

WEAPEMEOC SHORES:  
THE LOSS OF TRADITIONAL MARITIME CULTURE AMONG THE WEAPEMEOC  
INDIANS

by

Whitney R. Petrey  
April, 2014

Director of Thesis: Larry Tise, PhD

Major Department: Maritime Studies

The Weapemeoc were an Indian group of the Late Woodland Period through the Early Colonial Period (1400 A.D.-1780 A.D.) that went through significant cultural change as they were displaced from their traditional maritime subsistence resources. The Weapemeoc were located in what is today northeastern North Carolina. Their permanent villages were located along the northern shore of Albemarle Sound, with seasonal and temporary villages on the outer banks and upriver on the several tributaries that drain to the Albemarle Sound.

Weapemeoc access to maritime resources would be altered significantly by European colonization and settlement in the area. The loss of maritime subsistence, maritime communication and maritime mentality resulted in the loss of the traditional culture of the Weapemeoc Indians and their seeming disappearance as a distinct group of people.

Early historical records and maps illustrate the acculturation of the Weapemeoc and the loss of traditional maritime culture. As land was sold to settlers in prime areas along rivers and along the shore of the Albemarle Sound, Weapemeoc were displaced from their seasonal procurement sites and seasonal permanent villages. By 1704, a reservation was established by the colonial government for the Weapemeoc along Indiantown Creek. By 1780, the Weapemeoc lived in such a similar fashion as their neighbors of European descent that they are no longer distinguishable in the archaeological or historical record.

WEAPEMEOC SHORES:  
THE LOSS OF TRADITIONAL MARITIME CULTURE AMONG THE WEAPEMEOC  
INDIANS

A Thesis

Presented To the Faculty of the Department of History

East Carolina University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master of Arts  
In Maritime Studies

by

Whitney R. Petrey

April, 2014

© Whitney R. Petrey, 2014

WEAPEMEOC SHORES:  
THE LOSS OF TRADITIONAL MARITIME CULTURE AMONG THE WEAPEMEOC  
INDIANS

by

Whitney R. Petrey

APPROVED BY:

DIRECTOR OF  
THESIS: \_\_\_\_\_

Larry Tise, PhD

COMMITTEE MEMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

Christopher A. Oakley, PhD

COMMITTEE MEMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

Angela Thompson, PhD

COMMITTEE MEMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

John J. Mintz, MA

CHAIR OF THE DEPARTMENT  
OF HISTORY: \_\_\_\_\_

Gerald J. Prokopowicz, PhD

DEAN OF THE  
GRADUATE SCHOOL: \_\_\_\_\_

Paul J. Gemperline, PhD

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Cameron, Theresa, LK, Jennifer, Jessica, Nicole, Robyn, Shannon, Serena, Kim and Ryan. It really does take a village and this thesis would not have been possible without you.

I also want to thank the staff of the North Carolina Office of State Archaeology for their support during this process, especially John Mintz and Dolores Hall. I want to express my gratitude to my committee advisor, Dr. Tise, and my thesis committee for their continued support and guidance throughout this process.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES .....	vii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH DESIGN.....	6
Research Design.....	11
Theory.....	17
Methodology.....	23
CHAPTER 3: ENVIRONMENT.....	28
Area of Interest Description.....	28
Ecosystems.....	29
Subsistence Resources .....	33
Shorelines and Erosion .....	37
CHAPTER 4: CULTURAL PERIODS AND COLINGTON PHASE ARCHAEOLOGY.....	42
Paleoindian, Archaic, and Woodland Periods.....	43
Colington Phase Material Culture.....	52
CHAPTER 5: HISTORIC PHASE FROM HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS .....	89
Contact: 1584-1653.....	89
Cultural Exchange: 1653-1704 .....	98
Acculturation: 1704-1740.....	122
Assimilation: 1740-1790.....	161
CHAPTER 6: HISTORIC PHASE ARCHAEOLOGY.....	184
CHAPTER 7: INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS.....	199
Areas for future research.....	202
Conclusion .....	204
ARCHIVAL REFERENCES.....	206
MAP REFERENCES.....	206
REFERENCES .....	208
APPENDIX A: EDIBLE MARITIME SPECIES BY ENVIRONMENT.....	222

## LIST OF FIGURES

1. 1590 Theodor de Bry, Weapemeoc Territory.....	12
2. Area of Interest (AOI).....	13
3. 1640 Dutch copy of Hondius and Mercator.....	13
4. River Basins of North Carolina (NCDENR). ....	32
5.Site 31CK22. (Photo by John Krizmanich, 2010). ....	39
6. Baum Site Erosion (Phelps 1980:10).....	40
7. Image illustrating erosion at Roanoke Island (Dolan and Bosserman 1972:425). ....	41
8. Projectile Point Chronology (NCDCCR). ....	44
9. Cultural Periods and Phases in Eastern North Carolina.....	45
10. Settlement Patterns (Binford 1961:81, 83). ....	51
11. Colington phase ceramics: a-d, fabric impressed rims; e-f, incised and punctuated over fabric impressed; g, cord-wrapped dowel over fabric impressed; h, chevron-shaped cord wrapped dowel impressed rim; i. Colington plain; j, Colinton simple stamped (Phelps 1984a:45). ....	53
12. 37 foot canoe (Phelps 1989:3). ....	57
13. Cross Section (Shomette 1993:18).....	58
14. Recorded Colington Phase Sites. ....	67
15. Verrazzano's plausible route depicted in red (Google Earth).....	70
16. Original Sketch, John White 1585.....	72
17. A key to John White's Sketch Map, 1585.....	72
18. Key detail to John White's Sketch Map, 1585.....	72
19. 1586 John White detail. ....	74

20. 1590 Theodor de Bry. ....	75
21. John White watercolor, “Indian Charnal House” (©Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum). ....	78
22. Theodor de Bry engraving, “The manner of makinge their boates” (©Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum). ....	82
23. John White watercolor, “Their manner of fishynge in Virginia” (©Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum). ....	85
24. Theodor de Bry engraving, “The manner of their fishynge” (©Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum). ....	86
25. 1632 Hondius and Mercator.....	92
26. 1640 Blaeu. ....	93
27. 1640 Blaeu detail . ....	93
28. 1657 Comberford.....	97
29. 1733 Moseley detail.....	102
30. 1672 Ogilby detail.....	105
31. Missing margin in the Durant Family Bible. ....	111
32. Beverley 1705, note the "Canoe of Bark".....	112
33. 1733 Popple detail.....	142
34. 1733 Moseley detail, Albemarle Sound.....	143
35. 1733 Moseley Detail, Pequimans, Pasquotank and Currituck Precincts. ....	144
36. 1737 Cowley and Moseley.....	146
37. 1747 Bowen detail. ....	147
38. 1776 Jefferys detail. ....	169

39. 1780 Clinton (NCSA). .....	171
40. 1780 Clinton, Indian Town detail, (NCSA). .....	172
41. 1780 Clinton, Indian Island detail (NCSA). .....	175
42. Indian Island on North River (Google Earth). .....	175
43. 1804 Lewis detail. ....	182
44. 1807 Marshall detail. ....	182
45. 1827 Tanner detail, note Indian Ridge. ....	183
46. Field Survey (in red), Indian Town, 31CM13, Shiloh Quad, (Abbot 2012:3). .....	186
47. Recorded Historic Phase Sites. ....	194

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The Weapemeoc Indians lived on the fish they caught, the animals they hunted, and the corn they grew. They were a small, but proud Indian nation who lived on sandy banks along the Albemarle Sound and Currituck Sound in what is now North Carolina. These banks were often between a river or creek and the sound itself. They also inhabited some of the higher bluffs that could be found along Currituck Sound. The banks and bluffs provided loamy sands for corn fields above the swamps and mucks also common in an area that was barely above sea level.

With their homes between sound waters and meandering rivers, the Weapemeoc had year round access to freshwater fish, anadromous fish (saltwater fish that lay their eggs in freshwater), and saltwater fish. The Weapemeoc used a variety of weirs, spears, hooks and nets to catch fish and crustaceans. They harvested mussels, clams, and oysters by hand. Saltwater fish were caught along the adjacent string of "outer" banks, a line of sandy barrier islands separating the sounds from the Atlantic Ocean. The Weapemeoc established seasonal villages along these banks to procure fish, mammals, crustaceans and mollusks when these species were most abundant, frequently during migratory periods.

In addition to seasonal homes along the Ocean, the Weapemeoc also established temporary homes along the headwaters of the rivers and creeks when the season came for hunting deer and other mammals. These temporary homes were built wherever these animals were most abundantly found and would be abandoned at the end of the season.

Even when hunting on land, the Weapmeoc used their maritime world to assist in the hunt. When hunting deer that were gathered between two bodies of water, they set fire to one end of land, forcing the animals to flee down the peninsula until they eventually came to a standstill at the water's edge where they could be easily shot by bow and arrow.

Religious ritual and superstition surrounded the majority of their maritime activities and water was absolutely the most feared element. Any signs of storms or unsettled waters would lead to a pacification ritual with the throwing of tobacco and other herbs into the water. But in addition to fear, water was easily the most natural and abundant element for the Weapemeoc. When a meeting was called between two or more groups, a headwater was chosen. The Weapemeoc and the neighboring Indians could navigate to the headwater of any river, even one that they had never before travelled. They could also traverse wide sounds with ease, even if the distant shore was not visible from the launching point. Weapemeoc men and women could handle their canoes with ease. Canoes were abundant and temporary canoes could be made easily on the spot to be disposed of or left in waiting for future use upon reaching their destination.

With the arrival of the first wave of English settlers in 1585, the Weapemeoc began experiencing significant changes in their traditional way of life. The Weapemeoc were an alliance of several sub-groups such as the Poteskeet, Paspatank, and Chepanoc--all of whom shared a similar maritime based existence and culture. There was a chief who held some power over the entire alliance. Some of the Weapemeoc took sides with English settlers, while others supported the Chowanoke Indians in the first conflict between Roanoke colonists and nearby Indians. This division may have led to a reduction of lands that had served as the Weapemeoc territory. By 1612, the Weapemeoc territory no longer extended to Chesapeake Sound and the Indian groups who resided there were either tributary to Powhatan (a chief of the inner Chesapeake) or allied with him.

This was just the beginning of major changes for the Weapemeoc. Their territory continued to shrink as Europeans came to settle along their traditional shores. The Weapemeoc came to be called Yawpim and Yeopim by the settlers attempting to pronounce their names.

Weapemeoc shoreline villages, once listed on early maps, disappeared to be replaced by the names of settlers who took up their lands or occasionally purchased plots from displaced Indians.

By 1704, the Weapemeoc territory was reduced by the North Carolina Governor's Council to a mere 4 square miles along Indiantown Creek, a branch of the North River. From once using the Atlantic Ocean itself, along with Albemarle and Currituck Sounds, and all the rivers of the region as their sources for food and their place of culture, the Weapemeoc were limited to one relatively insignificant stream. In comparison to their former abundance of foods, Indiantown Creek provided for them only freshwater species of fish and shellfish. The creek itself had no peninsula, thus making traditional deer hunting through fire burning impossible.

The Paspatanks, one of the sub-groups of the Weapemeoc, were eventually recorded as wearing breeches, linen shirts, hats, shoes and stockings. The Paspatanks also raised cattle, animals unknown in the Americas prior to European contact. From their new cows they also made butter, a food originating in Europe. One of the Yeopim chiefs, King Durant was recorded as possessing and wearing English styled clothes in 1737. The chiefs of the area by that time had homes built in the style of English settlers, although the rest of the local Indians retained traditional homes, made of logs in an oval shape.

During this time of acculturation, as revealed in archaeological investigations, traditional Indian mortuary practices were replaced by European methods of dealing with the dead. Rather than continuing the tradition of group burials, those found at Indiantown were individual and bodies were placed in a supine rather than flexed position. Nevertheless, these burials were also found to contain burial goods of both Indian and European manufacture (copper, shell beads, and glass beads for example). Weapemeoc shell-tempered pottery became cruder and less ornate as

interaction with the settlers increased. Eventually their pottery was replaced with trade goods of European design.

By 1780, the Weapemeoc lived in such a similar fashion as their neighbors of European descent that they were no longer distinguishable from Europeans in either the archaeological or the historical record. By that time surviving Weapemeoc had English names. They lived in the same types of homes as European settlers, farmed and practiced animal husbandry in the same manner as the settlers, and utilized the same household items and tools. Aside from the original reservation site retaining the name of Indian Town and some memory and self-identification as Indian, all other characteristics (material culture, language, subsistence and habitation patterns) that distinguished the Weapemeoc as Indians was gone by 1790.

The Weapemeoc way of life and their unique material culture disappeared, although they themselves (or rather their descendants) did not disappear. This process of acculturation and eventual assimilation is correlated to the loss of their maritime culture. When the Weapemeoc no longer had access to traditional maritime food sources, when they no longer used the water as their means of communication with each other and with other groups, and when the water was no longer the most important element in their lives, the Weapemeoc no longer retained a culture that was distinct from the Europeans who lived around them. Except for traces of their villages and burials that have been uncovered by archaeologists, some documentary fragments of their early historical existence, and an understanding of the maritime culture they enjoyed prior to European contact, their presence as a small Indian nation in the Albemarle Sound region would be lost to history.

The central goal and purpose of this thesis is to reconstruct as accurately as possible the Weapemeoc existence and way of life prior to European contact and to describe the ways in

which their culture was subsumed or destroyed as they were separated from their maritime habitat.

## CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH DESIGN

### **Definition of Terms**

Culture is here defined as everything produced by men and women, both tangible and intangible. When human-made items or human-modified sites are found *in situ* (literally “in position”-essentially untouched since last used) during archaeological excavation, these are referred to as artifacts. Artifacts that are made by a specific group of people make up the material culture of that group. Historical objects are items that were not discarded at any point and were preserved through continuous ownership (used, or saved, through time).

One of the most sensitive terms is also one that is used most often in this thesis; Indian. This term will be used rather than Amerindian or Native American because it is preferred by Eastern North Carolina Indians today. In addition to their preference, the term is well understood and will be also be used to describe neighboring Indian groups for consistency.

Rather than using the term tribe or nation, Indian communities will be referred to as Indian groups. This will prevent associating the term with specific sizes of the Indian groups, for example, the term nations is often associated with a larger population than a tribe. Additionally, the use of group will avoid the antiquated anthropological idea of cultural progression from primitive to civilized culture.

Settlers will be used to refer to those Europeans and those of European descent that came to America with the intent of living there permanently. This term provides more accuracy than colonists, as there were colonizers did not intend to settle abroad permanently, such as government officials. Colonial will still be used in reference to records and the culture of the

European settlers as this is an accurate and well understood term defining a specific period of time.

Contact often has an ambiguous meaning and can refer to both an event and a process (Loren 2008:2). Contact may also place too much importance on a small time period when Europeans “met” indigenous groups (Lightfoot 1995; Loren 2008; Murray 2004). In this case, contact is used only in reference to the introduction of European material culture. The earliest introduction of European material culture may be unknown, and thus the first confirmed visit by European explorers to the Weapemeoc land will be used as a benchmark for the event of contact. Giovanni de Verrazzano travelled the Outer Banks in 1524, but the exact location along the Outer Banks is unknown. Philip Amadas explored the Albemarle Sound in 1584-this will be used as the date for the specific event of contact.

Post-contact artifacts and sites will be referred to as Historic Phase artifacts and sites. This will be used in preference to, and in distinction from, Colono-Indian phase, a term used in archaeology to describe Indian artifacts made of European material or influenced by European design and manufacture. The term Colono-Indian was originally used to describe earthenwares (unglazed and fired at low temperatures) found at colonial sites between the Carolinas and Delaware (Ferguson 1980:14; Noel-Hume 1962:1). This term precludes any other culture from being a part of the process (such as African slaves) and also has the implied meaning of a one-way acculturation, the Indians adopting things from the settlers (or colonists as the term indicates). It also precludes the continued use of traditional Indian artifacts after contact. Historic Phase demarcates a new period where written records and illustrations are used along with in situ artifacts and oral histories, and all are used to describe Weapemeoc culture.

Acculturation is the cultural exchange between two groups of people, each adopting traits from the other while remaining distinct. This term should not be confused with assimilation. Assimilation is defined as a minority culture becoming indistinguishable from the cultural majority through a blending and adopting of cultural traits. Frequently the minority group adopts more of the majority's cultural traits, rather than the reverse. The distinction between acculturation and assimilation has to do with the retention of a cultural identity. In acculturation, the cultures involved can be seen as distinct cultures with distinct cultural identities. In assimilation, there are no visible distinctions between what were once two distinct cultures.

Displacement is sometimes used to describe one dominant culture being replaced by a different culture. However, in this thesis the term will be used for its geographical definition: the physical movement of a people through space and time. In addition to the physical movement of a people, this term will also be used to describe the reduction of land owned or used by the Indians as this resulted in their physical removal from their traditional lands. This occurred through the selling of patents, titles and deeds, as well as through surveys that redefined boundaries. These early surveys were often biased in favor of the party commissioning the survey.

Maritime cultural landscape is a relatively new term in the field of archaeology. The phrase was coined by Christer Westerdahl in 1992 in an attempt to incorporate land monuments with an underwater survey (Westerdahl 1992:5). It seems to differ from traditional landscape archaeology in that structures related to maritime activities constitute the "landscape" rather than the modified physical landscape itself. This term has been adopted in many maritime archaeology investigations involving a culture's use of the shore and/or maritime resources; however, in this thesis the term as specifically used by Westerdahl does not apply.

Maritime culture is a somewhat broader term but seems more appropriate than the variety of other terms used to define prehistoric cultures with maritime subsistence and settlement patterns. Some of the terms for this include, “maritime communities” and “maritime traditions.” The term “maritime traditions” is more common in maritime ethnographic studies (Rainbird 2007; Taylor 1992).

There is also some debate as to what exactly constitutes “maritime” (Ford 2011). In this thesis, maritime will be defined as related to water (salt or fresh; ocean, lake or river). For the sake of consistency, the phrase “maritime culture” will be used to describe cultural activity in, on or proximal to the water.

The Indians of the Currituck and Albemarle Sounds have had a variety of names and spelling variations in historical documents and maps. For example, Weapemeoc has also been spelled Weapomeiock, Weapomeiok (Mook 1944), and Weopomeoke. It seems that this was ‘shortened’ to Yawpim or that a name-change occurred at some point. Yawpim seems to be the most frequently used name for this group of Indians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with a few variations, Yapim, Yawpims, Yawpine, Yausapin, Jaupim, Yapun and Vopim.

Yausapin is used in the deed with Nathaniel Batts (NCSA, Nathaniel Batts Papers, 1655-1660). Yeopim appears in the original land grants between the King of these Indians and George Durant. The original land grant no longer exists and there are only transcriptions in a variety of locations, such as *Documenting the American South* <http://docsouth.unc.edu> (DocSouth), Hathaway’s *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register* (1900) and in Vaughan’s *Early American Indian Documents* (2001). The term Yeopim does not appear again until 1740 and comes into frequent use amongst historians and archaeologists in the twentieth century.

It is possible that one of the transcriptions of the original land grant with George Durant was changed to read Yeopim, rather than Yawpim. This is even more likely as this grant also mentions Perquimans River and this is the most recent spelling of this river. This river shows up on maps from the seventeenth century as Wiequemans (Ogilby 1672) and maps from the eighteenth century as Pequimans. The “r” did not appear in Perquimans until Jeffrey’s map of 1776.

As mentioned this group was more commonly referred to as the Yeopim in the twentieth century. Descendents of this group briefly had a website and a social media page in 2013 and used the group name of Yeopim-Renape. Yawpim may be one of the more common phoenetic spellings. A variety of phoenetic spellings for Indian proper names and words are common in archvies. In this thesis, Weapemeoc will be used to refer to Northern Albemarle Indians pre-contact and Yeopim will be used to refer to these Indians post-contact.

Although Algonquian is used to describe a language family that runs along the east coast from Maine to Georgia, it is also used as a cultural description to distinguish the Algonquian Indian groups from neighboring Indian groups that are within the Siouan language group, such as the Occaneechi and Saponi, or the Iroquoian language group, such as the Tuscarora and Meherrin. More specifically, the Algonquian groups in eastern North Carolina will be referred to as Carolina Algonquians which is used in the archaeological field to distinguish them from Algonquian groups to the north.

The North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Office of State Archaeology (OSA) site numbering system is used to designate the archaeological sites mentioned within this thesis. The format for this system starts with the North Carolina state number (31), followed by a two letter abbreviation for the county in which the site is located, and last a two or three digit

number that refers to the chronological order in which the information was received by OSA. There was some difficulty in determining the OSA designated number when the excavations were completed by University of North Carolina (UNC) or East Carolina University (ECU). Both universities use a similar system but the last two numbers are based on the chronological order of excavations conducted by the University with no relation to the last two numbers used by the OSA. In order to maintain consistency, OSA numbers are used wherever possible, and university numbers are indicated in parentheses.

