provision for their needs, De Soto determined not to attempt the passage of the mountains then, but to push on at once to Coca, there to rest and recuperate before undertaking further exploration. In the meantime he hoped also to obtain more definite information concerning the mines. As the chief purpose of the expedition was the discovery of the mines, many of the officers regarded this change of plan as a mistake, and favored staying where they were until the new crop should be ripened, then go directly into the mountains, but as the general was "a stern man and of few words," none ventured to oppose his resolution.[2]

2 Gentleman of Elvas, Publications of the Hakluyt Society, IX, pp. 52, 58, 64; London, 1851.

The province of Coca was the territory of the Creek Indians, called Ani'-Kusa by the Cherokee, from Kusa, or Coosa, their ancient capital, while Chiaha was identical with Chehaw, one of the principal Creek towns on Chattahoochee River. Cofitachiqui may have been the capital of the Uchee Indians.

The outrageous conduct of the Spaniards had so angered the Indian queen that she now refused to furnish guides and carriers, whereupon De Soto made her a prisoner, with the design of compelling her to act as guide herself, and at the same time to use her as a hostage to command the obedience of her subjects. Instead, however, of conducting the Spaniards by the direct trail toward the west, she led them far out of their course until she finally managed to make her escape, leaving them to find their way out of the mountains as best they could.

Departing from Cofitachiqui, they turned first toward the north, passing through several towns subject to the queen, to whom, although a prisoner, the Indians everywhere showed great respect and obedience, furnishing whatever assistance the Spaniards compelled her to demand for their own purposes. In a few days they came to "a province called Chalaque," the territory of the Cherokee Indians, probably upon the waters of Keowee River, the eastern head stream of the Savannah. It is described as the poorest country for corn that

Page 142

they had yet seen, the inhabitants subsisting on wild roots and herbs and on game which they killed with bows and arrows. They were naked, lean, and unwarlike. The country abounded in wild turkeys ("gallinas"), which the people gave very freely to the strangers, one town presenting them with seven hundred. A chief also gave De Soto two deerskins as a great present.[1]

1 Gentleman of Elvas, Publications of the Hakluyt Society, IX, p. 60, London, 1851.

Garcilaso, writing on the authority of an old soldier nearly fifty years afterward, says that the "Chalaques" deserted their towns on the approach of the white men and fled to the mountains, leaving behind only old men and women and some who were nearly blind.[2]

2 Garcilaso, La Florida del Inca, p. 136, ed. 1723.

Although it was too early for the new crop, the poverty of the people may have been more apparent than real, due to their unwillingness to give any part of their stored-up provision to the unwelcome strangers. As the Spaniards were greatly in need of corn for themselves and their horses, they made no stay, but hurried on. In a few days they arrived at Guaquili, which is mentioned only by Ranjel, who does not specify whether it was a town or a province--i. e., a tribal territory. It was probably a small town. Here they were welcomed in a friendly manner, the Indians giving them a little corn and many wild turkeys, together with some dogs of a peculiar small species, which were bred for eating purposes and did not bark. [3]

3 Ranjel, in Oviedo, Historia General y Natural de las Indias, I, p. 562; Madrid, 1851.

They were also supplied with men to help carry the beggage. The name Guaquili has a Cherokee sound and may be connected with *wa'gulĭ',* "whippoorwill," *uwâ' gĭ'lĭ,* "foam," or *gi'lĭ,* "dog."

Traveling still toward the north, they arrived a day or two later in the province of Xuala, in which we recognize the territory of the Suwali, Sara, or Cheraw Indians, in the piedmont region about the head of Broad River in North Carolina. Garcilaso, who did not see it, represents it as a rich country, while the Elvas narrative and Biedma agree that it was a rough, broken country, thinly inhabited and poor in provision. According to Garcilaso, it was under the rule of the queen of Cofitachiqui, although a distinct province in itself.[4]

4 Garcilaso, La Florida del Inca, p. 137, 1723.

The principal town was beside a small rapid stream, close under a mountain. The chief received them in friendly fashion, giving them corn, dogs of the small breed already mentioned, carrying baskets, and burden bearers. The country roundabout showed greater indications of gold mines than any they had yet seen.[3]

3 Ranjel, in Oviedo, Historia General y Natural de las Indias, I, p. 562; Madrid, 1851.

Here De Soto turned to the west, crossing a very high mountain range, which appears to have been the Blue Ridge, and descending on the other side to a stream flowing in the opposite direction, which was probably one of the upper tributaries of the French Broad.[5]

5 See note 8, De Soto's route.

Although it was late in May, they found it very cold in the mountains.[6]

6 Ranjel, op. cit., I, p. 562.

After several days of such travel they arrived, about the end of the month, at the town of Guasili, or Guaxule. The chief and principal men came out some distance to welcome them, dressed in fine robes of skins, with feather head dresses, after the fashion of the country. Before reaching this point the queen had managed to make her escape, together with three slaves of the Spaniards, and the last that was heard of her was that she was on her way back to her own

Page 143

country with one of the runaways as her husband. What grieved De Soto most in the matter was that she took with her a small box of pearls, which he had intended to take from her before releasing her, but had left with her for the present in order "not to discontent her altogether."[1]

1 Elvas, Hakluyt Society, IX, p. 61, 1851.

Guaxule is described as a very large town surrounded by a number of small mountain streams which united to form the large river down which the Spaniards proceeded after leaving the place.[2]

2 Garcilaso, op. cit., p. 139.

Here, as elsewhere, the Indians received the white men with kindness and hospitality--so much so that the name of Guaxule became to the army a synonym for good fortune.[3]

3 Ranjel, in Oviedo, Historia, I, p. 563, 1851.

Among other things they gave the Spaniards 300 dogs for food, although, according to the Elvas narrative, the Indians themselves did not eat them.[4]

4 Elvas, Biedma, and Ranjel, all make special references to the dogs given them at this place; they seem to have been of the same small breed ("perrillos") which Ranjel says the Indians used for food.

The principal officers of the expedition were lodged in the "chief's house," by which we are to understand the townhouse, which was upon a high hill with a roadway to the top.[5]

5 Garcilaso, La Florida del Inca, p. 139, 1723.

From a close study of the narrative it appears that this "hill" was no other than the great Nacoochee mound, in White county, Georgia, a few miles northwest of the present Clarkesville.[6]

6 See note 8, De Soto's route.

It was within the Cherokee territory, and the town was probably a settlement of that tribe. From here De Soto sent runners ahead to notify the chief of Chiaha of his approach, in order that sufficient corn might be ready on his arrival.

Leaving Guaxule, they proceeded down the river, which we identify with the Chattahoochee, and in two days arrived at Canasoga, or Canasagua, a frontier town of the Cherokee. As they neared the town they were met by the Indians, bearing baskets of "mulberries,"[7]

7 See Elvas, Hakluyt Society, IX, p. 61, 1851; and Ranjel, op. cit., p. 563.

more probably the delicious service berry of the southern mountains, which ripens in the early summer, while the mulberry matures later.

From here they continued down the river, which grew constantly larger, through an uninhabited country which formed the disputed territory between the Cherokee and the Creeks. About five days after leaving Canasagua they were met by messengers, who escorted them to Chiaha, the first town of the province of Coça. De Soto had crossed the State of Georgia, leaving the Cherokee country behind him, and was now among the Lower Creeks, in the neighborhood of the present Columbus, Georgia. With his subsequent wanderings after crossing the Chattahoochee into Alabama and beyond we need not concern ourselves.

While resting at Chiaha De Soto met with a chief who confirmed what the Spaniards had heard before concerning mines in the province of Chisca, saying that there was there "a melting of copper" and of another metal of about the same color, but softer, and therefore not so much used.[8]

8 Elvas, op. cit., p. 64.

The province was northward from Chiaha, somewhere in upper Georgia or the adjacent part of Alabama or Tennessee, through all of which mountain region native copper is found. The other mineral, which the Spaniards understood to be gold, may have been iron pyrites, although there is some evidence that the Indians occasionally found and shaped gold nuggets.

Page 144

Accordingly two soldiers were sent on foot with Indian guides to find Chisca and learn the truth of the stories. They rejoined the army some time after the march had been resumed, and reported according to the Elvas chronicler, that their guides had taken them through a country so poor in corn, so rough, and over so high mountains that it would be impossible for the army to follow; wherefore, as the way grew long and lingering, they had turned back after reaching a little poor town where they saw nothing that was of any profit. They brought back with them a dressed buffalo skin which the Indians there had given them, the first ever obtained by white men, and described in the quaint old chronicle as "an ox hide as thin as a calf's skin, and the hair like a soft wool between the coarse and fine wool of sheep."[1]

1 Elvas, Hakluyt Society, IX, p. 66, 1851.

Garcilaso's glowing narrative gives a somewhat different impression. According to this author the scouts returned full of enthusiasm for the fertility of the country, and reported that the mines were of a fine species of copper, and had indications also of gold and silver, while their progress from one town to another had been a continual series of feastings and Indian hospitalities.[2]

2 Garcilaso, La Florida del Inca, p. 141, ed. 1723.

However that may have been, De Soto made no further effort to reach the Cherokee mines, but continued his course westward through the Creek country, having spent altogether a month in the mountain region.

There is no record of any second attempt to penetrate the Cherokee country for twenty-six years. In 1561 the Spaniards took formal possession of the Bay of Santa Elena, now Saint Helena, near Port Royal, on the coast of South Carolina. The next year the French made an unsuccessful attempt at settlement at the same place, and in 1566 Menendez made the Spanish occupancy sure by establishing there a fort which he called San Felipe.[3]

3 Shea, J. G., in Winsor, Justin, Narrative and Critical History of America, II, pp. 260, 278: Boston, 1886.

In November of that year Captain Juan Pardo was sent with a party from the fort to explore the interior. Accompanied by the chief of "Juada" (which from Vandera's narrative we find should be "Joara," i. e., the Sara Indians already mentioned in the De Soto chronicle), he proceeded as far as the territory of that tribe, where he built a fort, but on account of the snow in the mountains did not think it advisable to go farther, and returned, leaving a sergeant with thirty soldiers to garrison the post. Soon after his return he received a letter from the sergeant stating that the chief of Chisca--the rich mining country of which De Soto had heard--was very hostile to the Spaniards, and that in a recent battle the latter had killed a thousand of his Indians and burned fifty houses with almost no damage to themselves. Either the sergeant or his chronicler must have been an unconscionable liar, as it was asserted that all this was done with only fifteen men. Immediately afterward, according to the same story, the sergeant marched with twenty men about a day's distance in the mountains against another hostile chief, whom he found in a strongly palisaded town, which, after a hard fight, he and his men stormed and burned, killing fifteen hundred Indians without losing a single man themselves. Under instructions from his superior officer, the sergeant with his small party then proceeded to explore what lay beyond, and, taking a road which they were told led to the territory of a great chief, after four

Page 145

days of hard marching they came to his town, called Chiaha (Chicha, by mistake in the manuscript translation), the same where De Soto had rested. It is described at this time as palisaded and strongly fortified, with a deep river on each side, and defended by over three thousand fighting men, there being no women or children among them. It is possible that in view of their former experience with the Spaniards, the Indians had sent their families away from the town, while at the same time they may have summoned warriors from the neighboring Creek towns in order to be prepared for any emergency However, as before, they received the white men with the greatest kindness, and the Spaniards continued for twelve days through the territories of the same tribe until they arrived at the principal town (Kusa?), where, by the invitation of the chief, they built a small fort and awaited the coming of Pardo, who was expected to follow with a larger force from Santa Elena, as he did in the summer of 1567, being met on his arrival with every show of hospitality from the Creek chiefs. This second fort was said to be one hundred and forty leagues distant from that in the Sara country, which latter was called one hundred and twenty leagues from Santa Elena.[1]

1 Narrative of Pardo's expedition by Martinez, about 1568, Brooks manuscripts.

In the summer of 1567, according to previous agreement, Captain Pardo left the fort at Santa Elena with a small detachment of troops, and after a week's travel, sleeping each night at a different Indian town, arrived at "Canos, which the Indians call Canosi, and by another name, Cofetaçque" (the Cofitachiqui of the De Soto chronicle), which is described as situated in a favorable location for a large city, fifty leagues from Santa Elena, to which the easiest road was by a river (the Savannah) which flowed by the town, or by another which they had passed ten leagues farther back. Proceeding, they passed Jagaya, Gueza, and Arauchi, and arrived at Otariyatiqui, or Otari, in which we have perhaps the Cherokee *â'tărĭ* or *â'tăli,* "mountain." It may have been a frontier Cherokee settlement, and, according to the old chronicler, its chief and language ruled much good country. From here a trail went northward to Guatari, Sauxpa, and Usi, i. e., the Wateree, Waxhaw (or Sissipahaw?), and Ushery or Catawba.

Leaving Otariyatiqui, they went on to Quinahaqui, and then, turning to the left, to Issa, where they found mines of crystal (mica?). They came next to Aguaquiri (the Guaquili of the De Soto chronicle), and then to Joara, "near to the mountain, where Juan Pardo arrived with his sergeant on his first trip." This, as has been noted, was the Xuala of the De Soto chronicle, the territory of the Sara Indians, in the foothills of the Blue Ridge, southeast from the present Asheville, North Carolina. Vandera makes it one hundred leagues from Santa Elena, while Martinez, already quoted, makes the distance one hundred and twenty leagues The difference is not important, as both statements were only estimates. From there they followed "along the mountains" to Tocax (Toxaway?), Cauchi (Nacoochee?), and Tanasqui--apparently Cherokee towns, although the forms can not be identified--and after resting three days at the last-named place went on "to Solameco, otherwise called Chiaha," where the sergeant met them. The combined forces afterward went on, through Cossa (Kusa), Tasquiqui (Taskigi), and other Creek towns, as far as Tascaluza,

Page 146

in the Alabama country, and returned thence to Santa Elena, having apparently met with a friendly reception everywhere along the route. From Cofitachiqui to Tascaluza they went over about the same road traversed by De Soto in 1540.[1]

1 Vandera narrative, 1569, in French, B. F., Hist. Colls. of La. new series, pp. 289-292; New York, 1875.

We come now to a great gap of nearly a century. Shea has a notice of a Spanish mission founded among the Cherokee in 1643 and still flourishing when visited by an English traveler ten years later,[2]

2 Shea, J. G., Catholic Missions, p. 72; New York, 1855.

but as his information is derived entirely from the fraudulent work of Davies, and as no such mission is mentioned by Barcia in any of these years, we may regard the story as spurious. The first mission work in the tribe appears to have been that of Priber, almost a hundred years later. Long before the end of the sixteenth century, however, the existence of mines of gold and other metals in the Cherokee country was a matter of common knowledge among the Spaniards at St. Augustine and Santa Elena, and more than one expedition had been fitted out to explore the interior.[3]

3 See Brooks manuscripts in the archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Numerous traces of ancient mining operations, with remains of old shafts and fortifications, evidently of European origin, show that these discoveries were followed up, although the policy of Spain concealed the fact from the outside world. How much permanent impression this early Spanish intercourse made on the Cherokee it is impossible to estimate, but it must have been considerable.

THE COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD--1654-1784.

It was not until 1654 that the English first came into contact with the Cherokee, called in the records of the period Rechahecrians, a corruption of Rickahockan, apparently the name by which they were known to the Powhatan tribes. In that year the Virginia colony, which had only recently concluded a long and exterminating war with the Powhatan, was thrown into alarm by the news that a great body of six or seven hundred Rechahecrian Indians--by which is probably meant that number of warriors--from the mountains had invaded the lower country and established themselves at the falls of James River, where now is the city of Richmond. The assembly at once passed resolutions "that these new come Indians be in no sort suffered to seat themselves there, or any place near us, it having cost so much blood to expel and extirpate those perfidious and treacherous Indians which were there formerly." It was therefore ordered that a force of at least 100 white men be at once sent against them, to be joined by the warriors of all the neighboring subject tribes, according to treaty obligation. The Pamunkey chief, with a hundred of his men, responded to the summons, and the combined force marched against the invaders. The result was a bloody battle, with disastrous outcome to the Virginians, the Pamunkey chief with most of his men being killed, while the whites were forced to make such terms of peace with the Rechahecrians that the assembly cashiered the commander of the expedition and compelled him to pay the whole cost of the treaty from his own estate.[4]

4 Burk, John, History of Virginia, II, pp. 104-107; Petersburg, 1805.

Owing to the imperfection of the Virginia records we have no means of knowing the causes of the sudden invasion or how long the invaders retained their position at the falls. In all probability it

Page 147

was only the last of a long series of otherwise unrecorded irruptions by the mountaineers on the more peaceful dwellers in the lowlands. From a remark in Lederer it is probable that the Cherokee were assisted also by some of the piedmont tribes hostile to the Powhatan. The Peaks of Otter, near which the Cherokee claim to have once lived, as has been already noted, are only about one hundred miles in a straight line from Richmond, while the burial mound and town site near Charlottesville, mentioned by Jefferson, are but half that distance.

In 1655 a Virginia expedition sent out from the falls of James River (Richmond) crossed over the mountains to the large streams flowing into the Mississippi. No details are given and the route is uncertain, but whether or not they met Indians, they must have passed through Cherokee territory.[1]

1 Ramsey, J. G. M., Annals of Tennessee, p. 37; Charleston, 1853 (quoting Martin, North Carolina, I, p. 115, 1853).

In 1670 the German traveler, John Lederer, went from the falls of James River to the Catawba country, in South Carolina, following for most of the distance the path used by the Virginia traders, who already had regular dealings with the southern tribes, including probably the Cherokee. He speaks in several places of the Rickahockan, which seems to be a more correct form than Rechahecrian, and his narrative and the accompanying map put them in the mountains of North Carolina, back of the Catawba and the Sara and southward from the head of Roanoke River. They were apparently on hostile terms with the tribes to the eastward, and while the traveler was stopping at an Indian village on Dan River, about the present Clarksville, Virginia, a delegation of Rickahockan, which had come on tribal business, was barbarously murdered at a dance prepared on the night of their arrival by their treacherous hosts. On reaching the Catawba country he heard of white men to the southward, and incidentally mentions that the neighboring mountains were called the Suala Mountains by the Spaniards.[2]

2 Lederer, John, Discoveries, pp. 15, 26, 27, 29, 33, and map; reprint, Charleston, 1891; Mooney, Siouan Tribes of the East (bulletin of Bureau of Ethnology), pp. 53-54, 1894.

In the next year, 1671, a party from Virginia under Thomas Batts explored the northern branch of Roanoke River and crossed over the Blue Ridge to the headwaters of New River, where they found traces of occupancy, but no Indians. By this time all the tribes of this section, east of the mountains, were in possession of firearms.[3]

3 Mooney, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

The first permanent English settlement in South Carolina was established in 1670. In 1690 James Moore, secretary of the colony, made an exploring expedition into the mountains and reached a point at which, according to his Indian guides, he was within twenty miles of where the Spaniards were engaged in mining and smelting with bellows and furnaces; but on account of some misunderstanding he returned without visiting the place, although he procured specimens of ores, which he sent to England for assay.[4]

4 Document of 1699, quoted in South Carolina Hist. Soc. Colls., I, p. 209; Charleston, 1857.

It may have been in the neighborhood of the present Lincolnton, North Carolina, where a dam of cut stone and other remains of former civilized occupancy have recently been discovered. In this year, also, Cornelius Dougherty, an Irishman from Virginia, established himself as the first trader among the Cherokee, with whom he spent the rest of his life.[5]

5 Haywood, Nat. and Aborig. Hist. Tennessee, p. 233, 1823.

Some of his descendants still occupy honored positions in the tribe.

Page 148

Among the manuscript archives of South Carolina there was said to be, some 50 years ago, a treaty or agreement made with the government of that colony by the Cherokee in 1684, and signed with the hieroglyphics of eight chiefs of the lower towns, viz, Corani, the Raven (Ka'lanû); Sinnawa, the Hawk (Tlă'nuwă); Nellawgitehi, Gorhaleke, and Owasta, all of Toxawa; and Canacaught, the great Conjuror, Gohoma, and Caunasaita, of Keowa. If still in existence, this is probably the oldest Cherokee treaty on record.[1]

1 Noted in Cherokee Advocate, Tahlequah, Indian Territory, January 30, 1845.

What seems to be the next mention of the Cherokee in the South Carolina records occurs in 1691, when we find an inquiry ordered in regard to a report that some of the colonists "have, without any proclamation of war, fallen upon and murdered" several of that tribe.[2]

2 Document of 1691, South Carolina Hist. Soc. Colls., I, p. 126.

In 1693 some Cherokee chiefs went to Charleston with presents for the governor and offers of friendship, to ask the protection of South Carolina against their enemies, the Esaw (Catawba), Savanna (Shawano), and Congaree, all of that colony, who had made war upon them and sold a number of their tribesmen into slavery. They were told that their kinsmen could not now be recovered, but that the English desired friendship with their tribe, and that the Government would see that there would be no future ground for such complaint.[3]

3 Hewat, South Carolina and Georgia, I, p. 127, 1778.

The promise was apparently not kept, for in 1705 we find a bitter accusation brought against Governor Moore, of South Carolina, that he had granted commissions to a number of persons "to set upon, assault, kill, destroy, and take captive as many Indians as they possible sic] could," the prisoners being sold into slavery for his and their private profit. By this course, it was asserted, he had "already almost utterly ruined the trade for skins and furs, whereby we held our chief correspondence with England, and turned it into a trade of Indians or slave making, whereby the Indians to the south and west of us are already involved in blood and confusion." The arraignment concludes with a warning that such conditions would in all probability draw down upon the colony an Indian war with all its dreadful consequences.[4]

4 Documents of 1705, in North Carolina Colonial Records, II, p. 904; Raleigh, 1886.

In view of what happened a few years later this reads like a prophecy.

About the year 1700 the first guns were introduced among the Cherokee, the event being fixed traditionally as having occurred in the girlhood of an old woman of the tribe who died about 1775.[5]

5 Haywood, Nat. and Aborig. Tenn., p. 237, 1823; with the usual idea that Indians live to extreme old age, Haywood makes her 110 years old at her death, putting back the introduction of firearms to 1677.

In 1708 we find them described as a numerous people, living in the mountains northwest from the Charleston settlements and having sixty towns, but of small importance in the Indian trade, being "but ordinary hunters and less warriors."[6]

6 Letter of 1708, in Rivers, South Carolina, p. 238, 1856.

In the war with the Tuscarora in 1711-1713, which resulted in the expulsion of that tribe from North Carolina, more than a thousand southern Indians reenforced the South Carolina volunteers, among them being over two hundred Cherokee, hereditary enemies of the Tuscarora. Although these Indian allies did their work well in the actual encounters, their assistance was of doubtful advantage, as they helped themselves freely to whatever they wanted along the way, so that the settlers had reason to fear them almost as much as the hostile

Page 149

Tuscarora. After torturing a large number of their prisoners in the usual savage fashion, they returned with the remainder, whom they afterward sold as slaves to South Carolina.[1]

1 Royce, Cherokee Nation, Fifth Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 140, 1888; Hewat, op. cit., p. 216 et passim.

Having wiped out old scores with the Tuscarora, the late allies of the English proceeded to discuss their own grievances, which, as we have seen, were sufficiently galling. The result was a combination against the whites, embracing all the tribes from Cape Fear to the Chattahoochee, including the Cherokee, who thus for the first time raised their hand against the English. The war opened with a terrible massacre by the Yamassee in April, 1715, followed by assaults along the whole frontier, until for a time it was seriously feared that the colony of South Carolina would be wiped out of existence. In a contest between savagery and civilization, however, the final result is inevitable. The settlers at last rallied their whole force under Governor Craven and administered such a crushing blow to the Yamassee that the remnant abandoned their country and took refuge with the Spaniards in Florida or among the Lower Creeks. The English then made short work with the smaller tribes along the coast, while those in the interior were soon glad to sue for peace.[2]

2 Hewat, South Carolina and Georgia, I, p. 216 et passim, 1778.

A number of Cherokee chiefs having come down to Charleston in company with a trader to express their desire for peace, a force of several hundred white troops and a number of negroes under Colonel Maurice Moore went up the Savannah in the winter of 1715-16 and made headquarters among the Lower Cherokee, where they were met by the chiefs of the Lower and some of the western towns, who reaffirmed their desire for a lasting peace with the English, but refused to fight against the Yamassee, although willing to proceed against some other tribes. They laid the blame for most of the trouble upon the traders, who, "had been very abuseful to them of late." A detachment under Colonel George Chicken, sent to the Upper Cherokee, penetrated to "Quoneashee" (Tlanusi'yĭ, on Hiwassee, about the present Murphy) where they found the chiefs more defiant, resolved to continue the war against the Creeks, with whom the English were then trying to make peace, and demanding large supplies of guns and ammunition, saying that if they made a peace with the other tribes they would have no means of getting slaves with which to buy ammunition for themselves. At this time they claimed 2,370 warriors, of whom half were believed to have guns. As the strength of the whole nation was much greater, this estimate may have been for the Upper and Middle Cherokee only. After "abundance of persuading" by the officers, they finally "told us they would trust us once again," and an arrangement was made to furnish them two hundred guns with a supply of ammunition, together with fifty white soldiers, to assist them against the tribes with which the English were still at war. In March, 1716, this force was increased by one hundred men. The detachment under Colonel Chicken returned by way of the towns on the upper part of the Little Tennessee, thus penetrating the heart of the Cherokee country.[3]

3 See Journal of Colonel George Chicken, 1715-16, with notes, in Charleston Yearbook, pp. 313-354, 1894.

Steps were now taken to secure peace by inaugurating a satisfactory trade system, for which purpose a large quantity of suitable goods

Page 150

was purchased at the public expense of South Carolina, and a correspondingly large party was equipped for the initial trip.[1]

1 Journal of South Carolina Assembly, in North Carolina Colonial Records, II, pp. 225-227, 1886.

In 1721, in order still more to systematize Indian affairs, Governor Nicholson of South Carolina invited the chiefs of the Cherokee to a conference, at which thirty-seven towns were represented. A treaty was made by which trading methods were regulated, a boundary line between their territory and the English settlements was agreed upon, and an agent was appointed to superintend their affairs. At the governor's suggestion, one chief, called Wrosetasatow(?) was formally commissioned as supreme head of the nation, with authority to punish all offenses, including murder, and to represent all Cherokee claims to the colonial government. Thus were the Cherokee reduced from their former condition of a free people, ranging where their pleasure led, to that of dependent vassals with bounds fixed by a colonial governor. The negotiations were accompanied by a cession of land, the first in the history of the tribe. In little more than a century thereafter they had signed away their whole original territory.[2]

2 Hewat, South Carolina and Georgia, I, pp. 297-298, 1778; Royce, Cherokee Nation in Fifth Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 144 and map, 1888.

The document of 1716 already quoted puts the strength of the Cherokee at that time at 2,370 warriors, but in this estimate the Lower Cherokee seem not to have been included. In 1715, according to a trade census compiled by Governor Johnson of South Carolina, the tribe had thirty towns, with 4,000 warriors and a total population of 11,210.[3]

3 Royce, op. cit., p. 142.

Another census in 1721 gives them fifty-three towns with 3,510 warriors and a total of 10,379,[4]

4 Document of 1724, in Fernow, Berthold, Ohio Valley in Colonial Days, pp. 273-275; Albany, 1890.

while the report of the board of trade for the same year gives them 3,800 warriors,[5]

5 Report of Board of Trade, 1721, in North Carolina Colonial Records, II, p. 422, 1886.

equivalent, by the same proportion, to nearly 12,000 total. Adair, a good authority on such matters, estimates, about the year 1735, when the country was better known, that they had "sixty-four towns and villages, populous and full of children," with more than 6,000 fighting men,[6]

6 Adair, James, American Indians, p. 227; London, 1775.

equivalent on the same basis of computation to between 16,000 and 17,000 souls. From what we know of them in later times, it is probable that this last estimate is very nearly correct.

By this time the colonial government had become alarmed at the advance of the French, who had made their first permanent establishment in the Gulf States at Biloxi Bay, Mississippi, in 1699, and in 1714 had built Fort Toulouse, known to the English as "the fort at the Alabamas," on Coosa River, a few miles above the present Montgomery, Alabama. From this central vantage point they had rapidly extended their influence among all the neighboring tribes until in 1721 it was estimated that 3,400 warriors who had formerly traded with Carolina had been "entirely debauched to the French interest," while 2,000 more were wavering, and only the Cherokee could still be considered friendly to the English.[7]

7 Board of Trade report, 1721, North Carolina Colonial Records, II, p. 422, 1886.

From this time until the final withdrawal of the French in 1763 the explanation of our Indian wars is to be found in the struggle between the two nations for territorial and commercial supremacy, the Indian being simply the cat's-paw of one or the other. For reasons of their own, the Chickasaw, whose territory lay within the recognized limits of Louisiana, soon became

Page 151

the uncompromising enemies of the French, and as their position enabled them in a measure to control the approach from the Mississippi, the Carolina government saw to it that they were kept well supplied with guns and ammunition. British traders were in all their towns, and on one occasion a French force, advancing against a Chickasaw palisaded village, found it garrisoned by Englishmen flying the British flag.[1]

1 Pickett, A. J., History of Alabama, pp. 234, 280, 288; reprint, Sheffield, 1896.

The Cherokee, although nominally allies of the English, were strongly disposed to favor the French, and it required every effort of the Carolina government to hold them to their allegiance.

In 1730, to further fix the Cherokee in the English interest, Sir Alexander Cuming was dispatched on a secret mission to that tribe, which was again smarting under grievances and almost ready to join with the Creeks in an alliance with the French. Proceeding to the ancient town of Nequassee (Nĭkwăsĭ', at the present Franklin, North Carolina), he so impressed the chiefs by his bold bearing that they conceded without question all his demands, submitting themselves and their people for the second time to the English dominion and designating Moytoy, of Tellico, to act as their "emperor" and to represent the nation in all transactions with the whites. Seven chiefs were selected to visit England, where, in the palace at Whitehall, they solemnly renewed the treaty, acknowledging the sovereignty of England and binding themselves to have no trade or alliance with any other nation, not to allow any other white people to settle among them, and to deliver up any fugitive slaves who might seek refuge with them. To confirm their words they delivered a "crown," five eagle tails, and four scalps, which they had brought with them. In return they received the usual glittering promises of love and perpetual friendship, together with a substantial quantity of guns, ammunition, and red paint. The treaty being concluded in September, they took ship for Carolina, where they arrived, as we are told by the governor, "in good health and mightily well satisfied with His Majesty's bounty to them."[2]

2 Hewat, South Carolina and Georgia, II, pp. 3-11, 1779; treaty documents of 1730, North Carolina Colonial Records, III, pp. 128-133, 1886; Jenkinson, Collection of Treaties, II, pp. 315-318; Drake, S. G., Early History of Georgia; Cuming's Embassy; Boston, 1872; letter of Governor Johnson, December 27, 1730, noted in South Carolina Hist. Soc. Colls., I, p. 246, 1857.

In the next year some action was taken to use the Cherokee and Catawba to subdue the refractory remnant of the Tuscarora in North Carolina, but when it was found that this was liable to bring down the wrath of the Iroquois upon the Carolina settlements, more peaceable methods were used instead.[3]

3 Documents of 1731 and 1732, North Carolina Colonial Records, III, pp. 153, 202, 345, 369, 393, 1886.

In 1738 or 1739 the smallpox, brought to Carolina by slave ships, broke out among the Cherokee with such terrible effect that, according to Adair, nearly half the tribe was swept away within a year. The awful mortality was due largely to the fact that as it was a new and strange disease to the Indians they had no proper remedies against it, and therefore resorted to the universal Indian panacea for "strong" sickness of almost any kind, viz, cold plunge baths in the running stream, the worst treatment that could possibly be devised. As the pestilence spread unchecked from town to town, despair fell upon the nation. The priests, believing the visitation a penalty for violation of the ancient ordinances, threw away their sacred paraphernalia as things which had lost their protecting power. Hundreds of the warriors

Page 152

committed suicide on beholding their frightful disfigurement. "Some shot themselves, others cut their throats, some stabbed themselves with knives and others with sharp-pointed canes; many threw themselves with sullen madness into the fire and there slowly expired, as if they had been utterly divested of the native power of feeling pain."[1]

1 Adair, American Indians, pp. 232-234, 1775.

Another authority estimates their loss at a thousand warriors, partly from smallpox and partly from rum brought in by the traders.[2]

2 Meadows (?), State of the Province of Georgia, p. 7, 1742, in Force Tracts, I, 1836.

About the year 1740 a trading path for horsemen was marked out by the Cherokee from the new settlement of Augusta, in Georgia, to their towns on the headwaters of Savannah River and thence on to the west. This road, which went up the south side of the river, soon became much frequented.[2]

2 Meadows (?), State of the Province of Georgia, p. 7, 1742, in Force Tracts, I, 1836.

Previous to this time most of the trading goods had been transported on the backs of Indians. In the same year a party of Cherokee under the war chief Kâ'lanû, "The Raven," took part in Oglethorpe's expedition against the Spaniards of Saint Augustine.[3]

3 Jones, C. C., History of Georgia, I, pp. 327, 328; Boston, 1883.

Chinese Communist Party (CCP) Politburo Standing Committee (PSC) Chairman Mao Zedong (Mao) and Premier Zhou Enlai (Zhou) in Beijing, 1960s. Mao's decision to launch the Great Leap Forward (GLF) in 1958 was the most significant and consequential decision made by the CCP during the Mao era. The GLF was a disastrous attempt to rapidly industrialize the economy and collectivize agriculture. Mao's decision to launch the GLF was based on his belief that China could surpass the United States (US) and the Soviet Union (USSR) in economic and military power in a few years. Mao's belief was based on his belief that China could mobilize its vast population to work for the GLF. Mao's belief was also based on his belief that China could leapfrog the US and the USSR in economic and military power by using China's vast population to work for the GLF. Mao's belief was also based on his belief that China could leapfrog the US and the USSR in economic and military power by using China's vast population to work for the GLF because Mao believed that China could mobilize its vast population to work for the GLF because Mao believed that China could mobilize its vast population to work for the GLF because Mao believed that China could mobilize its

2 Stevens, op. cit., pp. 411-415.

This cession was concluded at a treaty of peace held with the Georgia commissioners at Augusta in the next year, and was confirmed later by the Creeks, who claimed an interest in the same lands, but was never accepted by either as the voluntary act of their tribe as a whole.[3]

3 Royce, Cherokee Nation, in Fifth Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 151, 1888.

By the preliminary treaty of Paris, November 30, 1782, the long Revolutionary struggle for independence was brought to a close, and the Cherokee, as well as the other tribes, seeing the hopelessness of continuing the contest alone, began to sue for peace. By seven years of constant warfare they had been reduced to the lowest depth of misery, almost indeed to the verge of extinction. Over and over again their towns had been laid in ashes and their fields wasted. Their best warriors had been killed and their women and children had sickened and starved in the mountains. Their great war chief, Oconostota, who had led them to victory in 1780, was now a broken old man, and in this year, at Echota, formally resigned his office in favor of his son, The Terrapin. To complete their brimming cup of misery the smallpox again broke out among them in 1783.[4]

4 See documents in Virginia State Papers, III, pp. 234, 398, 527, 1883.

Deprived of the assistance of their former white allies they were left to their own cruel fate, the last feeble resistance of the mountain warriors to the advancing tide of settlement came to an end with the burning of Cowee town,[5]

5 Ramsey, Tennessee, p. 280, 1853.

and the way was left open to an arrangement. In the same year the North Carolina Legislature appointed an agent for the Cherokee and made regulations for the government of traders among them.[6]

6 Ibid., p. 276.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES--FROM THE FIRST TREATY TO THE REMOVAL--1785-1838.

Passing over several unsatisfactory and generally abortive negotiations conducted by the various State governments in 1783-84, including the treaty of Augusta already noted,[7]

7 See Royce, Cherokee Nation, op. cit., pp. 151, 152; Ramsey, op. cit., p. 299 et passim.

we come to the turning point in the history of the Cherokee, their first treaty with the new

Page 173

Government of the United States for peace and boundary delimitation, concluded at Hopewell in South Carolina on November 28, 1785. Nearly one thousand Cherokee attended, the commissioners for the United States being Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, of North Carolina; General Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina; Cherokee Agent Joseph Martin, of Tennessee, and Colonel Lachlan McIntosh, of Georgia. The instrument was signed by thirty-seven chiefs and principal men, representing nearly as many different towns. The negotiations occupied ten days, being complicated by a protest on the part of North Carolina and Georgia against the action of the Government commissioners in confirming to the Indians some lands which had already been appropriated as bounty lands for State troops without the consent of the Cherokee. On the other hand, the Cherokee complained that 3,000 white settlers were at that moment in occupancy of unceded land between the Holston and the French Broad. In spite of their protest these intruders were allowed to remain, although the territory was not acquired by treaty until some years later. As finally arranged the treaty left the Middle and Upper towns, and those in the vicinity of Coosa River, undisturbed, while the whole country east of the Blue Ridge, with the Watauga and Cumberland settlements, was given over to the whites. The general boundary followed the dividing ridge between Cumberland River and the more southern waters of the Tennessee eastward to the junction of the two forks of Holston, near the present Kingsport, Tennessee, thence southward to the Blue Ridge and southwestward to a point not far from the present Atlanta, Georgia, thence westward to the Coosa River and northwestward to a creek running into Tennessee River at the western line of Alabama, thence northward with the Tennessee River to the beginning. The lands south and west of these lines were recognized as belonging to the Creeks and Chickasaw. Hostilities were to cease and the Cherokee were taken under the protection of the United States. The proceedings ended with the distribution of a few presents.

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THE EASTERN TRIBES.

Besides the Iroquois and Shawano, the Cherokee remember also the Delawares, Tuscarora, Catawba, and Cheraw as tribes to the east or north with which they formerly had relations.

The Cherokee call the Delawares Anakwan"kĭ, in the singular Akwan"kĭ, a derivative formed according to usual Cherokee phonetic modification from Wapanaq'kĭ, "Easterners," the generic name by which the Delawares and their nearest kindred call themselves.

In the most ancient tradition of the Delawares the Cherokee are called Talega, Tallige, Tallige-wi, etc.[1]

1 Brinton, Lenape and Their Legends, p. 130 et passim, 1885; Schoolcraft, Notes on Iroquois, pp. 147, 305 et passim, 1847; Heckewelder, Indian Nations, pp. 47-50, ed. 1876.

In later Delaware tradition they are called Kĭtu'hwa, and again we find the two tribes at war, for which their neighbors are held responsible. According to the Delaware account, the Iroquois, in one of their forays to the south, killed a Cherokee in the woods and purposely left a Delaware war club near the body to make it appear that the work had been done by men of that tribe. The Cherokee found the body and the club, and naturally

Page 174

supposing that the murder had been committed by the Delawares, they suddenly attacked the latter, the result being a long and bloody war between the two tribes.[1]

1 Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 54.

At this time, i. e., about the end of the seventeenth century, it appears that a part at least of the Cherokee lived on the waters of the Upper Ohio, where the Delawares made continual inroads upon them, finally driving them from the region and seizing it for themselves about the year 1708.[2]

2 Loskiel, History of the [Moravian] Mission, pp. 124-127; London, 1794.

A century ago the Delawares used to tell how their warriors would sometimes mingle in disguise with the Cherokee at their night dances until the opportunity came to strike a sudden blow and be off before their enemies recovered from the surprise.

Later there seems to have been peace until war was again brought on by the action of the Shawano, who had taken refuge with the Delawares, after having been driven from their old home on Cumberland River by the Cherokee. Feeling secure in their new alliance, the Shawano renewed their raids upon the Cherokee, who retaliated by pursuing them into the Delaware country, where they killed several Delawares by mistake. This inflamed the latter people, already excited by the sight of Cherokee scalps and prisoners brought back through their country by the Iroquois, and another war was the result, which lasted until the Cherokee, tired of fighting so many enemies, voluntarily made overtures for peace in 1768, saluting the Delawares as Grandfather, an honorary title accorded them by all the Algonquian tribes. The Delawares then reprimanded the Shawano, as the cause of the trouble, and advised them to keep quiet, which, as they were now left to fight their battles alone, they were glad enough to do. At the same time the Cherokee made peace with the Iroquois, and the long war with the northern tribes came to an end. The friendly feeling thus established was emphasized in 1779, when the Cherokee sent a message of condolence upon the death of the Delaware chief White-eyes.[3]

3 Heckewelder, Indian Nations, pp. 88-89, 1876.

The Tuscarora, formerly the ruling tribe of eastern North Carolina, are still remembered under the name Ani'-Skăla'lĭ, and are thus mentioned in the Feather dance of the Cherokee, in which some of the actors are supposed to be visiting strangers from other tribes.

As the majority of the Tuscarora fled from Carolina to the Iroquois country about 1713, in consequence of their disastrous war with the whites, their memory has nearly faded from the recollection of the southern Indians. From the scanty light which history throws upon their mutual relations, the two tribes seem to have been almost constantly at war with each other. When at one time the Cherokee, having already made peace with some other of their neighbors, were urged by the whites to make peace also with the Tuscarora, they refused, on the ground that, as they could not live without war, it was better to let matters stand as they were than to make peace with the Tuscarora and be obliged immediately to look about for new enemies with whom to fight. For some years before the outbreak of the Tuscarora war in 1711 the Cherokee had ceased their inroads upon this tribe, and it was therefore supposed that they were more busily engaged with some other people west of the mountains, these being probably the Shawano, whom they drove out of Tennessee about this time.[4]

4 See Haywood, Nat. and Aborig. Hist. of Tennessee, pp. 220, 224, 237, 1823.

In the war of

Page 175

1711-1713 the Cherokee assisted the whites against the Tuscarora. In 1731 the Cherokee again threatened to make war upon the remnant of that tribe still residing in North Carolina and the colonial government was compelled to interfere.[1]

1 North Carolina Colonial Records, III, pp. 153, 202, 345, 369, 393, 1886.

The Cheraw or Sara, ranging at different periods from upper South Carolina to the southern frontier of Virginia, are also remembered under the name of Ani'-Suwa'lĭ, or Ani'-Suwa'la, which agrees with the Spanish form Xuala of De Soto's chronicle, and Suala, or Sualy, of Lederer. The Cherokee remember them as having lived east of the Blue Ridge, the trail to their country leading across the gap at the head of Swannanoa River, east from Asheville. The name of the stream and gap is a corruption of the Cherokee Suwa'lĭ-Nûñnâ'hĭ, "Suwa'li trail." Being a very warlike tribe, they were finally so reduced by conflicts with the colonial governments and the Iroquois that they were obliged to incorporate with the Catawba, among whom they still maintained their distinct language as late as 1743.[2]

2 Mooney, Siouan Tribes of the East (bulletin of the Bureau of Ethnology), pp. 56, 61, 1894.

The Catawba are known to the Cherokee as Ani'ta'gwa, singular Ata'gwa, or Ta'gwa, the Cherokee attempt at the name by which they are most commonly known. They were the immediate neighbors of the Cherokee on the east and southeast, having their principal settlements on the river of their name, just within the limits of South Carolina, and holding the leading place among all the tribes east of the Cherokee country with the exception of the Tuscarora. On the first settlement of South Carolina there were estimated to be about 7,000 persons in the tribe, but their decline was rapid, and by war and disease their number had been reduced in 1775 to barely 500, including the incorporated remnants of the Cheraw and several smaller tribes. There are now, perhaps, 100 still remaining on a small reservation near the site of their ancient towns. Some local names in the old Cherokee territory seem to indicate the former presence of Catawba, although there is no tradition of any Catawba settlement within those limits. Among such names may be mentioned Toccoa Creek, in northeastern Georgia, and Toccoa River, in north-central Georgia, both names being derived from the Cherokee Tagwâ'hĭ, "Catawba place." An old Cherokee personal name is Ta'gwădihĭ', "Catawba killer."

The two tribes were hereditary enemies, and the feeling between them is nearly as bitter to-day as it was a hundred years ago. Perhaps the only case on record of their acting together was in the war of 1711-13, when they cooperated with the colonists against the Tuscarora. The Cherokee, according to the late Colonel Thomas, claim to have formerly occupied all the country about the head of the Catawba River, to below the present Morganton, until the game became scarce, when they retired to the west of the Blue Ridge, and afterward "loaned" the eastern territory to the Catawba. This agrees pretty well with a Catawba tradition recorded in Schoolcraft, according to which the Catawba--who are incorrectly represented as comparatively recent immigrants from the north--on arriving at Catawba River found their progress disputed by the Cherokee, who claimed original ownership of the country. A battle was fought, with incredible loss on both sides, but with no decisive result, although the

Page 176

advantage was with the Catawba, on account of their having guns, while their opponents had only Indian weapons. Preparations were under way to renew the fight when the Cherokee offered to recognize the river as the boundary, allowing the Catawba to settle anywhere to the east. The overture was accepted and an agreement was finally made by which the Catawba were to occupy the country east of that river and the Cherokee the country west of Broad River, with the region between the two streams to remain as neutral territory. Stone piles were heaped up on the battle field to commemorate the treaty, and the Broad River was henceforth called Eswau Huppeday (Line River), by the Catawba, the country eastward to Catawba River being left unoccupied.[1]

1 Catawba MS. from South Carolina official archives. Schoolcraft, Indian Tribes, III, pp. 293-4, 1853.

The fact that one party had guns would bring this event within the early historic period.

The Catawba assisted the whites against the Cherokee in the war of 1760 and in the later Revolutionary struggle. About 100 warriors, nearly the whole fighting strength of the tribe, took part in the first-mentioned war, several being killed, and a smaller number accompanied Williamson's force in 1776.[2]

2 Ibid., p. 294, 1853.

At the battle fought under Williamson near the present site of Franklin, North Carolina, the Cherokee, according to the tradition related by Wafford, mistook the Catawba allies of the troops for some of their own warriors, and were fighting for some time under this impression before they noticed that the Catawba wore deer tails in their hair so that the whites might not make the same mistake. In this engagement, which was one of the bloodiest Indian encounters of the Revolution, the Cherokee claim that they had actually defeated the troops and their Catawba allies, when their own ammunition gave out and they were consequently forced to retire. The Cherokee leader was a noted war chief named Tsanĭ (John).

About 1840 nearly the whole Catawba tribe moved up from South Carolina and joined the eastern band of Cherokee, but in consequence of tribal jealousies they remained but a short time, and afterward returned to their former home, as is related elsewhere.

Other tribal names (of doubtful authority) are Ani'-Sa'ni and Ani'-Sawahâ'nĭ, belonging to people said to have lived toward the north; both names are perhaps intended for the Shawano or Shawnee, properly Ani'-Sawănu'gĭ. The Ani'-Gilĭ' are said to have been neighbors of the Anin'tsĭ or Natchez; the name may possibly be a Cherokee form for Congaree.

* * * * * * *

Tuscarora.--The Tuscarora, a southern tribe of the Iroquoian stock, formerly occupied an extensive territory upon Neuse River and its branches, in eastern North Carolina, and, like their northern cousins, seem to have assumed and exercised a certain degree of authority over all the smaller tribes about them. As early as 1670 Lederer described the Tuscarora "emperor" as the haughtiest Indian he had ever met. About the year 1700 Lawson estimated them at 1,200 warriors (6,000 souls?) in 15 towns. In 1711 they rose against the whites, one of their first acts of hostility being the killing of Lawson himself, who was engaged in surveying lands which they claimed as their own. In a struggle extending over about two years they were

Page 177

so terribly decimated that the greater portion fled from Carolina and took refuge with their kinsmen and friends, the Iroquois of New York, who were henceforth known as the Six Nations. The so-called "friendly" party, under Chief Blount, was settled upon a small reservation north of Roanoke River in what is now Bertie County, North Carolina. Here they gradually decreased by disease and emigration to the North, until the few who were left sold their last remaining lands in 1804. The history of the tribe after the removal to the North is a part of the history of the Iroquois or Six Nations. They number now about 750, of whom about 380 are on the Tuscarora Reservation in New York, the others upon the Grand River Reservation in Ontario.

Xuala, Suwali, Sara, or Cheraw.--For the identification and earliest notices of the Sara see historical note 8, "De Soto's Route." Their later history is one of almost constant hostility to the whites until their final incorporation with the Catawba, with whom they were probably cognate, about the year 1720. In 1743 they still preserved their distinct language, and appear to be last mentioned in 1768, when they numbered about 50 souls living among the Catawba. See Mooney, Siouan Tribes of the East, Bulletin of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1894.

Catawba.--The origin and meaning of this name, which dates back at least two centuries, are unknown. It may possibly come from the Choctaw through the Mobilian trade jargon. They call themselves Nieye, which means simply "people" or "Indians." The Iroquois call them and other cognate tribes in their vicinity Toderigh-rono, whence Tutelo. In the seventeenth century they were often known as Esaw or Ushery, apparently from *iswă'*, river, in their own language. The Cherokee name Ata'gwa, plural Ani'ta'gwa, is a corruption of the popular form. Their linguistic affinity with the Siouan stock was established by Gatschet in 1881. See Mooney, Siouan Tribes of the East.

The southern and western tribes: The Creek confederacy.--Next in importance to the Cherokee, among the southern tribes, were the Indians of the Creek confederacy, occupying the greater portion of Georgia and Alabama, immediately south of the Cherokee. They are said to have been called Creeks by the early traders on account of the abundance of small streams in their country. Before the whites began to press upon them their tribes held nearly all the territory from the Atlantic westward to about the watershed between the Tombigby and the Pearl and Pascagoula Rivers, being cut off from the Gulf coast by the Choctaw tribes, and from the Savannah, except near the mouth, by the Uchee, Shawano, and Cherokee. About the year 1800 the confederacy comprised 75 towns, the people of 47 of which were the Upper Creeks, centering about the upper waters of the Alabama, while those of the remaining 28 were the Lower Ceeks, upon the lower Chattahoochee and its branches (Hawkins). Among them were represented a number of tribes formerly distinct and speaking distinct languages. The ruling tribe and language was the Muscogee (plural, Muscogûlgee), which frequently gave its name to the confederacy. Other languages were the Alabama, Koasati, Hichitee, Taskigi, Uchee, Natchee, and Sawanugi or Shawano. The Muscogee, Alabama, Koasati, Hichitee, and Taskigi (?) belonged to the Muskhogean stock, the Alabama and Koasati,

Page 178

however, being nearer linguistically to the Choctaw than to the Muscogee. The Hichitee represent the conquered or otherwise incorporated Muskhogean tribes of the Georgia coast region. The Apalachi on Appalachee Bay in Florida, who were conquered by the English about 1705 and afterward incorporated with the Creeks, were dialectically closely akin to the Hichitee; the Seminole also were largely an offshoot from this tribe. Of the Taskigi all that is known has been told elsewhere.