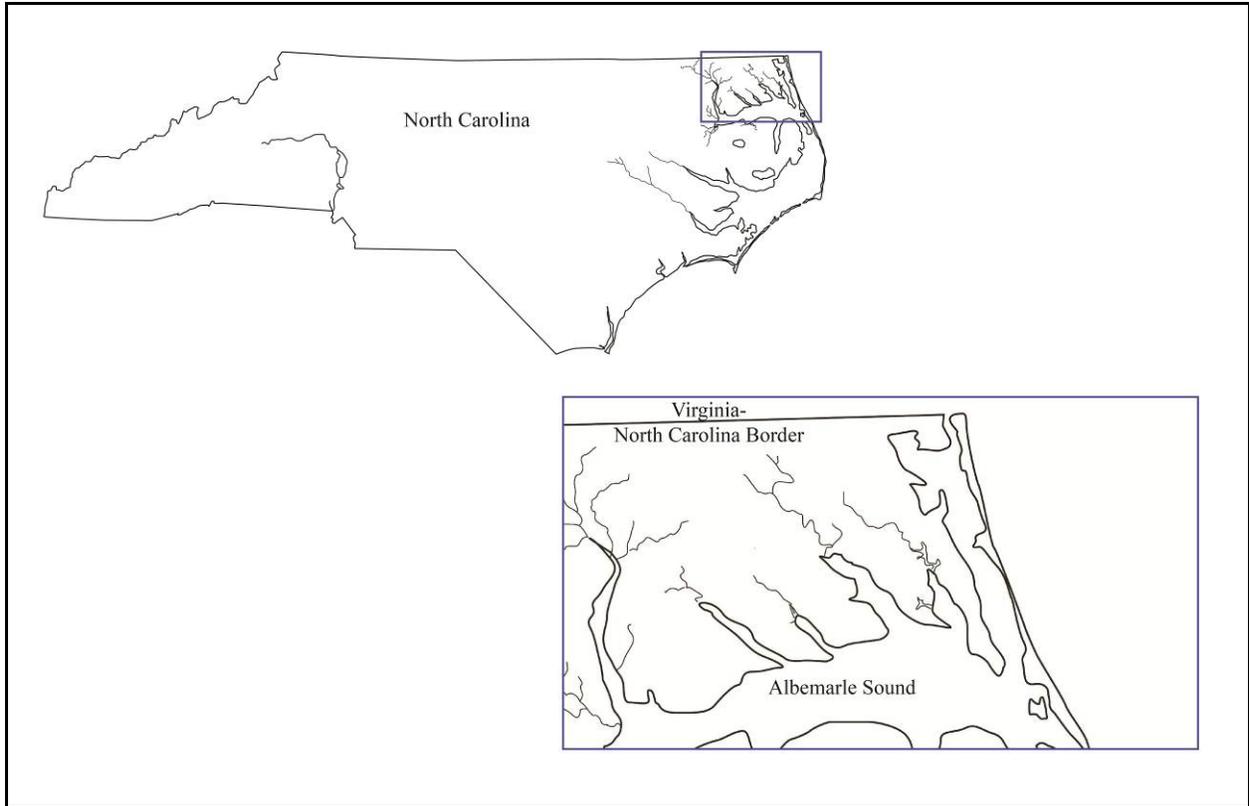
### *Research Design*

Initial research into Weapemeoc history reveals several intriguing patterns: displacement of Weapemeoc from sound and river shorelines to interior rivers and creeks; the creation and dissolution of a “Yeopim” reservation; and the adoption of European names and European material culture. The loss of land and subsequent loss of subsistence resources frequently affects cultural identity. The gradual shift away from maritime resources led to the acculturation and assimilation of the Weapemeoc Indians.

The earliest European maps illustrate a large territory for the Weapemeoc, from the Albemarle Sound in the south, to the Chesapeake Bay [Chesepioock Sinus] in the north (Figure 1). The eastern boundary was the Atlantic Ocean with the western boundary somewhat beyond the Roanoke and Chowan Rivers. Historical accounts suggest that this large territory contained a loose alliance of Indian groups at best. The Area of Interest (AOI), as defined in this thesis and consistent with the historical record of the group, is bound by the Atlantic Ocean to the east, the Albemarle Sound to the south, the Chowan River to the west, and the Virginia-North Carolina state border to the north (Figure 2).



Figure 1. 1590 Theodor de Bry, Weapemeoc Territory.



**Figure 2. Area of Interest (AOI).**

The Virginia-North Carolina state border is chosen because the area to the north of the border (and south of Chesapeake Bay) was Powhatan territory by the seventeenth century. Although depicted geographically as Weapemeoc territory in the sixteenth century, groups in this area, such as the Chesapeake and the Nansemond were either allied or tributary to the Powhatan chiefdom by very early in the seventeenth century (Figure 3). Although there may have been a period of time when the Weapemeoc territory maintained a strong alliance from Sound to Sound, at this time there is only evidence of a loose alliance between the Weapemeoc along the northern shore of Albemarle Sound and the groups along the southern shore of Chesapeake Sound. As such, this thesis limits the AOI to the Weapemeoc territory as bound by the neighboring Chowan and Powhatan tribes during the seventeenth century (approximately the Virginia-North Carolina State Border).



Figure 3. 1640 Dutch copy of Hondius and Mercator.

While the AOI is limited to Weapemeoc territory of the seventeenth century, discussion of neighboring tribes remains relevant as these regions were subject to similar socio-cultural influences, economic pressures and intercultural conflicts. The Meherrin, who appear to be a displaced Indian group, will also be discussed as they became established on Chowan and Weapemeoc lands in the eighteenth century.

A few of the Weapemeoc Indian sub-groups during the seventeenth century were the Pasquenoc, Poteskeet, Paspatank, Chepanoc, and the Masconing. The settlement pattern of the Weapemeoc seems to be dispersed village isolates, and these sub-groups are small villages- actually small geographic areas with farmsteads grouped in proximity to valuable resources. Historical evidence suggests that these sub-groups only occasionally act distinctly from the Weapemeoc as a whole. When this occurs the sub-group will be discussed specifically by name, in all other cases all of the sub-groups will be implied by the use of the group name.

This thesis will briefly summarize the Paleo-Indian Period (12,000 BCE- 8,000 BCE) and the Archaic Period (8,000 BCE to 1,000 BCE) which archaeologists have written about

extensively (Ward and Davis 1999; see also Daniel 1998; Daniel 2001; Daniel 2002; and MacDonald 1971) and will go into greater detail regarding the cultural transition from the Woodland Period to the Historic Phase, and the Historic Phase itself.

A chapter will be devoted to the theoretical approach and methodology used for this thesis. A chapter about the environment and site formation processes within the AOI will follow. Another chapter will focus on the pre-contact culture of the Weapemeoc Indians, specifically the Woodland Period. A chapter will be devoted to the Historic Phase as illustrated from the historical record. This chapter is divided into the following subperiods: (1) Contact: 1584-1653; (2) Cultural Exchange: 1653-1704; (3) Acculturation: 1704-1740; and (4) Assimilation: 1740-1780. Another chapter will review archaeological investigations and excavations of Weapemeoc Indian sites dating to the Historic Phase. The final chapter will interpret and analyze the findings of this thesis, including a close examination of the loss of Weapemeoc maritime culture through acculturation and assimilation.

Ideally, there should be less of a distinction between the archaeological record and the historical record when describing the culture of a people. Unfortunately, separate points of view have persisted for numerous reasons including the fact that historical and archaeological research have developed as strictly separate academic fields with differing methodologies and theories. Both fields offer essential viewpoints on the culture of the Weapemeoc. The archaeological record illuminates the perspective of the maker and/or user of the artifact(s). However, the archaeological record is somewhat sparse and the historical record provides vital information regarding a culture in transition. The historical record provides an invaluable view of the exchange and conflict associated with acculturation and assimilation. However, the historical record retains the perspective of the European authors, often written in court minutes and

assembly minutes by settlers. Thus the Indians' voice and perspective in the historical records is seen far less than the multiplicity of voices from the immigrating Europeans looking for land to settle. Through keeping these two approaches somewhat separate in this thesis and by presenting distinctive chapters for each approach, a clearer picture of Weapemeoc culture emerges.

Another reason for looking at the historical and archaeological records separately is because there are virtually no documentary records prior to Europeans coming to the Albemarle shores. Since there are no Weapemeoc written accounts prior to European explorations and settlement it is necessary to rely on the archaeological record to understand the lives of the Weapemeoc prior to the arrival of Europeans. This thesis is neither pre-contact nor post-contact, but both, and as such will utilize both the archaeological and historical record.

A variety of methodologies and theoretical approaches were necessary in interpreting and analyzing the sources and records regarding to the Weapemeoc. The examination of subsistence patterns utilizes methods and theories from cultural ecology in the anthropology field. Maritime culture is examined using the developing field of maritime ethnography. Cultural change of indigenous peoples utilizes methods and theories from both the anthropology and ethnography fields. Historiography illustrates the changing perceptions of Indians over time and how this influences interpretation of Indian history now, as well as when the primary and secondary sources were written. The use of a direct historical approach to interpret archaeological data from the historical period comes from the earliest days of historical archaeology as a discipline. A historical geography methodology and theoretical approach is used in the interpretation of numerous maps. Fortunately, many of these disciplines use similar methodologies. Historical geography interprets a document in an attempt to better understand a group of people-the direct historical approach does the same. These various fields and the accompanying methodologies

will be used to illustrate the loss of Weapemeoc traditional maritime subsistence and maritime culture through cultural change.

### ***Theory***

As mentioned previously, a variety of theoretical approaches were reviewed to determine which approach would be applicable to the research design. More than one approach proved necessary because of the variety and types of information available. The following theoretical approaches from the anthropology, history and geography academic fields were used in examining the loss of traditional maritime culture among the Weapemeoc Indians: maritime culture, cultural change (also characterized as acculturation, assimilation, and contact theoretical approaches), direct historical approach, historiography, and historical geography.

### **Maritime Culture**

The theory behind maritime culture studies is that a culture is distinct and unique because of the group's interaction with the water. When studying Indian groups in Eastern North Carolina an examination of the maritime culture is essential. Most studies of the region incorporate maritime culture in the examination of subsistence patterns, habitation patterns, and trade patterns. As William Haag points out, "within the area of our study the Indian peoples lived—apparently always—on the shores of bodies of water" (Haag 1956:22). Michael Oberg eloquently explains, "[i]t is and was a world of water, and the relationship of the people who lived there to estuary, sound, and shore played a critical role in shaping their identity" (Oberg 2008:3).

Binford points out that the correlation between fishing efficiency and human population density is far greater than the correlation between faunal resources and human population density or floral resources and human population density (Binford 1991:145).

This thesis will be looking at prehistoric and historic maritime culture. An article by Rönby outlines three distinct needs that lead to the establishment of “maritime durées”, essentially, long term maritime characteristics. These characteristics of maritime culture are the “exploitation of marine resources, communication over water and the mental presence of the sea” which he shortens to Maritime Subsistence, Maritime Communication, and Maritime Mentality (Rönby 2007:65). Although Rönby is examining maritime culture and ethnography of the Baltic Sea, this three part definition of maritime culture seems to be an appropriate approach for examining the maritime culture of the Weapemeoc Indians.

Maritime subsistence will be determined through examination of maritime subsistence sources (available/edible species) and the maritime material culture including shell middens, canoes, and fish weirs gathered during archaeological excavations. Maritime communication is best presented through early historical documents that illustrate the interconnected nature of the Albemarle Sound. Several Indian groups communicated via water routes and used water related locations as meeting points. Maritime mentality of the Weapemeoc appears to have changed significantly over time. The Weapemeoc moved inland during the historic period and were farther from the sounds that once provided maritime subsistence. Laws were passed limiting certain portions of waterways for ferries, bridges, docks, shipyards and fishing areas. This reshaped traditional use and views of waterways and shorelines. In addition, laws were passed that prevented Indians from taking items from shipwrecks (another avenue for maritime subsistence that became available when Europeans began sailing the coast) and from borrowing boats and vessels moored on the shorelines.

Recent studies have shown that material culture associated with a single group is often oversimplifying reality, a reality in which numerous groups used, shared and traded both goods

and ideas (Loren 2008; Magoon 1999). The acculturation and assimilation of goods and ideas is extremely important in this study of maritime culture. This exchange between groups led to a change in maritime subsistence, maritime communication, and maritime mentality.

### **Cultural Change**

The theoretical approach for a cultural change archaeology study is recording the exchange of material culture between two distinct groups of people. Trade goods and items of cultural exchange can be indicators of contact. The cultural exchange of ideas is much more tenuous and difficult to record-but it is possible to find evidence in architecture, art, burials, and religious artifacts. Contact often brought about change in the indigenous culture which had long lasting positive and negative effects on both cultures.

Cultural contact and cultural change theory will be illustrated through changes in the material culture, but there is also significant evidence of acculturation and assimilation that is not evident in the material culture of a group. Maps, for example, illustrate the loss of Weapemeoc lands over time. Governor's Council minutes and Quit-Rent rolls also illustrate the loss of land over time.

Acculturation *between* settlers and Indians is a dynamic process. The Indians were not just acted upon, but were actors in their own right.

At no point were Native Americans or Africans passive recipients of colonialism, change, violence, or assimilation. Rather, innovation, negotiation, and creativity were also important parts of the colonial experience particularly regarding the creation of identities and material culture transformation (Loren 2008:2-3).

These more mundane aspects of acculturation receive less attention than pronounced or dramatic events such as forced marches, epidemics, and slavery. However, acculturation is rarely limited to a single event and, by definition, is not limited to a single culture.

The concept of acculturation, or transculturation, that posits a progressive departure of a subordinate cultural group from traditional ways in favor of those of a dominant culture with which it has come into contact, has long since been abandoned in favor of a more sophisticated way of understanding cultural change; one which focuses instead on the creative reworking of new concepts, objects, and practices by both groups in contact, a process occurring whenever groups come together, regardless of their original similarities or differences. (Mintz et al. 2011:8-6)

### **Direct Historical Approach**

The direct historical approach comes from the discipline of archaeology and uses a historical document or several historical documents as a basis for archaeological investigation and excavation. So rather than random sampling, field inspection, or salvage archaeology, a specific area is chosen as the site for excavation based on a historical map or a primary source document describing the location of a cultural site.

Much of the early archaeological investigations in coastal Eastern North Carolina were results of the direct historical approach and an attempt to find evidence of the lost Roanoke settlers and the Indians they interacted with.

### **Historiography**

Historiography has two definitions: the study of history as a discipline, and the examination of a specific historical topic, as well as the changing interpretation of that topic, through time. Within this thesis, the second definition is of utmost importance. The changing perceptions of Indians through the centuries are reflected in the historical record, in both primary and secondary sources. A bias, known or unknown can color a primary source author's interpretation of Indian actions and culture. Likewise, every historian interpreting and analyzing primary sources brings their own perceptions and biases to the sources they are interpreting.

This topic, Weapemeoc loss of maritime culture, already brings bias to the table, for example the use of the word “loss” with culture. Loss carries connotations that may be disagreed with by certain groups. How the author of this thesis perceives the Weapemeoc would most likely be different than how a descendent of the Weapemeoc perceives their ancestors culture. Pointing out bias, perspective and changing interpretations through time is an essential part of this thesis.

### **Historical Geography**

Historical geography is defined as “the writings of scholars of any disciplinary provenance who have something to say about matters of geographical interest relating to past time” (Journal of Historical Geography 1975). Historical geography is based on the idea that spatial variation can illuminate a culture’s interests, values and interaction with other cultures over time (Naylor 2008:265-266). This theoretical approach is ideal in the examination of the Weapemeoc Indians’ loss of maritime subsistence and culture between 1524 and 1780.

Historical geography as a theoretical approach is based on the concept of the human landscape changing over time. These changes occur through the actual physical changes as well as the representation of a geographic region. Actual physical changes are observed through the comparison of maps (and, more recently, aerial photography) spanning a chronological period. The representation of a geographic region is a bit more difficult as it does not just examine what appears on the map, but also what does not appear on the map. The interpretation of symbols is just that, an interpretation. It is not quite as easy to track as a border or boundary. Unintentional and intentional blanks, or spaces, are referred to as cartographic silences.

Cartographic silences in the case of colonial America are often unintentional silences from a simple lack of information (for example describing the interior of North America as wilderness because the interior was not yet explored).

Some unintentional cartographic silences that are not mandated by a state or commercial power are a result of the creator's bias or beliefs (Harley 1988:65). These unintentional silences can result from prevailing political, religious, and social ideologies that influence the drawing of the map and are unknown to the creator themselves.

Intentional cartographic silences are often required by the party or person commissioning the map. Or the creator themselves may have a specific intent or purpose for the map.

Conquering states impose a silence on minority or subject populations through their manipulation of place-names. Whole strata of ethnic identity are swept from the map in what amount to acts of cultural genocide. While such manipulations are, at one level, the result of deliberate censorship or policies of acculturation, at another—the epistemological—level, they also can be seen as representing the unconscious rejection of these 'other' people by those belonging to the politically more powerful groups (Harley 1988:65-66).

There are few cartographic examples that more clearly illustrate these “acts of cultural genocide” than the representation (and/or cartographic silence) of Indian groups on maps of the United States.

Another aspect from historical geography that will be important in this thesis is the examination of boundaries. Boundaries are not physical landmarks, but political, religious, linguistic, and cultural metaphorical lines between groups. The AOI was a liminal (an anthropology term defined as “betweenness”) geographic area throughout the seventeenth century and then a liminal political area as Britain's power weakened over the colonies during the eighteenth century. It becomes difficult to create boundaries on a map when the boundary of the colony has not been clearly established, or when two different people seem to own the same

land. Many surveyors attempted to establish boundaries in the area, but the surveyors were often declared biased by the party that stood to lose any land. William Byrd's book *The History of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, deals with the difficulty of surveying and establishing the Virginia-North Carolina border (Byrd 1866 [1728-1729]:14-17).

Another concern addressed through historical geography is determining which basic map features and measurements are original. These originals were often used by later cartographers as a base for their own maps. Originals would be copied for a few decades until a new surveyor/cartographer produced new, frequently more accurate, data. So an intentional or unintentional detail or silence may have been copied while the creator did not intend to promote the bias of the original creator. If a map source in this thesis lists more than one creator, the first person indicated is the creator of the geographical boundary and the second person indicated is the creator of the content or additional details.

### *Methodology*

The interdisciplinary nature of the research question also necessitates a blend of various methodologies. Methodologies from archaeology, history and geography will all be used to understand cultural development and change in the region.

This thesis provides a history of the Albemarle and Currituck Sounds Indians through the examination of both the archaeological and historical records. Archaeological records will include reports from specific excavations as well as any regional studies. Historical records will include early travelers' and settlers' accounts, cultural studies and a review of deeds located at the state archives by county.

The majority of archaeological reports referenced in this thesis are archived in the OSA library. Dolores Hall of the Historical Resources Division of the OSA was of great assistance in

locating and sorting through these reports. The ECU Anthropology Department contained numerous reports on excavations conducted by ECU at Late Woodland sites.

Late Woodland archaeological excavations in the Albemarle region will be examined for evidence of maritime subsistence. Salvage excavation of a Woodland Period ossuary at the West Site in Currituck County on October 14-16, 2010 provided a first-hand experience to the author of this thesis of local salvage archaeology techniques, as well as the recovery of a coastal burial site that was subject to erosion.

The State Archives of North Carolina colonial county records were searched for information about the Weapemeoc Indians specifically, as well as settlers potentially associated with the Weapemeoc. Colonial records, state records, county papers, personal papers, and land titles/deeds were examined. The archives map collection was also examined for any reference of the Weapemeoc.

The early county records at the North Carolina State Archives on microfiche were examined. These included the Albemarle County records. Albemarle County was established in 1664 and consisted of the Northern Albemarle region. Albemarle County was then abolished in 1739 and the area was divided into Currituck, Pasquotank, Perquimans and Chowan counties very similar in size to the modern counties of the same name (Genealogical Services Branch, State Library of North Carolina). The microfiche of these counties deeds and wills were also examined.

The University of North Carolina Special Collections archived the Durant Family Bible, a bible belonging to one of the earliest settlers within the AOI. Charles E. Rush (Director of Libraries, University of North Carolina, 1938-1954) wrote some notes and clarification on entries in the bible and these were included with the Bible itself.

Many colonial records have been transcribed to allow for greater circulation and for synthesizing information from these records. One of the earliest to do this was Hathaway at the turn of the century in his three volumes of *The North Carolina Genealogical and Historical Register*. The University of North Carolina has digitized many colonial records in the ongoing Documenting the American South (DocSouth) project. Legislation and records related to Indians have been transcribed and included in fifteen volumes of *Early American Indian Documents* under the direction of general editor Alden T. Vaughan. These volumes are sub-divided by geographic area (state) and by time (historical events or periods).

Verrazzano, Amadas and Barlowe, Lane, Harriot, Smith, Beverley, Lawson, Byrd, Brickell, and Strachey, with excerpts from others such as Dr. Bray, have all provided firsthand accounts of settler-Indian interaction. These primary sources are invaluable in determining and describing a base for cultural change. The first four consist of travel and exploration accounts. The remaining authors primarily provided inventories of the conditions and natural history in the Albemarle region, either as an initial settlement account or a description of the history of a settlement.

Giovanni de Verrazzano was an Italian who was sent on a voyage of exploration and discovery for the King of France and travelled the Atlantic coast of North America in 1524. Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe are both English and were both sent on a voyage of exploration along the Atlantic Coast of North America by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584. Amadas was Captain of the voyage and Barlowe is the author of the account sent back to Raleigh. Likewise, Ralph Lane and Thomas Harriot are both English and were sent by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1585 to North America, however they were sent to both explore and assist in establishing a settlement.