The Uchee, Natchee, and Sawanugi were incorporated tribes, differing radically in language from each other and from the Muskhogean tribes. The territory of the Uchee included both banks of the middle Savannah, below the Cherokee, and extended into middle Georgia. They had a strong race pride, claiming to be older in the country than the Muscogee, and are probably identical with the people of Cofitachiqui, mentioned in the early Spanish narratives. According to Hawkins, their incorporation with the Creeks was brought about in consequence of intermarriages about the year 1729. The Natchee or Natchez were an important tribe residing in lower Mississippi, in the vicinity of the present town of that name, until driven out by the French about the year 1730, when most of them took refuge with the Creeks, while others joined the Chickasaw and Cherokee. The Sawanugi were Shawano who kept their town on Savannah River, near the present Augusta, after the main body of their tribe had removed to the North about 1692. They probably joined the Creeks about the same time as their friends, the Uchee. The Uchee still constitute a compact body of about 600 souls in the Creek Nation, keeping up their distinct language and tribal character. The Natchee are reduced to one or two old men, while the Sawanugi have probably lost their identity long ago.

According to Morgan, the Muscogee proper, and perhaps also their incorporated tribes, have 22 clans. Of these the Wind appears to be the leading one, possessing privileges accorded to no other clan, including the hereditary guardianship of the ancient metal tablets which constitute the palladium of the tribe. By the treaty of Washington in 1832, the Creeks sold all of their remaining lands in their old country and agreed to remove west of the Mississippi to what is now the Creek Nation in the Indian Territory. The removal extended over a period of several years and was not finally accomplished until 1845. In 1898 the citizen population of the Creek Nation numbered 14,771, of whom 10,014 were of Indian blood and the remainder were negroes, their former slaves. It appears that the Indian population included about 700 from other tribes, chiefly Cherokee. There are also about 300 Alabama, "Cushatta" (Koasati), and Muscogee in Texas. See also Hawkins, Sketch of the Creek Country; Gatschet, Creek Migration Legend; Adair, History of the American Indians; Bartram, Travels; The Five Civilized Tribes, Bulletin of the Eleventh Census; Wyman, in Alabama Historical Society Collections.

Chickasaw.--This tribe, of Muskhogean stock, formerly occupied northern Mississippi and adjacent portions of Alabama and Tennessee, and at an early period had incorporated also several smaller tribes on Yazoo River in central Mississippi, chief among which were the cognate Chokchuma. The name occurs first in the De Soto narrative. The Chickasaw language was simply a dialect of Choctaw, although the two tribes were hereditary enemies and differed widely in character,

Page 179

the former being active and warlike, while the latter were notoriously sluggish. Throughout the colonial period the Chickasaw were the constant enemies of the French and friends of the English, but they remained neutral in the Revolution. By the treaty of Pontotoc in 1832 they sold their lands east of the Mississippi and agreed to remove to Indian Territory, where they are now organized as the Chickasaw Nation. According to Morgan they have 12 clans grouped into two phratries. In 1890 the citizen population of the nation (under Chickasaw laws) consisted of 3,941 full-blood and mixed-blood Chickasaw, 681 adopted whites, 131 adopted negroes, and 946 adopted Indians from other tribes, chiefly Choctaws. Under the present law, by which citizenship claims are decided by a Government commission, "Chickasaw by blood" are reported in 1898 to number 4,230, while "white and negro" citizens are reported at 4,818. See also Gatschet, Creek Migration Legend; The Five Civilized Tribes, Bulletin of Eleventh Census.

Page 180

EXHIBIT H.

HISTORY OF THE TUSCARORAS.

[From Handbook of American Indians:]

TUSCARORA (*Skarū'rĕn'*, "hemp gatherers," the *Apocynum cannabinum*, or Indian hemp, being a plant of many uses among the Carolina Tuscarora; the native form of this appellative is impersonal, there being no expressed pronominal affix to indicate person, number, or gender). Formerly an important confederation of tribes, speaking languages cognate with those of the Iroquoian linguistic group, and dwelling, when first encountered, on the Roanoke, Neuse, Taw (Torhunta or Narhontes), and Pamlico rs., N. C. The evidence drawn from the testimony of writers contemporary with them, confirmed in part by tradition, makes it appear that while occupying this primitive habitat the Tuscarora league was composed of at least three tribal constituent members, each bearing an independent and exclusive appellation. The names of these component members still survive in the traditions of the Tuscarora now dwelling in w. New York and s. Ontario, Canada. The first of these tribal names in *Kă'tě'nu'ā'kā'*, i. e., "People of the Submerged Pine-tree;" the second *Akawĕñ'te'ākā'* (meaning doubtful); and the third, *Skarū'rĕn'*, "Hemp Gatherers." Cusick (Hist. Six Nations, 34, 1828) wrote these tribal appellations "Kautanohakau," "Kauwetseka," and "Tuscarora," respectively, and (p. 31) refers also to the "Esaurora, or Tuscarora," from which it may be inferred that Esaurora is a synonym of Skarū'reē'. According to the same authority (p. 36), the Tuscarora, on traditionary evidence, possessed in early times the "country lying between the sea shores and the mountains, which divide the Atlantic States," in which they had 24 large towns and could muster 6,000 warriors, probably meaning persons. Lawson, a better authority, wrote that in 1708 the Tuscarora had 15 towns and about 1,200 warriors--perhaps a minimum estimate of the true number of their fighting-men; and Johnson (Legends, etc., of the Iroquois, 1881) says that the Tuscarora in North Carolina had 6 towns and 1,200 warriors, which was probably approximately true of the Tuscarora proper. Col. Barnwell, the commander of the South Carolina forces in the war of 1711-12, said that the Tuscarora or "the enemy can't be less than 1,200 or 1,400 [warriors], which may be easily judged by their large settlements;" but Gov. Spotswood of Virginia placed their fighting strength at 2,000 men in 1711. According to Barnwell the Tuscarora had 3 towns on Pamlico r., of which one was Ucouhnerunt, but that most of their towns were on Neuse r., and its many affluents. Some indication of the extent of the territory claimed by the Tuscarora may be obtained from the terms of the truce declared between the Tuscarora and Col. Barnwell in 1712. It was agreed therein that the Tuscarora were "to plant only on Neuse River, the creek the fort is on, quitting all claims to other lands. . . . To quit all pretensions to planting, fishing, hunting or ranging to all lands lying between Neuse River and Cape

Page 181

Feare, that entirely to be left to the So. Carolina Indians, and to be treated as enemies if found in those ranges without breach of peace, and the enemy's line shall be between Neuse and Pamblico . . . fishing on both sides Bear River." This would indicate that Cape Fear r. was the southern boundary of the Tuscarora territory.

History.--The data for the history of the Tuscarora are meager and fragmentary, hence while they were at first an important people of North Carolina, little is evidently known regarding them, and that little usually applies to only a part of the people. The first authentic information concerning the Tuscarora is that recorded by Lawson, the Surveyor General of North Carolina, who knew them well, having lived in close contact with them for many years. His History of Carolina, having been written about 1709 and published in 1718, contains nothing in regard to the Tuscarora during the most eventful period of their history, namely, that covering the years 1711 to 1713. During this time they fought two wars with the colonists of North Carolina, who were effectively aided by those of South Carolina and Virginia, reenforced by their tributary Indian allies. The first war began with the capture of Lawson and the Baron De Graffenried by about 60 Tuscarora and the condemnation to death of the former in September, 1711. Immediately following, a portion of the Tuscarora under Hencock, the Coree, Pamlico, Matamuskeet, Bear Rivers, and Machapungo, conspired to cut off the whites, each one of the tribes agreeing to operate in its own district whence they were being driven by the steady encroachment of the colonists. This compact resulted in the massacre of about 130 of the colonists on September 22, 1711, on Trent and Pamlico Rrs., by the tribes mentioned. Col. Barnwell was sent by South Carolina to aid the hard-pressed colonists of North Carolina, and succeeded in driving the Tuscarora into one of their palisaded towns about 20 m. above Newbern, N. C., where he defeated them and later induced them to accept terms of peace; but Barnwell violated this treaty by seizing some of the Indians and sending them away into slavery. This was the beginning of the second war between the Tuscarora and their allies and the people of North Carolina. Again an appeal was made to South Carolina for aid, which responded by sending Col. James Moore with a small militia force and about 900 tributary Indians.

Of the Tuscarora, Lawson said that they possessed many amiable qualities; that, in fact, they were "really better to us than we have been to them, as they always freely give us of their victuals at their quarters, while we let them walk by our doors hungry, and do not often relieve them. We look upon them with disdain and scorn, and think them little better than beasts in human form; while with all our religion and education, we possess more moral deformities and vices than these people do." This attitude of the whites toward the Indians naturally led to the troubles later, which ended in much bloodshed and cruelty on both sides. Although the Tuscarora were regarded as mild, kind, peaceable, ingenious, and industrious, they were speedily brutalized by the vices of the colonists with whom they came in contact; their women were debauched by the whites, and both men and women were kidnapped to be sold into slavery. The colonists of North Carolina, like their Puritan brethren of New England, did not recognize in the Indian any right to the soil, hence the lands of the Tuscarora and of their Indian neighbors and allies were

Page 182

appropriated without thought of purchase. It is not strange, therefore, that such conduct on the part of the whites should eventually have awakened distrust and jealousy in the minds of the erstwhile amiable Tuscarora, which, fomented by these and other grievances, finally ripened into a hatred which led to resistance and reprisal.

Perhaps the most lucid and condensed statement of the wrongs suffered by the Tuscarora before vainly attempting to right them is contained in a petition made to the Provincial Government of Pennsylvania in 1710. More than a year before the massacre of 1711 the Tuscarora had officially formulated a number of proposals embodying their grievances and their desire to have these adjusted or removed by the conclusion of peace, and to this end they sent, through the Conestoga (Susquehanna), an embassy with these pacific overtures to the people and government of Pennsylvania. The governor and provincial council dispatched two commissioners to meet this embassy at Conestoga on June 8, 1710, where, in addition to the Tuscarora emissaries, they found Civility and four other Conestoga chiefs, and Opessa, the head chief of the Shawnee. In the presence of these officials the Tuscarora ambassadors delivered their proposals, attested by eight wampum belts, at the same time informing the Pennsylvania commissioners that these were sent as an overture for the purpose of asking for a cessation of hostilities until the following spring, when their chiefs and headmen would come in person "to sue for the peace they so much desired." By the first belt, the elder women and the mothers besought the friendship of the Christian people, the Indians and the government of Pennsylvania, so they might fetch wood and water without risk or danger. By the second, the children born and those about to be born, implored for room to sport and play without the fear of death or slavery. By the third, the young men asked for the privilege to leave their towns without the fear of death or slavery to hunt for meat for their mothers, their children, and the aged ones. By the fourth, the old men, the elders of the people, asked for the consummation of a lasting peace, so that the forest (the paths to other tribes) be as safe for them as their palisaded towns. By the fifth, the entire tribe asked for a firm peace. By the sixth, the chiefs asked for the establishment of a lasting peace with the government, people, and Indians of Pennsylvania, whereby they would be relived from "those fearful apprehensions they have these several years felt." By the seventh, the Tuscarora begged for a "cessation from murdering and taking them," so that thereafter they would not fear "a mouse, or anything that ruffles the leaves." By the eighth, the tribe, being strangers to the people and government of Pennsylvania, asked for an official path or means of communication between them.

Stripped of metaphor and the language of diplomacy, the purport of this message is plain; it was the statement of a tribe at bay, that in view of the large numbers of their people who were being kidnaped to be sold into slavery or who were being killed while seeking to defend their offspring and their friends and kindred they desired to remove to a more just and friendly government than that whence they came. At this time there was no war between them and the white people; there had as yet been no massacre by the Tuscarora, no threat of hostility on the part of the Indians, yet to maintain peace and to avoid the impending shedding of blood they

Page 183

were even then willing to forsake their homes. The commissioners of Pennsylvania, however, informed the delegates, among other things, that "to confirm the sincerity of their past carriage toward the English, and to raise in us a good opinion of them, it would be very necessary to procure a certificate from the government they leave, to this, of their good behaviour, and then they might be assured of a favourable reception" (Min. Prov. Coun. Pa., II, 511, 1852). The Conestoga ("Seneques") chiefs present at this conference stated that by the advice of their council it had been determined to send these belts, brought by the Tuscarora, to the Five Nations. It was the reception of the belts with their pitiful messages by these Five Nations that moved the latter to take steps to shield and protect the Tuscarora, which gave so much apprehension to the northern colonies.

The rapid encroachment of the whites on the lands of the Tuscarora and their Indian neighbors for a period of 60 years after the first settlements, although there was an air of peace and harmony between the two races, were wrongs which dwarfed in comparison with the continued practice of kidnaping their young to be sold into slavery. This was the true cause of the so-called Tuscarora War in 1711-1713. This phase of the question is overlooked or quite disregarded by most historians; but years before the massacre of 1711, Tuscarora Indians were brought into Pennsylvania and sold as slaves, a transaction that excited grave apprehension in the minds of the resident Indian tribes. To allay as much as possible this growing terror among them, the provincial council of Pennsylvania enacted in 1705 that, "Whereas the importation of Indian slaves from Carolina, or other places, hath been observed to give the Indians of this province some umbrage for suspicion and dissatisfaction," such importation be prohibited after March 25, 1706. This enactment was based solely on expediency and self-interest, since it was evident that the Indians to the southward were in a general commotion. During the Tuscarora War an act was passed, June 7, 1712, forbidding the importation of Indians, but providing for their sale as slaves to the highest bidder in case any should be imported for that purpose. It is known that the prisoners of Col. Barnwell and Col. Moore were all sold as slaves, even the northern colonies being canvassed for a market for them; indeed, the Boston News Letter of 1713 contained an advertisement offering these very Indians for purchase.

According to De Graffenried, Surveyor Gen. Lawson in 1709-10 settled his people, the Swiss and Palatines, on the south bank of Trent River, on a tongue of land called Chattawka, formed by the Trent and the Neuse in North Carolina, in a hot and unhealthful situation. De Graffenried bitterly complained that the surveyor general was dishonest for having charged him a "heavy price" for it, and for the consequences of his not knowing that Lawson had no title to the land and that the place was still inhabited by the Indians, although the surveyor general had attested that the land was free of encumbrance and unoccupied. This encroachment on the Indian lands was one of the fundamental causes of the so-called Tuscarora War. It is well known that the Coree, together with their close allies, the hostile Tuscarora, in 1711 took vengeance on the Swiss and Palatines settled on Trent River, killing about 70 of them, wounding many others,

Page 184

and destroying much of their property. De Graffenried says that one of the several causes of the war was the "rough treatment of some turbulent Carolinians, who cheated those Indians in trading, and would not allow them to hunt near their plantations, and under that pretense took away from them their game, arms, and ammunition," and that the despised Indians being "insulted in many ways by a few rough Carolinians, more barbarous and inhuman than the savages themselves, could not stand such treatment any longer and began to think of their safety and of vengeance. What they did they did very secretly."

In a letter of Maj. Christopher Gale to his brother, November 2, 1711, he describes a condition, fairly representative of the times, as to the relations between the whites and the Indians around them. During an attack on one of the many small garrisons maintained for the protection of the settlements, "a number of Indian prisoners of a certain nation, which we did not know, whether they were friends or enemies, rose in the garrison, but were soon cut to pieces, as those on the outside repelled. In the garrison were killed 9 men, and soon after 39 women and children sent off for slaves." This shows that for the purposes of slavery little distinction, if any, was made between one tribe and another.

De Graffenried, while a captive among the hostile Tuscarora, negotiated, subsequent to the execution of the unfortunate Lawson, a private treaty with them by offering to every one of the chiefs of the 10 villages of the hostiles a cloth jerkin, 2 bottles of powder, 500 grains of small shot, 2 bottles of rum, and something more to the head chief for his own ransom. Among other things he agreed to remain neutral during the continuance of the war, and that he, the "said governor of the German colony, promises to remain within his limits and to take no more lands from them without due warning to the king [head chief] and his nation." Thus De Graffenried admitted taking Indian lands without consulting the Indians, although he says elsewhere, "It must be observed that it was neither I nor my colony who were the cause of that terrible slaughter or Indian war," apparently overlooking the fact that the greatest massacre was among his own Swiss and Palatines, indicating that the Indians thus resented the wrongs committed by him and his people.

In order to secure the aid of the Catawba ("Flatheads") against the hostile Tuscarora, the Carolina authorities promised them that in the event of success in the war the Indians were to obtain goods "cheaper than formerly." But after faithfully aiding the Carolinians in 1711-1713 in dispersing the hostile Tuscarora, the Catawba were deceived as to the promised reduction in the price of goods sold to them, and from this misunderstanding arose the troubles leading later to the Catawba War in 1714-15 (N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., v, 444, 1855).

The chiefs of the Five Nations, in conference with Gov. Hunter at Albany, September 25, 1714, acquainted him with the fact that the "Tuscarora Indians are come to shelter themselves among the Five Nations; they were of us and went from us long ago, and now are returned and promise to live peaceably among us. And since there is peace now everywhere we have received them. Do give a belt of wampum. We desire you to look upon the Tuscaroras that are come to live among us as our children, who shall obey our commands

Page 185

and live peaceably and orderly" (N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., v, 387, 1855). This proposal, for it was practically such, was not yet accepted by the New York government in 1715 (ibid., 413).

On June 23, 1712, Gov. Hunter, of New York, wrote to the Lords of Trade that "the war betwixt the people of North Carolina and the Tuscarora Indians is like to embroil us all," and expressed the fear that under French instigation the Five Nations would fulfill their threat to joint the Tuscarora (ibid., 343). Again, on September 10, 1713, Hunter wrote to Secretary Popple that "the Five Nations are hardly to be diswaded from sheltering the Tuscaruro Indians, which would embroil us all," and expressed regret that he had no funds with which to buy presents to be employed in dissuading them from forming an alliance with the Tuscarora.

On September 10, 1713, an Onondaga chief, in conference with commissioners from Gov. Hunter at Onondaga, said: "Brother Corlaer says the Queen's subjects towards the south are now at war with the tus-Carorase Indians. These Indians went out heretofore from us, and have settled themselves there; now they have got into war and are dispersed. * * * They have abandoned their castles and are scattered hither and thither; let that suffice; and we request our Brother Corlaer to act as mediator between the English of Carrelyna and the Tuskaroras that they may no longer be hunted down, and we assure that we will oblige them not to do the English any more harm, for they are no longer a nation with a name, being once dispersed" (N. Y. Doc. Col. Hist., v, 376, 1855).

In 1717 Gov. Hunter, of New York, informed the Five Nations that there were Virginia traders who still bartered with the Tuscarora, thus showing that, contrary to the common opinion, there were still a part of these Indians in Carolina and southern Virginia.

In a letter dated at Narhantes Fort, February 4, 1712, Col. Barnwell gives a list of the various tribes of Southern Indians who composed his motley army. In his own spelling these were: The Yamasses, Hog Logees, Apalatchees, Corsaboy, Watterees, Sagarees, Catawbas, Suterees, Waxams, Congarees, Sattees, Pedees, Weneaws, Cape Feare, Hoopengs, Wareperes, Saraws, and Saxapahaws. Fort Narhantes, according to Barnwell, was the largest and most warlike town of the Tuscarora. It was situated about 27 miles below a former settlement of the Saxapahaw or "Shacioe Indians," which these Indians had been forced to abandon along with others at the beginning of February, 1712, by the Narhantes Tuscarora, who had fallen upon them and had killed 16 persons, owing to the refusal of the Saxapahaw to join the Tuscarora against the English. The Saxapahaw had just reached the Wattomas when Barnwell arrived there. After reaching Neuse River, Barnwell numbered his men before crossing, and found that he had 498 Indians and 33 white men. He complained that there was a great desertion of the Indians; that only 67 remained of Capt. Bull's 200. On taking Fort Narhantes, "head Town of ye Tuscaruros," on January 30, 1712, he and his men were greatly surprised and puzzled to find within two log houses much stronger than the outer fort. After gaining an entrance, he says, while "we were putting the men to the sword, our Indians got all the slaves and the plunder, only one girl we gott." This was the strongest fort in that part of the country. His loss was 7 white men killed and at least 32 wounded; the Indian loss was 6 killed and 28

Page 186

wounded; the Tuscarora loss was 52 men killed and at least 10 women, and 30 prisoners. Barnwell was much chagrined at his great loss, "with no greater execution of ye enemy." De Graffenried, in speaking of this encounter, says he "marched against a great Indian village, called Core, about 30 miles distant from Newbern, drove out the King and his forces, and carried the day with such fury that, after they had killed a great many, in order to stimulate themselves still more, they cooked the flesh of an Indian 'in good condition' and ate it." So it appears that Narhantes was a Coree village, whose King was called Cor Tom. Barnwell then advanced on Catechna, or King Hencock's town, in which had taken refuge a medley of Indians from the Weetock, Bay, Neuse, Cor, Pamlico, and a portion of the Tuscarora tribe. After two assaults, which the Indians successfully repulsed, Barnwell, in order to save from massacre the white prisoners within the fort, induced the Indians to enter into a truce with him on condition that the white prisoners be liberated; and he returned to Newbern with his small army for refreshment. Barnwell had hoped for great honors and gifts from North Carolina, but being disappointed in this hope, and wishing to return home with his forces with some profit, he lured, under pretense of peace, a large number of the Indians to the neighborhood of Cor village and then broke the truce by capturing them and carrying them away to be sold into slavery. This naturally incensed the Tuscarora and other Carolina Indians, and caused them to lose all confidence in the word of a white man. This change of affairs resulted in repeated raids by the Indians along Neuse and Pamlico Rivers, and "the last troubles were worse than the first."

Solicitations by the North Carolina authorities were made to the government of South Carolina for new aid, which was granted, under Col. Moore, with a body of 33 white men and more than 900 Indian allies, who were probably reenforced by North Carolina recruits. His objective point was the palisaded town of Catechna, or Hencock's village. In a letter dated March 27, 1713, to President Pollock, of North Carolina, just after he had taken the palisaded town of "Neoheroka," in Greene County, N. C., which lay on his route to Catechna, he reported that the attack was begun on the 20th and that on the morning of the 23d "wee had gott ye fort to ye ground." He states that the prisoners taken were 392, that the scalps taken in the fort numbered 192, that there were 200 killed and burned in the fort, and 166 persons killed and taken "out of ye fort on ye Scout," a total of 950. His own loss was 22 white men killed and 36 wounded; the loss of his Indians was 35 killed and 58 wounded. This severe loss so awed the Tuscarora that they abandoned Fort "Cohunche," situated at Hencock's town, and migrated northward toward the territory of the Five Nations.

Prior to the arrival of Col. Moore, President Pollock had entered into an arrangement with Tom Blunt, the leading chief of the "Northern Tuscarora," to seize Chief Hencock, who was the reputed head of the hostile Tuscarora, and to bring him alive to the President for the purpose of adjusting their mutal difficulties and to negotiate peace. Blunt's Tuscarora were to destroy the hostiles who had taken part in the massacre and to deliver hostages for their own good behavior--this arrangement was to continue only until the new year. After the defeat of the Tuscarora by Moore, another treaty was made

Page 187

with Tom Blunt and his Tuscarora, thus leaving as hostile only the small tribes of the Coree, Matamuskeet, and Catechna. All of Moore's Indians except about 180 returned to South Carolina to sell their captives into slavery. With the remaining forces Moore soon reduced and drove away the few remaining hostiles.

The date of the adoption of the Tuscarora into the Council Board of the League of the Iroquois, through the Oneida, their political sponsors, is indefinite, judging from the differing dates, ranging from 1712 to 1715, given by various well-informed writers. In their forced migration northward the Tuscarora did not all decamp at once. The hostiles and their most apprehensive sympathizers were most probably the first to leave their ancient homes in North Carolina. On the total defeat and dispersion of the hostile Tuscarora and their allies in 1713, the scattered fragments of tribes fled and sought asylum with other tribes, among whom their identity was not always maintained. Although the Five Nations gave asylum to the fugitive Tuscarora, there is also abundant evidence that, for political reasons perhaps, the Tuscarora were not for many years after their flight from North Carolina formally admitted into the Council Board of the League of the Five Nations as a constitutive member. The fact is that the Tuscarora were 90 years in removing from their North Carolina home to more friendly dwelling-places in the north, and there is no evidence that they were formally incorporated into the confederation of the Five Nations, as a coequal member, before September, 1722. On September 6, 1722, Gov. Burnet held a conference with the Five Nations at Albany, at which Gov. Spotswood, of Virginia, was present. For the purpose of preventing forays between the Five Nations and their allies on the one hand, and the Southern Indians on the other, Spotswood induced the Five Nations to consent to the running of a dividing line along the Potomac and the high ridge of the Allegany Mountains. This agreement was made in the name of the Five Nations and the Tuscarora, indicating that the latter had become a factor in the councils of the League of the Iroquois. In closing the conference, it is stated that the Indians "gave six shouts--five for the Five Nations and one for the castle of Tuscaroras, lately seated between the Oneidas and Onondagas." The record continues that at the conclusion of this conference, on September 13, the Five Nations sought a special interview with the governor of Pennsylvania, and that on September 14 the governor received "the 10 chiefs of the Five Nations, being two from each, together with two others, said to be of the Tuscororoes." This appears to be the first official mention of the Tuscarora as taking part in the management of the public affairs of the league. The Tuscacora mentioned here, however, did not include those who dwelt on the Juniata and on the Susquehanna at Oquaga and its environs, nor those still in North Carolina.

In a petition of John Armstrong for land lying in Tuscarora Valley, on Juniata River, Pa., about 6 miles from the mouth of Tuscarora Creek, the Indians living there at that time are called Lakens; this land was taken up by Armstrong on February 3, 1755. On the same day George Armstrong obtained a warrant for land situated on the south side of Tuscarora Creek, "opposite to the settlement of the Indians, called Lackens." It would thus appear that at this date this band of Tuscarora were known, at least locally, as Lakens or Lackens.

Page 188

Elias Johnson, in his legends, says that it was the Seneca who first adopted the Tuscarora as a constituent member of the league. This, however, is at variance with the common but authentic traditions of all the tribes and with the official statement of Col. (afterward Sir) William Johnson to the Oneida, made at Mount Johnson, September 8, 1753. He said, "Brethren of Oneida. * * * My best advice is to have your castles as near together as you conveniently can with the Tuscaroras, who belong to you as children, and the Scanihaderadighroones, lately come into your alliance or families, which makes it necessary for me to fix a new string to the cradle which was hung up by your forefathers when they received the Tuscaroras, * * * to feed and protect."

After the close of the war of 1711-1713 in North Carolina, the neutral Tuscarora, with remnants of allied tribes still remaining in that country, were placed under the rule of Chief Tom Blunt, or Blount, by treaty with the provincial government of North Carolina. From an act of the General Assembly of North Carolina, in 1778, it is learned that Withmell Tuffdick was then the ruling chief; but the last ruling chief of the North Carolina Tuscarora was Samuel Smith, who died in 1802.

In 1767, the renown of the Moravian mission station at Friedenshuetten (q. v.) in Pennsylvania was so great that many Indians from various tribes, including the Tuscarora, probably from Oquaga, Ingaren, and vicinity, were constantly stopping there. Many passed through it merely to see a place so famous for its hospitality. In May, 1766, seventy-five Tuscarora, according to Loskiel, on their way from North Carolina, halted here and remained for some weeks. They are described as lazy and "refuse to hear religion." During their stay the Tuscarora were so alarmed at the sight of the first snow that they left their huts down by the river and took refuge with the missionaries. A number of Tuscarora arrived at the mission to remain there; these had planted their crops during 1766 at the mouth of Tuscarora Creek, Wyoming County, Pa.

On December 16, 1766, Sir William Johnson received at Mount Johnson, N. Y., 160 Tuscarora who had just arrived from North Carolina. They complained to him that on their way thither they had been robbed at Paxtang, in Pennsylvania, of their horses and other property to the value of about $300.

Later the Tuscarora on the Susquehanna, dwelling at Oquaga and in its vicinity, had lands assigned them by the Oneida, their political sponsors. These lands were bounded on the east by Unadilla River, on the west by the Chenango, and on the south by the Susquehanna. In the northern part of this allotment were situated the towns of Ganasaraga, on the site of Sullivan, Madison County, N. Y., and Kannehsuntahkeh. A number of the Tuscarora lived with the Oneida in their chief village. On these lands a large portion of the Tuscarora remained until the events of the Revolution displaced them. By the terms of the treaty of Fort Herkimer in 1785 with the State of New York, to which the Tuscarora were nominal parties, the Oneida, the original proprietors of the lands then occupied by the Tuscarora, conveyed to New York the lands of the Tuscarora and retained the proceeds of the sale; thus the Tuscarora were again without a home. Thereafter they became dispersed. Later they had a village called Junastriyo (Tcunăstri' io') in the Genessee Valley,

Page 189

below Avon, N. Y.; another, called Jutaneaga (Tcutănĕñ'' kiă'), at the fork of Chittenango Creek; and another called Kanhato (Kă'n'ha''nū').

According to Johnson (legends, etc.), a part of the fugitive Tuscarora settled at a point about 2 miles west of Tamaqua, Schuylkill County, Pa., where they planted apple trees and lived for a number of years. It is probable that it was these Tuscarora who later removed to Oquaga, in the vicinity of which they had three other towns in 1778. Another band of fugitives settled in Tuscarora Valley (as it was called later from them), on Juniata River, Pa. They remained here at least as late as 1762. In a minute of a conference held at Lancaster, Pa., August 11, 1762, between Lieut. Gov. Hamilton of Pennsylvania and delegates from the Ohio Delawares, the Tuscarora of Oquaga and Lower Tuscarora, the Shawnee, the Kickapoo, the Wea, and the Miami, it is stated that six Tuscarora were present, of whom three were chiefs, who brought from their people a letter in which they asked the governor to furnish them with a pass, saying, "We should be glad to be informed of the state and behavior of our brethren in Tuscarora Valley, and to have some directions about the way, as we propose to make them a visit, and also should be glad of a pass or recommendation in writing, that we may be friendly received on our way to and at the valley."

Major portions of the Oneida and the Tuscarora, in accordance with standing agreements with the United Colonies, remained faithful to the American cause during the Revolution. When the Indian allies of the British, even some of their brethren of the Six Nations, learned that a majority of the Tuscarora had cast their lot with the Colonies, they invaded the Tuscarora country, burned their lodges, and destroyed their crops and other property. Thus again by the fortunes of war the Tuscarora were scattered and homeless. A large party of these settled at a place called Oyonwayea, or Johnson's Landing, in Niagara County, N. Y., about 4 miles east of the outlet of Niagara River, at the mouth of Four Mile Creek, in order not to be directly among the many Indians friendly to the British cause camped around Fort Niagara. At the close of the war, two families, probably clans, of Tuscarora from Oyonwayea, made their way to the northeast limits of their present reservation, where they found many walnuts and butternuts, and a fine stream. Here they decided to winter. Being missed from Oyonwayea, scouts were sent out, who found them in their newly chosen settlement, a situation so favorable that, after the gratuitous cession of their former home among the Oneida, Oyonwayea was abandoned and all the families removed to the new site. Although the Tuscarora had only a tacit permission from the Seneca to reside at this place, the last settlement became the foundation of the present Tuscarora reservation in New York. At the treaty held at Genessee, September 15, 1797, between Robert Morris and the Seneca Tribe, the Tuscarora chiefs complained for the first time since their admission to the councils of the league, that the Five Nations had from time to time allotted lands to their people, but that each time these lands had been included in a subsequent cession to the whites, and that the Tuscarora had received nothing in return for their right of occupancy or for their improvements. The justice and merits of their complaint having been acknowledged by the Five Nations, Morris reserved to the Tuscarora,

Page 190

by grant, 2 square miles, covering their settlement on the ridge mentioned above, and the Seneca thereupon granted them an adjoining square mile. About 1800-1802 a deputation was sent to North Carolina to learn whether they could obtain funds in payment for the lands they formerly occupied there, with the result that, by aid of the North Carolina Legislature, they were able to lease the Carolina lands, which yielded a fund of $13,722. This sum enabled the Secretary of War in 1804, under authority of Congress, to purchase 4,329 acres for the Tuscarora from the Holland Land Co., adjoining the 3 square miles already occupied by them. Such is the origin of the land holdings of the New York Tuscarora.

It was while the Tuscarora deputation was in North Carolina that the remnant of the tribe still residing there was brought to the north and joined their brethren in New York State.

The Tuscarora in sympathy with those of the Six Nations that adhered to the cause of Great Britain in the Revolution were granted lands in severalty on Grand River Reservation, Ontario.

The evangelizing work of Christian missionaries began among the Tuscarora in western New York as early as 1805 under the patronage of the New York Missionary Society. At first there were only six persons among the Tuscarora willing to abjure their ancient faith and customs, at least in name and appearance, and join in the missionary work; the remainder were generally strongly averse to the work of the missionaries. So violent were the struggles between the two unequal parties that in the spring of 1820 the "pagans" succeeded in inducing about 70 persons to emigrate to Canada, where they settled among the pagans of the Six Nations on the Grand River Reservation, Ontario. The church membership at this time was 16 persons. Little progress was apparent in the education of the Tuscarora, although the New York Society had maintained a school among them.

Ethnology.--The Tuscarora in New York are governed by a council of irresponsible chiefs, for the Indians have forgotten and so neglect the means to be employed in enforcing the will of the clan in case a chief fails in his plain duty; the criminal law of New York at this point nullifies the early sovereignty of the clan over its members. In common with the other tribes of the Iroquoian linguistic stock, the Tuscarora traced the descent of blood through the line of the mother, and made the civil and official military chieftainships hereditary in the *ohwatcira* of certain clans (see *Clans*) over which the women chiefs and the elder women presided. The simplest political unit was the *ohwatcira,* of which one or more constituted a clan, which was the simplest organized political unit. The Tuscarora were constituted of at least eight clans, which primitively were organized into phratries. There are no data, other than those furnished by tradition and analogy, as to the organization of the Tuscarora confederation. The clans were exogamic as to their own members, as were also the phratries in primitive times. The Tuscarora of New York being completely isolated from any of their own people who still profess their ancient dogmas and beliefs and who still practice their ancient rites and ceremonies, have preserved only a hazy recollection of their early customs, ceremonies, and rites; even less do they comprehend the meaning of the ceremonies still practiced by the so-called pagan members of cognate tribes. They are all professed

Page 191

Christians, and so turn away from the old forms of thought and practice of their ancestors.

The exact number of clans still existing among the Tuscarora is not definitely known, for the native authorities themselves do not agree on the number and the names of those still recognized--some informants give seven, while others with equal credibility give eight. There is likewise some diversity in regard to the correct names of certain clans. One list has Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Beaver, Deer, Eel, and Snipe; another has Bear, Eel, Large Turtle, Small Turtle, Beaver, Deer, Wolf, and Snipe; still another list has Bear, Eel, Deer, Turtle, Gray Wolf, Yellow Wolf, Beaver, and Snipe; and yet another is like the last, except that the Turtle clan is replaced by the clans Small Turtle and Large Turtle. Like differences appear in the lists of clans of the other Iroquois tribes.

The names of the civil chiefs still in use among the present two divisions of the Tuscarora (that in Ontario and the other in western New York) are: (A) *Săkwari''çrā'* (Sacharissa), 'The spear trailer'; Ni'hawĕñă'ñ'ă', 'His voice is small'; *Hotio'kwawă''kĕn',* 'He holds or grasps the multitude,' or possibly, 'He holds or grasps his own loins'; these three belong to the Turtle clan. (B) *Năkăiĕñ'iĕn'* (signification not clear); *Utakwa'tej'a',* 'The Bear clib'; *Ionĕñtchănĕñ''năkĕn',* 'Its fore-paw pressed against its breast'; these three belong to the Bear clan. (C) *Năio'kăwen'ă* (signification not known); *Neiotchă'k'doñ',* 'It is bent'; these two belong to the Wolf clan. (D) *Karoñdawă''kĕn',* 'One is holding the tree'; *Thanădăk'hwă'* (signification not clear); these two belong to the Snipe clan. (E) *Kari'hĕñ'tiă',* 'It goes along teaching'; *Ni'hno'kă'wă',* 'He annoints the hide'; *Năkă'hĕñwă''ç'hĕñ,* 'It is twenty canoes'; these three belong to the Beaver clan. Among the Canadian Tuscarora on Grand River Reservation, Ontario, the first and last names of the Turtle clan, the first title of the Wolf clan, and the first title of the Snipe clan appear to be the only ones now in use, although these four titles are questionably also in use among the New York Tuscarora.

There is no definite information available as to the former and more complete organization into clan phratries. Some of the translations of the chieftain titles above would seem to indicate that they were originally designations of some habit, attitude, or other characteristic feature of the clan tutelary or patron, questionably called "totem." The clan name, with one or two exceptions, is not the ordinary name of the clan guardian or patron, but is rather descriptive of some feature or attitude, or is the name of the usual habitat, of the tutelary; for example, the name of the Bear clan signifies literally, 'Broken-off tail'; that of the Plover or Killdee (Snipe) 'Clean-sand people'; that of the Beaver, 'People of the stream'; that of the Turtle clan, 'Climbing-the-mountain people,' named from the position of the turtle basking, etc. It is probable that plover killdee should be substituted in the foregoing lists of clans, for the name clearly refers to the killdee's habit of running along the clean sand at the water's edge.

De Graffenried gives (N. C. Col. Rec., I, 905 et seq.) an interesting account of the preparations made for the execution of Lawson and himself by the hostile Tuscarora. In the open space or public square mentioned there was a large fire, near which was the shaman or high priest, a grizzled sorcerer, who made two white rings on the ground,

Page 192

whether of flour or white sand was not stated. In front of the two victims was placed a wolf skin, and a short distance farther there stood an Indian in a terrifying posture, holding in one hand a knife and in the other a tomahawk; he was apparently the executioner. He did not move from the spot. On the farther side of the fire were assembled young men, women, and children, who danced with weird and frightful contortions and attitudes. In the center of the circle of dancers were seated two singers who intoned a dismal song, "rather fit to provoke tears and anger than joy." Within the circle of dancers the shaman stood unterrified, uttering his threatenings and adjurations and performing his exorcisms against the foes of his people and their *orenda* or "medicine," when there would come a pause in the dancing. Finally, with shouts and howls the dancers ran into the neighboring forests. In a short time they returned with their faces painted black, white, and red, in bands, and with their hair loose and flying, oiled and sprinkled with fine down or cotton from the cattail flag and with small white feathers, and some returned arrayed in all kinds of furs. After their return, the dance was renewed. Back of the two victims stood a double line of armed warriors who kept their posts until everything was over; back of this guard was the council of war, whose members were seated on the ground in a circle, gravely deliberating on the fate of the two noted prisoners. Finally, they acted on the advice of "King" Tom Blunt, the headchief of their neighbors, "the villages of the Tuscaroros," properly so called, that King Hencock should liberate De Graffenried, and could deal with Lawson as he and his council pleased. The manner of Lawson's death, as learned from Indian information, is found in a letter of Maj. Christopher Gale to his brother, Nov. 2, 1711, wherein it is said that the Indians stuck the unfortunate prisoner "full of fine small splinters of torchwood, like hogs' bristles, and so set them gradually on fire." De Graffenried was not permitted to know how Lawson was executed.

To this account of the Tuscarora method of preparing for the execution of captives may be added their triumphal ceremonies which De Graffenrid says they performed after their defeat of a relief party of Swiss and Palatines. He reports that they built bonfires at night, and especially a large one in the place of executions, where they raised "three wolf's hides, figuring as many protectors or gods," to which offerings, consisting of their jewels, were made by the women. In the middle of the cricle, the chief shaman performed all manner of contortions, conjurations, and imprecations against the enemies of his country, while the populace danced in a circle around the wolf hides.

The council of "King" Hencock, which consisted of 40 elders, was called by the Tuscarora, according to De Graffenried, the "Assembly of the Great," a translation of the Tuscarora terms for the council of chiefs, the general word for chief signifying 'one is great,' either in size or position. At the council before which Lawson and De Graffenried were tried the "forty elders" were seated around a great fire kindled in a large open space devoted to important festivals and public executions. On this occasion these chiefs and the accused were seated on rush mats, which were customarily provided for the comfort of guests as a mark of deference and honor. Although the two captives were acquitted by the first council, they were again

Page 193

tried before a second council, after Lawson incautiously had had a bitter quarrel with Cor Tom, the chief of Cor town, who was not at the first council. The two captives were not given mats upon which to sit, and Lawson was condemned to death and De Graffenried was acquitted.

Lawson asserts that the most powerful tribe "scorns to treat or trade with any others, of fewer numbers and less power in any other tongue but their own, which serves for the lingua of the country; with which we travel and deal." As an example of this, the Tuscarora are cited. Being the most numerous tribe in North Carolina, their language was necessarily understood by some persons in every town of all the neighboring tribes.

The Tuscarora carried on a pernicious trade in rum with the Indians dwelling to their westward. In 1708 rum had been but recently introduced among the latter, chiefly by the Tuscarora, who transported it in rundlets several hundred miles, amongst other Indians. They sold it at "so many mouthfuls for a buckskin, they never using any other measure," the buyer always choosing a man having the largest mouth possible to accompany him to the market, and the mouthful was scrupulously emptied into a bowl brought for the purpose. The Tuscarora also traded with the Shakori and Occaneechi, selling them wooden bowls and ladles for rawhides.

Their lodges, usually round in form, were constructed of poles, covered with the bark of cypress, red or white cedar, or sometimes pine. At one place Lawson met more than 500 Tuscarora in one body in a hunting camp. They had constructed their lodges with bark, "not with round tops, as they commonly use, but ridge fashion, after the manner of most Indians." Among them he found much corn, while meat and venison were scarce, because of the great number of people, for although they were expert hunters, they were too populous for one range.

According to Lawson, the native Tuscarora of North Carolina had rather flat bodies, due probably to the fact that in early infancy the children were swathed to cradle-boards. He adds: "They are not of so robust and strong bodies as to lift great burdens, and endure labor and slavish work, as Europeans are; yet some that are slaves prove very good and laborious." They were dextrous and steady, and collected in the use of their hands and feet; their bearing was sedate and majestic; their eyes were commonly full and manly, being black or dark hazel in color, and the white of the eye was usually marbled with red lines; their skin was tawny, and somewhat darkened by the habit of anointing it with bear's oil and a pigment resembling burnt cork. When they wished to be very fine they mixed with the oil a certain red powder made from a scarlet root growing in the hilly country. This root was held in great esteem among them, selling it one to another at a very high price, on account of the distance from which it came and the danger to which they were exposed in obtaining it. The Tuscarora and other Indians attempted to cultivate this plant, but it would not grow in their land. As a substitute they sometimes used puccoon root, which also has a crimson color, but this dyed the hair an ugly hue. The heads even of the aged were scarcely ever bald; their teeth were tinged yellow from smoking tobacco, to which habit both men and women were much addicted;

Page 194

they, however, did not snuff or chew tobacco. They plucked the hair from their faces and bodies. There were but few deformed or crippled persons among them.

The Tuscarora had many dances suitable to various occasions; these as a rule were accompanied with public feasts prepared under the direction of the women chiefs. Every dance had its peculiar song, but probably was not changed for every occasion on which the dance was performed, although Lawson states that "all these songs are made new for every feast; nor is one and the same song sung at two several festivals. Some one of the nation, which has the best gift of expressing their designs, is appointed by their king and war captains to make these songs." To these festivals the people came from all the towns within 50 or 60 m., "where they buy and sell several commodities."

The Tuscarora, in like measure with the northern Iroquois, were passionately given to gaming, frequently stripping one another of every piece of property available. Sometimes they went even so far as to bet themselves away to the winner, readily becoming his slave until he or his relatives could pay the redemption price; nevertheless they bore their losses with great equanimity, no matter how ruinous they were. Among their games was that of a bundle of 51 split reeds about 7 in. in length and neatly made. The game consisted in throwing a part of the bundle before an opponent, who must on sight guess the number thrown. It is said that experts were able to tell the number correctly ten times in ten throws. A set of these reeds was valued at a dressed doeskin. The Tuscarora also had the well-known bowl and plum-seed game, which is such an important adjunct to the thanksgiving festivals of the northern Iroquois. They also had a number of other games, but some of their neighbors had games which they did not have.

There were feasts among the Tuscarora when several villages united to celebrate some event or when two or more tribes assembled to negotiate peace. There were feasts and dances of thanksgiving, and invocations to the gods that watched over their harvests, when their crops were garnered and when the first fruits of the year were gathered.

Population.--No trustworthy estimates of the Tuscarora population at any given date, exclusive of those of Lawson and Barnwell, previous to 1830, are available for the entire Tuscarora people. The earliest and perhaps most authoritative estimate of the total Tuscarora population at a given time was that of Lawson in 1708. His estimate of 15 towns and 1,200 fighting men would indicate a population of about 4,800 at that date; Col. Barnwell's figures are somewhat larger than Lawson's, though they appear to be conservative; his estimate was 1,200 to 1,400 warriors, or a maximum population of about 5,600 persons. The estimate of Chauvignerie in 1736 was 250 warriors, or about 1,000 persons. His estimate was restricted to the Tuscarora living near Oneida, N. Y., hence did not include those living in North Carolina or on the Susquehanna and Juniata rs. Other estimates of this group give them 1,000 (1765), 2,000 (1778), 1,000 (1783) 400 (1796), in the United States; 414 (1885) in New York and an equal number in Canada, or a total of 828; 364 (1909) in New York, and 416 (1910) in Canada, a total of 780.

Page 195

Settlements.--The following Tuscarora towns have been mentioned in writings pertaining to this people: Annaooka, Chunaneets, Coerntha, Cohunche, Conauhkare, Contahnah, Cotechney, Coram, Corutra, Eno, Ganasaraga, Ganatisgowa, Harooka, Harutawaqui, Ingaren, Junastriyo, Jutaneaga, Kanhato, Kaunehsuntahkeh, Kenta, Kentanuska, Naurheghne, Nonawharitse, Nursoorooka, Nyuchirhaan, Ohagi, Oonossora, Oneida (in part), Oquaga, Shawhiangto, Tasqui, Tiochcrungwe, Tonarooka, Torhunte, Tosneoc, Tuscarora, Unanauhan, Ucouhnerunt. Some of these towns were in North Carolina, others on Juniata r. in Pennsylvania, others on the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania, others on the Susquehanna in New York, while others were s. of Oneida Lake in New York, and one in Genessee Valley. The exact situation of the majority of these towns is not definitely known. In some instances the Tuscarora shared a town with other tribes, as was the case at Anajot (Oneida, or Ganowarohare) and Onohoquaga.

Treaties.--The Tuscarora have taken part in the following treaties between the United States and the Six Nations: Ft. Stanwix, N. Y., Oct. 22, 1784; Ft. Harmar, Ohio, Jan. 9, 1789; Canandaigua (Konondaigua), N. Y., Nov. 11, 1794; Oneida, N. Y., Dec. 2, 1794; Buffalo Creek, N. Y., Jan. 15, 1838.

For further information consult Elias Johnson (native Tuscarora), Legends, Traditions and Laws of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, and History of the Tuscorora Indians, 1881; Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York, I-XI, 1855-61; Documentary History of New York, I-IV, 1849-51; Pennsylvania Archives, I-XII, 1852-56 Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania (Colonial Records), I-XVI, 1852-53; South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, I-X, especially IX and X; Virginia Magazine, I-XV, 1893-1908; Lawson, History of Carolina, 1714, repr. 1860; Publications of the Buffalo Hist. Soc., especially Vol. VI. (J. N. B. H.)

Page 196

EXHIBIT I.

HISTORY OF THE OLD CHERAWS.

[From Gregg's History of the old Cheraws.]

CHAPTER I.

Indian tribes in Carolina--Extent of their territory--Other tribes--Pedees--Kadapaws--Localities of each--Their origin--Advent of the Catawbas--Their tradition--Subsequent relation to tribes on the Pedee--Lederer's narrative--Localities identified--Sara, where--First mention in public records of tribes on the Pedee--Visit of the Cheraws to Charlestown--Governor's visit to the Congerees--Interview with Pedees--Governor Glenn writes to Governor Clinton--Evans's Journal--Cheraws visit Charlestown--Smallpox prevails--Removal of Cheraws and union with Catawbas--Catawba History--Languages of tribes on the Pedee--Meaning of "Cheraw"--"Pedee"--Indian remains on the Pedee--Indian habits and customs--Lawson's narrative--Last of Cheraws and Catawbas.

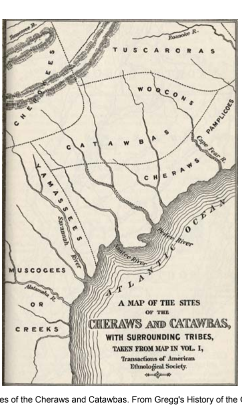
There is a sad chapter in the history of the New World: it is that relating to the aborigines of America--a people, as all accounts agree, distinguished for many noble traits, but invariably degenerating in character and habit as they have come in contact with the "pale-faces," and taken up their mournful line of march toward the setting sun.

When first known to the colonists, South Carolina is said to have contained not less than 28 tribes of Indians, with settlements extending from the ocean to the mountains. Of these tribes but a few names survive to mark the localities they once inhabited; and these, with such scattered remains as the waste of time and the leveling work of the white man have spared, are the only memorials left to tell of their early occupancy of the soil. Of the tribes which dwelt upon the Pedee and its tributaries, the Saras, or Saraws, as they were first called--afterwards Charrows, Charraws, and Cheraws--occupied the region still identified by the name; their territory extending thence to the coast, and along the coast from the Cape Fear to the Pedee. This extensive region has been assigned to the Cheraws by one of the most eminent ethnologists of America, as among the sites of the Indian tribes when first known to the Europeans, about the year 1600, along the coast of the Atlantic.[1]

1 See map annexed, by the late Albert Gallatin, Vol. I, of Transactions of American Ethnological Society,

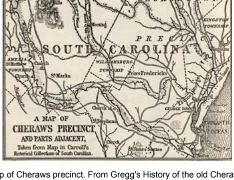
If such was the extent of their territory at that early period, it would indicate a population which must have been greatly diminished, when, upon the approach of the Catawbas, a half century later, the supremacy of the Cheraws over the smaller tribes around them, and even over their own distinct nationality, would seem to have been lost, or at least unacknowledged. Within these early territorial limits of the Cheraws, and along the middle and lower parts of the valley of the river, must be assigned the Pedees; and about the mouth of the river, the Winyaws. The Kadapaws were found on Lynches Creek, after the name of which tribe that stream was called

Page 197



Map of the sites of the Cheraws and Catawbas. From Gregg's History of the Old Cheraws.

Page 198



Map of Cheraws precinct. From Gregg's History of the old Cheraws.