William Strachey was English and lived only temporarily in Jamestown, but produced *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia* in 1612. Likewise, John Smith, one of the leaders of the Jamestown settlement published his account *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England & The Summer Isles* in 1624. Robert Beverley was born in Jamestown, Virginia in 1673 and published *The History and Present State of Virginia* in 1705. John Lawson was born in England but settled in North Carolina near Pamlico Sound and was known as a surveyor and for his account *A New Voyage to Carolina* first published in 1709. William Byrd was born in Virginia and was also a surveyor known for his account *The History of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina* of surveying the dividing line in 1728 and 1729. John Brickell was Irish but settled in Edenton, North Carolina. He published *The Natural History of North Carolina With an Account of the Trade, Manners, and Customs of the Christian and Indian Inhabitants* in 1737.

One of the critiques of Brickell is that he plagiarized Lawson. This critique is significant as one of the only historic references to King Durant of the Weapemeoc Indians is Brickell's first-hand account of having met King Durant. While Brickell may have used Lawson's notes as a form for his own, he added vital information that provides an important glimpse of the Weapemeoc Indians.

Early historians from the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century provide quite a bit of information, from the anecdotal to the encyclopedic volumes of James Robert Bent Hathaway. Other historians of this time period include John H. Wheeler, Stephen Beauregard Weeks and a handful of others that wrote about the early settlement period. Local historians' perceptions of the Weapemeoc Indians provide powerful insight into nineteenth century cultural interpretations.

A variety of maps over several centuries were examined for evidence of the Weapemeoc Indians. Maps were found from a variety of sources, including the David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, East Carolina University Special Collections, University of South Florida Special Collections and University of North Carolina Maps Collection.

## CHAPTER 3: ENVIRONMENT

### *Area of Interest Description*

The area of interest (AOI) is limited to the northeastern portion of North Carolina, specifically those lands directly north of Albemarle Sound. This area is bound by the Atlantic Ocean to the East, Albemarle Sound to the South, Chowan River to the West and the Virginia-North Carolina border (36°33'N) to the North (see Figure 2). This area is often referred to as the Edenton District in historical records including census data and deed books.

The AOI rests entirely within the Pamlico Terrace (also known as the Dismal Swamp Terrace). This terrace is bound to the west by the Pamlico-Chowan Scarp, more commonly known as the Suffolk Scarp. The Suffolk Scarp is remnant shoreline from nearly 100,000 years ago from the Sangamon Interglacial Period (Mathis and Crow 1983:2). The western end of Albemarle Sound was once a Pleistocene marine shoreline.

The knowledge that this area was once the ocean floor was easily observed and recorded. As early as 1612, Strachey records untouched beds of oysters and scallops that are visible in river banks (Strachey 1849 [1612]:32). The AOI averages about 2 feet above sea level, and as Loftfield summarizes, “[t]he topography of the entire area can be generalized as flat” (Loftfield 1976:6).

There are very few stone deposits in the region and only a few gravel deposits within the AOI that could be used for lithic material. It is likely that most lithic material consisted of chert from south of the AOI and limestone, quartz and feldspar from north of the AOI.

The sediment of the AOI largely consists of mucky peats, silt loams, and loamy sands with fine sands along shorelines. Mucky peats are a loam-rich sediment that drains poorly compared to other sediments in the region often leading to standing water. The list of USGS soils

that are within the AOI is extensive. Some of the most common sediment types found in the AOI are Donovan Muck (especially in swamp areas), Currituck Mucky Peat, Perquimans Silt Loam, Roanoke Silt Loam, Chowan Silt Loam, Portsmouth Loam, Arapahoe Fine Sandy Loam, Tomotley Fine Sandy Loam (USGS Web Soil Survey, Currituck County; USGS Web Soil Survey, Pasquotank County; USGS Web Soil Survey, Perquimans County; USGS Web Soil Survey, Chowan County). The outer banks are often sandy sediments while the inner banks often have a shoreline of fine loamy sands. Brickell describes the same sorts and variety of sediments: “The Lands of Carolina consist of different Sorts of compost, in several Places, some Stiff, others Light, some Marle, some a rich Black Mold, some Sandy [ . . . ]” (Brickell 1737:13).

The regions has several pocosin lakes which are wide, shallow, fresh-water lakes. These lakes are quite acidic and support few fish populations but do support extensive bird populations (Loftfield 1976:8). Although pocosin lakes are common in the region, none are found within the boundaries of the AOI.

Erosion plays a significant role in the disappearance and appearance of archaeological sites. The shifting and changing of the shoreline is often observable within a single year. Strachey records the aeolian processes that create the sand banks in the early 1600s (Strachey 1849 [1612]:32). The observable site formation processes are the result of an extremely dynamic environment.

### *Ecosystems*

The environment of the North Carolina coastal tidewater region contains quite a few diverse ecosystems in a rather small geographical area. The most prevalent ecosystems include ocean, barrier islands, tidal brackish sound waters, tidal fresh sound waters, rivers, creeks,

cypress swamps, marshland, and scrubby pine forests. This unique watery world is the setting for amazing diversity of maritime resource and provides a unique setting for a maritime culture.

The Outer Banks consist of barrier islands that are exposed to sediment accretion and erosion through wind, waves, tides, changes in sea level, river deposition, and human dredging and shoring activities. The Outer Banks are unstable because of marine sand deposition and erosion and are highly susceptible to storm activity. Sand deposits, dunes, on the Outer Banks can be as high as 60 feet above sea level (Loftfield 1976:7).

To the west of the Outer Banks are Currituck and Albemarle Sounds. Currituck and Albemarle are drainages for numerous rivers including Pasquotank River, North River, Little River, Perquimans River, Chowan River, and Roanoke River. In the southern portion of the coastal tidewater region there are far fewer rivers and estuaries. This difference between the northern and southern position of the coastal tidewater region is caused by the northern coast tectonic plate subsiding while the southern coast tectonic plate is rising. The subsiding action has led to the development of the current river drainage systems (Mathis and Crow 1983:4; Riggs and O'Connor 1975:3).

There are important distinctions between Currituck and Albemarle Sounds. Albemarle Sound has a greater depth and has a long history of being navigable (if you can reach it through the barrier islands). Currituck Sound is shallower with an average depth of 5 feet, and the depth of the sound is also influenced by winds. Currituck Sound has had varying salinity over the decades while Albemarle Sound is consistently brackish (Caldwell 2001:34).

Water levels in Currituck Sound are at the highest during March and April when the winds are coming from the south. Low water levels are frequent during November

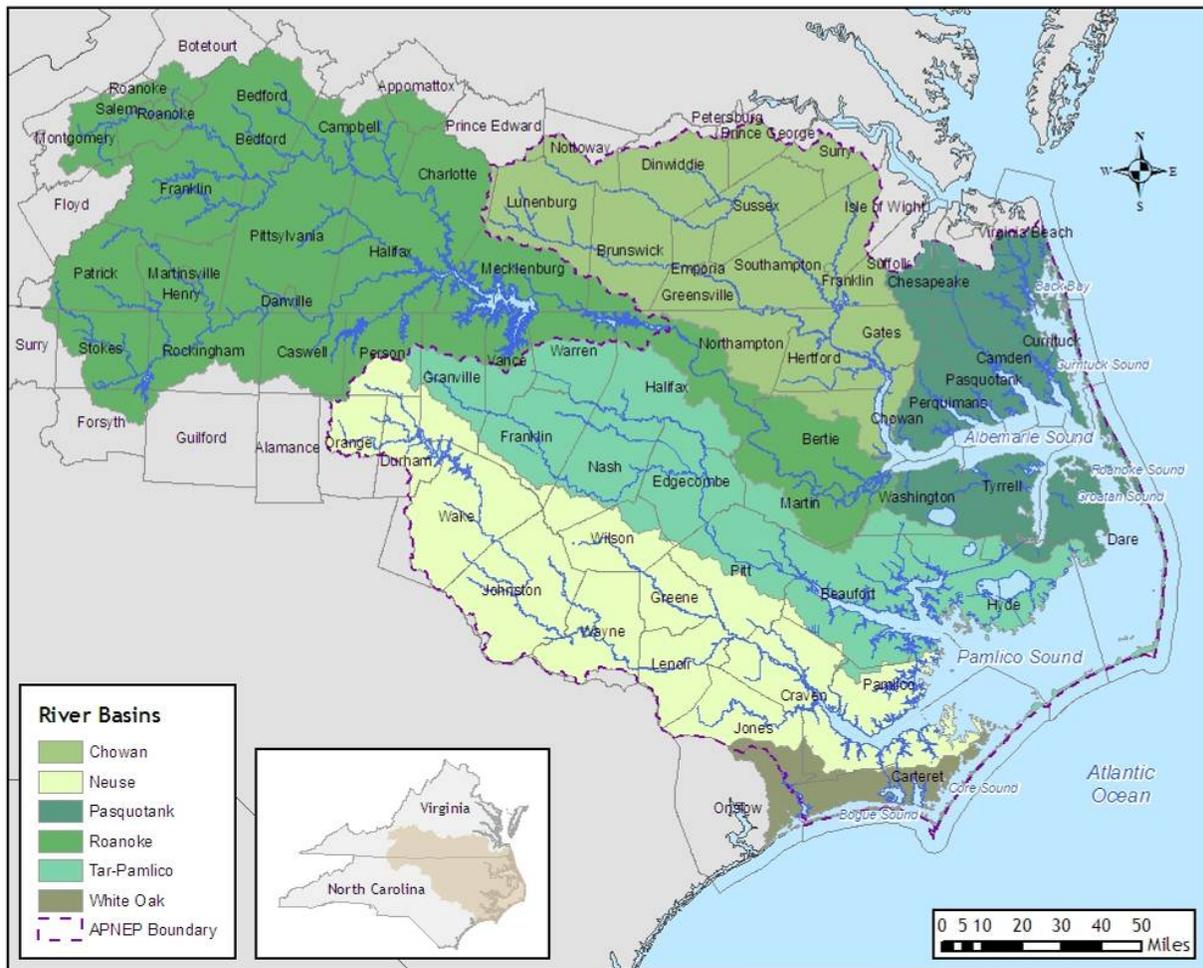
and December, and when the wind comes from the North. Water levels are rarely dependent on currents in this inland sound but rather dependent on the wind. This seems to be true historically as well:

[D]irectly from the West runneth a most notable River, and in all those parts most famous, called the River of Moratoc. This River openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiock. And whereas the River of Chawanook, and all the other Soundes, and Bayes, salt and fresh, shewe no current in the world in calme weather, but are mooved altogether with the winde: This River of Moratoc hath so violent a current from the West and Southwest, that it made me almost of the opinion that with oares it would scarce be navigable: it passeth with many creekes and turnings (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:325).

Brickell also mentions the wind-driven tides in 1737, “There are no regular tides in Carolina, but what are occasioned for the most part by the Winds shifting from one Point to another” (Brickell 1737:26).

Currituck Sound is currently a tidal brackish sound. This sound had fresh water during the 1960s and 1970s but there has been an increase in brackish water fish populations over the last four decades (Caldwell 2001:2). Currituck Sound has a current salinity of about 3.5 ppt (parts per thousand). Freshwater in the Currituck Sound stems from three sources: North Landing River, Northwest River, and Tull Creek. There are currently no ocean inlet sources for saltwater and the current source of salt water comes mainly from Roanoke Sound and the intake of water from southern inlets during hurricanes and when winds are from the south. Chesapeake Bay and Great Bridge Lock are salinity sources when winds are coming from the north. A recent study shows that the Albemarle-Chesapeake Canal generally has a higher level of salinity than either the Albemarle or Currituck Sounds (Caldwell 2001:1-3, 20, 34) . Currituck Sound is shallow with an average depth of five feet.

The area of interest falls within the Pasquotank River Basin and the Chowan River Basin (Figure 4). The major rivers in these basins are characterized by narrow bodies of water bound by swamp forests. The Chowan, Roanoke and Cashie rivers are deep meandering rivers from headwaters all the way to the sound. The North, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Little and Yeopim rivers are flooded blackwater rivers (Twidale 2004). At the head of these rivers, there is usually a deeper channel with shallows to either side. These rivers widen as the waters move down stream



**Figure 4. River Basins of North Carolina (NCDENR).**

and towards the sound. This is considered a transition zone and the shorelines at the river mouth are consistently submerged as sea levels continue to rise (Riggs 1996:174).

### *Subsistence Resources*

As John Smith writes “But above all the rest of the Elements, the sea is found must abundantly liberall” (Smith 1907 [1624]:337). Harriot, Beverley, Lawson, and Strachey all describe dozens of fish and other marine species. These historic edible species are consolidated into tables in Appendix A with their current scientific names. There are four different maritime subsistence sources of importance in the northern Albemarle region; saltwater, tidal brackish water, tidal freshwater, and inland riverine.

#### **Saltwater**

The major saltwater source is the Atlantic Ocean. The long barrier islands known as the Outer Banks separate the Atlantic Ocean from the sounds of the mainland. Inlets, small breaks in the banks, allow water and ships to pass through these banks. The fish of the Atlantic Ocean tend to be migratory. During peak migration periods, a few dozen different species of edible fish are available in large quantities.

Of these species, only the white perch (*Marone americana*) and the eel (*Anguilla rostrata*) were available through the winter. All other species left the shores and bays in the fall, leaving few fish during the winter. These migrations typically occurred in large schools, making it quite easy to catch a significant amount of fish at certain points during the year. The largest catches occur in April and May, but the fishing is good through September (Binford 1991:34-37). Most of these fishes can be caught with a simple line, except for the bluefish that must be caught with moving bait, and the mullet that can be caught with traps (Binford 1991:34-35).

Comparing the variation in edible fish species of today with fish species from the sixteenth century can be difficult. Ralph Lane mentions several fish “and very many other sortes of excellent food fish, which we have taken & eaten, whose names I know not” (Harriot 1972

[1590]:20-21). Not only are there fish that are unnamed by these primary sources, but in addition neither Lane nor Harriot state which species were or were not eaten by the Indians.

William Strachey confirms the migratory routes of fish in the early seventeenth century with his mention of large herring shoals available in March and April within the Chesapeake Bay (Strachey 1849 [1612]:127). Strachey also mentions many of the fish, shell fish, and mammals that are recorded within the tables of Appendix A. Strachey notes that the Indians do not eat the horseshoe crab, but will eat the blue crab in abundance (Strachey 1849 [1612]:128).

John Smith records that the Indians ate whale meat but did not hunt these mammals. Whales that washed ashore were “harvested” (Smith [1907] 1624:338).

Henry Fowler attempted to identify many of the fish species mentioned by John Lawson in his *Study of the Fishes of the Southern Piedmont and Coastal Plain* (1945). Fowler’s identified species seems consistent with more recent identification attempts. However, there remain some species that are unidentifiable based on the name or description given by Lawson.

### **Tidal Brackish Water**

The variety of fish is heavily dependent on the amount of salinity in the water. As the inlets move over time along the Outer Banks, it is entirely possible that historical accounts of edible fishes were not the same species eaten at a later or an earlier date. Currituck Sound currently contains tidal brackish water and most likely had tidal brackish water in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when a few inlets opened directly into the sound.

Binford suggests that Alewife, Shad, and Sturgeon would have been the most commonly fished species by the indigenous Indians (Binford 1991:37). Blue crab and green turtle, loggerhead turtle, diamond-back terrapin and northern diamond back turtles are also available in

brakish waters (Binford 1991:41-42). Indians in this region did not eat lamprey eels and were released if trapped in fish weirs (Lawson 1967 [1709]:155-165).

### **Tidal Freshwater**

The Albemarle Sound currently has very little salt water circulating through its waters. Currently there are no inlets connecting the sound directly to the ocean. Current salinity levels are between 0% and 7% and some of that salinity is related to waters flowing from Roanoke and Croatan Sounds (Riggs 1996:171).

Common mud turtle, red-bellied turtle, eastern painted turtle, and common snapping turtle are also found in this environment, but are significantly smaller than the saltwater turtles and may not have been a food source to indigenous Indians (Binford 1991: 45).

The majority of edible fish species that are found in tidal freshwater are also found in riverine environments. One significant difference between tidal freshwater and riverine species are the spawning habits. Some species will live and spawn down river and up river, and so are not to be found in tidal freshwater, where tidal freshwater will be found in the rivers as well as the sounds.

### **Inland Riverine**

The river drainsheds in the coastal region are smaller and are mostly limited to the coastal plain. There are abundant wetlands and a more extensive saline zone than other riverine estuaries. The majority of rivers in the AOI are blackwater rivers. These “blackwater” rivers are a result of tannic acids from decaying vegetation along with suspended sediment that make the water difficult to see through (Dame et al. 2000:797).

Many of the rivers within the AOI that border on brackish bays and sounds are at least partially penetrated by anadromous fish, fish that live in saltwater but spawn in freshwater rivers. Anadromous fish are especially common during spring runs in March, April and May when these fish travelled upstream to laying eggs. Both anadromous and freshwater species can be found in the same freshwater river (Binford 1991:40, 45).

Beverley describes so many spawning fish in the rivers that it is “impossible to ride through without treading on them” and the rivers “stink of fish” (Beverley 1855 [1705]:117).

Many of the inland riverine species are the same as the tidal freshwater species although size seems to vary with catfish being larger and alewife, sturgeon and shad being smaller (Binford 1991:48). Sturgeons were caught at river heads and waterfalls along the rivers in weirs or with nets at the end of poles. While many Indians living along the Rivers ate Sturgeon, it seems that coastal Indians preferred not to:

The Indians upon and towards the Heads and Falls of our Rivers, strike a great many of these, and eat them; yet the Indians near the Salt-Waters will not eat them. I have seen an Indian strike on of these Fish, seven Foot long, and leave him on the Sands to be eaten by the Gulls (Lawson 1967 [1709]:155-165).

Lawson also describes another fish that is found in the swamps and freshwater rivers. Appearing between a Roach and Bream, the Indians “barbakue” these and take them into their towns. (Lawson 1967 [1709]:163).

Another aspect of inland riverine environment that is frequently overlooked is the impact of beavers and otters on the environment. There are indications that beavers once proliferated in the Albemarle region but died off by the eighteenth century. Daniel Richter illustrates some of the resulting impacts on the environment that may have ensued from the loss of this species, “when beaver went virtually extinct in an entire region, the results were far less benign. Fewer

dams meant increased water flows and thus soil erosion, which destroyed complicated habitats and made scarce the deer, fish and fowl that exploited them” (Richter 2001:54).

Harriot mentioned that otters were captured in weirs, but it is unclear if this was intentional (otters may have been attempting to eat trapped fish) or for what purpose otters would have served. It is possible that Indians used the skins for clothing (Harriot 1972 [1590]:9).

The arrival of European farmers-with their roaming livestock, their concepts of fixed property, and their single-crop plow agriculture-combined with the ecological impact of the fur trade to transform utterly the material environment of much of eastern North America and make traditional patterns of life impossible anywhere in the vicinity of European settlements. European and Indian ways of using the land could no more share the same ecosystem than could matter and antimatter share the same space (Richter 2001:59).

#### *Shorelines and Erosion*

There are three types of shorelines in the Albemarle-Pamlico region: low banks, high banks, and bluffs. Low banks are 1 to 5 feet above sea level and contain a mixture of sand, clay and silt with a clay-rich layer at the water level. These banks are moderately to highly susceptible to erosion. High banks rise 5 to 20 feet above sea level and consist of somewhat hardened mixture of sand, clay and silt. These banks can be susceptible to moderate through severe erosion rates and the loss of sediment through erosion can be quite drastic. Bluffs tend to rise more than twenty feet above mean sea level and consist of a mixture of sand, clay and silt with hardened base sediments of clay and sand. These bluffs are common along the west shoreline of the Chowan River. Erosion rates for bluffs are much less than that of low banks or high banks (Bellis et al. 1975:18-31).

The rivers of the AOI are classified as having a dendritic and parallel pattern draining to alluvial flats. The larger tributaries of the Albemarle Sound are dendritic (drainages that are connecting to the river in the most direct route-looks like the branching of a tree) while the

smaller tributaries are often parallel (drainages mostly aligned North and South) and sometimes dendritic. The alluvial flats carry a high load of water and as such increase erodibility of the shores. In addition, alluvial flats are often subject to flooding which can result in stream and river pattern changes. These are formed through the “flow by gradient and a lack of structural interference” (Twidale 2004:174).

Swamp forests frequent the AOI. In eastern North Carolina these consist heavily of Bald Cypress (*Taxodium distichum*) forests. The most prevalent swamp forest sediments are peaty mucks in the transition and swampy areas, with loamy sands just inland of the muck (USGS Web Soil Survey). The peaty mucks are less subject to erosion than the loamy sands; however, they also make less than ideal habitation sites.

Cypress trees frequently form a fringe in the water. The entire root system and base of these fringe trees are submerged. This often indicates a lower water-level at some point as Cypress seeds will not take root if submerged. Cypress seeds also do not take root in marsh peats or water with high salinity and are also absent from high-energy beaches (Bellis et al. 1975:32).

Sea level has been on the rise over the last 18,000 years since the Wisconsin Interglacial. Sea level along the Pamlico Terrace is rising at a rate of 0.5-1.5 feet per one hundred years resulting in erosion, slumping and drowning of shoreline sediment. Albemarle shorelines are eroding at rates between 0.6 meters per year to 4 meters per year. The higher erosion rates seem to be related to hurricane activity. A higher rate of erosion is more likely to occur in marsh peat environments, such as those found along Currituck Sound along the eastern portions of the Albemarle Sound. Cypress fringe tends to slow erosion rates (Bellis et al. 1975:13).

The Currituck peninsula erosion has resulted in the loss of land, artifacts and burials. More Late Woodland sites have been identified in Currituck County than in all of the other

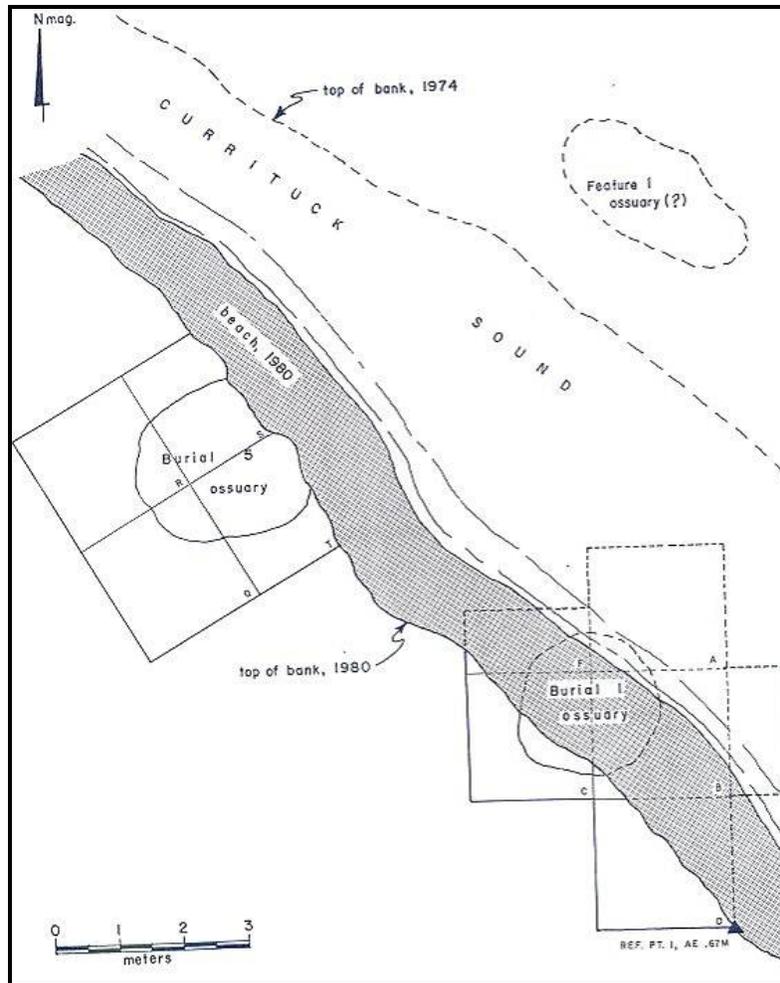
coastal counties of North Carolina. Further investigation revealed that the majority of these sites were discovered during shoreline erosion (Dolores Hall, personal communication 2010; OSA USGS site maps; OSA site database). These eroded sites were recovered through salvage archaeology excavations (Figure 5 and Figure 6). Because of the nature of salvage archaeology, there is little time for interpretation of the site, much less the development of research questions and regional studies.



**Figure 5. Site 31CK22. (Photo by John Krizmanich, 2010).**

Currituck shorelines erode when “wave action undercuts the soft organic peat beneath the living marsh” (Riggs 1978). This results in large blocks of peat breaking off and falling into the ocean in clumps. These clumps can then dissolve and any human remains from the clump can become deposited on other shores. The early human remains found at the Northwest Point of Roanoke Island are believed to have been deposited in this manner (Phelps 1984).

Although numerous attempts were made to discover the Lost Colony it has never been discovered. This is most likely due to erosion. The northwestern shoreline of Roanoke Island may have receded as much as 2,000 feet over the last 120 years while the northeastern shoreline



**Figure 6. Baum Site Erosion (Phelps 1980:10).**

may have receded by 1,300 feet over the last 120 years (Dolan and Bosserman 1972:426). Any town remnants near the water in 1585 have since been washed away or buried underwater (Figure 7).

Site formation processes are important in this region because of the distinct change in the environment in various periods of inhabitation and because this thesis will be focusing on maritime culture subsistence patterns. In addition, the Indians of the northern Albemarle seemed to have focused their settlements along rivers and shorelines.

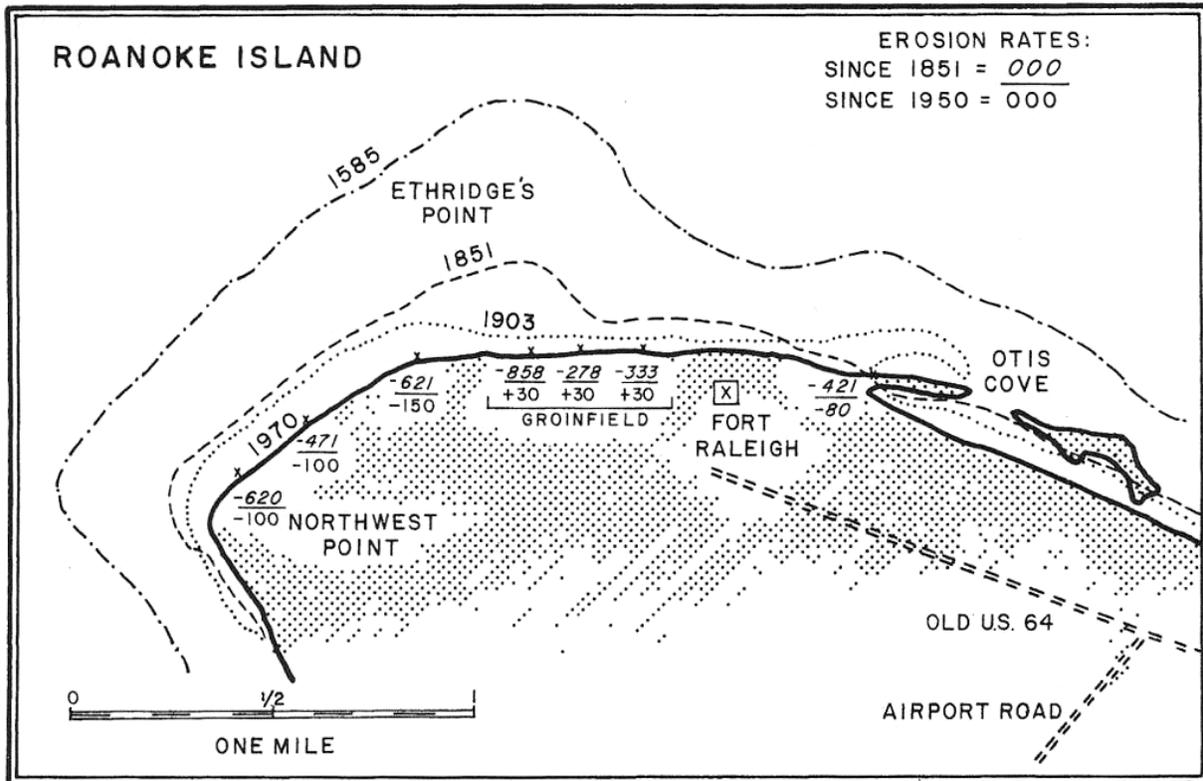
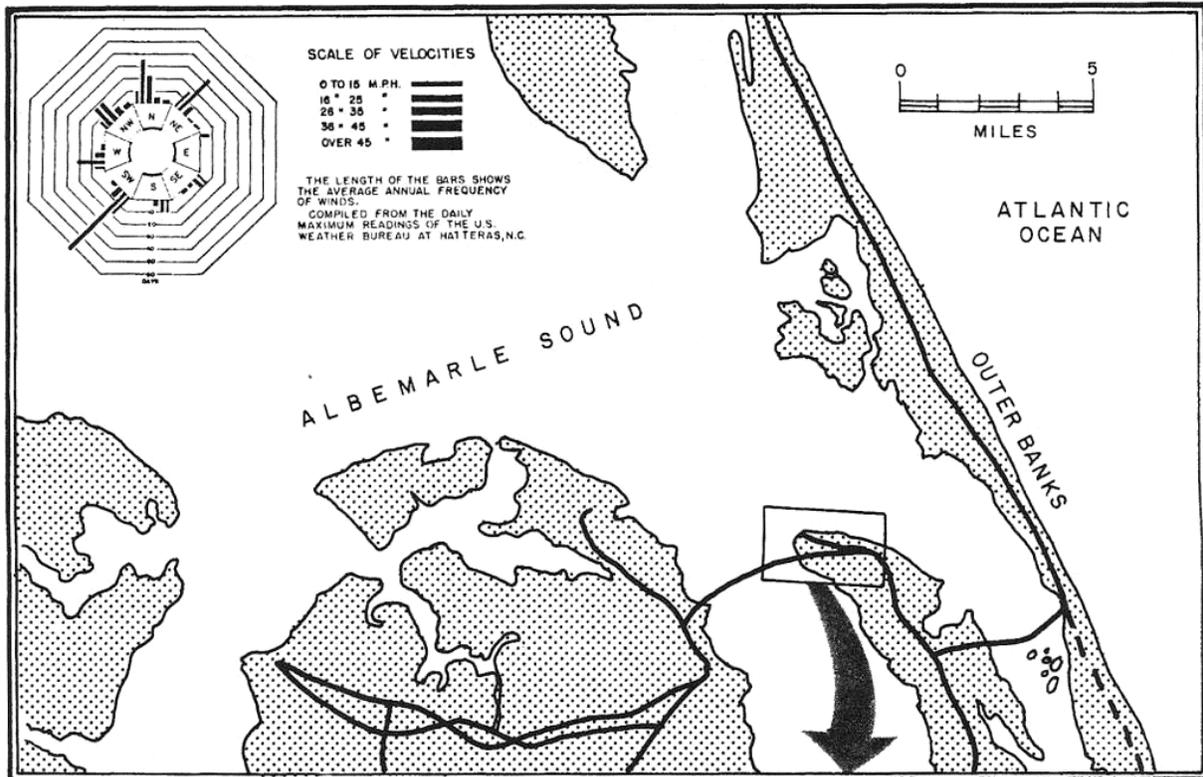


Figure 7. Image illustrating erosion at Roanoke Island (Dolan and Bosserman 1972:425).

## CHAPTER 4: CULTURAL PERIODS AND COLINGTON PHASE ARCHAEOLOGY

As early as 1709, settlers noticed distinct characteristics of ancient pottery. Most of these sherds were found along washed out riverbanks (Lawson 1967 [1709]:173). It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that archaeologists began investigating sites. In the Albemarle region, Talcott Williams, a journalist began excavations on Roanoke Island in 1895. Although, inexperienced in archaeological excavation he carefully plotted and recorded measurements of his excavation trenches (Harrington 1962:59).

During the twentieth century, various archaeologists conducted excavations in Eastern North Carolina, including Frank G. Speck Professor of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania; Jean Carl Harrington a National Park Services archaeologist who conducted excavations at Jamestown and Fort Raleigh; William G. Haag Professor of Archaeology at Louisiana State University; Lewis Binford Professor of Archaeology at the University of New Mexico and Southern Methodist University; and David Sutton Phelps Professor of Archaeology at East Carolina University.

Binford completed his dissertation “Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Investigation of Cultural Diversity and Progressive Development among Aboriginal Cultures of Coastal Virginia and North Carolina” at the University of Michigan. Binford conducted field surveys of the region and determined a variety of settlement patterns for several Indian groups in eastern North Carolina. He also discussed subsistence in great detail and analyzed the effect of faunal and marine resources on settlement patterns.

David Sutton Phelps was recognized by most of his colleagues as an expert in Colington Phase and Historic Phase Indian sites in Eastern North Carolina. He published multiple reports and conducted dozens of excavations. He also found proof of English settlement at the Cape

Creek Site (31DR1), thought to be Croatoan. Unfortunately, he passed away before publishing a conclusive and detailed report on these findings.

*Paleoindian, Archaic, and Woodland Periods*

These periods are used to distinguish Indian cultural developments across the United States. The dates are somewhat variable depending on the region. This chronology is derived through examining material culture. The chronology discussed in this thesis is based on data from southeastern United States sites. The periods are further divided into phases or series, which are distinguished by specific regional or local material culture (Figure 8 and Figure 9).

In addition to material culture, habitation sites and temporary procurement sites are frequently used to interpret cultural periods. A site evincing heavy lithic debitage is most likely a working site or procurement site and not a habitation site (Anderson 2000a; Anderson 2000b). Significant changes in habitation or resource procurement is often the determining criteria for distinguishing different cultural periods and phases.

The Outer Banks region often has small scattered lenses of shell midden which traditionally indicates a temporary/seasonal procurement site. Midden refers to trash or discarded items and may be observed in a pit or as a stratigraphic layer. A site with large middens indicates a permanent procurement site or habitation site.

The prehistory of the Weapemeoc Indians (from the archaeological record) starts with the migrating groups and Clovis Points of the Paleo-Indian Period, and continues through the “regionalization and specialization” of the Archaic Period, and finally, the development of permanent settlements and subsistence patterns of the Woodland Period. The cultural contact between Weapemeoc Indians and English explorers marks the introduction and adoption of Western ideas and technology and is designated as the Historic Phase (Ward and Davis 1999).

# Projectile Point Chronology of North Carolina

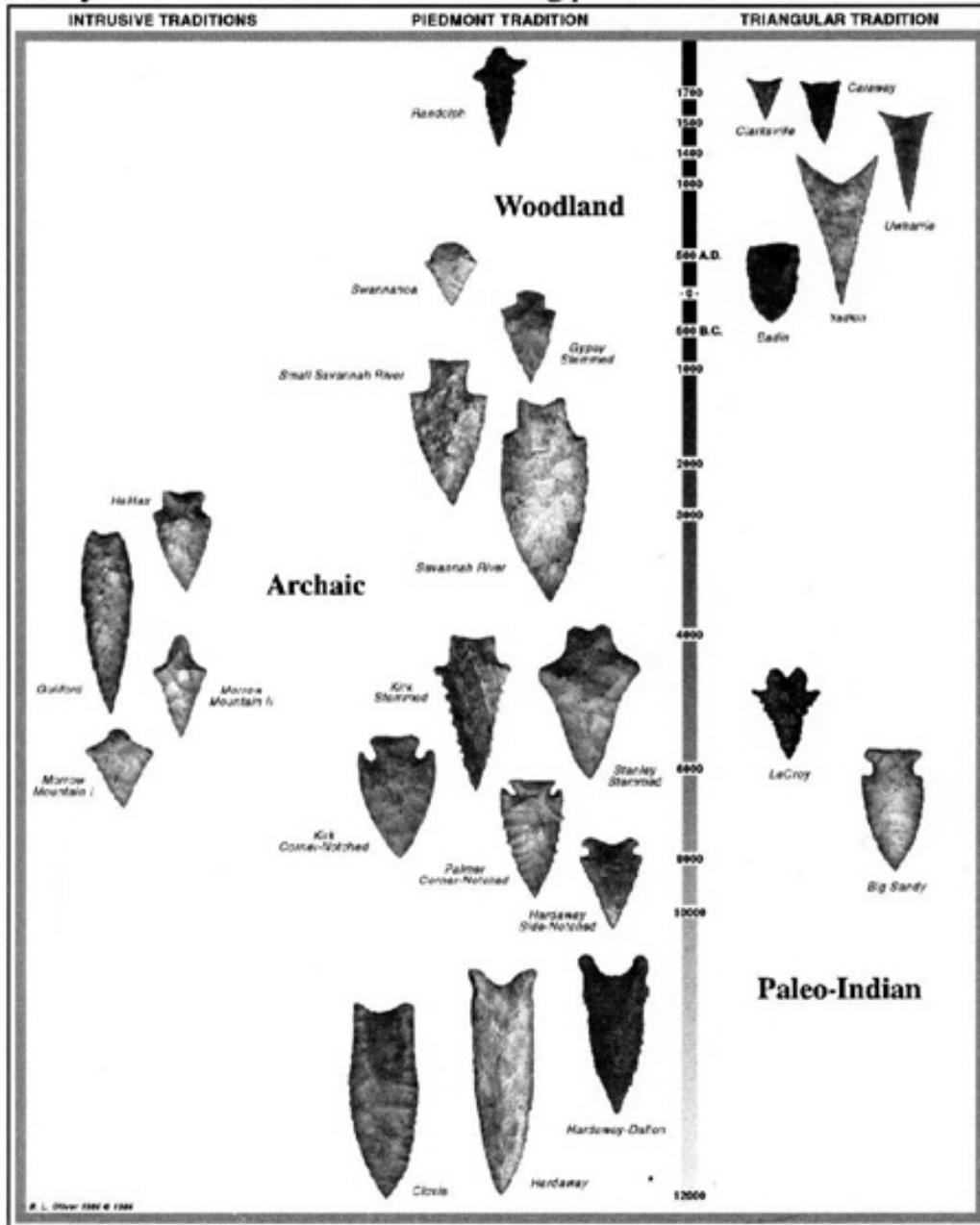


Figure 8. Projectile Point Chronology (NCDCCR).

Dates	Period	Sub-Period	Regional phases		
			Sub-regional phases		
			NORTH COASTAL	SOUTH COASTAL	
1715	HISTORIC		Tidewater Weapemeoc Secotan	Inner Coastal Plain Meherrin Tuscarora	Waccamaw
1650					
800	WOODLAND	Late	Collington	Cashie	Oak Island
A.D. 300		Middle	Mount Pleasant		Cape Fear
		Early	Deep Creek		New River
1000	ARCHAIC	Late	Savannah River		Stallings
2000		Middle	Halifax	Stanley	Guilford Morrow Mountain
3000		Early	Kirk		
5000	PALEO-INDIAN	Late	Palmer Hardaway		
8000		Early	Hardaway-Dalton Clovis		
10,000					
12,000					

**Figure 9. Cultural Periods and Phases in Eastern North Carolina.**

The Paleo-Indian Period (12,000 BCE- 8,000 BCE) is characterized by migrations and lithic based subsistence patterns. It is thought by many that the rise in sea level has inundated many of the coastal Paleoindian sites. The Paleo-Indian Period is defined by fluted points and

Hardaway points. Of the handful of fluted points discovered in the coastal plain of North Carolina, a third were recovered from Camden and Pasquotank counties. The majority of Paleoindian sites tend to be located near quality stone outcroppings and often evidence lithic reduction loci addition to habitation sites. It is apparent that usable stone for tools was a geographic necessity, taking precedence even over water (Ward and Davis 1999:34-36).

During the Archaic Period (8,000 BCE to 1,000 BCE), numerous base camps and temporary procurement sites are found in the archaeological record. Temporary or seasonal procurement sites are found far more frequently than base camps and permanent habitation sites. In contrast to the Paleo-Indian Period, nearly all the sites are found near water. The Late Archaic Period found Indians moving away from inland streams to river mouths. Fishing and shellfishing were added to subsistence activities. This, along with the development of horticulture, led to more permanent settlements. Pottery begins to appear in the archaeological record in the Late Archaic Period as pottery was impractical during the migrating from site to site that took place in the Paleo-Indian Period. Eventually these small, permanent river mouth sites would grow and become large settlements supporting numerous groups during the Woodland Period (Ward and Davis 1999:72-75).

The Woodland Period (1,000 BCE to 1500 CE) is defined by pottery types. Phases and Series are determined by regional tempers and finishes. Temper is the substance used to hold clay together during firing of the pottery, while finish is a design or pattern on the outer layer of the pottery. While finishes may have had a decorative purpose, they also would have had a technological purpose: aiding in grasping and holding the vessel. During the Early Woodland Period (1000 BCE to 300 BCE) pottery is sand tempered and the finish is “cordmarked”, this type of pottery is distinguished as the Deep Creek Phase (Ward and Davis 1999:199-202).

The Middle Woodland Period (300 BCE to 800 CE) is known as the Mount Pleasant Phase in the northeastern North Carolina (northern Albemarle region). The pottery is tempered with sand, grit and pebbles. A variety of finishes develop during this phase: fabric impressed, cordmarked, net impressed, and smoothed. The number of sites on river mouths increases and seasonal coastal sites are frequently distinguished by large shell middens. Burial practices consisted of cremation and primary burial, in the flexed or semi-flexed position, without grave goods (Ward and Davis 1999:203-204).

Two distinct cultures are seen in eastern North Carolina during the Late Woodland Period (800-1650 A.D.): the Carolina Algonquians and the Tuscarora (Mathis and Crow 1983:37). The Carolina Algonquians lived within the tidewater zone, while the Tuscarora were in the inner coastal plain (west of the Chowan River). Carolina Algonquian material culture during this time is termed the Colington Phase, Tuscarora material culture during this time is termed Cashie Phase.