Page 199

in the Indian tongue. Of these, the Cheraws--however they may have been diminished in number by disease and war, or perchance by some dismemberment of their nation, and the removal of many, of which no record or tradition remains--continued to be the dominant race on the Pedee; the others having ever been reckoned among the smaller and inferior tribes. Of their origin nothing is known beyond the conjectures of ethnologists. They have been assigned, but upon what grounds does not appear, to the extensive family of Algonkins. These occupied that portion of North America on the east extending from 35° to 60° north latitude, and reaching along the northern line of extension almost to the Pacific on the west. Beyond this, as the track of aboriginal descent and migration begins to be traced back, even conjecture is lost in a sea of uncertainty.

The tribes on the Pedee continued in their feeble and disconnected state (the Cheraws maintaining the supremacy) until the arrival of the Catawbas from the north, with the history of whom their own was ever after to be inseparably blended.

According to their tradition,[1]

1 For this interesting traditional account, as given by the Catawbas, the author is indebted to W. H. Thomas, Esq., of Qualla Town, N. C., who has been intimately connected with them, as their head man, or chief, since their removal to the western part of that State.

as it has been handed down to very recent times, the Catawbas, at a period prior or not long subsequent to the discovery and settlement of North America by the whites, occupied a region far to the northward, from whence, in course of time, they removed to the south. Being a numerous and warlike race, they vanquished the tribes with whom they came successively in conflict on the way, until they met the Cherokees on the banks of the river, afterwards called by their own name, Catawba.

Here, as the tradition relates, a sanguinary battle ensued between them, which lasted from morning until night, darkness alone serving to put an end to the conflict. The loss on both sides was heavy, though neither party gained the victory. They slept on the field of blood among their dead and wounded. With the approach of morning, propositions of peace were made by the Catawbas and accepted by the Cherokees. According to the terms of the agreement, the former were to occupy the country east of the river, and the latter the territory on the west. Here they solemnly agreed to live together as brothers; and, after burying their dead, and erecting piles of stones as monuments alike to their common loss and of the peace and friendship established between them, returned to their encampments, ever afterwards sacredly observing the terms of the compact. This tradition of the Catawbas is confirmed throughout by the fuller details which ethnological research has added to their history. They appear to have been a Canadian tribe, and to have left their ancient home about the year 1650, pursued by the Connewangas, a superior and more warlike tribe, with whom they had come in conflict. Forced thus to remove, they turned their faces to the southward, and fought their way, when necessary to do so, until they approached the headwaters of the Kentucky River. Here a separation took place, the larger number becoming absorbed in the great families of the Chickasaws and Choctaws.

The remainder of the tribe stopped in what was afterwards known as Bottetourt County, Va., but without making any permanent settlement.

Page 200

They removed thence in the year 1660, continuing their journey to the south, and, as Adair wrote,

settled on the east side of a broad, purling river, that heads in the great blue ridge of mountains, and empties itself into Santee River, in Amelia township, then running eastward of Charlestown, disgorges itself into the Atlantic.

On the banks of this river, the Eswa Tavora (as it was called in the Indian tongue), they met the Cherokees, whose extensive territory ran thence to the westward, and there followed the sanguinary conflict, of which some account has been given.

In this battle 1,000 of the bravest warriors were lost on each side, greatly reducing the force of the Catawbas, and doubtless making a permanent impression on their spirit as a warlike race, for which they had been so celebrated in the earlier periods of their history.

How the approach of the Catawbas was regarded by the Cheraws, and whether any conflict ensued between them, tradition does not inform us. The approach of a strong and formidable tribe was generally regarded by the Indians as a hostile demonstration and claim to dominion. Already, doubtless, the decline of the Cheraws had commenced and made such progress as to unfit them for contesting the claim to supremacy. It was to be the story of a continuous decline, and of a race scattered or absorbed into another superior to themselves, the beginning of the last and most mournful chapter in their history. A portion of the Cheraws, however, must have remained distinct and independent for more than a century later, as will be found in tracing their subsequent course. They were henceforth to be wanderers, the remains of their once extensive dominion, with those of the smaller tribes around them, having passed away to the Catawbas. The territory of the latter was placed in 34° north latitude, being bounded on the north and northeast by North Carolina; on the east and south by South Carolina; and about west and southwest by the Cherokee nation.[1]

1 Adair, p. 224.

The smaller tribes on the waters of the Pedee, appear after this period to have had but a nominal existence. They had doubtless degenerated through the operation of those wasting and destructive agencies at work in the history of the aboriginal races; and, in addition, had undergone the process, common among the Indians, of becoming absorbed in their conquerors or in the larger tribes around them.

In this instance they were merged chiefly in the Catawbas. About the year 1743, the language of the Catawbas is said to have consisted of 20 different dialects, of which the "Katahba" was the standard, or court dialect, the "Cherah" being another. Scarcely anything beyond a bare allusion to them by name is found relating to the tribes on the Pedee in the earliest accounts of the Indians of Carolina. With the exception of the Cheraws, they were reckoned among the smaller and inferior tribes, most of whom had then greatly degenerated and were rapidly approaching extinction. Brief allusions are found at an early period to the several tribes in the acts of the assembly, passed for the regulation and support of the Indian trade. The larger tribes on the northern and western boundaries of the Province engaged the attention of the Government almost exclusively.

Page 201

The Catawbas formed a sort of barrier against their incursions, and of them there is frequent mention.

Of the Cheraws the first distinct relation in any contemporaneous record, is found in the explorations of John Lederer, "in three several marches from Virginia to the west of Carolina and other parts of the Continent; begun in March, 1669, and ended in September, 1670."[1]

1 For a full account of this early American traveler, the reader is referred to Dr. Hawks' History of North Carolina, Vol. II, pp. 43-63, with maps annexed.

Such at least is the case if we are to understand by "Sara," as he writes it, the locality of the "Saraws," as they were sometimes called, or Cheraw Indians. Thus, in one of his journeys, Lederer says:

I departed from Watery the one-and-twentieth of June, and keeping a west course for near thirty miles, I came to Sara. Here I found the ways more level and easy. I did likewise, to my no small admiration, find hard cakes of white salt among them; but whether they were made of sea-water or taken out of saltpits I know not, but am apt to believe the latter, because the sea is so remote from them. From Sara I kept a southwest course until the five-and-twentieth of June, and then I reached Wisacky. This three days' march was more troublesome to me than all my travels besides, for the direct way which I took from Sara to Wisacky is over a continued marsh overgrown with weeds, from whose roots spring knotty stumps, as hard and sharp as flint.

I was forced to lead my horse most part of the way, and wonder that he was not either plunged in the bogs or lamed by those rugged knots. This nation is subject to a neighbor king residing upon the bank of a great lake called Ushery, environed of all sides with mountains and Wisacky marsh.[2]

2 Hawks's History of North Carolina, Vol. II, p. 49.

There is great difficulty throughout Lederer's narrative, as Dr. Hawks more than once remarks, in determining the routes by which he passed and the localities described. If by "Watery," the Wateree of the present day is to be understood, he could not by going west 30 miles to "Wisacky," and thence three days' march by a southwest course to "Ushery," have reached the Santee; for by "Ushery" the Santee was meant, if the authority quoted by Dr. Hawks is correct: Col. Byrd, he adds, says that the Indians living on the Santee River were called "Usheries." If, on the other hand, amid the confusion of names which could not have been very well defined at that early period, we may understand by "Watery" the Pedee of the present day, a journey of 30 miles to the west would have brought Lederer to Lynche's Creek, the "Wisacky," and three days' march from thence southwestwardly along the swamp of Wateree, would have enabled him to reach the Santee, environed by the "High Hills" which have since become so famous, called by this early explorer, "Mountains," and with an almost impenetrable swamp of vast extent, to which his description of a "marsh overgrown with reeds," would very well answer.

In support of this view, we find in Oldmixon's History of Carolina, published in 1708, reason for supposing that the Pedee was then called by that name (Watery). Describing the six counties into which Carolina, North and South, was then divided, he begins with Albemarle, on the borders of Virginia. Then follows an account of Clarendon County, in which, he says:

is the famous promontory, called also Cape Fear, at the mouth of Clarendon River, called also Cape Fear River. The next river is named Waterey River, or Winyan, about twenty-five leagues distant from Ashley River: it is capable of receiving large

Page 202

ships, but inferior to Port Royal, nor is yet inhabited. There is another small river called Wingon River, and a little settlement honoured with the name of Charles-town, but so thinly inhabited that 'tis not worth taking notice of. We come now to South Carolina, which is parted from North by Zantee River. The adjacent county is called Craven County.[1]

1 Oldmixon's History, in Carroll's Collections, Vol. II, p. 446.

It is evident that the "Waterey" here spoken of, was the Waccamaw, or the lower Pedee, and not the Wateree of the present day.

The Pedee being a much longer stream than the Waccamaw, it is not impossible that though the latter was known by the name of Waterey, or Winyan near its mouth, the former being supposed to form its extension higher up, was also in like manner designated. Dr. Hawks remarks:

Watery, Sara, Wisacky, and Ushery, would all appear to have been in South Carolina, the last directly west of Charles-town. If he made his journey then, entering the State somewhere in Robeson County, he must have crossed in a south-western line, and passing through Robeson County into South Carolina, must have traversed that State also in its entire width. The time occupied would not have been sufficient for it. Lederer's Itinerary presents difficulties which we confess we cannot satisfactorily solve.[2]

2 Hawks's History of North Carolina, Vol. II, p. 52.

If, as is here conjectured, Lederer passed through Robeson County into South Carolina, the supposition we have made will appear the more probable. And it brings to light the fact never before suggested or imagined, perhaps, that the Pedee in the earlier days of aboriginal history was known as "Sara." If it was so, the time and reason of the change to Pedee can be left to conjecture only.

It might have taken place after the advent of the Catawbas and been brought about by them in order that such a standing memorial of the "Sara" dominion might be forever obliterated; or, what is yet more probable, the "Sara" territory, once embracing the region higher up but afterwards confined to the coast, the Pedees, if succeeding to it, would naturally have called the river after their own name.

The earliest mention in the provincial records of any of the tribes inhabiting the Valley of the Pedee, is found in the proceedings of the Council or Upper House of Assembly, December 15th, 1732.[3]

3 Council Journal, No. 5, p. 258, secretary of state's office, Columbia.

It is in these words:

Mr. Sanders and Mr. Waties came from the Lower House with the following message. We herewith send your excellency a letter of great moment to this Government, relating to the murder of a Pedee Indian by one Kemp. We desire your excellency to take the proper measures to prevent the ill consequences of it by causing the offender to be apprehended and brought to justice, or otherwise as your excellency shall see fit.

Upon reading the message from the Lower House of Assembly, and likewise the letter therein mentioned, complaining that one Kemp, or Camp, an overseer at Black River, or Georgetown, has barbarously murdered one of the Pedee Indians,

Ordered, That James Neale, Esq., provost marshal, do immediately attach the said Kemp, or Camp, and bring him before his excellency the governor, in Charlestown, to be dealt with according to law, and that all constables and other officers and subjects of His Majesty be aiding and assisting to the said provost marshal in the execution of this order.

Page 203

This proceeding of the House was based upon the following facts:

Appeared before this board, Thomas Burton and Wm. Kemp, and upon the affidavit of Thomas Burton, and the information of Wm. Kemp concerning the fact of an Indian fellow being killed, name Corn-White Johnny, his excellency issued the following order: "On the 17th January, 1733, in council, upon hearing this day the information of William Kemp, relating to the death of Corn-White Johnny, and the affidavit of Thomas Burton, it is ordered that King Harry, Captain Billy, George and Dancing Johnny, and some of the relations of the deceased, be and appear before me the second Wednesday in February next ensuing, to give an account of what they know of the death of the said Indian, and that Wm. Kemp do attend at the same time; likewise that Mr. John Thompson, jun., is desired to acquaint the said Indians of this order.

This record is of interest now as evincing the jealous care exercised by the Provincial Government for the protection of those scattered and defenseless remnants of the Indian tribes whose domain was fast passing away from them and who continued faithful to the whites to the close of their history.

Of the result of the proceedings referred to no further account appears.

We have next a brief but interesting notice[1]

1 South Carolina Gazette, June 30--July 7, 1739. For access to this invaluable historical collection--a complete file of the old Gazettes, commencing about 1730--the author is indebted to the courtesy of A. H. Mazyck, Esq., of the Charleston Library. Only a few of the earlier numbers of the Gazette are missing. At a later period a small portion was burned.

of a visit made to Charlestown by a few of the leading men of the Cheraws and Catawbas in July, 1739.

On Saturday last,

said the Gazette of that day,

arrived in this town eleven of the chief men among the Catawbas and Cheraw Indians, who came to pay a visit to his honour the lieutenant governor and inform him that some time since a party of their people went out to war, and not meeting with their enemies had cut off a white family on the borders of Virginia; that upon complaint made to them of the said barbarous murder they examined into the facts and had put five of the ringleaders to death; and that they were determined to prosecute in the same rigorous manner any of their people who for the future should be found guilty of the like cruel practices. They met with a kind reception from his honour the lieutenant governor, and having received the usual presents from the country they set out this day on their return home, well pleased and content.

The signal punishment visited by these tribes upon the murderers of the whites indicated their fidelity to the Provincial Government, which continued to be as true as it was lasting.

Of the Pedees mention is made a few years later.

In council March 2, 1743, his excellency the governor signed the following order to Mr. Commissary Dart, viz, to provide for the Pedee Indians now in town the following particulars, viz:

Presents.--To the three head men, each of them, a gun and knife; to the others, each of them, a knife. For the three women, each of them, a looking-glass, twenty bullets, half a pound vermilion to be divided among them.

Also, an order on Col. Brewton for ten pounds of gunpowder for use of said Indians.[2]

2 Council Journal, No. 11, p. 133.

The Pedees are mentioned again with the Catawbas in the following year. "In council, 25th July, 1744, the governor admitted four Pedee Indians to an interview in the council chamber, who informed his excellency that seven Catawbas had been barbarously murdered by the Notchee Indians, who live among them," which horrible deed having been confirmed by Mr. Matthew Beard, who lives at Goose Creek, who had certain intelligence of the same, saying that the said Catawbas being drunk near Fuller Cowpen, near the four holes, seven

Page 204

of them while asleep were murdered by the Notchees; which affair being taken into consideration, his excellency, by the advice of His Majesty's council, ordered the following letter to be dispatched away relating to that subject:

SO. CA., July 28, 1744.

SIR: I have received information of an unlucky accident which happened about a week ago, at or near the store belonging to the late Major Fuller, somewhere about the Four Holes, where some Notchee Indians have fallen upon and killed five or six of the Catawbas, being instigated thereto by a person who keeps that store. The Catawbas, as I understand, have already set out to take their revenge, which has obliged the Notchees and Pedees to come further down among the settlements for shelter. I must therefore desire the favor of you to interpose in this matter, and to prevent, as far as you are able, any bloodshed, till this matter is fully enquired into. Then the guilty may be punished, and if you find it necessary, to interpose with the militia in your parts to keep the peace. This I write at the desire of His Majesty's council. I hear they are at Mr. Beard's plantation, in the neighborhood.

I am, with truth, yours,

JAMES GLEN.[1]

To Hon. WM. MIDDLETON, Esq.

1 Council Journal, No. 11, pp. 413, 414.

About two years after this, the governor, as was usual when any difficulty occurred with the Indians, or to preserve their friendship and maintain a due influence over them, made a visit into the interior, at a certain place on the Congarees, appointed by him for an interview with the Catawbas, of which the following account was preserved:[2]

2 Gazette, June 2, 1746.

The governor arrived at Congarees 27 April, 140 miles distance hence, where, on the bank of the Santee, the king and a few of the head men met him. Yenabe Yalangway, the king--the old leader, Captain Taylor, Nafkebee, and some others awaited on his excellency. The next day the governor addressed them. A place being erected for the governor to sit under, and the union flag hoisted, our men were drawn out in two lines, through which the Indians marched, when they were received with drums beating and colours flying, and saluted with some small pieces of cannon; after they had all taken the governor by the hand, and the king with some of his headmen, had placed himself near his excellency, a person was sworn truly to interpret all that should pass betwixt the governor and the Indians; and then his excellency addressed them in words, the purport of which was to dissuade them from agreeing to a proposition which had been made to them by some of the other Indian nations to join in a French war against the people of Carolina. After which, presents were distributed, consisting chiefly of powder, guns, pistols, paint, &c. The governor had that morning received an express from Mr. Brown (who trades amongst the Catawbas) acquainting him that some of the Pedees and Cheraws (two small tribes who have long been incorporated with the Catawbas), intended to leave them, which might prove of dangerous consequence at a time when they were so closely attacked by their enemies, the Northern Indians. Mr. Brown therefore entreated that, if possible, such a separation might be prevented.

The governor ordered the rammers of all the pistols which he had delivered to the Indians to be laid upon the table, desiring that such as were Pedees and Charraws might advance, and they, being in a body near him, he spoke to them in these words: "It gives me great concern, my friends, to hear that you entertain the least thought of leaving the Catawbas, with whom you have been so long and so closely united. This union makes you strong, and enables you to defend yourselves and annoy your enemies; but should you ever separate, you would thereby weaken yourselves, and be exposed to every danger. Consider that if you were single and divided, you may be broke as easily as I break this stick" (at the same time breaking one of the rammers); "but if you continue united together, and stand by one another, it will be as impossible to hurt or break you, as it is impossible for me to break these," (his excellency then taking up a handful of rammers).

After this, they all promised to continue together in their camp. The governor then directed himself to the king of the Catawbas, telling him that he would expect his answer. To which the king replied at some length, assuring the governor of their friendship and fidelity.

Page 205

The pledge of fidelity renewed on this occasion was faithfully observed by these Indians throughout all their subsequent history. Though often tempted by artful representations and large promises to take up arms against the people of Carolina, they could never be persuaded to do so. Throughout the Indian wars, and the contest with the mother country, they continued steadfast in their devotion to their early friends and allies, well meriting the aid and protection extended to them by the State in the latter stages of their decline and weakness.

That the Pedees owned slaves will appear from the following notice, published in the Gazette of the day, August 30-September 6, 1748:

Taken up by Michael Welch, overseer to the subscriber, on an island called Uchee Island, a Negro fellow, who gives the following account of himself, viz, that he belonged formerly to Mr. Fuller, and was by him sold to Billy, king of the Pedee Indians; that the Catawba Indians took him from King Billy, and carried him to their nation; and that in endeavoring to make his escape from the Catawbas, he was lost in the woods, and had been so a considerable time before he was taken. He is a middle-sized fellow, and a little pot-bellied; says his name is Fortune, but is suspected to have another name which he does not care to own. Any person having any right or property in the said fellow may apply to the subscriber, now in Charlestown.

ISAAC MARKSDALE.

The Pedees and other smaller tribes, who now led a wandering life, were in constant danger of being enticed off by the more powerful and hostile nations of Indians, to join them in their predatory excursions.

The following letters indicate the anxiety felt on the subject by the Catawbas, as well as by the Provincial Government at this period. The first[1]

1 Indian Book, Vol. III, pp. 163, 164, in secretary of state's office, Columbia, S. C.

was addressed by the king of the Catawbas to his excellency, James Glen, Esq.:

There are a great many Pedee Indians living in the settlements that we want to come and settle amongst us. We desire for you to send for them, and advise them to this, and give them this string of wampum in token that we want them to settle here, and will always live like brothers with them. The Northern Indians want them all to settle with us; for, as they are now at peace, they may be hunting in the woods or straggling about, killed by some of them, except they join us, and make but one nation, which will be a great addition of strength to us.

THE (his x mark) KING.

CATAWBAS, *21st November, 1752.*

During the previous year, viz, May 24, 1751, Gov. Glen had written to Gov. Clinton, of New York, respecting the Congress of Indians to be holden at Albany, for the purpose of uniting the different friendly tribes, and preserving their friendship as a bulwark against the more hostile. Of that letter, the following extract will suffice:

Our first care ought to be to make all Indians that are friends with the English friends also among themselves; and for that reason I hope you and the other governors and commissioners will heartily join your interest in removing all the obstacles to a peace, in reconciling all the differences, and cementing together in a closer union the northern and southern Indians, under the name of Norw*d*. Indians. I include not only the six nations, the Delewares, the Susquehanna Indians, but all the different tribes who may be in friendship with them, particularly those on the Ohio River; as under the name of Southward Indians, I comprehend the Cherokees, the Catawbas, the Creeks (called sometimes Muscogee), the Chickasaws, and such part of the Choctaws as are in our interest, and all tribes in friendship with these nations, or that live amongst our settlements, such as Charraws, Uchees, Pedees, Notches, Cape Fears, or other Indians; and I hope that all prisoners on each side will be mutually delivered back.[2]

2 Indian Book, Vol. II, p. 96.

On the 14th of October, 1755, John Evans made a visit to the Catawbas, by order of his excellency, Gov. Glen. From his journal

Page 206

the following extracts are taken, and will be found chiefly interesting here, as containing some information respecting the Pedees:

October 17th.--Met a Catawba man and woman, and informed by them, that in the summer, the Cherrackees and Notchees had killed some Pedees and Waccamaws in the white people's settlements.

18th.--I got into the Catawbas. King Hazler was gone a hunting the day before; the next morning they sent for him, and he came in that night.

Before he got into the nation, I made it my care to inquire of the Pedees if they could not tell what people killed the Pedees at Goose Creek, where the boys were that was taken prisoners: answered, "They could not tell who they were, but understood it was the Notchees and Cherokees that did the mischief."

21st.--The king and head man met, and desired to know what I was come for. I told them that there was two Pedee women killed and scalped, and two boys carried away from out of the settlements, and that it was done by some of their nation; and one Notchee, which was called the Notchee Doctor, and his excellency, the governor, had sent me to demand the boys; and I then and there demanded these boys. I further acquainted them that his excellency, the governor, desired that they would not come into the settlements without they were sent for. The white people might mistake them, and do them a mischief, believing them to be enemy Indians. I further said, that it was his excellency, the governor's pleasure, that the Catawba people should not attempt to carry away any of the Indians that are now living in the settlements up to their nation on any pretence whatever without his permission first. Their answer was, that old men should always speak truth; and the most of them were grey-headed; and they, for their parts, did not hurt the Pedees, and did not know or believe the mischief was done by any belonging to that nation; and further said, that when the Northward Indians were in their nation, they bound the same three women and two men; and the Catawbas released the three women, but the Northward Indians carried the men away.

22nd.--I set out from the Catawba nation homeward, and at night came to a camp of Pedees. I acquainted them with my errand to the nation, and desired them to let me know, if they could, who it was that killed and scalped the Pedee women, and carried the boys away. Lewis Jones, their chief, answered, that soon after the Pedees were killed, he went down from the nation to the settlements to inquire what harm was done by Goose Creek. He met a Pedee Indian, named Prince, who lived in the settlements; and Prince told him, that a day or two before the mischief was done, there was five Cherokees and one Notchee seen to go by Monck's Corner, and Lewis John said, he did believe they scalped the women, and carried the boys away.[1]

1 Indian Book, Vol. V, pp. 94, 95.

The Cheraws, following the example of the Catawbas, were true to the English, as they continued to be to the colonists throughout the Revolution and afterwards.

They cheerfully endured the hardships of distant journeys when called upon for aid. In the *South Carolina Gazette* of June 2, 1759, this account was given:

On Tuesday last, 45 Charraws, part of a nation of Indians incorporated with the Catawbas, arrived in town, headed by King Johnny, who brought to the governor the scalp of a French Indian, which he had taken near Loyal-Henning. He and several others that are with him here, were with Gen. Forbes during the whole expedition against Fort Du Quesne. There chief business seems to be, to see his excellency and receive presents.

In the latter part of this year the great scourge of the red man appeared amongst them and carried off many Indans in this part of the Province. In the Gazette of December 8-15, 1759, was this sad account of its ravages:

It is pretty certain that the smallpox has lately raged with great violence among the Catawba Indians, and that it has carried off near one-half of that nation, by throwing themselves into the river as soon as they found themselves ill. This distemper has since appeared among the inhabitants at the Charraws and Waterees, where many families are down, so that unless especial care is taken, it must soon spread through

Page 207

the whole country, the consequences of which are much to be dreaded. The smallpox went almost through the Province in the year 1738, when it made prodigious havoc, and has ever since been kept out of it by the salutary laws enacted for that purpose.

So destructive and rapidly exterminative had been this disease among the Indians from its first introduction that its appearance brought on a spirit of frenzy and desperation. Ignorant and grossly superstitious, they regarded it as a visible embodiment of the Spirit of Evil--the sentence of wrath from heaven let loose upon them, from which there was no escape. In this state of mind the disease found abundant food for keeping itself alive and completing the work of destruction. The white families at the "Charraws" and "Waterees," who appear to have suffered severely at this period, were doubtless unprepared for such a visitant, and having not the means of prevention or cure at command, yielded for a time, like their savage neighbors, to the fell destroyer. At a later period, about the time of the Revolution, some of the Catawba warriors having visited Charlestown, there contracted the disease again, and returning, communicated it to their nation, which, according to contemporaneous accounts, came well nigh being exterminated. It was after this, having been sorely thinned by disease, that they were advised by their friends to invite the Cheraws to move up and unite with them as one tribe. The Cheraws here spoken of by the writers of the day must have been a part of the tribe which had maintained its independence probably in the region lower down the Pedee or on the coast, where they led a proud but feeble existence. That some of them should have refused to submit to what must have seemed to be the yoke of a foreign invader is not surprising. But their doom was sealed. No longer able to maintain their isolated sway, or to resist the destructive agencies at work among them, a weak and declining remnant, like the Catawbas themselves, they gladly accepted the invitation to unite their future with that of their brethren who had gone before them.

And now was seen their last journey as the representatives of a nation of ancient renown.