The Carolina Algonquians shared linguistic routes as well as similarities with their Algonquian neighbors to the north. Algonquians, as member of a shared linguistic group, stretched along the Atlantic Coast from Canada to South Carolina. In addition to similar languages, there seems to have been shared cultural traits, such as religious beliefs. It is postulated that the Carolina Algonquians were a result of the latest emigration of Algonquian groups from the north (Mook 1944).

David Sutton Phelps describes the Late Woodland settlement patterns as being dependent on subsistence needs. In describing Late Woodland Chowan sites, he states that Chowanoke settlement was based on the “availablitiy of arable land along the mainline of cultural communication, the Chowan River, and only a short distance up the main tributary streams”

(Phelps 1981b:27). The Weapemeoc exhibited similar resource use, with permanent villages along arable land along the main sounds and rivers, and hunting and seasonal camps located farther up tributary streams.

[T]he broader floodplains, poorly drained soils and numerous swamps of the Coastal region apparently served to limit site location. The Bennetts Creek pattern is instructive: Only where higher elevations of sandy soils are in immediate proximity to the stream channel of the tributary streams will sites be found (Phelps 1981b:27).

There is also continued specialization of maritime resources along the coast during the Late Woodland Period that further differentiates the coastal Algonquian groups from the inland Siouan groups. Binford states that the lack of aquatic resources affected the social complexities of the two groups. The Siouans “were agriculturists with a hunting and gathering supplement” and appeared to have much less social complexity than the neighboring Algonquians. For example, there were no hereditary positions, there was less population density and the habitation pattern consisted of “widely separated, nucleated villages or in some cases widely separated village neighborhoods” (Binford 1991:144). As stated previously, this may have been due to a lack of aquatic resources. The Algonquian cultures seem to have established a monopoly over specific marine resources (river mouths, anadromous fish runs) that not only encouraged a greater diversity of habitation patterns but a more socially complex society as they capitalized on these resources. Binford explains that the cultural diversity in this coastal region (southeastern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina) “is directly referable to differences in the efficiency with which aquatic resources could be exploited” (Binford 1991:144).

Loftfield also illustrates that the swamp lands were not ideal for agriculture.

The sandy soil and the high temperature and rainfall of the coast make the region singularly unsuitable for agriculture and apparently served to retard the expansion and development of an agricultural lifestyle. Poor crop yields were apparently the rule rather than the exception for this region (Loftfield 1979: 232-233).

Loftfield suggests that this led to a less cohesive and less complex society. While Loftfield is comparing Carolina Algonquian cultures to other Algonquian cultures, Binford is comparing Carolina Algonquians to Carolina Siouans. While it is true that the Weapemeoc and Secotan were far less cohesive than their Algonquian neighbors to the north, there did appear to be greater social complexity among the Algonquian groups than the Siouan groups of Carolina.

It is possible that Algonquian cultural complexity was retained by the Carolina Algonquians, but in response to the environment, available subsistence resources and poor agricultural yields, the Carolina Algonquians were far less cohesive and complex than their kin to the north. The number of temporary and seasonal villages in the archaeological record in this region supports this hypothesis. This also explains the parsimony of agricultural food remains in Carolina Algonquian sites (Loftfield 1979:233). The hunting and gathering subsistence pattern more closely resembles the Archaic Period than the Woodland Period. The distinguishing characteristics between the two periods in the coastal Carolina region are the appearance of shell-tempered pottery and the evidence of any agricultural produced foods—even if it is a small portion of the overall food intake. In addition, this explains the location of permanent villages on loamy ridges along rivers, locales that would allow for greater agricultural success.

Subsurface features associated with Algonquian Indian groups include postmolds, cooking pits, storage pits and refuse pits (Ward and Davis 1999:210-211). However, the most frequent subsurface feature is ossuaries. As mentioned in Chapter 3, there have been numerous ossuaries found in Currituck County due to erosion. This contradicts what many scholars once believed about Weapemeoc settlement patterns: “Density of Algonquian population was greater to the west of the coastal swamps” (Johnson 1972a:27). Phelps suggests that the population was less dispersed than earlier researchers once thought (Matthis and Crow 1983:39).

The population was generally larger along sounds, estuaries and rivers along the coast (Matthis and Crow 1983:33). Types of settlement patterns in the area include complex villages, villages, seasonal villages and seasonal camps (Figure 10). Also, there may have been the farmstead type of settlement, which would have been a permanent settlement for an extended family (Matthis and Crow 1983:40). Weapemeoc villages tend to be a dispersed village isolates pattern (Figure 10). This may explain why several Chowanoke village complexes (hamlet continuum) have been found but very few village sites for the Weapemeoc have been discovered (Binford 1964:142). All seasonal villages and permanent villages were in locations where agriculture, fishing, hunting and gathering could all occur. The diverse resources in these areas included maize, squash, sunflower, beans, hickory nuts, bears, deer, small animals, alligators, turtles and a large variety of fish (Matthis and Crow 1983:40).

The Bandon site (31CO1) exhibits an interesting settlement pattern. The Mount Pleasant phase (Middle Woodland) occupation occurs primarily along Arrowhead Beach. The Colington phase (Late Woodland) occupation occurs primarily along Chowan Beach to the south of Arrowhead Beach. It would seem that the settlement drifted southward (towards the Sound) over time. Green explains that “[t]his movement would almost certainly have been imperceptible to the inhabitants, who as we have seen accumulated a complex spatial pattern of debris middens around (and under?) their dwellings” (Green 1987b:47-48).

Binford suggests a matrilineal culture based on a female first creation story and the ascendancy of Weronacs (Kings or Chiefs) along brother lines (sharing a mother) rather than father-son lines (Binford 1991:103). In addition to the chief or “King” positions, there are men referred to as captains, great men, and priests, all of which were held in esteem and may have participated or influenced the chief’s decisions. It appears that preferential access to goods was

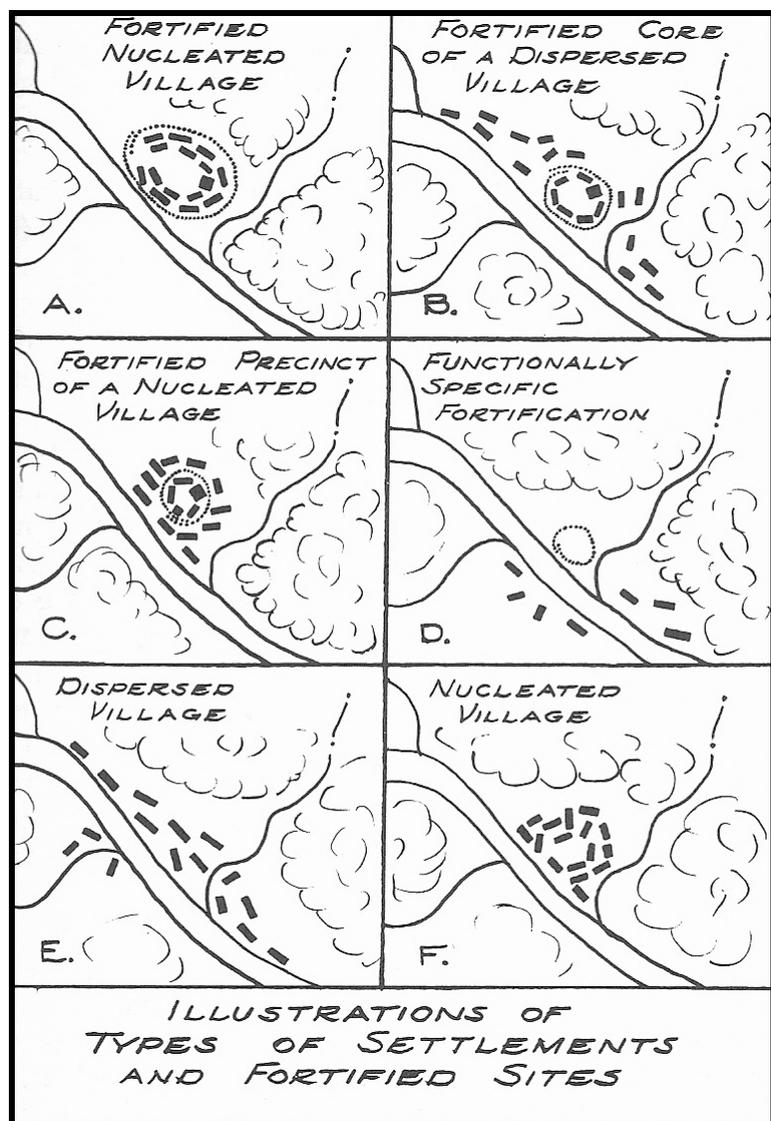
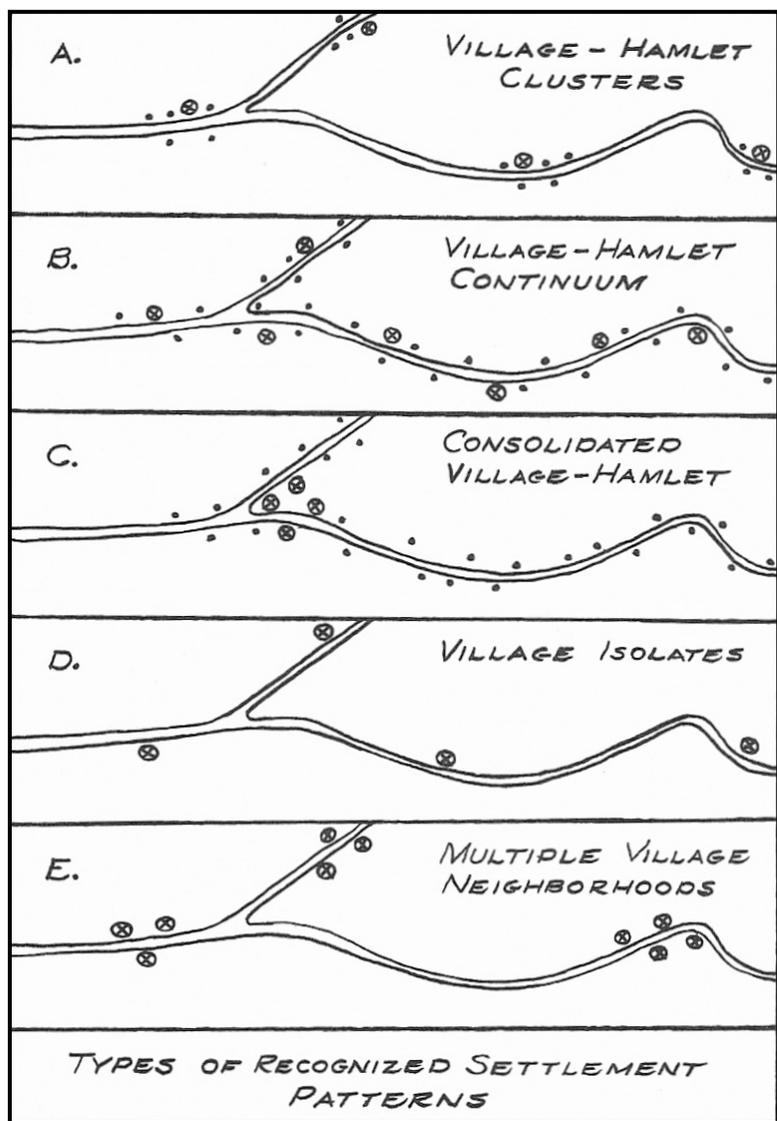


Figure 10. Settlement Patterns (Binford 1961:81, 83).

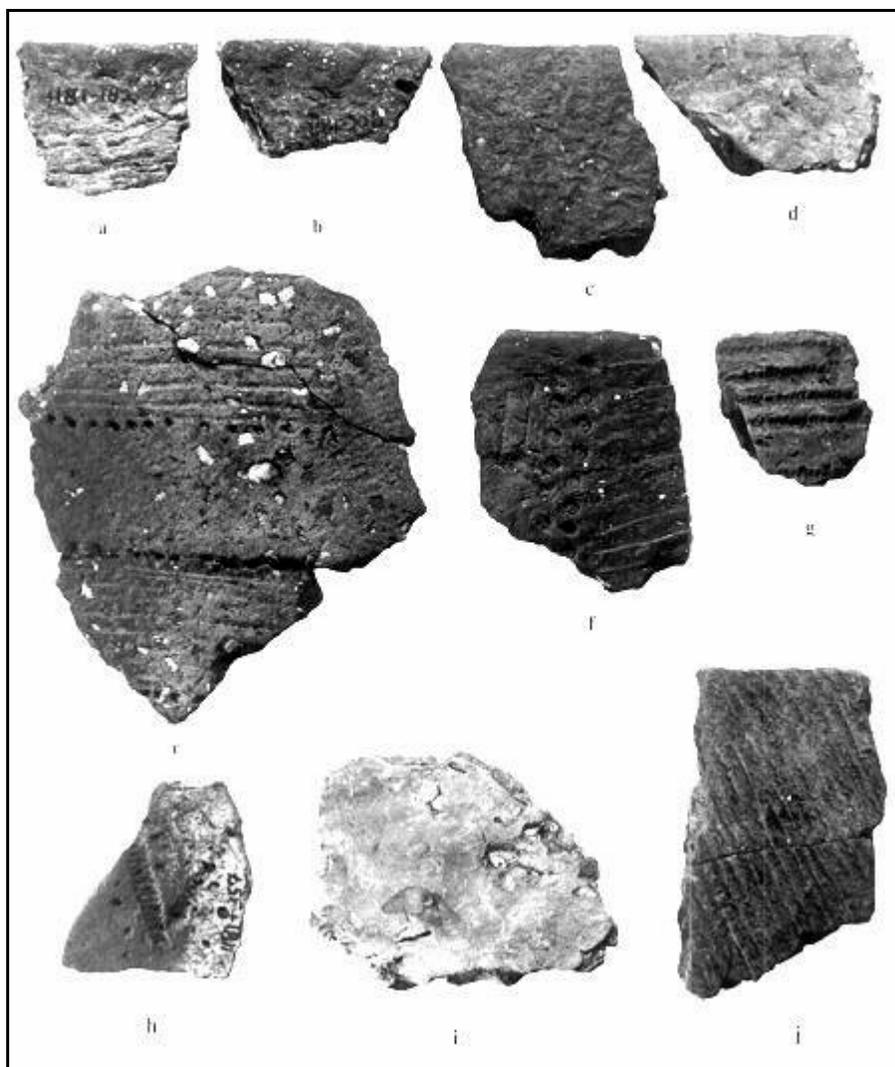
given to chiefs, but there does not appear to be redistribution of goods after initial procurement and trades are complete (Binford 1991:103,107).

### *Colington Phase Material Culture*

Colington phase material includes ceramic ware with a shell temper. The shells most frequently used as temper are saltwater oyster and freshwater mussel. This ceramic series is further grouped by surface finishes: fabric-impressed, simple stamped, plain, and incised. Occasionally, there are decorations along the rims of geometric patterns. Net-impressed, cord-impressed, and punctuated decorations are also found occasionally (Figure 11). Cashie ceramic series has a sand-temper (with pebble inclusions) and similar finishes to Colington ceramics. Cashie ceramics are frequently found in Colington phase sites and indicate extensive trade between the Carolina Algonquians and the Tuscarora. These Cashie ceramics are even more frequent near the Chowan River. A few Caraway Plain ceramics have also been found in Colington phase sites (Matthis and Crow 1983:36-39).

Algonquians were the original creators of the tobacco pipe. Strachey records the type of clay the Indians used to make their Tobacco pipes, describing the clay as smooth and fine (Strachey 1849 [1612]:32). Different cultural groups such as the English or enslaved peoples from West Africa then modified this Algonquian prototype. The use of certain designs, particularly European designs, along with the diameter of the pipe stems can be used to establish very specific dates for an artifact.

Between 1585 and 1605, a mere twenty years, the Algonquian clay pipe came to dominate the English pipe-making industry, illustrating the speed with which an idea can be spread amongst a new culture. Smoking took hold among the Europeans as much as rum did amongst the Indians (Magoon 1999:121).



**Figure 11. Colington phase ceramics: a-d, fabric impressed rims; e-f, incised and punctuated over fabric impressed; g, cord-wrapped dowel over fabric impressed; h, chevron-shaped cord wrapped dowel impressed rim; i, Colington plain; j, Colington simple stamped (Phelps 1984a:45).**

Several archaeological sites have been designated as historic if clay pipes were found at the site (Haag 1956:98; 31DR1; 31CM8). While the sites may have dated to the historic period, the pipes themselves may have been classified incorrectly and could possibly indicate continuous habitation from the Colington Phase into the Historic Phase. Clay pipes are frequently found in late Woodland sites from northeastern North Carolina (Matthis and Crow 1983:39). There has been some scholarly debate about the Chesapeake pipe types: pipes produced by the “multi-

cultural plantation environment” of the Chesapeake Bay region in the late 1600s (Magoon 1999:108). Recent research illustrates that clay pipes found at Late Woodland sites from North Carolina to Pennsylvania exhibit similar manufacture techniques and these sites pre-date the settlement of Virginia. With clay pipes misrecorded as historic artifacts, many sites from early archaeology investigations may have an inaccurate count for prehistoric versus historic artifact assemblages (see Haag 1958:19).

Colington phase lithics consist of small Roanoke triangular type projectile points. Other Colington phase tools include bifacial blades, stone celts, gorgets, abraders, milling stones, shell picks, shell hoes, bone (antler) flakers, bone fish hooks, bone awls, bone pins. Columella beads, Marginella shell beads, freshwater pearls, copper beads and a copper disc have also been found in Colington phase sites (Matthis and Crow 1983:39; Ward and Davis 1999:210-211).

Another distinguishing Colington phase trait is the use of ossuaries. Ossuaries are mass graves and involved detailed mortuary practices. The dead would have been prepared in a charnel house, allowing the body to partially decompose before burial (see Figure 21). These Colington phase ossuaries would sometime contain as many as 60 individuals. These ossuaries are generally located near Indian villages, while isolated families would bury their dead individually. Some individual burials were later reburied along with others. The ossuaries usually consist of flexed, semi-flexed and disarticulated remains, often without grave goods (Ward and Davis 1999:214-216).

### **Baum Site (31CK9)**

The Baum Site was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1980. Excavations took place intermittently between 1972 and 1987 under the direction of David Sutton Phelps. The excavations were carried out in response to report of human bones eroding

out of the bank. The Baum site is considered a significant example of Indian culture in Eastern North Carolina. This is largely due to the amount of human remains recovered at this site. Three ossuaries were discovered at the Baum Site and thirty human remains were found in Burial 5 alone. Artifacts from the site included marginella shells, copper bead necklaces, numerous Colington Phase ceramic sherds, bone awls, bone pins, a panther mask, lithics, milling stones, shell tools and an abundance of food remains (Phelps 1980:11-14).

During a 1983 burial recovery, a hurricane brought excavation to a halt and resulted in the water being blown out of Currituck Sound. It seems that artifacts and shell midden remnants covered an extremely large area of the sound bed (Lautzenheiser et al. 2011:13-3).

Additional data recovery occurred in 2005 and 2007 and was conducted by Coastal Carolina Research, Inc. In those ten years, the investigators noted 5 to 10 feet of erosion along the shore bank. Shell midden was recorded along with a feature that appeared to be a basket midden dump (Gosser 2007:3; Lautzenheiser et al. 2011:13-3).

### **Maple Bay Site (31CK15)**

The Maple Bay Site is located along a bluff of Coinjock Bay in Currituck County. The first stratigraphy zone, Zone 1, consisted of historic ceramics (creamware, pearlware, etc). Zone 2 consisted primarily of Colington Phase ceramics. Also within Zone 2, one pipe stem recovered, which supports the designation of the site as a Late Woodland Period site. Zone 3 and Zone 4 consisted primarily of Mt. Pleasant ceramics (Bradley 2009:38). The midden recovered from 31CK15 mostly consisted of shellfish remains, but also contained quite a few faunal remains, the most frequent of which was the white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*). Few artifacts were recovered among the midden indicating a seasonal procurement site rather than a permanent village (Bradley 2009:42-43).

Phelps suggested that the Baum Site was indicative of a large permanent settlement. Dawn Bradley and Susan Bamann suggest that the Baum Site and the Maple Bay Site may have been consistently used seasonal procurement sites. Bradley and Bamann also point out that few of these coastal shell middens have been excavated with a research design focused on settlement patterns. Generally, projects in Currituck County consist of archaeological recovery due to erosion, the Baum Site being a prime example of this (Bradley 2009:79).

### **Lake Phelps (31WH12-13)**

Unlike clay pipes and ossuaries, evidence of maritime activity is somewhat rarer than evidence of terrestrial activity in the archaeological record. This is because terrestrial archaeological investigations have occurred with greater frequency and for a longer period of time than underwater archaeological investigations. It is also due to the dynamic and destructive forces at play in water environments. Nets and fish weirs, in particular, rarely survive because the organic material deteriorates quite rapidly unless in ideal preservation conditions. However, net weights, generally manufactured from stone, are often identified in the material culture record (John Mintz, personal communication April 3, 2014).

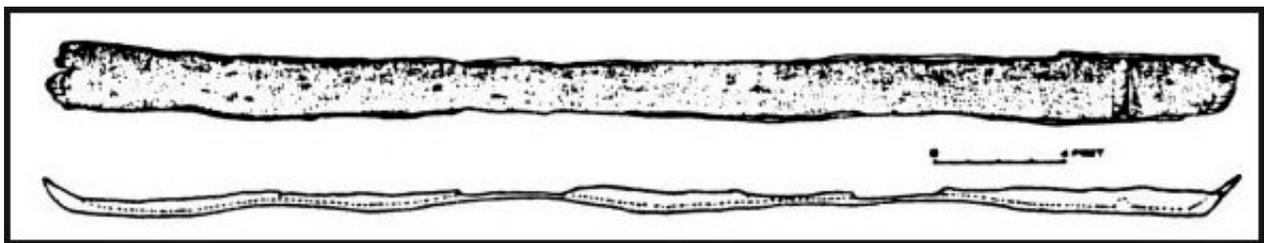
Wood of canoes are less prone to deterioration than other organic materials and there have been a few finds that are truly astounding, such as the thirty canoes found at Lake Phelps, North Carolina or the discovery of more than one hundred canoes in Newnans Lake, Florida (Wheeler et al. 2003:533). There have been far fewer discoveries of prehistoric canoes in rivers or riverbeds. The Chattooga River canoe and the Cooper River canoe are notable exceptions. No canoes have been discovered during archaeological excavation in the northern Albemarle region.

A review of the Lake Phelps canoes, which are located along a pocosin lake to the south of Albemarle Sound provide an insight into canoe manufacturing processes and canoes as used

by the Carolina Algonquians. Lake Phelps has a maximum depth of between 10 and 12 feet. When the first canoe was brought to the State's attention in 1985, the lake depth was at an all-time low due to drought and fires in the area. Water had been drawn from the lake to combat the forest fires, which led to lower water levels and a depth of about 8 feet (Shomette 1993:9-11).

The canoes were found in 1985 and 1986. David Phelps and Kaea Morris of East Carolina University conducted additional studies on the canoes over the next seven years. The 1992 sub-surface survey revealed several targets that could be investigated; unfortunately it does not appear that there have been follow up surveys or investigations in Lake Phelps since that time (Shomette 1993).

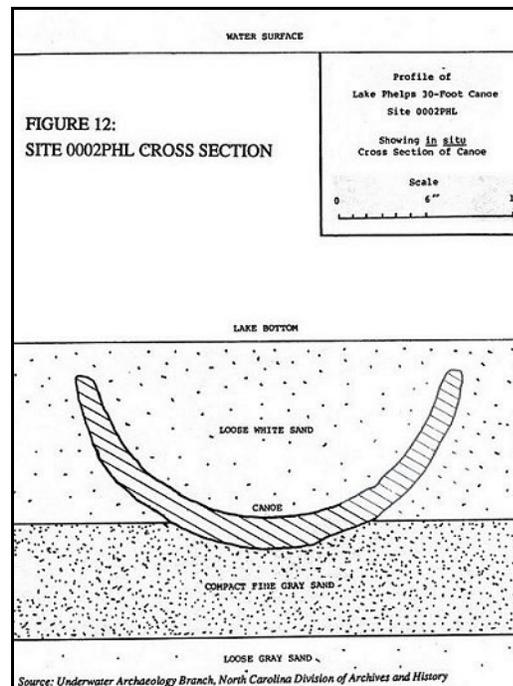
The canoes were of the dugout type using a burn hollowing manufacture process (described in greater detail in Chapter 5) and varied in length from 30 to 37 feet (Phelps 1989:3; Figure 12; and Figure 13). Bald Cypress (*Taxodium distichum*) appears to have been used in the manufacture of most of the canoes (Shomette 1993:15). Phelps posits that the canoes may have lasted about twenty or thirty years after manufacture and before becoming too waterlogged or deteriorated to use (Phelps 1989:9).



**Figure 12. 37 foot canoe (Phelps 1989:3).**

Three of the twenty-three recorded canoes radiocarbon dated to the Colington Phase. One dated to 1400 A.D. and was discovered along the western shore of the lake. Two dated to 1200 A.D. and these were found along the northern shore (Phelps 1989:11).

Fish weirs were also discovered in Lake Mattamuskeet. David Sutton Phelps (1989) and Donald G. Shomette (1993) recorded the remains of poles on the lake bottom. This is perhaps of even greater interest than the canoes, because the material is far more likely to deteriorate. The processes of deterioration were already at work at the time this maritime feature was recorded:



**Figure 13. Cross Section (Shomette 1993:18).**

“The remnant poles of at least four fish weirs, which have decayed to the level of the lake bottom, but which were discovered near Big Point after the 1984 fire, are conjectured to be products of the Colington Phase” (Shomette 1993:30). Fish weirs in tidal freshwater were likely used to catch chain pickerel and longnosed gar that feed on smaller fish along the tidal freshwater shoreline (Binford 1991:43).

The Woodland Period occupation at Lake Phelps appears less intense than the Archaic Period and may have been reflective of a greater agricultural dependence and “less need to supplement food supplies at inland locations” (Phelps 1989:11). This confirms the general trend

of settlement patterns during the Woodland Period with greater habitation along shorelines and river mouths. Shorelines and river mouths provide a greater abundance of maritime subsistence, but also with a more dynamic environment and more destructive alluvial and fluvial processes.

At this time it is unknown (and unlikely) that any prehistoric structure related to maritime activity survived in the archaeological record within the AOI. There is the afore-discussed canoes and fish weirs in the Pamlico region (to the south of the Albemarle Sound), but none of these have been discovered in the rivers of the northern Albemarle (Phelps 1982 and 1989).

This lack of archaeological evidence is best explained by the geographic differences of the Albemarle region and the Pamlico region. In the Pamlico region there are numerous large shallow lakes known as Carolina Bays, while the Albemarle region is intersected by numerous rivers and creeks. The site formation process is completely different between the two. Lakes are characterized by sediment accumulation and are less subject to alluvial processes. Rivers are characterized by variable sediment erosion and accretion and rivers frequently change course over time.

Several sites have been completely lost to erosion, these include; 31CK8 (Ballance Site), 31CK9 (Baum Site), 31CK32 (Wright Memorial Bridge Site), 31PK78 (Leigh Farm), and 31PQ51a. Currituck County especially has seen a significant number of salvage archaeology projects due to shoreline erosion (Table 1). In addition, the number of archaeological investigations along the Albemarle Shore of Pasquotank County and Perquimans County are fewer than those along the Albemarle Shore of Currituck County and Chowan County (Table 1 and Figure 14). This may be due to the building of bridges connecting the Outer Banks to Inner Banks and bridges crossing the Chowan River during the twentieth century. It may also be due to

**Table 1. Recorded Late Woodland (Colington Phase) Sites**

Site Name	Site #	Description	Investigator
Shipyards Landing	31BR1	Colington Phase material (post 14 <sup>th</sup> c.)	Phelps 1982
	31BR45	Collington sherds, sloping bank. Thought to be Metackwem	Wilson 1977
Bandon Site	31CO1	Ceramics, bone and shell ornaments, animal teeth necklaces. Thought to be Waratan or Catokinge, later designated Indian Town.	Phelps 1982; Cross 1986; Green 1987b
Hollowell Site	31CO7	Ossuary salvage	Wilson 1975, Phelps 1977
	31CO8	Ceramics	Phelps 1977
	31CO9-10	Shell midden, grit-tempered and sand-tempered ceramics, temporary site/seasonal camp or farmstead.	Wilson 1977, Phelps 1982
	31CO13	Grit-tempered and sand-tempered ceramics, temporary site/seasonal camp or farmstead (lost to erosion)	Phelps 1982
	31CO14-15	Skeletal material	Wilson 1977
	31CO46-47	Late Woodland ceramics, single pipe stem fragment. Farmstead.	Phelps 1977

Site Name	Site #	Description	Investigator
	31CO51- 52	Late Woodland ceramics. Farmstead	Phelps 1977
	31CO89	Colington ceramics, permanent habitation sites. Historic Phase Indian ceramics (single silty paste thin direct rim sherd).	Haynes 1993
	31CO172	Colington ceramics, temporary site/seasonal camp, site located on Yeopim River	Siebel and Postlewaite 2007
	31CO173	Colington ceramics, temporary site/seasonal camp, site located on Yeopim River	Siebel and Postlewaite 2007
	31BR69	Ceramics	Wilson 1977
	31GA1	Seasonal villages (poss. permanent habitation site)	Phelps 1981b; Mathis and Phelps 1978
	31GA7	Seasonal villages (poss. permanent habitation site)	Phelps 1981b
	31GA9	Seasonal villages (poss. permanent habitation site)	Phelps 1981b; Mathis and Phelps 1978
Rountree Site A,B	31GA10	Ceramics, temporary site/seasonal camp, continuous throughout Woodland Period	Phelps 1981b

Site Name	Site #	Description	Investigator
	31GA14	Satellite of 31GA10	Phelps 1981b
Big Branch	31GA19	Ceramics (lost to amateur exc.), temporary site/seasonal camp at the mouth of Sarem Creek	Amateur, Phelps 1981b
	31GA67	Local collections of Colington ceramics	Tippit 1988
	31GA68	Colington sherds	Tippit 1988
	31GA70	Colington sherds	Tippit 1988
Petty's Shore	31HF11	Ceramics and midden (lost to dev.)	Binford 1964
	31HF14	Ceramics (lost to natural resource exc.)	Binford 1964
	31PQ30	Woodland/Historic scatter (lost to erosion)	Postlewaite and Seibel 2008
Ferry Point Site	31PQ51a	Ceramics, postmolds, pits	Baker and Hargrove 1982
	31PQ96	Colington ceramics	Padgett 1990
	31PQ121	Isolated Woodland finds	Davis et al. 2000
	31PQ123	Late Woodland triangular point and Cashie Phase ceramics, temporary site/seasonal camp. Historic midden (with oyster shell) in Test Unit 7	McClintock 2006

Site Name	Site #	Description	Investigator
	31PQ131	Colington ceramics, shell, historic glass, site appears disturbed as stratigraphy was inconsistent (historic items deeper than Middle and Late Woodland ceramics)	McClintock 2006
	31PQ202	Colington ceramics, temporary/seasonal camp at Minzies Creek	Fesler et al. 2008
Leigh Farm	31PK78	Colington ceramics, (lost to erosion-2006)	Marshall 1989, Russ 2006
	31CM7-8	Colington projectile points and lithics. 31CM8: Colington projectile points, lithics along with Historic Phase clay pipe stems, bricks, porcelain ceramics, and associated shell midden. Likely a Late Woodland farmstead site.	Phelps and Widmer 1976
	31CM37	Woodland projectile points and ceramics	Halvorsen 2007
	31CM38	Woodland projectile points and ceramics	Halvorsen 2007
	31CM40	Woodland projectile points and ceramics	Halvorsen 2007
	31CM43	Jasper bifaces, scrapers and perforators	Tippit 1988
	31CM61	Colington Phase ceramic vessel, 40 meters from Pasquotank River	Tippit 1988
Harbinger Site	31CK4	Ceramics	Haag 1958
Sampson Point	31CK5	Ceramics, midden, erosion	Haag 1958

Site Name	Site #	Description	Investigator
Waterlilly Site	31CK6	Colington Phase features (lost to dev.) intact midden, Colington Phase Ceramics, shell midden. Mrs. Dot Henley reports a burial eroding into the sound to the south of the project area.	Haag 1958; Lautzenheiser 1985
Goose Site	31CK7	1.4 miles of shell midden, Colington Phase material, resurveyed in 1973, 1981	Haag 1958
Balance Site	31CK8	Midden, lithic points, stone axe, whalebone slab (lost to erosion)	Haag 1958; Fesler et al. 2007
Baum Site	31CK9	Ossuaries, subsurface features, postmolds, Colington Phase material, erosion	Phelps 1980; Abbott and Hall 2005a; Abbott and Hall 2005c; Gosser 2007; Lautzenheiser 2006; Lautzenheiser 2007a
Tice Site	31CK30	Colington Phase material, Tull Bay erosion (UNC 31CK10)	Phelps 1982
Tull Bay	31CK11	Ceramics, low bank erosion	Phelps 1982

Site Name	Site #	Description	Investigator
Barrett Site	31CK13	Shell midden, ind. Burials, erosion	Phelps 1982
Scaff Site	31CK14	600 meters of shell midden	Phelps 1982
Maple Bay Site	31CK15	Shell midden, Colington ceramics, pipe stem, bluff erosion	Phelps 1982; Bradley et al., 2007
Major's Creek Site	31CK16	Shell midden	Phelps 1982
Beaseley Site	31CK17	Shell midden	Phelps 1982
Owens Site	31CK18	Colington phase material	Phelps 1982
Poplar Branch Site	31CK19	Midden (lost to dev.)	Phelps 1982
West Site	31CK22	Shell midden	ECU 1974, 1984
Knotts Island Ferry	31CK24	Colington Ceramics, Ossuary	Mathis 1990
	31CK26	Colington phase material (lost to agric. activity)	Phelps 1982
	31CK28	Surface collection Colington phase material	Phelps 1982
OBC Sand Pit	31CK31	Ceramics (lost to dev.)	Phelps 1982

Site Name	Site #	Description	Investigator
Wright Memorial Bridge	31CK32	Colington Phase village (lost to dev.), intact midden, Colington Phase ceramics, clay pipe fragment, and fired clay ball.	Haag 1958; Lautzenheiser 1987; Padgett 1992
Pine Bluff	31CK33	Ceramics, covered by orchards, erosion	Haag 1958
	31CK44	Colington Phase pottery and large shell midden, North Landing River erosion (est. 3m lost since 1987)	Tippit 1988
	31CK81	Isolated Woodland finds	Robinson 1993
	31CK129	Two canine burials in 2005, Mount Pleasant ceramics dominant, only a few Late Colington Phase ceramics	Lautzenheiser 2006; Lautzenheiser 2007b Abbott and Hall 2005b
Duck Dunes	31DR3	Shell midden with some cultural material, specialized subsistence activities	Haag 1958; Phelps 1982
Martin Point	31DR18	Shell midden, specialized subsistence activities	Haag 1958; Phelps 1982

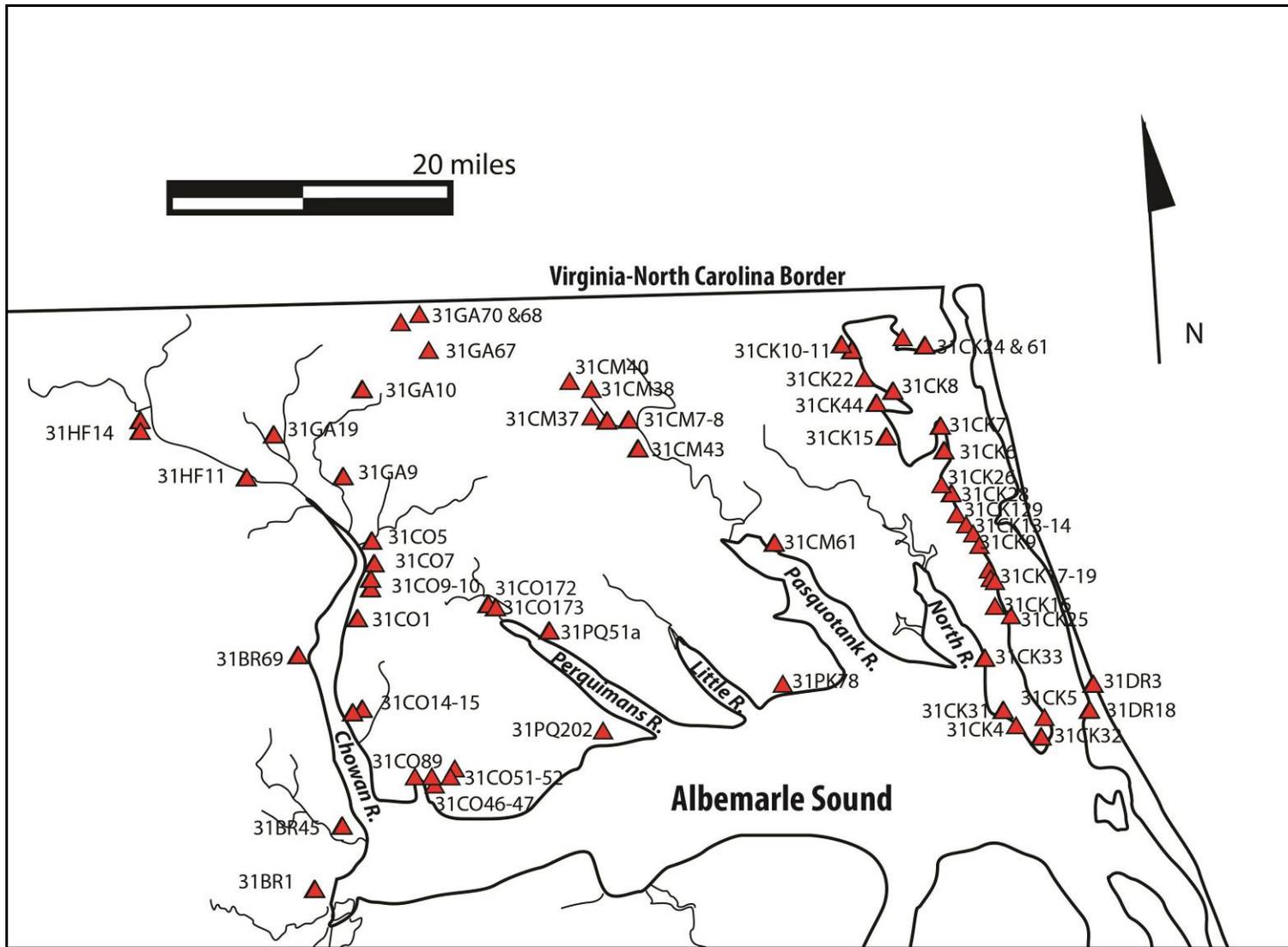


Figure 14. Recorded Colington Phase Sites.

that much of the shoreline of Pasquotank and Perquimans County was the first to be settled by Europeans, and much of it remains private property today.

Many sites seem to be located on not just one body of water but two, and on available elevated sand-based sediment. 31PK78 was found on Big Fatty Creek just inland of Albemarle Sound, 31PQ51a bordered Perquimans River and a swamp, 31PQ 202 overlooks Minzies Creek just inland of Albemarle Sound, 31CO51-52 are located on a sandy outcrop overlooking Queen Anne's Creek and Edenton Bay (see Figure 14). A reconnaissance along the main prominent ridge that runs north-south in Currituck County (medial to both Currituck Sound and North River) revealed no sites, while sites are frequently found along both shorelines (Hargrove 1982:12-13).

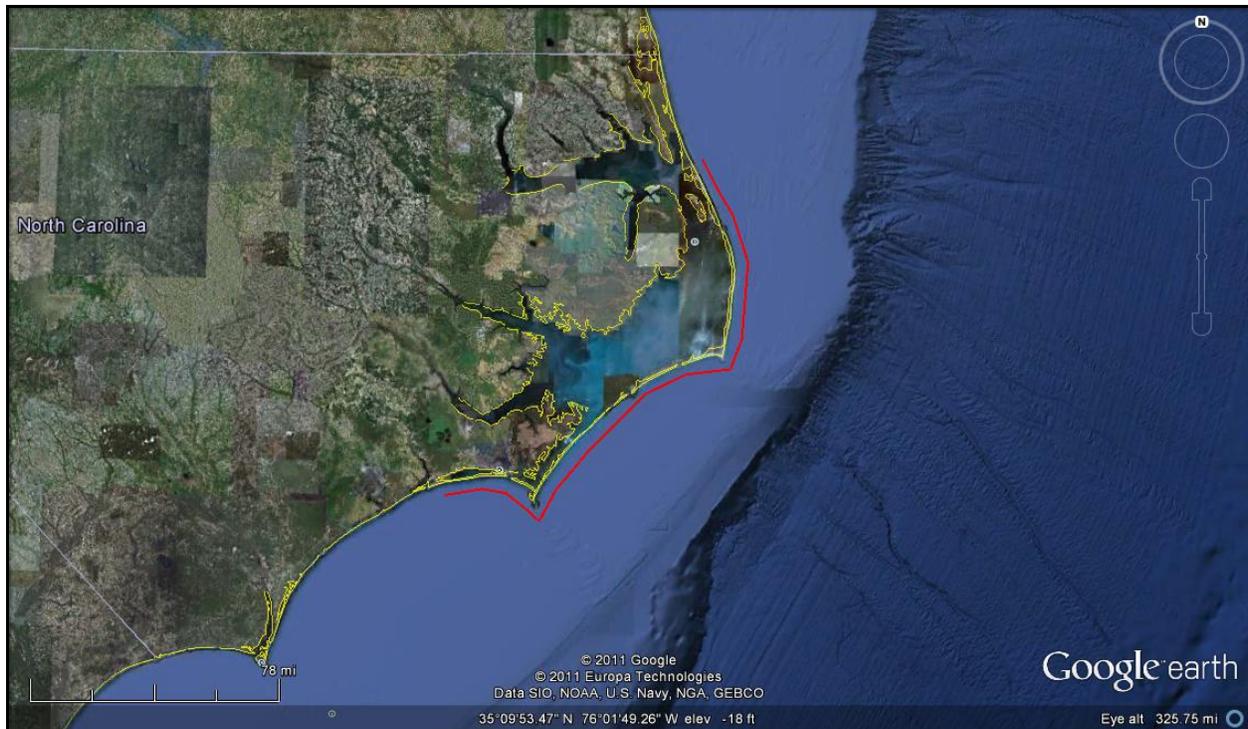
### **Historical Descriptions of Carolina Algonquian Culture**

The earliest literature on Carolina Algonquian groups of the Albemarle region comes from the early cross Atlantic explorations. This is followed by accounts from the first English settlers. A brief overview of the European voyages and the explorers involved will be followed by any specific descriptions of the Carolina Algonquian cultures. The accounts that refer specifically to the Weapemeoc or their most proximal neighbors will be discussed in greater detail.