Mournful as it was short, the march was soon ended; and henceforth these broken fragments were to constitute but one nation, under the name of Catawbas. For awhile, as at the first, the Cheraws retained their own language, though ordinarily using the Catawba.

They lived in harmony together, their early feuds forgotten, and the jealousies of other days obliterated by those common wants and saddened recollections which were henceforth to mark their declining history. Within the memory of persons now living a few of the Cheraws have visited the upper Pedee, to take a last look at the localities which their own traditions had identified as the homes of their fathers. About the year 1700 the Catawbas numbered 1,500 warriors. Only a half century later this proud band had dwindled away to 400. Their principal settlement about this latter period was on the Wateree, where their country was described as being "an old waste field, seven miles in extent, with several others of smaller dimensions; which shows," it was added, "that they were formerly a numerous people, to cultivate so much land, with their dull stone axes, before they had an opportunity of trading with the English, or allowed others to incorporate with them."[1]

1 Adair.

Page 208

In 1787 they were the only organized tribe, under a distinct name of its own, in South Carolina.

Their town, "Catawba," contained then about 450 inhabitants, of which not more than 150 were fighting men. In 1798 they are said to have been in the habit of holding an anniversary meeting of a sadly interesting character. It was intended to commemorate their former greatness by recounting the numbers and deeds of their ancestors, of which tradition had kept them informed.[1]

1 Barton's New View, p. 51.

Well might the Catawbas have been proud of their history. And well may South Carolina cherish the memory of a people who maintained their friendship and their active devotion inviolate throughout the long and trying period of conflicts waged successively with savage foes, and those of the same language and blood who came to reduce their American brethren to a state of worse than colonial vassalage!

Of the liberal provision made for the Catawbas in later times by the Legislature of South Carolina it is unnecessary to speak.

A portion of them had removed at an earlier period to Buncombe County, N. C., west of the Blue Ridge, and thither the miserable remnant, with few exceptions, followed a few years since. Reduced in numbers by disease and intermarriage, by the contracted territory to which they had been confined while yet unfitted, by the slow process through which the Indian must always pass, for agricultural pursuits; and withal, by those habits of idleness and dissipation which the custom of leasing their lands to the whites, and the consequent want of employment had subjected them; drunken and wandering from place to place, their condition became as abject as it had once been elevated among the red men of Carolina. "In this rapidly declining tribe," says an eminent authority of recent times, "we behold the remnant of the defeated, long-lost, and celebrated tribe of the Eries." It is hoped that their history, in the materials of which the public records of the State abound, will one day, as it deserves, be fully written.

Of the languages of the Indian tribes once inhabiting the valley of the Pedee scarce a vestige is left, except the names of the rivers and a few localities. The same remark may be made of all the tribes which were found at the first approaches of the white man on the coast of Carolina, from Cape Hatteras to the Savannah.[2]

2 Transactions of American Ethnological Society, Vol. II, p. 115

Of the meaning of "Cheraw," reasoning from the affinities of the Indian tongues, a probable conjecture may be hazarded. In Cherah, or Chera, as it seems at certain periods of Indian history to have been called, is found a close affinity with Chera-kee. In the language of the Chera-kees, Cherah, or Chera, means fire. If, then, as seems highly probable, Cherah is identical with Serah, or Saraw, or Sara--as Lederer called it--now Cheraw, it may be conjectured to have meant the fire town. The site of the present town of Cheraw, which has retained the name, with slight changes, from an early period, may have been the scene of an extensive conflagration when occupied by the Indians; or, being situated on a high bluff, and visible as a point of observation and alarm for miles across, it may have been a signal station, as such prominent localities often were, to gain the knowledge of an enemy's approach, or other danger, and hence may have been called Cherah; in Cherokee, the fire town: or, as may seem

Page 209

yet more probable, in another view; if, about the period of their first distinct existence as a tribe, being possibly an offshoot from the Cherakees, at the era of some internal struggle and partial dismemberment of that once powerful and widely extended nation, the Cherahs, or Cheraws, were noted as fire eaters, as some of the Indian tribes have been, the original of the name may be found in this circumstances--Cheraw meaning fire eaters. After all, however, it is one of those points, the original of language in the aboriginal races, which, without the light of contemporaneous history, must ever remain involved in more or less of darkness and uncertainty.

Of the meaning of "Pedee" nothing is known. It has even been made a question whether the name is of Indian origin; and the opinion has been advanced that it is not, on the ground that it appears to have been unknown prior to the English colonial settlements. Hence it is conjectured that it was of subsequent origin, having had its beginning, perhaps, in the initials of a white man's name, as of Patrick Daly, for example--P. D.--first carved upon a tree, then Indianized, and so changed into Pedee, as we now have it. This theory, however, is wholly untenable.

That the name is not mentioned by the earliest writers is readily accounted for by the fact that the Pedees, if ever a people of any note, had then become an insignificant tribe; whereas only the more powerful nations of Indians engaged attention at first, or were so much as known by name. The earliest mention of Pedee is found in the account of the Eleven Townships, one of which was to be laid out on that river. This was about the year 1731-32.[1]

1 Carroll's Historical Collections, Vol. II, p. 124.

But then it was spoken of as having already been in familiar use. It was spelt, too, not as if it had come from two capital letters, the initials of a proper name.

Both the analogy and euphony of the Indian tongue indicate, beyond all doubt, that Pedee had the same original as Santee, Congaree, Wateree, Uchee, and Sewee, all of unquestionable Indian birth, and the names of neighboring and cognate tribes. That the name Pedee does not appear in the earliest published accounts of Carolina may be attributed to the fact that for a considerable time after the first settlement of the province, scarcely anything was known of that part of the State, because out of the line of the main route of travel, far in the interior, and at a later period only coming into notice.

Of the Indian remains on the Pedee which are still to be seen, though but little trace is left, there is nothing distinguishable from those in other parts of the State, of which full accounts have been given. In some instances these remains are so numerous as to indicate the existence of once populous settlements. These settlements, as usually the case with the aborigines, were made upon the banks of rivers and other large streams, on account of the fertility of the soil, for fishing purposes, and other facilities thereby afforded.

In most instances on the Pedee where these remains are yet to be seen are found large collections of fragments of potware of varied shapes, sizes, and devices. It is difficult even to conjecture why such quantities of these were deposited at points not far removed from each other. They could scarcely have been the result of large

Page 210

accumulations in those places where the potware was made, for they are generally found to be well-finished specimens of their kind, and evidently parts of vessels which were once in use. Nor does it appear to be a well-founded opinion, sometimes advanced, that upon the sudden breaking up of the Indian settlements, for whatever cause, these vessels of ornament or use were heaped together in one confused mass, and with such other chattels as could not be removed abandoned forever. Their appearance indicates that they were broken by violence; and what is more remarkable, of all the specimens taken up at random in any single locality, scarcely any two are found to be exactly alike in outward device and finish.

The ornamental lines and figures on the exterior are in many cases well executed, and for the untutored savage exhibit a high degree of art. The questions, how they were broken, why collected in such strangely mingled masses, and why other remains, as the pipe, the arrowhead, the stone ax, etc., are not generally found among them, will remain unanswered; and like so much else we would fain know respecting these early occupants of the soil, continue perhaps among the secret things of their history.

A large vase or jar,[1]

1 This vessel was presented to the Cheraw Lyceum by Col. J. D. Wilson, of Darlington.

of 3 gallons' capacity, was washed up a few years since by the waters of a freshet on the east bank of the Pedee, in Marlborough district, near Spark's Ferry. It is in a state of almost entire preservation, but not so highly finished as are many of the broken specimens which have been recovered. Like those to which Lawson alludes in his account of the Congerees, this jar has a hole in the bottom, not smoothly cut, but roughly and irregularly made, as if punched through by some blunt instrument after the vessel was finished. Lawson supposes that they were sometimes used for burial purposes and that the holes were made in the bottom to let off the morbid juices of the body going to decay. Some of the specimens of potware found are highly finished, and upon the whole appear to warrant the conclusion arrived at by the first and most thoughtful travelers among our Indian tribes, and since clearly demonstrated by the results of later explorations, that those whom the Europeans found on their first discovery and settlement of the country were not the ancient dwellers in this part of the New World.

The earthen pots,

says Lawson--

are often found under ground and at the foot of the banks, where the water has washed them away. They are for the most part broken in pieces; but we find them of a different sort, in comparison of those the Indians use at this day, who have had no others ever since the English discovered America. The bowels of the earth can not have altered them, since they are thicker, of another shape and composition, and nearly approach to the urns of the ancient Romans.[2]

2 Lawson, pp. 169, 170.

We are told that they made earthen pots of very different sizes, so as to contain from 2 to 10 gallons; large pitchers to carry water, bowls, dishes, platters, basins, and a prodigious number of other vessels of such antiquated forms that it would be almost impossible to describe them.

Some of the specimens, in a fragmentary form, and others in a state of preservation, which were found on the Pedee, are of different shapes and curiously finished. Of these one is very small, not holding

Page 211

more than a gill, and seems to have been used for paint or some other valuable liquid.

Another,[1]

1 This was also presented to the Cheraw Lyceum by Col. Wilson.

of which the lower portion only is left, has the exact shape, the outward finish, and as much the appearance of a pineapple as if it had been carefully fashioned after that as a model. The process of glazing was simple, and consisted in placing the vessels over a large fire of smoky pitch pine, which made them smooth and shining. "Their lands abounded in proper clay for that use, and even with porcelain, as has been proved by experiment." When first discovered on the coast, the Indians were found to cultivate a variety of grains and vegetables. The process of clearing their lands has been minutely described. Their stone axes, of which specimens have been found on the Pedee, resembled a wedge or smith's chisel and weighed from 1 to 2 or 3 pounds. They twisted two or three tough hickory slips about 2 feet long around the notched head of the ax and by means of this simple contrivance deadened the trees by cutting through the bark, after which they fell by decay or, having become thoroughly dry, were easily burned.

With these trees they kept up their annual holy fire. In the first clearing of their plantations they only barked the larger timber, cut down the saplings and underwood, and burned them in heaps. As the suckers put up, they chopped them off close by the stump, and so made fires to deaden the roots till in time they also decayed. The burning of the grass and underwood in the forests is said to have been an ancient custom of the Indians. This may account for the fact, which has been mentioned in connection with the first settlements by the whites in the interior, that in many places the woods were found open to such an extent that even small objects could be seen to a great distance. These burnings were practiced by the Indians, as we are told,

in order to allure the deer upon the new grass, as also to discover the impressions of their enemies' tracks in the new burnt ground, distinguishable to their women and children, in case the raven should be sick or out of the way (thus they call the lookout, whose business it is to recognize the avenues of their towns), who, as well as any other Indian (as they all apply themselves to hunting), are by practice so keen and precise that they can distinguish and follow a track, be it of a white man, negro, Indian, or be it of a bear, deer, or wolf, horse or cow, even on hard bottom, not admitting of impression so as on soft ground, although covered all over with leaves so that the ground itself is not visible, and even bare of any grass or bushes, which by their irregular bend may indicate a creature--human or animal--having trod upon or brushed by it.[2]

2 De Brahm's Philosophico-Historico-Hydrogeography of South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida, 1751. Edited and republished by Plowden C. J. Weston, 1856, p. 189.

Having cleared their lands in the primitive manner before described, the Indians used, in planting and tilling, their own made instruments. Afterwards a common hoe was the only implement employed in the cultivation of the soil. They prepared their corn for use by beating it till the husks came off, then boiling it in large earthen pots. For pounding the corn, mortars were made by cautiously burning a large log to a proper level and length, then placing a fire on the top and wet clay around it, in order to give the interior a proper shape. When the fire was extinguished, or occasion required, they chopped the inside with their stone instruments, patiently continuing the process until they finished the vessel for the intended purpose.

Page 212

In certain localities on the Pedee, which appear to have been the centers[1]

1 The plantation of the late James McCall, Esq., in Darlington district, on the Pedee, is an instance of this, where many remains of the kind were once visible, though now for the most part leveled by the plow.

of their once extensive settlements, many tumuli were once to be seen.

They were similar to some of those described by Bartram[2]

2 Bartram's Travels in the Carolinas, Georgia, East and West Florida, 1773-74.

in East Florida, near the river St. Juan, "where," he observes--

I found the surface of the ground very uneven by means of little mounts and ridges. I had taken up my lodging on the border of an ancient burying-ground; sepulchers or tumuli of the Yamassees, who were here slain by the Creeks in their last decisive battle. These graves occupied the whole grove, consisting of two or three acres of ground.

During a visit of the author in 1859 to the upper part of Marlborough district, near the North Carolina line, a mound was pointed out to him which is related by tradition to have been the scene of an Indian battle. On a subsequent occasion it was visited for the purpose of exploration. It appears to have been raised originally but a few feet above the surface of the adjoining level, and had been almost entirely washed down. Its dimensions were about ten by fifteen feet. Many years before, a partial excavation had been made, and in digging down on this occasion for a short distance small pieces of bone were found mixed with the earth throughout, so that no opinion could be formed as to the depth of the first layer of bodies. Four feet below the surface a point was reached where the soil had not been disturbed, and a little below this were found from four to six skeletons, lying regularly, in a horizontal position, with the feet to the east, having evidently been placed in two layers. The larger bones were in a comparative state of preservation, and one of the jawbones with the teeth entire, apparently of a person about middle age. With the bones were found a stone hatchet, a beautiful arrowhead, and a pipe, and strange to relate, the smell of tobacco about the pipe was perceptible for several hours after the exhumation. The tradition relating to the battle and the burial was well founded, and carried them nearly a century back.

As to tobacco, the Indians affirmed, as some of the earliest travelers among them inform us, that the use of it was known to them before the Europeans discovered the continent. The skill of the Indians in medicine, in certain diseases, was remarkable, the process of cure being simple and expeditious. The knowledge of some of the most valuable plants now in use was derived from them.[3]

3 Lawson, p. 172.

Some of the customs of the Indians of Carolina indicated a degree of kindness and social affection, as well as an appreciation of duty, of which they are not generally supposed to have been possessed. When, for example, one of their own nation had suffered any loss by fire, or otherwise, he was ordered to make a feast, to which all the tribe was invited. After they had partaken of the feast, one of their speakers, generally a grave old man, delivered a harangue, informing them of the particulars of the loss sustained, and of their duty under such circumstances. After which, every man, according to his quality, threw down some present upon the ground, of beads, skins, furs, or other valuables, which often amounted to treble the loss incurred.

So, if one wished to build a canoe, or make a cabin, they rendered his assistance, saying, "There were several works which one man

Page 213

could not effect, and that therefore they must help him; otherwise their society would fall, and they would be deprived of those urgent necessities which life requires." If a woman lost her husband, and had a large family of children to maintain, she was always assisted. The young men of the tribe were made to plant, reap, and do anything she was not capable of doing herself. At the same time they would not suffer anyone to be idle, but compelled all to employ themselves in some work or other.[1]

1 Lawson, pp. 178-179.

As to religion, they believed generally that the world was round, and that there were two spirits, the one good and the other bad. The good spirit they reckoned to be the author and maker of everything. It was He, they said, who gave them the fruits of the earth, and taught them to hunt, fish, and be wise enough to overpower the beasts of the wilderness and all other creatures, that they might be assistant and beneficial to man. They did not believe that the Good Spirit punished any man in this life, or that to come, but that he delighted in doing good, and in making his creatures wise and happy. The bad spirit (who lived, as they thought, separate from the Good Spirit) they made the author of sickness, disappointment, loss, hunger, travail, and all the misfortunes that human life is incident to. Some of our aborigines were found to have traditions of the great Deluge, and of this event they gave a curious description. Of some of their practices, and one in particular, Lawson gives a singular account. He says--

Several customs are found in some families, which others keep not; as, for example, the families of the Mach-a-pangas use the Jewish custom of circumcision, and the rest do not; neither did I ever know any other amongst the Indians that practiced any such thing; and perhaps if you ask them what is the reason they do so, they will make you no manner of answer; which is as much as to say, I will not tell you.[2]

2 Lawson, pp. 210, 211.

They seem to have been unwilling, for the most part, to give any account of their customs, particularly those of a religious character.

And so, the same writer remarks, that he knew them, for days together, to be amongst their idols and dead kings, though he could never get admittance to their sacred places to see what they were doing. The fact of their practicing idolatry at all has been positively denied by other travelers, who profess to have informed themselves of all that relates to their habits and customs. It is likely that the different tribes, remote from each other, and possibly of different origin, differed much in their customs and traditional observances, and hence the conflicting accounts which have been given. Of one custom, remarkable as it is suggestive, which Lawson affirms to have prevailed among the Indians of Carolina, and of which no other writer is believed to give any account, it may gratify the curiosity of the reader to be informed. It is very certain that it must have nipped the risings of aboriginal Young Americanism in the bud, leaving to a far superior race to exhibit, in the management of their youth, much more indecision and weakness.

There is one most abominable custom--

Says Lawson--

which they call husquenauing their young men, which I have not made any mention of yet.

Most commonly once a year, or at farthest once in two years, these people take up so many of their young men as they think are able to undergo it and husquenaugh them, which is to make them obedient and respective to their superiors, and (as they

Page 214

say) is the same to them as it is to us to send our children to school to be taught good breeding and letters. This house of correction is a strong, large cabin, made on purpose for the reception of the young men and boys that have not passed this graduation already, and it is always at Christmas that they husquenaugh their youth, which is by bringing them into this house and keeping them dark all the time, where they more than half starve them. Besides, they give them pellitory bark and several intoxicating plants that make them go driving mad as ever were any people in the world. You may hear them make the most dismal cries and howlings that ever human creatures expressed, all which continues about five or six weeks; and the little meat they eat is the nastiest, loathsome stuff, and mixed with all manner of filth its possible to get. After the time is expired, they are brought out of the cabin, which never is in the town, but always a distance off, and guarded by a jailer or two, who watch by turns. And when they first come out they are poor as ever any creatures were; for you must know several die under this diabolical purgation. Moreover, they really either are or pretend to be drunk, and do not speak for several days; I think, 20 or 30, and look so ghastly and are so changed that its next to an impossibility to know them again, although you was never so well acquainted with them before. I would fain have gone into the madhouse and seen them in their time of purgatory, but the king would not suffer it, because he told me that they would do me or any other white man an injury that ventured in amongst them; so I desisted. They play this prank with girls as well as boys, and I believe it is a miserable life they endure, because I have known several of them run away at that time to avoid it. Now, the savages say, if it was not for this, they could not keep their youth in subjection: besides, that it hardens them after to the fatigues of war, hunting, and all manner of hardship which their way of living exposes them to. Besides, they add, that it carries off those infirm, weak bodies that would have been only a burden and disgrace to their nation, and saves the victuals and clothing for better people that would have been expended on such useless creatures.[1]

1 Lawson, pp. 233-234.

Lawson is the only one of the early Indian travelers in South Carolina, except Lederer, who passed through those parts of the State inhabited by the ancient dwellers on the Pedee. A large part of his book, however, is taken up with the natural history of North Carolina. He commenced a journey from Charleston, December 28, 1700, passed up the Santee and Wateree Rivers, and thence probably across to the Yadkin, and through North Carolina into Virginia. Among the Catawbas he must have met with the Cheraws and Pedees, if not in the parts higher up on our own river, though he does not mention them by name. In speaking, therefore, of the Carolina Indians generally, his remarks will apply to these, as well as others more particularly mentioned.

A few years after he was put to death in a most barbarous manner by the Indians in eastern North Carolina, to which State he had rendered most important service as surveyor general, as well as by his interesting account of the natural history of that region.

The author at one time cherished the hope of procuring some valuable traditional matter as to the Cheraws through William H. Thomas, Esq., of North Carolina, of whom mention has already been made. It was thought not unlikely that during his long and familiar intercourse with the Catawbas, Mr. Thomas might have gathered from their traditions something of the history of the Cheraws before the union of the tribes; but the hope was disappointed. The tradition of the Catawbas, already related, seem to be all they have preserved. Every other source of information now accessible has been exhausted. And with the account here given, meager and unsatisfactory as it is, we must be content, leaving these early occupants of the soil, proud and valiant and numerous as they once were, in that darkness and oblivion to which the red man, as he has receded westward before the advancing tide of civilization, has ever been consigned.

Page 215

EXHIBIT J.

HISTORY OF THE CATAWBAS.

[From Hand Book of American Indians.]

CATAWBA (probably from Choctaw *katápa*, 'divided,' 'separated,' 'a division.'--Gatschet). The most important of the eastern Siouan tribes. It is said that Lynche Creek, S. C., east of the Catawba territory, was anciently known as Kadapau; and from the fact that Lawson applies this name to a small band met by him southeast of the main body, which he calls Esaw, it is possible that it was originally given to this people by some tribe living in east South Carolina, from whom the first colonists obtained it. The Cherokee, having no *b* in their language, changed the name to Atakwa, plural Anitakwa. The Shawnee and other tribes of the Ohio valley made the word Cuttawa. From the earliest period the Catawba have also been known as Esaw, or Issa (Catawba *iswä'*, 'river'), from their residence on the principal stream of the region, Iswa being their only name for the Catawba and Watereers. They were frequently included by the Iroquois under the general term Totiri, or Toderichroone, another form of which is Tutelo, applied to all the southern Siouan tribes collectively. They were classed by Gallatin (1836) as a distinct stock, and were so regarded until Gatschet visited them in 1881 and obtained a large vocabulary showing numerous Siouan correspondences. Further investigations by Hale, Gatschet, Mooney, and Dorsey proved that several other tribes of the same region were also of Siouan stock, while the linguistic forms and traditional evidence all point to this eastern region as the original home of the Siouan tribes. The alleged tradition which brings the Catawba from the north, as refugees from the French and their Indian allies about the year 1660, does not agree in any of its main points with the known facts of history, and, if genuine at all, refers rather to some local incident than to a tribal movement. It is well known that the Catawba were in a chronic state of warfare with the northern tribes, whose raiding parties they sometimes followed, even across the Ohio.

The first notice of the Catawba seems to be that of Vandera in 1579, who calls them Issa in his narrative of Pardo's expedition. Nearly a century later, in 1670, they are mentioned as Ushery by Lederer, who claims to have visited them, but this is doubtful.

Lawson, who passed through their territory in 1701, speaks of them as a "powerful nation" and states that their villages were very thick. He calls the two divisions, which were living a short distance apart, by different names, one the Kadapau and the other the Esaw, unaware of the fact that the two were synonyms. From all accounts they were formerly the most populous and most important tribe in the Carolinas, excepting the Cherokee. Virginia traders were already among them at the time of Lawson's visit. Adair, 75 years later, says that one of the ancient cleared fields of the tribes extended 7

Page 216

miles, besides which they had several smaller village sites. In 1728 they still had 6 villages, all on Catawba River, within a stretch of 20 miles, the most northern being named Nauvasa. Their principal village was formerly on the west side of the river, in what is now York County, S. C., opposite the mouth of Sugar Creek. The known history of the tribe till about 1760 is chiefly a record of petty warfare between themselves and the Iroquois and other northern tribes, throughout which the colonial government tried to induce the Indians to stop killing one another and go to killing the French. With the single exception of their alliance with the hostile Yamasi, in 1715, they were uniformly friendly toward the English, and afterwards kept peace with the United States, but were constantly at war with the Iroquois, Shawnee, Delawares, and other tribes of the Ohio Valley, as well as with the Cherokee. The Iroquois and the Lake tribes made long journeys into South Carolina, and the Catawba retaliated by sending small scalping parties into Ohio and Pennsylvania. Their losses from ceaseless attacks of their enemies reduced their numbers steadily, while disease and debauchery introduced by the whites, especially several epidemics of smallpox, accelerated their destruction, so that before the close of the 18th century the great nation was reduced to a pitiful remnant. They sent a large force to help the colonists in the Tuscarora war of 1711-1713, and also aided in expeditions against the French and their Indian allies at Fort Du Quesne and elsewhere during the French and Indian war. Later it was proposed to use them and the Cherokee against the Lake tribes under Pontiac in 1763. They assisted the Americans also during the Revolution in the defense of South Carolina against the British, as well as in Williamson's expedition against the Cherokee. In 1738 smallpox raged in South Carolina and worked great destruction, not only among the whites, but also among the Catawba and smaller tribes. In 1759 it appeared again, and this time destroyed nearly half the tribe. At a conference at Albany, attended by delegates from the Six Nations and the Catawba, under the auspices of the colonial governments, a treaty of peace was made between these two tribes. This peace was probably final as regards the Iroquois, but the western tribes continued their warfare against the Catawba, who were now so reduced that they could make little effectual resistance. In 1762 a small party of Shawnee killed the noted chief of the tribe, King Haiglar, near his own village. From this time the Catawba ceased to be of importance except in conjunction with the whites. In 1763 they had confirmed to them a reservation, assigned a few years before, of 15 miles square, on both sides of Catawba River, within the present York and Lancaster Counties, S. C. On the approach of the British troops in 1780 the Catawba withdrew temporarily into Virginia, but returned after the battle of Guilford Court House, and established themselves in 2 villages on the reservations known respectively as Newton, the principal village, and Turkey Head, on opposite sides of Catawba River. In 1826 nearly the whole of their reservation was leased to whites for a few thousand dollars, on which the few survivors chiefly depended. About 1841 they sold to the State all but a single square mile, on which they now reside. About the same time a number of the Catawba, dissatisfied with their condition among the whites, removed to the eastern Cherokee in western North Carolina, but finding their position among

Page 217

their old enemies equally unpleasant, all but one or two soon went back again. An old woman, the last survivor of this emigration, died among the Cherokee in 1889. A few other Cherokee are now intermarried with that tribe. At a later period some Catawba removed to the Choctaw Nation in Indian Territory and settled near Scullyville, but are said to be now extinct. About 1884 several became converts of Mormon missionaries in South Carolina and went with them to Salt Lake City, Utah.