Navigational accounts of Verrazzano, Amadas, and Barlowe provide the first initial European picture of the Carolina Algonquians. The colonizing accounts written by Thomas Harriot, John White and Ralph Lane along with the engravings of Theodore de Bry will be used heavily as this is the period of contact and marks the introduction of new material culture to the region. Richard Hakluyt compiled and published many of these early accounts into a single book in 1589.

Although Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon landed and had a temporary settlement to the south of the AOI (just south of Cape Fear at 33°30') in 1521, neither he nor the men he sent exploring the coastline under Pedro de Quexos recorded anything about the inhabitants along the shoreline to the north of them (Cumming 1966:6).

Giovanni de Verrazzano of Florence, Italy, travelled up the Atlantic Coast in 1524 in a voyage of discovery for France. The initial part of the trip takes place in Florida and the explorer works his way northward. At 34° of latitude Verrazzano notes that the shore angles eastward (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:427). This could correspond to the large sweeping curves of North Carolina's Outer Banks. Cape Fear is at 33°49' and Cape Lookout is at 34°35' and the shoreline begins to angle almost due east between the two capes near present day Wilmington, NC (34°10'). From there the ships ran 50 leagues "somewhat toward the north". If the measurement of 50 nautical leagues is correct, this calculates to 150 nautical miles or about 172 miles. A path marked five miles from shore and for a distance of 50 leagues puts the ships just offshore of Currituck County, just north of the Albemarle Sound (Figure 15). Most likely the ship was not hugging the shore and was tacking back and forth; however, the description of the region is applicable to Algonquian coastal culture and sheds light on Weapemeoc culture. Verrazzano describes this country as "more faire and ful of woods, being very great, where we rode at anker" (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:428-429).



**Figure 15. Verrazzano’s plausible route depicted in red (Google Earth).**

Verrazzano sent 20 men exploring the land. They traveled about two leagues inland and found that the people fled away from them wherever they went. The men only had contact with women and several children hidden amongst grasses. Verrazzano’s men offered food to the women, the older one accepted but the younger threw the food to the ground “disdainfully”. The men then tried to carry off a couple of children and the younger woman to take back to France, but the woman fought back as soon as they tried to carry her away, and only a young child was taken (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:428-429).

A more detailed description of these people potentially gives greater insight into the Weapemeoc Indians.

We found these folks to be more white then those that we found before, being clad with certaine leaves that hang on boughs of trees, which they sew together with threds of wilde hempe: their heads were trussed up after the same maner as the former were: their ordinary foode is of pulse[*corn??*], whereof they have great store, differing in colour and taste from ours; of goode and pleasant taste. Moreover they live by fishing and

fowling, which they takes with ginnes [?], and bowes made of hard wood, the arrowes of Canes, being headed with the bones of fish, & other beasts [ . . . ] We knewe not their dwellings, because they farre up in the land, and we judge by many signes that we saw, that they are of wood & of trees framed together (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:429).

It is not entirely clear what signs led Verrazzano to deduce the manner of their dwellings, perhaps there were seasonal dwellings established along the banks. It is interesting that the dwelling were described as being inland. The dwelling being far up in the land seems to indicate some distance from the Outer Banks then this matches later European accounts that illustrate that the Outer Banks were used solely as seasonal subsistence gathering sites. It doesn't appear that Verrazzano explored either Albemarle or Pamlico Sounds at this time.

Another collaborating piece of information that Verrazzano was in the Northern Albemarle region is his description of numerous grape vines. Arthur Barlowe described this region in 1584: “[W]e viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandie and low towards the waters side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the Sea overflowed them [ . . . ]” (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]: 298). A sketch map by John White during Sir Walter Raleigh's exploration in 1585 indicates plentiful grapes growing along the northern shore of the Albemarle Sound (Figure 16, Figure 17, and Figure 18). The Theodor de Bry engraving of the "Arrival of the Englishmen" also illustrates grape vines in the Northern Albemarle region.

Sir Walter Raleigh sent men to establish a colony in the new world in 1585 under the direction of Richard Grenville. Grenville would return to Europe that same year to gather more supplies. Ralph Lane was left in charge of the small colony and sent an exploratory group northwards in October. Lane and the men returned to Europe with Drake after initiating conflict with the Indians. When Grenville returned and found the Lane and the men gone, he left a small group of sailors and returned to Europe. In 1587, Governor John White (artist of the 1585

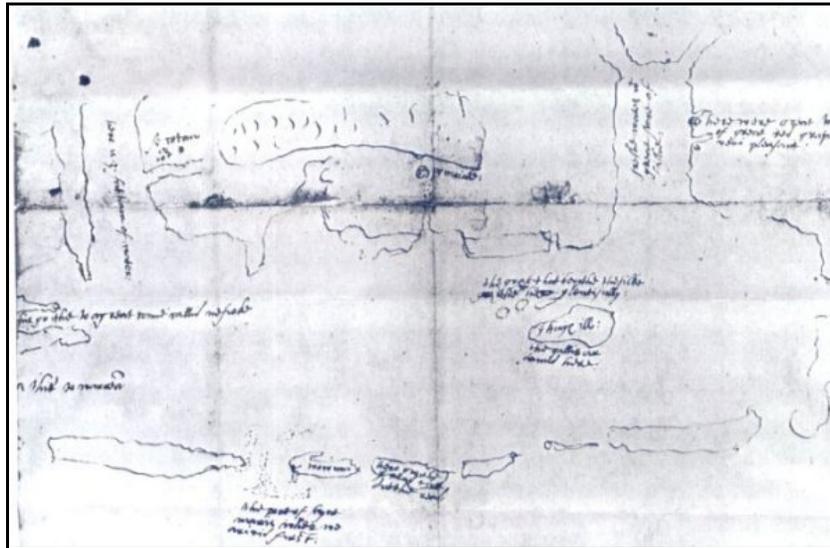


Figure 16. Original Sketch, John White 1585.

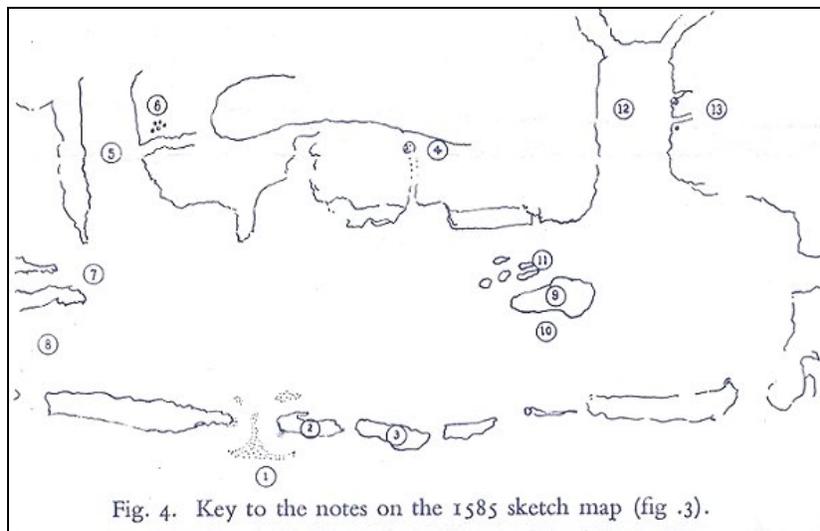


Figure 17. A key to John White's Sketch Map, 1585.

Fig. 4. Key to the notes on the 1585 sketch map (fig .3).	
[1] the port of saynt maris wher we arivid first: <sup>2</sup>	[8] [ ] this to warreā <sup>9</sup>
[2] wococan <sup>3</sup>	[9] y <sup>e</sup> kinges ill: <sup>10</sup>
[3] here groith y <sup>e</sup> roots that diethe read: <sup>4</sup>	[10] the gallis are found here: <sup>11</sup>
[4] pomaioke: <sup>5</sup>	[11] the grase that beritheth the silke groithe here plentifully: <sup>12</sup>
[5] here is .3. fatham of water: <sup>6</sup>	[12] freshe water with great store of fishe: <sup>13</sup>
[6] secotan <sup>7</sup>	[13] here were great store of great red grapis veri pleasant: <sup>14</sup>
[7] [t]his goithe to a great toune callid nesiokē <sup>8</sup>	
[Endorsed:] A discription of the land of virginia <sup>15</sup>	
[Footnotes appear on pp. 216-17.]	

Figure 18. Key detail to John White's Sketch Map, 1585.

expedition) led a group of 150 settlers to inhabit the Chesapeake Bay area, but first stopped to pick up the sailors, who were gone. The settlers believed that the season was too far gone to move again, so stayed at Roanoke Island. White returned to Europe to procure more supplies and people. He was not able to return until 1590 with Captain Cocke, who left port without the settlers. When White finally landed on Roanoke Island, there would not be a single settler and only a cryptic carved message, a story that has become infamous (Dunbar 1959:9-10).

In addition to the sketch map that is attributed to John White, he also created a large watercolor map that is held at the British Museum (Figure 19). The map shows the Weapemeoc as a cluster of villages around the mouth of what is most likely the Perquimans River. This is a far narrower boundary for the Weapemeoc than described by Ralph Lane in 1585 or the map by Theodor de Bry in 1590 (Figure 20). White shows the Weapemeoc villages as Cautaking, Ricahokene, Mascomenge and Warowhani. The only other village in the northern Albemarle Region is Masquetuc. Lane mentions Passaquenoke, the Womans Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, and Metackwam. King Okisco of the Weapomeiok was Weronac over this alliance of villages (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:322). Theodor de Bry illustrates the following villages from east to west: Pasquenoke, Chepanuu, and Mascoming, with Waratan and Catokinge on the Chowan River. This more closely aligns with Lane's account.

White's map does not include Indian territories whereas Theodor de Bry's does. Bry illustrates Weapemeoc, Chawanook and Secotan territories. Both Lane and Bry seem to want to split the land into well-defined territories. White is less interested in doing so. As such, the cluster of villages that are marked Weapemeoc in White's map may be a highly populated area, or a capital village as Phelps refers to it and a village-hamlet continuum as Binford refers to it (Matthis and Crow 1983; see Figure 10).



Figure 19. 1586 John White detail.



Figure 20. 1590 Theodor de Bry.

The White map from 1586 predates the Bry engraving from 1590; however the Bry engraving seems to be an engraving of a more complete map, one with more information than the John White 1586 map. Another explanation for the differing locales of Weapemeoc village is that one maps records temporary and seasonal sites were recorded while the other map records the locations of permanent villages. It does become clear from both maps that the rivers on the northern shore of the Albemarle Sound were not explored at great depth, as only the river-mouths are recorded. A few rivers along the southern shore of the Albemarle Sound and the Chowanoke River are recorded in much greater detail.

The White map also has a few patches which were studied in detail by conservators Ambers, Russell, Saunders, and Rugheimer of the British Museum in 2012. The other discrepancy is the location of Catokinge and Waratan. White shows Cautaking and Warowhani as part of the Weapemeoc village cluster on Edenton Bay, while Theodor de Bry shows these as on the Chowan River. Archaeological investigation in the differing locations would be the only way to determine where these villages actually existed.

The only village that seems to be in the same location on both maps bears the name Masequetuc in White's map and Pasquenoke in Bry's map. This village is located to the east of the other Weapemeoc villages. The village of Pasquenoke also coincides with Lane's description of the "women's town". Translation of the Algonquian term "ma-skwe-tuk" is "woman's river", and likely refers to the same town. Speck interprets the Algonquian term "pa-skwen-ok" as "woman's town or village" (Mook 1944:188). Another interpretation is that Pasquenoc is a loose form of the Algonquian word "pasakwen" meaning "to be close together" or "people" (Hodge 1912:207).

The place name of a woman's town/ woman's river is unique among the Algonquian culture of eastern North Carolina. No such town appears among the Secotan, the Chowanoke or the Powhatan (Mook 1944:188).

Thomas Harriot visited North Carolina with Sir Grenville in 1585 and wrote about the "natures and manner of the people" in a report originally published in 1588 (Harriot 1972 [1590]:24). It is important to keep in mind that he is only reporting on the Carolina Algonquian Indian groups of Eastern North Carolina in general and does not always refer to the specific sub-group.

In Harriot's report he discusses the design and structure of Indian towns and houses. The towns appear small to him having at most thirty houses. Homes are made of small poles fastened to form a rounded house that is twice as long as it is wide.

The preparation of the bodies of dead chiefs is described in some detail:

[F]irst the bowells are taken forthe. Then layinge downe thes kinne, they cutt all the flesh cleane from the bones, which the drye in the sonne, and well dryed the inclose in Matts, and place at their feete. Then their bones (remiange still fastened together with the ligamnets whole and uncorrupted) are covered a gayne with leather, and their carcasse fashioned as yf their flesh wear not taken away (Harriot 1972:72 [1590]; Figure 21).

The remains were kept in the temple until there was no more room, at which point all the remains would be placed together in a grave (Lawson 1967 [1709]:185-187). These burials are called ossuaries.

The Weapemeoc had a Weronac but the power held by the Weapemeoc chief seems less than the power held by other Weronacs such as Powhatan. The Weapemeoc Indians likely consisted of a loose alliance.

Okisko was reported to be the 'king' of several settlements, but he was not able to control the alliances of these settlements. His status was probably that of the most respected man among the 'chiefs' of the various settlements (Binford 1991:103).



**Figure 21. John White watercolor, “Indian Charnel House” (©Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum).**

Another indication that this was a loose alliance is that Okisko was somewhat subservient to Mantonen, King of the Chowanoke. This loose alliance may have led to outlying villages to the north being conquered by Powhatan and becoming tributary to his nation by the first decade of the seventeenth century.

Amadas and Barlowe noted specific seating patterns based on power of the individual during their visit in 1584. In addition only certain Indians were allowed to trade and the Chief could receive presents, but his servants could not (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:300-303). This

seems to indicate a ranking system and highlights the economic standing of the chiefly men (Binford 1991:105). Snyder comments extensively on the place of servants and slaves in southeastern Indian culture (Snyder 2010).

Mook estimates that the Weapemeoc had a population of about 1500 based on the seven or eight hundred warriors mentioned by Lane (Mook 1944:187). However, this is solely the number of warriors that joined the Secotan and as a loose alliance it is plausible that the actual number of Weapemeoc was much higher. Thus, Mook's estimate may be conservative.

### **Historical Accounts of Maritime Culture**

In 1585, Lane explored the Albemarle Sound while traveling to Chawanook, a distance of 130 miles from Roanoke. Lane records several Weapemeoc towns along the northern shore.

Our passage thither lyeth through a broad sound, but all fresh water, and the chanell of a great depth, navigable for good shipping, but out of the chanell full of shoalds. The townes about the waters side situated by the way are these following: Passaquenoke The womans Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, & Metackwam: all these being under the jurisdiction of the king of Weapomeiok, called Okisco (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:322).

Oberg describes Indian village names:

The names of places all bore the mark of their relationship to water: Secotan, the town at the bend of the river; Aquascogoc, the place for disembarking; Weapemeoc, where shelter from the wind is sought; Dasemunkepuc, where there is an extended land surface separated by water (Oberg 2008:3).

Pasquotank also has an Algonquian maritime meaning- a place where the current divides (Bright 2004:370).

Ralph Lane writes that “[t]o the Northward our furthest discovery was to the Chesipians, distant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the passage to it was very shallow and most dangerous

by reason breadth of the sound” (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:321). This indicates that the settlers sailed through Currituck Sound within hailing distance of some of these sites.

Thomas Harriot describes the towns as being small and “neere the sea coast but few” (Harriot 1972 [1590]:24). This may have been in effort to preserve their towns from the devastation of hurricanes and storms. It is also may indicate the spread of disease from early explorers touching along the shore such as the journey of Verrazzano. Archaeological evidence and historical accounts support the former, with permanent settlements on the inner banks and sound shorelines, while the majority of sites found on the outer banks themselves and along inland rivers were temporary seasonal hunting sites. Lane reports that the Indians would go to Hatorask, Croatan, and other placec on the Outer Banks to fish and hunt while their corn was growing (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:338).

The Europeans came to the Indian’s land aboard ships. The Indians met the Europeans in boats as well. This meeting of two cultures on the water offers insight into the way both cultures viewed the water. Rather than being a limiting boundary, it was an extension of the land, a road by which one could travel. John White’s 1586 map illustrates this as English ships and canoes dot the sounds of his map.

Although the canoes on the White 1586 map are quite small and lack detail, the locations are interesting as they are not shown along the outer banks or inland on the rivers. They are also missing from Lake Paquippe (Lake Mattamuskeet). There is a cluster of canoes along the northern shore of the Albemarle (White 1586). The location of the canoes on White’s map may be conincidental or it may be indicative of the seasonal fishing locales at the time the map was sketched.

There are several accounts of the Indians canoe building process, starting with Verrazzano's description in 1524:

We saw many of their boats made of one tree 20. foote long, and 4. foote broad, which are not made with yron or stone, or any other kinde of metal (because that in all this countrey for the space of 200. leagues which we ranne we never saw one stone of any sort) they helpe themselves with fire, burning so much of the tree as is sufficient for the hollownesse of the boat; the like they doe in making the sterne & the forepart, until it be fit to saile upon the sea (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:429; Figure 22).

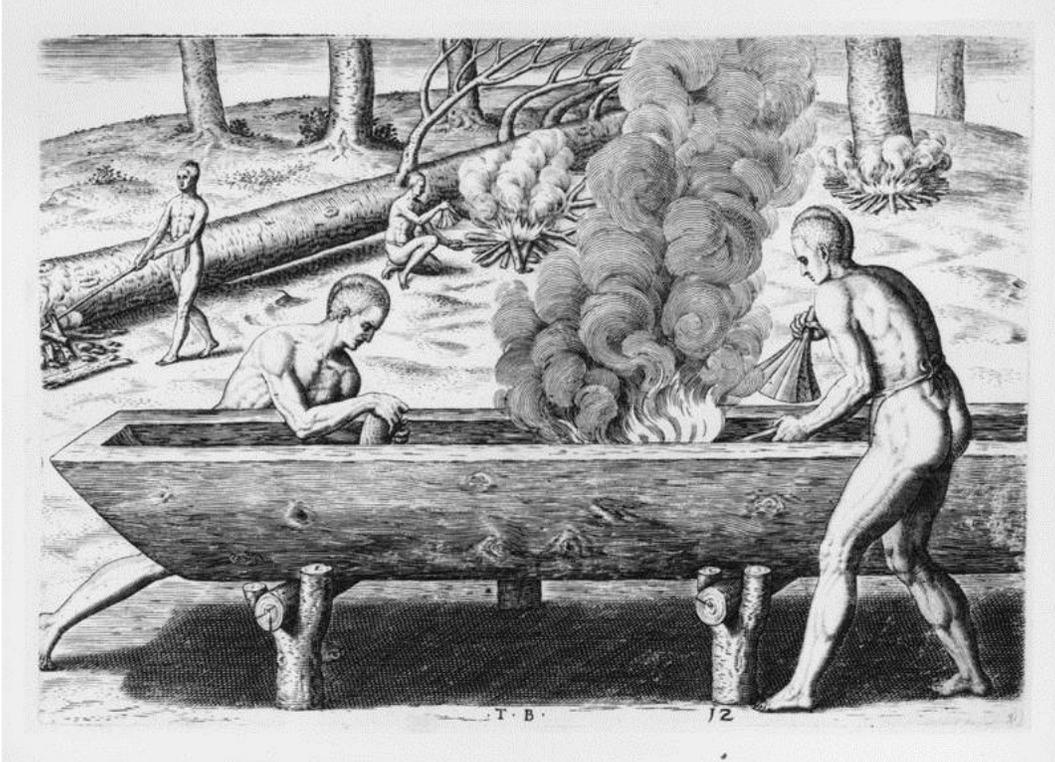
Verrazzano's observation about the lack of stone confirms the previously discussed distinction between the Archaic Period into the Woodland Period in lithic procurement. The use of fire appears to fairly common. It was used for both food procurement and manufacture. The Indians use of fire would cause many problems in the eighteenth century with the settlers.

Barlowe describes nearly the same manufacturing process: "Their boates are made of one tree, either of Pine or of Pitch tress: a wood not commonly knowen to our people, nor found growing in England." The Indians did not have edge tools-save for those pulled from a wreck "twentie yeres since" (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:303).

The manner of making their boats is thus; they burne downe some great tree, or take such as are winde fallen, and putting gumme and rosen upon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollow, they cut out the coale with their shells, and ever where they would burn it deeper or wider they lay on gummess, which burne away the timber, and by this meanes they fashion very fine boates, and such as will transport twentie men. Their oares are like scoopes, and many times they set with long pooles, as the depth serveth (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:303).