The Catawba were sedentary agriculturists, and seem to have differed but little in general customs from their neighbors. Their men were respected, brave, and honest, but lacking in energy. They were good hunters, while their women were noted makers of pottery and baskets, arts which they still preserve. They seem to have practiced the custom of head flattening to a limited extent, as did several of the neighboring tribes. By reason of their dominant position they gradually absorbed the broken tribes of South Carolina, to the number, according to Adair, of perhaps 20.

In the early settlement of South Carolina, about 1682, they were estimated at 1,500 warriors, or about 4,600 souls; in 1728 at 400 warriors, or about 1,400 persons. In 1738 they suffered from smallpox; and in 1743, after incorporating several small tribes, numbered less than 400 warriors. In 1759 they again suffered from smallpox, and in 1761 had some 300 warriors, or about 1,000 people. The number was reduced in 1775 to 400 souls; in 1780 it was 490; and in 1784 only 250 were reported. The number given in 1822 is 450, and Mills gives the population in 1826 as only 110. In 1881 Gatschet found 85 on the reservation, which, including 35 employed on neighboring farms, made a total of 120. The present number is given as 60, but as this apparently refers only to those attached to the reservation, the total may be about 100.

See Lawson, History of Carolina, 1714 and 1860; Gatschet, Creek Migration Legend, I-II, 1884-88; Mooney (1) Siouan Tribes of the East, Bull. 22, B. A. E., 1894, (2) in 19th Rep. B. A. E., 1900; H. Lewis Scaife, History and Condition of the Catawba Indians, 1896. (J. M.)

Page 218

EXHIBIT K.

HISTORY OF THE CHERAWS.

[From Handbook of American Indians.]

CHERAW.--An important tribe, very probably of Siouan stock, formerly ranging in central Carolina, east of the Blue Ridge, from about the present Danville, Va., southward to the neighborhood of Cheraw, S. C., which takes its name from them. In numbers they may have stood next to the Tuscarora among the North Carolina tribes, but are less prominent in history by reason of their almost complete destruction before the white settlements had reached their territory. They are mentioned first in the De Soto narrative for 1540, under the name Xuala, a corruption of Suali, the name by which they are traditionally known to the Cherokee, who remember them as having anciently lived beyond the Blue Ridge from Asheville. In the earlier Carolina and Virginia records they are commonly known as Saraw, and at a later period as Cheraw. We first hear of "Xuala province" in 1540, apparently in the mountain country southward from Asheville. In 1672, Lederer, from Indian information, located them in the same general region, or possibly somewhat farther northeast, "where the mountains bend to the west," and says that this portion of the main ridge was called "Sualy Mountain" from the tribe. This agrees with Cherokee tradition. Some years later, but previous to 1700, they settled on Dan River near the south line of Virginia, where the marks of their fields were found extending for several miles along the river by Byrd, in 1728, when running the dividing line between the two colonies. There seem to have been two villages, as on a map of 1760 we find this place designated as "Lower Saura Town," while about 30 miles above, on the south side of the Dan and between it and Town Fork, is another place marked "Upper Saura Town." They are also alluded to by J. F. D. Smyth (Tour in United States, 1784), who says the upper town was insignificant. About the year 1710, being harassed by the Iroquois, they abandoned their home on the Dan and moving southeast joined the Keyauwee. The colonists of North Carolina being dissatisfied at the proximity of these and other tribes, Gov. Eden declared war against the Cheraw, and applied to Virginia for assistance. This Gov. Spotswood refused, as he believed the people of Carolina were the aggressors; nevertheless the war was carried on against them and their allies by the Carolinas until the defeat and expulsion of the Yamasi in 1716. During this period complaint was made against the Cheraw, who were declared to be responsible for most of the mischief done north of

period complaint was made against the Cheraw, who were declared to be responsible for most of the mischief done north of Santee River, and of endeavoring to draw into their alliance the smaller coast tribes. It was asserted by the Carolinians that arms were supplied them from Virginia. At the close of the Yamasi war the Cheraw were dwelling on the upper Pedee near the line between the Carolinas, where their name is perpetuated in the town of Cheraw, S. C. Their number in 1715, according to Rivers, was 510, but this estimate probably included the

Page 219

Keyauwee. Being still subject to attack by the Iroquois, they finally--between 1726 and 1739--became incorporated with the Catawba, with whom at an earlier date they had been at enmity. They are mentioned as with the Catawba but speaking their own distinct dialect as late as 1743 (Adair). In 1759 a party of 45 "Charraws," some of whom were under their chief, "King Johnny," joined the English in the expedition against Fort Du Quesne. The last notice of them is in 1768, when their remnant, reduced by war and disease to 50 or 60, were still living with the Catawba. (J. M.)

Page 220

EXHIBIT KK.

HISTORY OF THE CHEROKEES.

[From Handbook of American Indians.]

CHEROKEE.--A powerful detached tribe of the Iroquoian family, formerly holding the whole mountain region of the southern Alleghenies, in southwestern Virginia, western North Carolina and South Carolina, northern Georgia, eastern Tennessee, and northeastern Alabama, and claiming even to the Ohio River. The tribal name is a corruption of Tsálăgĭ or Tsárăgĭ, the name by which they commonly called themselves, and which may be derived from the Choctaw *chiluk-ki,* "cave people," in allusion to the numerous caves in their mountain country. They sometimes also call themselves *Ani'-Yûñ'wiyâ',* "real people," or *Ani'-Kĭtu'hwagĭ,* "people of Kituhwa," one of their most important ancient settlements. Their northern kinsmen, the Iroquois, called them *Oyata'gecronoñ',* "inhabitants of the cave country" (Hewitt), and the Delawares and connected tribes called them *Kittuwa,* from the settlement already noted. They seem to be identical with the Rickohockans, who invaded central Virginia in 1658, and with the ancient Talligewi, of Delaware tradition, who were represented to have been driven southward from the upper Ohio River region by the combined forces of the Iroquois and Delawares.

The language has three principal dialects: (1) *Elatĭ,* or Lower, spoken on the heads of Savannah River in South Carolina and Georgia; (2) Middle, spoken chiefly on the waters of Tuckasegee River in western North Carolina, and now the prevailing dialect on the East Cherokee reservation; (3) *Âtăli,* Mountain or Upper, spoken throughout most of upper Georgia, eastern Tennessee, and extreme western North Carolina. The lower dialect was the only one which had the *r* sound, and is now extinct. The upper dialect is that which has been exclusively used in the native literature of the tribe.

Traditional, linguistic, and archæologic evidence shows that the Cherokee originated in the North, but they were found in possession of the southern Allegheny region when first encountered by De Soto in 1540. Their relations with the Carolina colonies began 150 years later. In 1736 the Jesuit (?) Priber started the first mission among them, and attempted to organize their government on a civilized basis. In 1759, under the leadership of Â'ganstâ'ta (Oconostota), they began war with the English of Carolina. In the Revolution they took sides against the Americans, and continued the struggle almost without interval until 1794. During this period parties of the Cherokee pushed down Tennessee River and formed new settlements at Chickamauga and other points about the Tennessee-Alabama line. Shortly after 1800 missionary and educational work was established among them, and in 1820 they adopted a regular form of government modeled on that of the United States. In the meantime large numbers of the more conservative Cherokee, wearied by the encroachments of the whites, had crossed the Mississippi and made

Page 221

new homes in the wilderness in what is now Arkansas. A year or two later Sequoya (q. v.), a mixed blood, invented the alphabet, which at once raised them to the rank of a literary people.

At the height of their prosperity gold was discovered near the present Dahlonega, Ga., within the limits of the Cherokee Nation, and at once a powerful agitation was begun for the removal of the Indians. After years of hopeless struggle under the leadership of their great chief, John Ross, they were compelled to submit to the inevitable, and by the treaty of New Echota, December 29, 1835, the Cherokee sold their entire remaining territory and agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi to a country there to be set apart for them--the present (1905) Cherokee Nation in Indian Territory. The removal was accomplished in the winter of 1838-39, after considerable hardship and the loss of nearly one-fourth of their number, the unwilling Indians being driven out by military force and making the long journey on foot. On reaching their destination they reorganized their national government, with their capital at Tahlequah, admitting to equal privileges the earlier emigrants, known as "old settlers." A part of the Arkansas Cherokee had previously gone down into Texas, where they had obtained a grant of land in the eastern part of the State from the Mexican Government. The later Texan revolutionists refused to recognize their rights, and in spite of the efforts of Gen. Sam Houston, who defended the Indian claim, a conflict was precipitated, resulting, in 1839, in the killing of the Cherokee chief, Bowl (q. v.), with a large number of his men, by the Texan troops and the expulsion of the Cherokee from Texas.

When the main body of the tribe was removed to the West several hundred fugitives escaped to the mountains, where they lived as refugees for a time, until, in 1842, through the efforts of William H. Thomas, an influential trader, they received permission to remain on lands set apart for their use in western North Carolina. They constitute the present Eastern Band of Cherokee, residing chiefly on the Qualla Reservation, in Swain and Jackson Counties, with several outlying settlements.

The Cherokee in the Cherokee Nation were for years divided into two hostile factions, those who had favored and those who had opposed the treaty of removal. Hardly had these differences been adjusted when the Civil War burst upon them. Being slave owners and surrounded by southern influences, a large part of each of the Five Civilized Tribes of the Territory enlisted in the service of the Confederacy, while others adhered to the National Government. The territory of the Cherokee was overrun in turn by both armies, and the close of the war found them prostrated. By treaty in 1866 they were readmitted to the protection of the United States, but obliged to liberate their negro slaves and admit them to equal citizenship. In 1867 and 1870 the Delawares and Shawnee, respectively, numbering together about 1,750, were admitted from Kansas and incorporated with the nation. In 1889 the Cherokee commission (see Commission) was created for the purpose of abolishing the tribal governments and opening the Territories to white settlement, with the result that after 15 years of negotiation an agreement was made by which the government of the Cherokee Nation came to a final end March 3, 1906; the Indian lands were divided, and the Cherokee Indians, native and adopted, became citizens of the United States.

Page 222

The Cherokee have seven clans, viz: Ani'-wa'''ya (Wolf), Ani'-Kawĭ' (Deer), Ani'-Tsi'skwa (Bird), Ani'-wâ'dĭ (Paint), Ani'-Sahâ'ni, Ani'-Ga'tâgéwĭ, Ani'-Gilâ'hĭ. The names of the last three can not be translated with certainty. There is evidence that there were anciently 14, which by extinction or absorption have been reduced to their present number. The Wolf clan is the largest and most important. The "seven clans" are frequently mentioned in the ritual prayers and even in the printed laws of the tribe. They seem to have had a connection with the "seven mother towns" of the Cherokee, described by Cuming in 1730 as having each a chief, whose office was hereditary in the female line.

The Cherokee are probably about as numerous now as at any period in their history. With the exception of an estimate in 1730, which placed them at about 20,000, most of those up to a recent period gave them 12,000 or 14,000, and in 1758 they were computed at only 7,500. The majority of the earlier estimates are probably too low, as the Cherokee occupied so extensive a territory that only a part of them came in contact with the whites. In 1708 Gov. Johnson estimated them at 60 villages and "at least 500 men" (Rivers, S. C., 238, 1856). In 1715 they were officially reported to number 11,210 (Upper, 2,760; Middle, 6,350; Lower, 2,100), including 4,000 warriors, and living in 60 villages (Upper, 19; Middle, 30; Lower, 11). In 1720 they were estimated to have been reduced to about 10,000, and again in the same year reported at about 11,500, including about 3,800 warriors (Gov. Johnson's Rep. in Rivers, op. cit., 93, 94, 103, 1874). In 1729 they were estimated at 20,000, with at least 6,000 warriors and 64 towns and villages (Stevens, Hist. Ga., I, 48, 1847). They are said to have lost 1,000 warriors in 1739 from smallpox and rum, and they suffered a steady decrease during their wars with the whites, extending from 1760 until after the close of the Revolution. Those in their original homes had again increased to 16,542 at the time of their forced removal to the West in 1838, but lost nearly one-fourth on the journey, 311 perishing in a steamboat accident on the Mississippi. Those already in the West before the removal were estimated at about 6,000. The Civil War in 1861-1865 again checked their progress, but they recovered from its effects in a remarkably short time, and in 1885 numbered about 19,000, of whom about 17,000 were in Indian Territory, together with about 6,000 adopted whites, negroes, Delawares, and Shawnee, while the remaining 2,000 were still in their ancient homes in the East. Of this eastern band, 1,376 were on Qualla Reservation, in Swain and Jackson Counties, N. C.; about 300 are on Cheowah River, in Graham County, N. C., while the remainder, all of mixed blood, are scattered over eastern Tennessee, northern Georgia, and Alabama. The eastern band lost about 300 by smallpox at the close of the Civil War. In 1902 there were officially reported 28,016 persons of Cherokee blood, including all degrees of admixture, in the Cherokee Nation in the Territory, but this includes several thousand individuals formerly repudiated by the tribal courts. There were also living in the nation about 3,000 adopted negro freedmen, more than 2,000 adopted whites, and about 1,700 adopted Delaware, Shawnee, and other Indians. The tribe has a larger proportion of white admixture than any other of the Five Civilized Tribes. See Mooney, Myths of Cherokee Indians. (Hand Book of American Indians, Bulletin 30, Bureau American Ethnology.)

Page 223

EXHIBIT L.

LEGISLATION RELATIVE TO INDIANS OF ROBESON COUNTY.

Exhibit L1.

[Amendments (to the constitution of North Carolina) proposed by a convention of delegates of the people of North Carolina, on the 11th of July, 1835, and ratified by the people on the second Monday of November, in the same year.]

SECTION 111.

* * * * * * *

CLAUSE 3. No free negro, free mulatto, or free person of mixed blood, descended from negro ancestors to the fourth generation, inclusive (though one ancestor of each generation may have been a white person), shall vote for members of the senate or house of commons.

Exhibit L2.

[Revised code of North Carolina, enacted by the general assembly at the session of 1854.]

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS--CHAPTER 34.

SEC. 80. If any clerk of the court of pleas and quarter-sessions shall knowingly issue any license for marriage between any free person of color and a white person; or if any clergyman, minister of the gospel, or justice of the peace shall knowingly marry any such free person of color to a white person, the person so offending shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

MARRIAGE--CHAPTER 68.

SEC. 7. All marriages since the eighth day of January, eighteen hundred and thirty-nine, and all marriages in future between a white person and a free negro, or free person of color, to the third generation, shall be void.

Exhibit L3.

[Constitution of North Carolina, amendment of 1857--Proposed by the general assembly in 1854, December 11, 1856, and January 8, 1857, and ratified by the people the first Thursday in August, 1857.]

Every free white man of the age of twenty-one years, being a native or naturalized citizen of the United States, and who has been an inhabitant of the State for twelve months immediately preceding the day of any election, and shall have paid public taxes, shall be entitled to vote for a member of the senate for the district in which he resides.

Page 224

Exhibit L4.

[The constitution of the State of North Carolina of 1868, as amended.]

* * * * * * *

ARTICLE VI.

SUFFRAGE AND ELIGIBILITY TO OFFICE.

SECTION 1. Every male person born in the United States, and every male person who has been naturalized, twenty-one years of age, and possessing the qualifications set out in this article, shall be entitled to vote at any election by the people in the State, except as herein otherwise provided.

* * * * * * *

SEC. 4. Every person presenting himself for registration shall be able to read and write any section of the Constitution in the English language; and before he shall be entitled to vote he shall have paid on or before the first day of May of the year in which he proposes to vote, his poll tax for the previous year, as prescribed by Article V, section 1, of the Constitution. But no male person who was, on January 1, 1867, or at any time prior thereto, entitled to vote under the laws of any State in the United States wherein he then resided, and no lineal descendant of any such person, shall be denied the right to register and vote at any election in this State by reason of his failure to possess the educational qualifications herein prescribed: *Provided,* He shall have registered in accordance with the terms of this section prior to December 1, 1908. The general assembly shall provide for the registration of all persons entitled to vote without the educational qualifications herein prescribed, and shall, on or before November 1, 1908, provide for the making of a permanent record of such registration, and all persons so registered shall forever thereafter have the right to vote in all elections by the people in this State, unless disqualified under section 2 of this article: *Provided,* Such person shall have paid his poll tax as above required.

Exhibit L5.

[Constitution of North Carolina, annotated by Connor and Cheshire.]

1. ALL MEN EQUAL.

1. Indians and free persons of color before 1868.

The Cherokee, Croatan, and other Indians living in North Carolina are citizens of the State and amenable to the laws.

State *v.* Wolf, 145 N. C., 440; State *v.* Tachanatah, 64 N. C., 614.

Before the constitution of 1868 and the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States *free persons of color* were citizens of North Carolina; and this was so even after the right to vote was taken from such persons.

State *v.* Manuel, 20 N. C., 144 (20), where Gaston, J., says: "Upon the Revolution no other change took place in the laws of

Page 225

North Carolina than was consequent upon the transition from a colony, dependent on a European King, to a free and sovereign State. Slaves remained slaves. British subjects in North Carolina became North Carolina free men. Foreigners until made members of the State continued aliens. Slaves manumitted here became free men and, therefore, if born within North Carolina, are citizens of North Carolina--and all free persons born within the State are born citizens of the State." (This case was cited with approval by Mr. Justice Curtis in his dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott case, 60 U. S. (19 Howard) 573.--Editors.)

(State *v.* Manuel, *supra,* was subsequent to the convention of 1835, which deprived free negroes of their right to vote. For an interesting debate upon the origin, basis, and history of their right to vote, see "Debates in convention, 1835," pp. 72, 351.--Editors.)

2. Civil and political rights.

The constitution (of North Carolina) was not intended to enforce social equality, but only civil and political equality.

State *v.* Hairston, 63 N. C., 452, holding (before the adoption of Art. XLV, sec. 8) that Rev. Code, ch. 68, sec. 7, declaring intermarriages between white persons *and persons of color* void, is not a discrimination in favor of one race against another, but applies equally to all races and is valid and still in force.

Exhibit L5½.

[Laws of North Carolina, 1885, chapter 51.]

AN ACT To provide for separate schools for Croatan Indians in Robeson County.

Whereas the Indians now living in Robeson County claim to be descendants of a friendly tribe who once resided in eastern North Carolina on the Roanoke River, known as the Croatan Indians; therefore,

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That the said Indians and their descendants shall hereafter be designated and known as the Croatan Indians.

SEC. 2. That said Indians and their descendants shall have separate schools for their children, school committees of their own race and color, and shall be allowed to select teachers of their own choice, subject to the same rules and regulations as are applicable to all teachers in the general school law.

SEC. 3. It shall be the duty of the county board of education to see that this act is carried into effect, and shall for that purpose have the census of all the children of said Indians and their descendants between the ages of six and twenty-one taken, and proceed to establish such suitable school districts as shall be necessary for their convenience, and take all such other and further steps as may be necessary for the purpose of carrying this act into effect without delay.

SEC. 4. The treasurer and other proper authorities, whose duties it is to collect, keep, and apportion the school fund, shall procure

Page 226

from the county board of education the number of children in said county between the ages of six and twenty-one, belonging to said Indian race, and shall set apart and keep separate their pro rata share of said school funds, which shall be paid out upon the same rules in every respect as are provided in general school law: *Provided,* That where any children, descendants of Indians as aforesaid, shall reside in any district in which there are no schools, as provided in this chapter, the same shall have the right to attend any of the public schools in said county for their race, and shall be allowed to draw their share of public school fund upon the certificate of the school committee in the district in which they reside, stating that they have thus removed and are entitled to attend public schools.

SEC. 5. The general school law shall be applicable in all respects to this chapter, where the same is not repugnant to or inconsistent with this act. This act shall only apply to Robeson County. All laws and clauses of law in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 6. That this act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

(In the General Assembly read three times and ratified this the 10th day of February, A. D. 1885.)

Exhibit L6.

[Laws of North Carolina, chapter 400.]

AN ACT To establish a normal school in the county of Robeson.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That W. L. Moore, James Oxendine, James Dial, Preston Locklear, and others who may be associated with them, and their successors, are hereby constituted a body politic and corporate, for educational purposes, in the county of Robeson, under the name and style of the trustees of the Croatan Normal School, and by that name may have perpetual succession, may sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, contract and be contracted with, to have and to hold school property, including buildings, lands, and all appurtenances thereto, situated in the county of Robeson, at any place in said county to be selected by the trustees herein named, provided such place shall be located between Bear Swamp and Lumber River in said county; to acquire by purchase, donation, or otherwise, real and personal property for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a school of high grade for teachers of the Croatan race in North Carolina.

SEC. 2. That the trustees at their organization shall elect one of their own number president of the board of trustees, whose duties shall be such as develoves upon such officers in similar cases, or such as shall hereafter be defined by said trustees.

SEC. 3. That said trustees shall have full power to rent, lease, mortgage or sell any real or personal property for the purpose of maintaining said school, discharging indebtedness, or reinvesting the proceeds for a like purpose: *Provided,* That the liabilities of said trustees shall affect only the property owned by said trustees for educational purposes and shall not affect the private credit of said trustees.

Page 227

SEC. 4. That the trustees whose names are mentioned in the first section of this act shall have power to select three additional trustees from the Croatan race in such manner as they may determine.

SEC. 5. That said trustees shall have full power and authority to employ a teacher or teachers in said normal school under such regulations as the said trustees may determine.

SEC. 6. That said board of trustees shall have full power to fill all vacancies by death, removal, or otherwise in said board: *Provided,* a majority vote of all the trustees shall be necessary to a choice.

SEC. 7. That the sum of five hundred dollars is hereby appropriated to the support of said school annually for two years, and no longer, commencing with the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight, said sum to be paid out of the general educational fund: *Provided,* That said sum thus appropriated shall be expended for the payment of services rendered for teaching and for no other purpose; said sum to be paid in semiannual payments upon warrants drawn by State superintendent of public instruction upon receipt by said superintendent of report of trustees of said school showing the number of teachers employed, the amount paid to teacher, the number of students in attendance during the term of six months next preceding the first day of July, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight, first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine, first day of July, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine, and first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and ninety.

SEC. 8. That all property, real and personal, acquired by purchase, donation, or otherwise, as long as it is used for educational purposes, shall be exempt from taxation, whether on the part of the State or county.

SEC. 9. That no person shall sell any spirituous liquors within two miles of the location of said school, and any person violating this section shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be fined not less than ten dollars nor more than thirty dollars, or imprisoned not less than ten days nor more than thirty days, or both at the discretion of the court.

SEC. 10. *Provided,* That no person shall be admitted into said school as a student who has not attained the age of fifteen years; and that all those who shall enjoy the privileges of said school as students shall previously obligate (themselves) to teach the youth of the Croatan race for a stated period.

SEC. 11. That this act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

(In the General Assembly read three times, and ratified this 7th day of March, A. D. 1887.)

Exhibit L7.

[Laws of North Carolina, session of 1887, chapter 254.]

AN ACT To amend section one thousand eight hundred and ten of the code.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That section one thousand eight hundred and ten of the Code of North Carolina be amended by adding thereto the words: "That all marriages between an Indian and a negro or between an

Page 228

Indian and a person of negro descent to the third generation, inclusive, shall be utterly void: *Provided,* This act shall only apply to the Croatan Indians."

SEC. 2. This act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

(In the general assembly read three times, and ratified this 7th day of March, A. D. 1887.)

Exhibit L8.

[Laws of North Carolina, session of 1889, chapter 458.]

AN ACT To amend chapter fifty-seven, acts of one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, in reference to the schools of Croatan Indians in Richmond County.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That the citizens of Richmond County who are Croatan Indians, or the descendants of such who are known as such, or who have a distinct race identity as such, shall be entitled to the same school privileges and benefits as are granted to other Croatan Indians in Robeson County under the provisions of said act of one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five, chapter fifty-one, and the act or acts subsequent to and amendatory of the act of one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five.

SEC. 2. That this act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

(Ratified the 11th day of March, A. D. 1889.)

Exhibit L9.

[Laws of North Carolina, session of 1889, chapter 60.]

AN ACT To amend the laws of 1885 and 1887 so as to provide additional educational facilities for the Croatan Indians, citizens of Robeson County, North Carolina.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That Chapter Fifty-one, section two, of the Laws of One thousand eight hundred and eighty-five be amended by adding after the word "law" in the last line of said section the words, "and there shall be excluded from such separate schools for the said Croatan Indians all children of the negro race to the fourth generation."

SEC. 2. That section seven, Chapter Four hundred, of the Laws of One thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven be amended as follows: Strike out in lines two and three the words, "for two years and no longer;" strike out in line fifteen all after the words "eighty-eight," and insert "and every six months thereafter."

SEC. 3. That section ten of said Chapter Four hundred, Laws of One thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, be amended by striking out in line three the word "fifteen" and inserting the word "ten" in lieu thereof.

SEC. 4. This act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

(Ratified the 2d day of February, A. D. 1889.)

Page 229

Exhibit L10.

[Public laws of North Carolina, session of 1897, chapter 536.]

AN ACT In relation to the Croatan Normal School in Robeson County.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That there shall be placed to the credit of the Croatan Normal School of Robeson County out of the general educational fund in the hands of the State treasurer, the sum of two hundred and eighty-one 25.100 dollars, being the unexpended appropriation for the year 1895; and the treasurer is hereby authorized to pay Prof. P. B. Hiden, upon the approval of his claim by the board of trustees and the commissioners of Robeson County, out of the above $281 & 25/100, the sum of forty ($40) dollars for services heretofore rendered in 1896.

SEC. 2. This act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

(Ratified the 9th day of March, A. D. 1897.)

Exhibit L11.

[Public laws of North Carolina, session of 1911, chapter 168.]

AN ACT To empower the trustees of the Indian School of Robeson County to transfer title to property of said school by deed to State board of education, and to provide for the appointment of trustees for said school.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That in accordance with the recent action of the trustees, in meeting assembled, of the Croatan State normal school, known as the Indian Normal School of Robeson County, situated near Pembroke, North Carolina, said school being incorporated under Chapter Four hundred, Public Laws of One thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, which action of the trustees of said school has been duly certified to by the president, C. R. Sampson, and the secretary, A. A. Locklear, the said trustees are hereby empowered to convey by deed to the State board of education the title to all property of said school, and the State board of education is hereby authorized to accept same.

SEC. 2. That the State board of education shall appoint seven members of the Indian race, formally known as Croatans, to be constituted the board of trustees of said school, as follows: Two members for the term of two years, two for the term of four years, and three for the term of six years; and, at the expiration of these terms, their successors shall be appointed by the State board of education for a term of six years.

SEC. 3. That the board of trustees of said Indian normal school Robeson County shall have the power to employ and discharge teachers, to prevent negroes from attending said school, and to exercise the usual functions of control and management of said school, their action being subject to the approval of the State board of education.

SEC. 4. That all laws and clauses of laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 5. This act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

(Ratified this the 8th day of March, A. D. 1911.)

Page 230

Exhibit L12.

[Public Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1911, Chapter 215.]

AN ACT To change the name of the Indians in Robeson County and to provide for said Indians separate apartments in the State hospital.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That Chapter Fifty-one of the Public Laws of North Carolina, session of eighteen hundred and eighty-five, be, and the same is hereby, amended by striking out the words "Croatan Indians" wherever the same occur in said chapter and inserting in lieu thereof the words "Indians of Robeson County."

SEC. 2. That in all laws enacted by the General Assembly of North Carolina relating to said Indians subsequent to the enactment of said Chapter Fifty-one of the Laws of Eighteen hundred and eighty-five, the words "Croatan Indians" be, and the same are hereby, stricken out and the words "Indians of Robeson County" inserted in lieu thereof.

SEC. 3. And that the said Indians residing in Robeson and adjoining counties which have heretofore been known as Croatan Indians, together with their descendants, shall hereafter be known and designated as "Indians of Robeson County," and by that name shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges conferred by any of the laws of North Carolina upon the Indians heretofore known as Croatan Indians.

SEC. 4. That the school situated near the town of Pembroke, in Robeson County, known as Croatan Indian Normal School, shall hereafter be known and designated as "The Indian Normal School of Robeson County," and in that name shall be entitled to all of the privileges and powers heretofore conferred by any law of the State of North Carolina or any laws hereafter enacted for the benefit of said school.

SEC. 5. That the board of directors for the State Hospital for the Insane at Raleigh are hereby authorized and directed to provide and set apart at said hospital, as soon after the passage of this act as practicable, suitable apartments and wards for the accommodation of any of said Indians of Robeson County who may be entitled under the laws relating to insane persons to be admitted to said hospital.

SEC. 6. That the sheriff, jailer, or other proper authorities of Robeson County shall provide in the common jail of Robeson County and in the Home for the Aged and Infirm of Robeson County separate cells, wards, or apartments for the said Indians of Robeson County, in all cases where it shall be necessary under the laws of this State to commit any of said Indians to said jail or County Home for the Aged and Infirm.

SEC. 7. That all laws and clauses of laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 8. That this act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

(Ratified this 8th day of March, A. D. 1911.)

Page 231

Exhibit L13.

[Public Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1913, Chapter 123.]

AN ACT To restore to the Indians residing in Robeson and adjoining counties their rightful and ancient name.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That Chapter Two hundred and fifteen of the Public Laws of North Carolina, session one thousand nine hundred and eleven, be, and the same is hereby, amended by striking out in the last line of said section one the words "Indians of Robeson County," and inserting in lieu thereof the words "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County."

SEC. 2. That section two of said Chapter Two hundred and fifteen of the Public Laws of North Carolina, session one thousand nine hundred and eleven, be, and the same is hereby, amended by striking out the words "Indians of Robeson County," in the fifth line of said section two, and inserting in lieu thereof the words "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County."

SEC. 3. That said Chapter Two hundred and fifteen of the Public Laws of North Carolina, session one thousand nine hundred and eleven, be further amended by striking out the words "Indians of Robeson County," in line four of said section three, and inserting in lieu thereof the words "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County."

SEC. 4. That the Indians residing in Robeson and adjoining counties who have heretofore been known as "Croatan Indians" or "Indians of Robeson County," together with their descendants, shall hereafter be known and designated as "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County," and by that name shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges heretofore or hereafter conferred by any law or laws of the State of North Carolina upon the Indians heretofore known as the "Croatan Indians" or "Indians of Robeson County," including all such rights and privileges as have been conferred upon said Indians by Chapter Two hundred and fifteen of the Public Laws of North Carolina, session one thousand nine hundred and eleven.

SEC. 5. Neither this act nor any other act relating to said "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County" shall be construed so as to impose on said Indians any powers, privileges, rights, or immunities or any limitations on their power to contract, heretofore enacted with reference to the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians residing in Cherokee, Graham, Swain, Jackson, and other adjoining counties in North Carolina, or any other band or tribe of Cherokee Indians other than those now residing, or who have, since the Revolutionary War, resided in Robeson County, nor shall said "Cherokee Indians of Robeson County," as herein designated be subject to the limitations provided in section nine hundred and seventy-five and nine hundred and seventy-six of the revisal of one thousand nine hundred and five of North Carolina.

SEC. 6. That Chapter Two hundred and fifteen of the Public Laws of North Carolina, session one thousand nine hundred and eleven, be further amended by striking out the words "Indian Normal School of Robeson County," in the third and fourth lines of said section four of said Chapter Two hundred and fifteen, and inserting in lieu thereof the words "Cherokee Indian Normal School of Robeson County."

Page 232

SEC. 7. That all laws and clauses of laws in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 8. That this act shall be in force and effect from and after its ratification.

(In the general assembly read three times and ratified this the 11th day of March, 1913.)

Exhibit L14.

[Public Laws of North Carolina, Session of 1913, Chapter 199.]

AN ACT To provide for the maintenance and support of the Indian Normal School of Robeson County.

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

SECTION 1. That in addition to the sum of two thousand two hundred and fifty dollars ($2,250) appropriated by the General Assembly of North Carolina, session of nineteen hundred and thirteen, for the maintenance of the Indian Normal School of Robeson County, the further sum of five hundred dollars is hereby annually appropriated for the years one thousand nine hundred and thirteen and one thousand nine hundred and fourteen for the support and maintenance of said school.

SEC. 2. That the appropriation herein made shall be drawn out by the auditor upon his warrant, and thereupon shall be charged by the State treasurer to the account of said school.

SEC. 3. That this act shall be in force from and after its ratification.

(In general assembly read three times and ratified this the 12th day of March, 1913.)

Page 233

EXHIBIT M.

CORRESPONDENCE RELATIVE TO THE INVESTIGATION OF THE CONDITION, TRIBAL RIGHTS, ETC., OF THE INDIANS OF ROBESON COUNTY, N. C.

JULY 23, 1914.

Mr. O. M. MCPHERSON, *Special Agent.*

My DEAR MR. MCPHERSON, Upon the receipt of these instructions, or as soon thereafter as practicable, you will proceed to North Carolina for the purpose of investigating the affairs of the Croatan Indians of Robeson and adjoining counties of that State, as provided for by Senate resolution 410.

This resolution reads:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he hereby is, directed to cause an investigation to be made of the condition and tribal rights of the Indians of Robeson and adjoining counties of North Carolina, recently declared by the Legislature of North Carolina to be Cherokees, and formerly known as Croatans, and report to Congress what tribal rights, if any, they have with any band or tribe; whether they are entitled to or have received any lands, or whether there are any moneys due them, their present condition, their educational facilities, and such other facts as would enable Congress to determine whether the Government would be warranted in making suitable provision for their support and education.

Extreme care should be exercised by you in obtaining all pertinent facts relative to the condition and tribal rights of these Indians, in order that this office may be prepared to submit to the next Congress, through the department, full information responsive to said resolution.

Very truly, yours,

CATO SELLS,
Commissioner.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, July 24, 1914.

The AUDITOR OF NORTH CAROLINA,
Raleigh, N. C.

SIR: The United States Senate, on June 30, 1914, passed a resolution (S. Res. 410) directing the Secretary of the Interior to cause an investigation to be made of the condition and tribal rights, educational facilities, etc., of the Indians of Robeson and adjoining counties in North Carolina, commonly known as Croatans, and to make a report to Congress respecting their rights, etc.

I have been detailed to make the investigation called for by said Senate resolution.

I will thank you very much to send me, to Lumberton, N. C., at your earliest convenience, such facts and information from the files and records of your office, or from other sources, respecting the said Indians as are available.

Page 234

I especially desire to learn the number of these Indians by counties, the number paying taxes in each county, the amount of personal taxes, amount of real-estate taxes, and other facts relating to their history or rights as may be shown by the records of your office or as are available from other sources. I will be pleased to receive any information concerning them which would enable the Secretary of the Interior better to comply with the terms of said Senate resolution. An early response will be appreciated.

I inclose a self-addressed envelope for reply, which will not require postage.

Very respectfully,

O. M. MCPHERSON,
Special Indian Agent.

DEPARTMENT OF THE STATE AUDITOR,
Raleigh, N. C., July 28,1914.

Mr. O. M. MCPHERSON,
Special Indian Agent, Lumberton, N. C.

DEAR SIR: Answering your letter of July 24, which you handed me this date, I give you the following information, taken from the records of this department:

	1912	1913
ROBESON COUNTY.		
Number Indian polls.	960	1,010
Value property listed for taxation.	$493,900	$506,094
SCOTLAND COUNTY.		
Number Indian polls.	38	44
Value property listed for taxation.	$6,500	$5,689
HOKE COUNTY.		
Number of Indian polls.	13	28
Value property listed for taxation.	$3,574	$4,463

The records on file in this department from Cumberland, Bladen, and Columbus Counties do not show any Indian polls.

Yours, truly,

W. P. WOOD, *State Auditor.*

By BAXTER DURHAM, *Tax Clerk.*

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, July 24, 1914.

The SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
OF NORTH CAROLINA,
Raleigh, N. C.

SIR: The United States Senate, on June 30, 1914, passed a resolution (S. Res. 410) directing the Secretary of the Interior to cause an investigation to be made of the condition and tribal rights, educational facilities, etc., of the Indians of Robeson and adjoining counties

Page 235

in North Carolina, commonly known as Croatans, and to make a report to Congress respecting their rights, etc.

I have been detailed to make the investigation called for by said Senate resolution.

I will thank you very much to send me, to Lumberton, N. C., at your earliest convenience, such facts and information from the files and records of your office, or from other sources, respecting the said Indians as are available.

I especially desire to be advised of the number of said Indians, their location as to counties, the number of school age, the number and character of established schools, the number attending school in each county, together with the provision that the State of North Carolina has made for the education of said Indians; in short, I desire to obtain full information respecting the educational facilities provided the Croatans. An early response will be appreciated.

I inclose to you for reply a self-addressed envelope which will require no postage.

Very respectfully,

O. M. MCPHERSON,
Special Indian Agent.

OFFICE OF SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,
STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA,
Raleigh, August 3, 1914.

Mr. O. M. MCPHERSON,
Lumberton, N. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of July 24 to the superintendent of public instruction of North Carolina was referred to me for reply. We have no statistics on the Croatan Indians other than the school population for Robeson County. Mr. Joyner's report for 1911-12 shows that there were 2,183 Croatans of school age--6 to 21 years--in Robeson County; 1,159 enrolled in the public schools, with an average daily attendance of 602. In addition to this we enrolled in the Indian Normal School at Pembroke 134 pupils, with an average attendance of 105.

In sections 4236 to 4242, inclusive, you will find the law establishing this normal school. The sections referred to are in volume 2 of the revisal of 1905 of North Carolina. You will find the amendment in the laws of 1907, 1911, 1913. Section 4086 of the revisal provides for separate schools for the descendants of the Croatan Indians now living in Robeson and Richmond Counties. Sections 4168-4171, inclusive, indicate the manner in which this law is to be carried out. You will see in the matter of education in the elementary schools these Indians are put on the same footing as the other races.

Very truly, yours,

E. E. SAMS,
Supervisor Teacher Training.

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 24, 1914.

Mr. JAMES E. HENDERSON,
Superintendent of Indian School, Cherokee, N. C.

SIR: The United States Senate on June 30, 1914, passed a resolution (S. Res. 410) directing the Secretary of the Interior to cause an investigation

Page 236

to be made of the condition and tribal rights of the Indians of Bobeson and adjoining counties in North Carolina, commonly known as Croatans, and to make a report to Congress respecting their condition, rights, etc.

Said resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he hereby is, directed to cause an investigation to be made of the condition and tribal rights of the Indians of Robeson and adjoining counties of North Carolina, recently declared by the Legislature of North Carolina, to be Cherokees, and formerly known as Croatans, and report to Congress what tribal rights, if any, they have with any band or tribe; whether they are entitled to or have received any lands, or whether there are any moneys due them, their present condition, their educational facilities, and such other facts as would enable Congress to determine whether the Government would be warranted in making suitable provision for their support and education.

Special Agent O. M. McPherson has been detailed to make the investigation called for by said Senate resolution.

You are requested to communicate with the special agent at Lumberton, N. C., giving him all the information shown by the files of your agency, and such other information as you can obtain from other sources, concerning the subject matter of said resolution. Please make this matter special, and furnish Special Agent McPherson with the information at the earliest practicable date.

Very respectfully,

E. B. MERRITT,
Assistant Commissioner.

CHEROKEE, N. C., July 28, 1914.

Mr. O. M. MCPHERSON,
Special Indian Agent, Lumberton, N. C.

MY DEAR MR. MCPHERSON: I am in receipt of a letter from the Indian office saying that you had been put in charge of certain investigations among the Croatan Indians of Bobeson and adjoining counties of North Carolina and directing me to furnish you with all the information available at this place to aid you in the work.

Since the Croatans and the Cherokees have never been connected either officially or socially the Cherokees refusing to recognize the Croatans there is very little in our files that will be of service to you in the work. During my time here I have seen only a very few letters with reference to the Croatans, and I believe that they were copies of letters from former Supt. Kyselka to the department telling the department that the Croatans were trying to get an act through the North Carolina Legislature making them Cherokees. If you so desire I will hunt up all of the correspondence with reference to the matter and will send you either the originals or the copies as you may desire.

I have always been interested in Croatan affairs, yet I think they have nothing in common with our Cherokees.

In connection with your work you had better come to Cherokee and get some of our cold water and fine air. It must be rather warm down there just now.

Assuring you of all of the aid I am possible to give in your new undertaking, I am,

Very respectfully,

JAMES E. HENDERSON,
Superintendent.

Page 237

LUMBERTON, N. C., July 30, 1914.

JAMES E. HENDERSON, Esq.,
Superintendent Cherokee School, Cherokee, N. C.

MY DEAR MR. HENDERSON: I have received your letter of July 28, referring to a recent Indian office letter directing you to furnish me, in connection with the investigation I am making of the condition and tribal rights, etc., of the Indians of Robeson and adjoining counties of North Carolina, as authorized by Senate Resolution 410, all the information in your files relating to the proposed investigation. You refer to certain correspondence had by your predecessor, Supt. Kyselka, with the Indian office, concerning the Croatan Indians.

I will thank you very much to send me copies of all correspondence in your files relating in any way to the so-called Croatan Indians; I think it proper that the originals should remain on file in your office. Please send me also copies of all papers, printed matter, etc., at your command which would be of value to me in said investigation.

An early response will be appreciated.

Would, indeed, be glad to have some of your pure water and fine air, though the weather just now is very comfortable.

Very respectfully,

O. M. MCPHERSON,
Special Indian Agent.

CHEROKEE, N. C., August 5, 1914.

Mr. O. M. MCPHERSON,
Special Indian Agent, Lumberton, N. C.

MY DEAR MR. MCPHERSON: Answering yours of July 30, I will say that we have been looking through the files in this office for papers that you might be able to use, but am sorry to say that to this time we have been unable to find anything. I remember to have seen a letter from Mr. Kyselka to the department with reference to the matter since I have been here. I will keep up the search and will forward to you anything I am able to find. Since the Cherokees have had nothing whatever to do with the Robeson County Indians, I fear that we will be able to find very little that will throw light on the subject.

I trust that you can make it convenient to come to Cherokee before you leave Lumberton. I have always had a desire to go to that locality and hope that I can pay you a visit before you leave there.

With the kindest regards, I am, very respectfully,

JAMES E. HENDERSON,
Superintendent.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, July 24, 1914.

The SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS OF COLUMBUS COUNTY,
Whiteville, N. C.

SIR: The United States Senate, on June 30, 1914, passed a resolution (S. Res. 410) directing the Secretary of the Interior to cause an investigation to be made of the conditions and tribal rights, educational facilities, etc., of the Indians of Robeson and adjoining counties

Page 238

in North Carolina, commonly known as Croatans, and to make a report to Congress respecting their rights, etc.

I have been detailed to make the investigation called for by said Senate resolution.

I will thank you very much to send me, to Lumberton, N. C., at your earliest convenience, such facts and information from the files and records of Columbus County office as are available respecting the number of Croatan Indians, if any, in your county; the number of families; the number of children of school age; number attending school; school facilities provided by the State and county for said Indians; the kind and value of their property in the county and amount of taxes paid by them; also any other information respecting said Indians which would enable the Secretary of the Interior better to comply with the terms of said Senate resolution. An early response will be appreciated.

I inclose a self-addressed envelope for reply, which will not require postage.

Respectfully,

O. M. MCPHERSON,
Special Indian Agent.

CHADBOURN, N. C., July 28, 1914.

Mr. O. M. MCPHERSON,
Lumberton, N. C.

DEAR SIR: So far as I can learn our files show no record of any Indians residing in Columbus County. There are a few scattering ones who have come down from Robeson, but this number is so small that no provision has been made for them in our schools.

Mr. K. B. Council, of Wananish, N. C., knows more about those who call themselves Indians in our county than anyone else. He has made a special study of their history and could give you some valuable information concerning them. We have a few in our county who claim to be Indians but who have always been recognized as colored people. Some of these are petitioning us to recognize them as Indians, but because of the lack of knowledge of their ancestors we have not yet been able to grant their request. I seriously doubt whether or not we have any pure-blooded Indians in the county except a few scattering from Robeson.

Yours, truly,

F. T. WOOTEN,
County Superintendent.

LUMBERTON, N. C., July 29, 1914.

Mr. K. B. COUNCIL,
Wananish.

DEAR SIR: The United States Senate on June 30, 1914, passed a resolution (S. Res. 410) directing the Secretary of the Interior to cause an investigation to be made of the condition and tribal rights, educational facilities, etc., of the Indians of Robeson and adjoining counties of North Carolina, and to make a report to Congress respecting their tribal rights, etc.

Page 239

I have been detailed to make the investigation called for by said Senate resolution.

Mr. F. T. Wooten, superintendent of schools of Columbus County, has advised me that you are well informed concerning the history and condition of the Croatan Indians, and could probably give me some valuable information concerning them.

I will thank you very much to give me at your earliest convenience a very full statement relating to the history and condition of said Indians. An early reply will be appreciated.

Very respectfully,

O. M. MCPHERSON,
Special Indian Agent.

LUMBERTON, N. C., July 29, 1914.

Hon. CATO SELLS,
Commissioner Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. SELLS: Referring to my instructions of July 23, 1914, to proceed to North Carolina and to investigate the condition, etc., of the Indians of Robeson County, and adjoining counties in North Carolina, as directed by Senate resolution No. 410, dated June 30, 1914, I beg to invite your attention to that part of the resolution reading:

* * * and report to Congress what tribal rights, if any, they have with any band or tribe; whether they are entitled to or have received any lands, or whether there are any moneys due them * * *

These are matters which an investigation in the field can not readily develop, and I will thank you very much to advise me at your earliest convenience what the files, records, and papers of the Indian office show on these subjects.

An early reply will be very much appreciated.

Very respectfully,

O. M. MCPHERSON,
Special Indian Agent.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
Washington, August 4, 1914.

Mr. O. M. MCPHERSON,
Special Indian Agent, Lumberton, N. C.

MY DEAR MR. MCPHERSON: The office is in receipt of your letter of July 29, 1914, regarding the tribal rights, etc., of Indians of Robeson and adjoining counties of North Carolina, otherwise known as Croatans.

The main file relative to these Indians is now in your possession, and, it is believed, contains all the information now available. It further appears that you consulted the records of the "old files" relative to the Croatans before your departure from this city.

For your further information, however, there is inclosed a copy of a report of June 6, 1914, to the Congress on Senate resolution 344.

Very truly yours,

C. F. HAUKE,
Second Assistant Commissioner.

Page 240

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, June 6, 1814.

Hon. HENRY F. ASHURST,
Chairman Committee on Indian Affairs,
United States Senate.

MY DEAR SENATOR: The department is in receipt of your letter of April 29, 1914, transmitting a copy of Senate resolution 344, Sixty-third Congress, second session, providing for an investigation of the present condition, educational facilities, etc., of alleged Cherokee Indians in "Robeson and adjoining counties of North Carolina."

The department has heretofore made reports to Congress on the conditions of these Indians, based upon an investigation made by a supervisor of Indian schools in 1912 in connection with school matters, and for the information of your committee there is inclosed a copy of his report of March 2, 1912. That report shows substantially as follows:

First. The Croatan Indians, as these people are called, number about 10,000 people, of whom about 7,000 reside in Robeson County. The ancestry of these Indians has been much in doubt in the past, but they are now recognized as having originated from the white colonists of the lost colony of the Roanoke and the Indians from remnants of several powerful southern tribes.

Second. These Indians show several positively different types, having no Indian language and no distinctive customs, and being unable to communicate with other Indians except through the medium of the English language.

Third. Until the year 1835 the Croatans were allowed to vote, own slaves, build churches and schoolhouses, and live as comfortably as their white neighbors. The right of suffrage was denied them in 1835, but the Croatans rebelled continuously until they were again recognized as citizens in 1885 and given their right as such.

Fourth. There are but few full bloods among the Croatans, although a large majority of them seem to be at least three-fourths Indian. They are classed as good citizens, are quite industrious, law abiding, and are said to be much interested in education.

Fifth. The Cherokees (see 26 262 across of great land, we measured present $324,212, which is considerably below its actual value. Sixth. Cherokees have 1,000 horses, 22,000 head of cattle, 46,000 hogs, 2,000 sheep, 1,000 spinning wheels, and 18 grist mills. Seventh. Cherokees raise as much cotton as the aver ge many of the white people in the South. Eighth. Cherokees have 18 public schools, 18 good houses, the owners being worth from $6,000 to $10,000 each.

Ninth. The State of North Carolina is doing for the Cherokees just what the State of New York is doing for her Indians, giving them a fine common school education. Tenth. The Cherokees have 1,000 pupils, and in addition, the Cherokee Nation pays for 1,000 pupils in other schools.

The following is an excerpt from the Indian Journal of North Carolina as of June 1, 1890:

A body of people residing chiefly in Robeson County, North Carolina, known as the Croatan Indians, are generally white, showing the Indian mixture in darkest skin and hair. They are surrounded by the regular negroes (commonly called "free" or "free-born" negroes) and are much overshadowed under the traditions that they are descendants of the Croatans of the Raleigh period of colonization in Virginia.

Page 262

Mr. Hamilton McMillan, of Fayetteville North Carolina, in 1888 published a pamphlet of 27 pages, the title page of which is as follows: "Sir Walter Raleigh's lost colony " " with the traditions of an Indian tribe in North Carolina. Whose Indian ancestors this pamphlet is to show that Raleigh's colony was carried off by the Indians, and that the Croatan Indians of North Carolina are their descendants. Mr. McMillan also, in answering an inquiry in reference to the Croatans, wrote the following in reference to Indian affairs:

RED SPRINGS, N. C., July 17, 1890.

" " " The Croatan Tribe have principles in Robeson County North Carolina, though there is quite a number of them settled in counties adjoining in North and South Carolina. In Robeson County, South Carolina, there is a branch of the tribe, and also in east Tennessee. The Croatans are a peaceable, law abiding people, and are intermarried with the best families in Robeson County. They are called "Mulattoes," a name also retained by them here, which is a corruption of "Croatan," a name given them by Indians, which they have retained to this day. Their ancestors were the Croatan Indians, who, with the white people, were left on Roanoke Island, discovered in Europe by Prof. Alexander Brown, member of the Royal Historical Society of England. These maps are dated in 1587, and show the settlement of the white people and Indians, and the surrounding country, as it was then. The Indians are the ancestors of the ancestors of the Croatans, and their ancestors and strongly corroborate the traditions of the Croatans. There are in the doubt of the fact that the Croatans in Robeson County and elsewhere are the descendants of the Croatans of Raleigh's day.

From information available at the time, it does not appear that the Croatans ever affiliated with or have been recognized by the Cherokee Nation of Indians. Page 263 Page 264 Page 265 Page 266 Page 267 Page 268 Page 269 Page 270 Page 271 Page 272 Page 273 Page 274 Page 275 Page 276 Page 277 Page 278 Page 279 Page 280 Page 281 Page 282 Page