It is interesting that shells served as tools for manufacturing boats. There are far fewer descriptions of the process of making a home, and it remains unknown if shells were used as carving and scraping tools in other capacity.

The different means of propulsion are well suited to the environment of Eastern North Carolina. Currituck Sound rarely reaches a greater depth than 5 feet. A pushing pole is ideal in



**Figure 22. Theodor de Bry engraving, “The manner of makinge their boates” (©Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum).**

this sound. Oars are suitable for the river currents: one could row across or up a deeper the river rather than having to follow the current.

Harriot describes similar boat making technology in 1585 and this may seem repetitious, but Harriot provides some additional detail in the preparation work and also some additional detail about the fire hollowing technique. First a tree is chosen for height and width. Then controlled smoldering fires are set to the base of the tree, one each side until the tree is felled. Branches are also burned off in a similar manner. Shells are used to strip the bark from the tree. A fire is also used to hollow out the inside of the boat. The fire is set and fanned to control the direction of the fire and when a significant portion of the wood is burnt, the fire is extinguished. The charcoaled remnants are scraped away and another fire is set to remove another layer of wood. This is continued until the boat has a sufficient depth (Harriot 1972 [1590]:55).

Nearly one hundred years after Verrazzano's visit, little seems to have changed in the Indians' manufacture of canoes:

They make them with one tree, by burning and scraping away the coals with stones and shells, tyll they have made them in forme of a trough. Some of them are an ell deepe, and forty or fifty foote in length, and some will transport forty men; but the most ordinary are smaller, and will ferry ten or twenty, with some luggage, over the broadest rivers (Strachey 1849 [1612]:75).

An ell is about 3.5 feet. This along with the information about more than forty men fitting in a canoe indicates the great size that these canoes would reach. Strachey describes these boats as "very shapefull" (Strachey 1849 [1612]:68). Paddles and poles were used to propel the boats that "they will rowe faster then we in our barges" (Strachey 1849 [1612]:75).

The first meeting between an Indian and Amadas' crew in 1584 was decidedly maritime in nature:

[W]e brought him with his own good liking, aboard the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat & some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very wel: and after having viewed both barks, he departed and went to his own boat againe, which hee had left in a little Cove or Creek adjoining: assoone as he was two bow shoot into the water, he fell to fishing, and in lesse than halfe an houre, he had laden his boats as deepe, as it could swimme, with which hee came againe to the point of the lande, and there he devided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, the other to the pinnesse (Hakluyt 1904[1598-1600]:300).

In addition to being comfortable aboard the European Barques, this Indian demonstrated his expertise on his own vessel and waters. He also exhibited the maritime subsistence, maritime communication and maritime mentality common to the Carolina Algonquian. There is a tone of surprise in Barlowe's account at the speed with which the Indian filled his boat with fish.

The following day, about fifty Indians aboard "divers boates came to visit Amadas and his men (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:300). The use of the term diverse boats is interesting. It may indicate that there were several types of boats or it may mean that there was a large amount of

boats. Unfortunately, Barlowe does not elaborate further regarding the boats at this particular meeting.

Harriot describes the Indians' fishing techniques, using "the hollow tail of a certain fish like to a sea crab" instead of a point, "where with by night or day they stick fishes and take them up into their boats." The Indians also used weirs set up with reeds to form a semi-circle barrier in the water with additional smaller interlocking semi-circles, each a bit narrower than the last, funneling the fish to a final pickup spot (Harriot 1972 [1590]:56).

John White illustrated these weirs in a watercolor which was later engraved by Theodor de Bry (Figure 23 and Figure 24). There are some striking differences between the two images: The most notable is the different shapes of the fish weirs. John White's watercolor shows a straight line 90 degree angle enclosure with a box shape attached. De Bry's engraving shows several straight line fence-like structures, one with an entrapment attached that have pointed semi-circles nestled within each other, each smaller than the last. Bry's engraving seems to match Harriot's description and Beverley's description (see Figure 24; Harriot 1972 [1590]:56; Beverley 1855 [1705]:119). Both Harriot and Beverley may have been referring to Theodor de Bry's engraving in writing their descriptions.

Beverley provides a few additional details that do not appear in previous descriptions or illustrations. He describes the weirs as cod shaped (Beverley 1855 [1705]:119). Beverley notes that when the Indians were gathering fish from the weirs they never positioned the canoes at the mouth of the weir as depicted but rather alongside and parallel to the end of the trap where the fish were caught. He also mentions that it is difficult to draw this as it would obscure the shape of the weir.

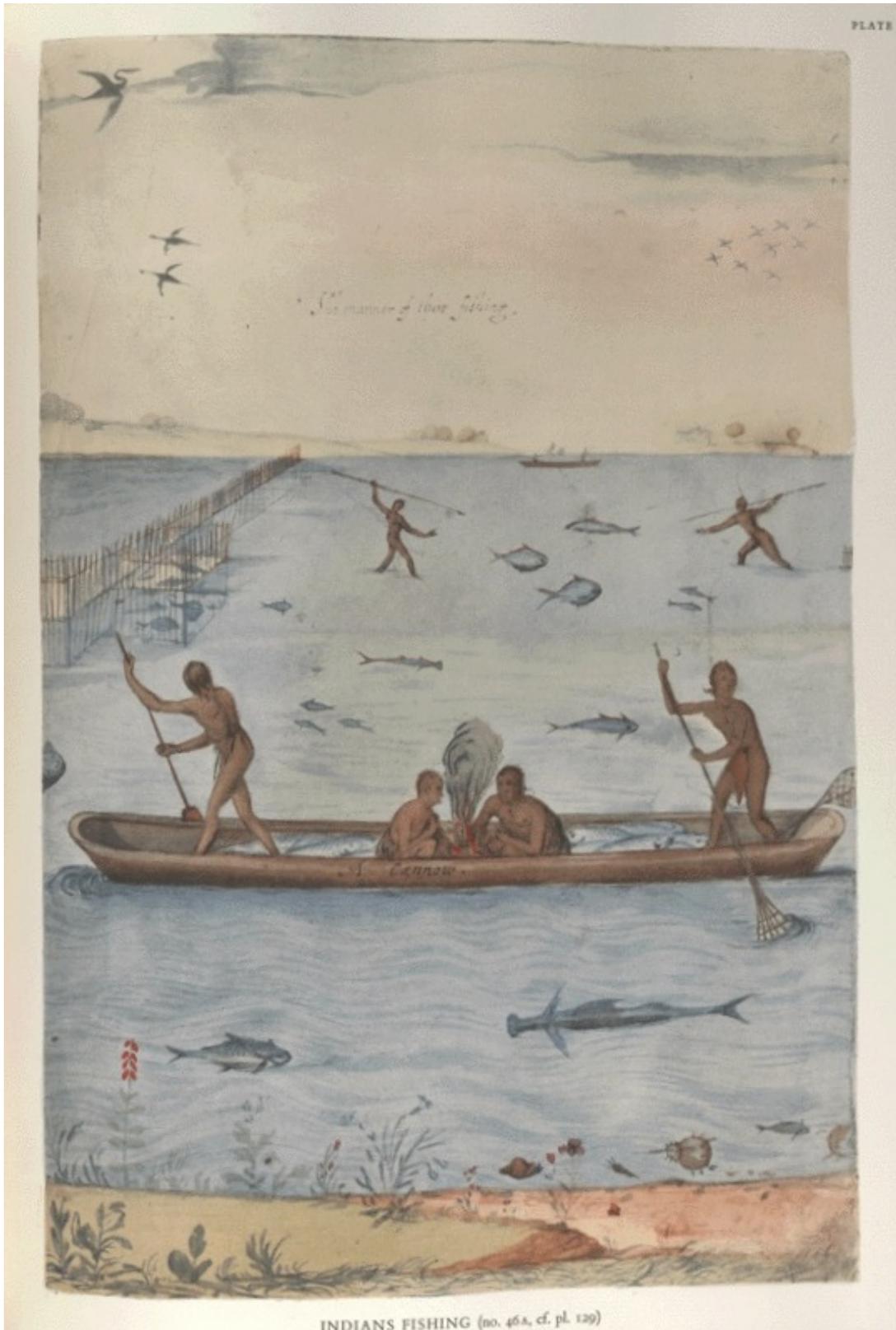


Figure 23. John White watercolor, “Their manner of fishynge in Virginia” (©Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum).

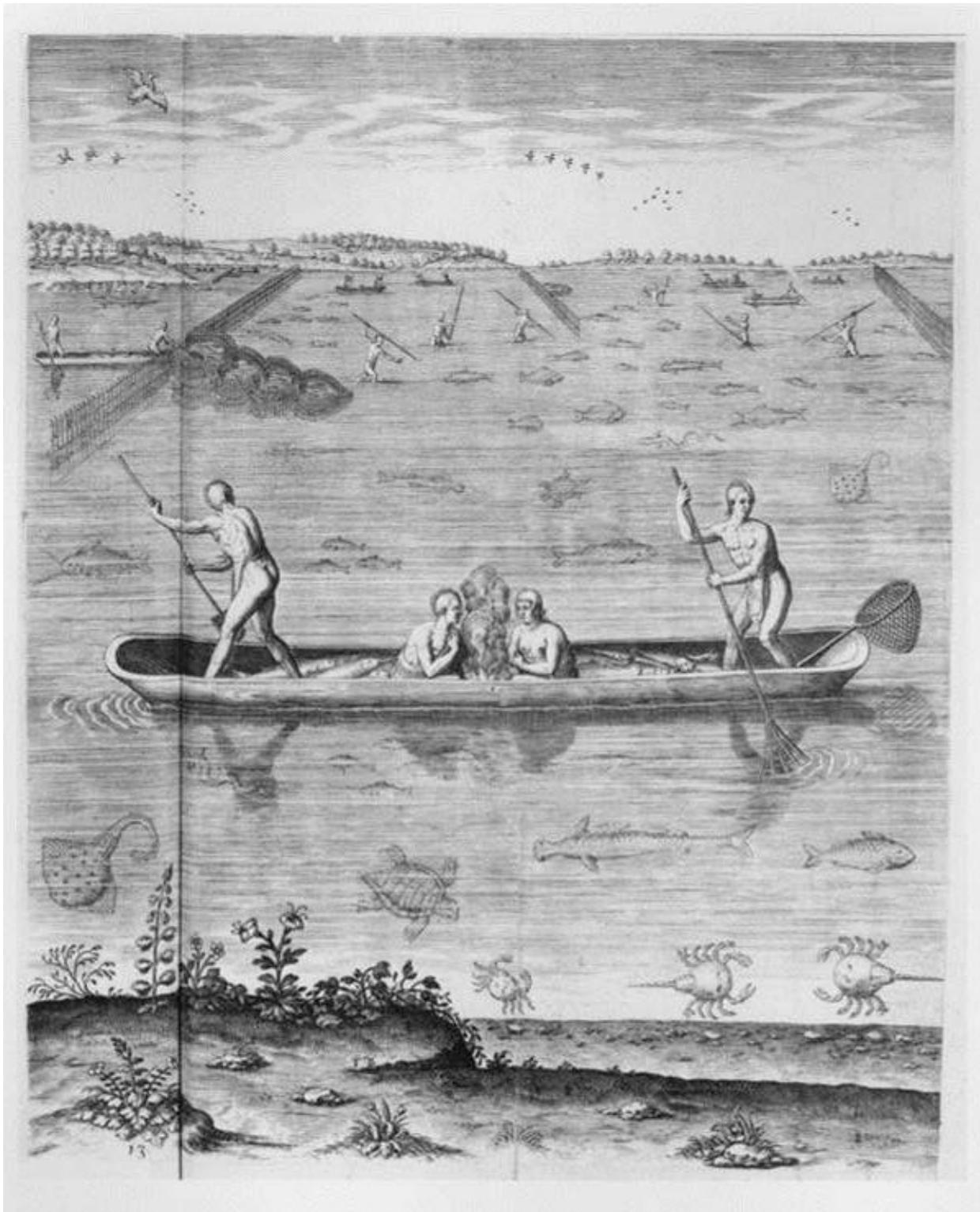


Figure 24. Theodor de Bry engraving, “The manner of their fishyng” (©Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum).

Another difference between the White illustration and the Bry engraving is the types of fish. Both Mollusks and Crustaceans are shown in both images, but in the Bry engraving there are also eels, turtles, and stingrays. Another notable difference is that John White's watercolor labels the canoe as "cannow" but this word is missing altogether from the Bry engraving. Bry's engraving includes an additional four canoes and several additional people. Some of these people are depicted tending to the weir. In both images, two different types of nets are depicted. One of the nets appears to be made of a flexible material that forms a scoop on a circular piece of wood. The second appears to be made of a stiffer material and fans out from the handle.

Strachey describes the Indian fish weirs as somewhat ingenious: these are made of reed and designed like a "maze" or "labyrinth" with several chambers that the fish cannot escape once swimming into the weir. At low water, the Indians draw these fish out using a pole with a net at the end (Strachey 1849 [1612]:68).

The nets are made of tree bark, deer sinew and thread made from grass. The woven thread is used for clothing, nets, and fishing lines. Their fishing poles essentially of the same construction as a basic fishing pole rod, with a hook and line attached. Hooks are made of bone shaped into a fishhook or a natural bone splinter. The Indians also attached line to their arrows and shot fish in the water. Some of the Indian groups used fishing spears (Strachey 1849 [1612]:75). Apparently, the men prided themselves on their fishing expertise and treated it as a sport in addition to a source of subsistence so as to "wyn the loves of their women" (Strachey 1849 [1612]:75).

Fish was prepared through both boiling and broiling over a fire. Fish and shellfish were boiled along with a bit of grain to make a soup (Strachey 1849 [1612]:127). They also prepared a meal that combined meat from their hunting and fishing along with fruit. The fish was broiled by

being placed on stick or on a rack made of several sticks over the fire (Harriot 1972 [1590]: 59).

Oysters were hung over a fire and slow smoked (Strachey 1849 [1612]:127).

The King's brother, Granganimeo, and his wife both wore jewelry of pearl and coral, which appeared to be of even greater value than the copper ornaments that many of the Indians wore (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:302). Harriot mentions that although the settlers rarely found quality pearls, he suspected that there were muscle and oyster beds that had both quality pearls and a large quantity of pearls. One of the men in Harriot's company was able to obtain over 5,000 pearls from the Indians (Harriot 1972 [1590]:10-11).

## CHAPTER 5: HISTORIC PHASE FROM HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS

*Contact: 1584-1653*

The earliest contacts with the Weapmeoc are most likely Spanish and French commissioned voyagers of the sixteenth century. The first extended period of contact was the settlement of Roanoke by Raleigh's explorers and settlers. This period of cultural contact would only last two years: 1584-1586. The first settlement to succeed in the region would be Jamestown in 1607. Most of these early interactions had periods of conflict between the Indians and settlers. In the examination of acculturation, each of these points of contact has significance in understanding the exchange between indigenous and European culture.

### **Cultural Contact**

There seems to be a few Spanish and Portuguese explorers who are in the area as early as the 1520s. Estevan Gomez sailed the Atlantic coast of the new world in 1525 up to 40° N latitude indicating that he passed Weapemeoc territory. Also in 1525, Pedro de Quexos seems to have explored Chesapeake Bay (to the north of the AOI). Following up the Quexos exploration, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon established a settlement, although many believe the settlement was along the Savannah River rather than the Chesapeake region (Dunbar 1959:6). Pedro Menendez also attempted to establish a Spanish presence in the area, but little was done by way of a settlement, although a Jesuit mission existed briefly in the Chesapeake Bay area around 1570 (Dunbar 1959:6-7).

The French began traveling through the area in the 1540s, using the Floridian current and Gulf Stream route to expand into Spanish territory. They also collected marten furs along the

way and “[o]n one trip, which excited Spanish jealousy, they picked up 2,000 skins in two days from canoe-borne natives” (Dunbar 1959:6; Axtell 2001:90).

The increased use of this portion of the coast resulted in a greater number of shipwrecks which introduced European artifacts, as well as communication and exchange between shipwreck survivors and the Indians.

Humphrey Gilbert received a patent from the Queen of England to explore and settle in the new world. He made two unfruitful voyages in 1578 and 1583. Gilbert’s half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh renewed the patent on Gilbert’s death (Dunbar 1959:7). Arthur Barlowe and Philip Amadas’ 1584 voyage focused largely on the Albemarle Sound region. This may be because of previous voyages and it also because these coastal lands appeared less populated. According to the wording of the patent “to discover searche finde out and viewe such remote heathen and barbarous lands countries and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince of people as to him his heires and assignes and to every or any of them shall seeme good” (Dunbar 1959:7).

The initial interactions between Weapemeoc and settlers were minimal and involved contact along the ocean and sound shorelines. The settlers were more frequently in contact with the Secotan which may be in part due to the location of inlets as well as the Secotan’s established seasonal use of the islands of both the inner and outer banks. Amadas and Barlowe, like Verrazzano, were on the Outer Banks three days before seeing an Indian, which supports the hypothesis that these coastal barrier islands were used temporarily and seasonally as subsistence procurement sites and were not permanent habitation sites (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:299).

Barlowe also mentions that the Secotan Indians (southern shore of Albemarle) had procured European items from a shipwreck in the area and had “preserved” a few of the sailors

(described as white), which indicates that earlier contact between the two cultures had occurred (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:307). The wreck is recorded as having been in 1558, 26 years prior to Amadas and Barlowe's visit.

Maps produced between 1590 and 1640 provide very little additional information regarding the Weapemeoc specifically. Many of the same villages that appear on Theodor de Bry's map of 1590 also appear on Jodocus Hondius and Gerhard Mercator's map of 1632 and William Blaeu's map of 1640 (Figure 25, Figure 26, and Figure 27). Both Hondius and Mercator, and Blaeu seem to have used Bry's placement of villages rather than John White's from 1586. Hondius and Mercator include an interesting icon of a canoe at 30.5° latitude and 300° longitude. This image appears to be based off of Bry's engraving of Indians making a canoe, including what appears to be a fire in the middle of the canoe. The Blaeu map only shows European ships plying the waters; however there are several representations Indians included in the title image.

### **Conflict**

This foremost phase of exchange involved several conflicts between the explorers and the Indians of eastern North Carolina. These conflicts primarily involved the Secotan Indians to the south of the Weapemeoc and the Chowan Indians to the west of the Weapemeoc. Although the Weapemeoc were not initially a party in these conflicts, they were drawn into these conflicts due to their proximity to all the parties involved.

One of the first recorded conflicts was between Amadas' men and the Aquascogoc. Amadas demanded the return of a stolen cup. When the cup was not returned, Amadas burned and spoiled their crops and the town (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:316). Although there was no



Figure 25. 1632 Hondius and Mercator.



Figure 26. 1640 Blaeu.

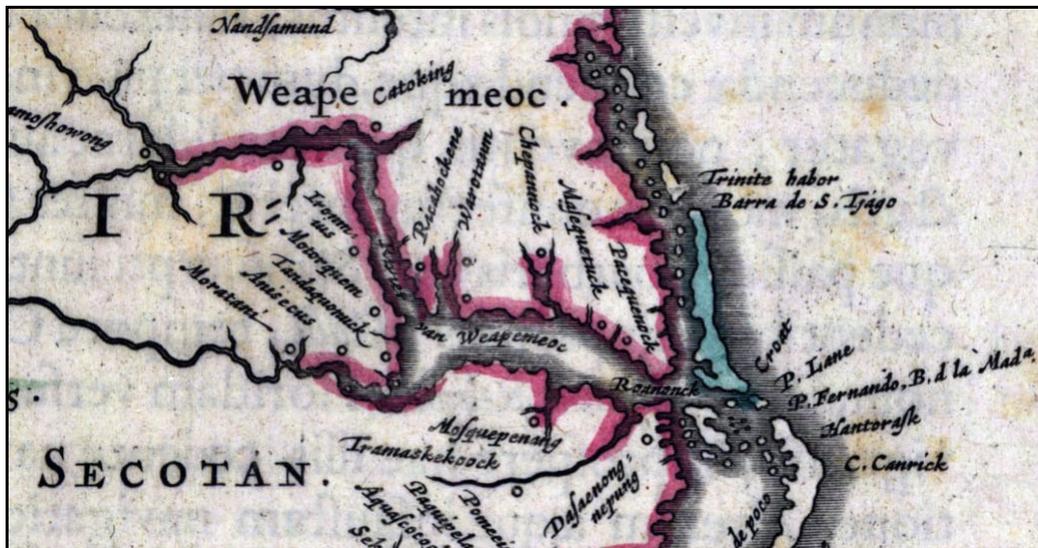


Figure 27. 1640 Blaeu detail .

further retaliation from the Indians at this time, the knowledge of this act most likely became well-known among the Carolina Algonquians.

During an exploratory voyage to the Chowan in search of gold and pearls, Ralph Lane takes the King of the Chowan, Menatonen, and his son, Skiko, as prisoners. Lane releases Menatonen but keeps his son. Menatonen sends pearls to pay ransom for his son, but Lane refuses the offer (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:323-324).

A small excerpt from Lane's own account of his return voyage from the Chowans illustrates the Weapemeoc being drawn into these conflicts:

I thought it good for us to make our returne homeward, and that it was necessary for us to get the other side of the Sound of Weopomeiok in time, where wee might be relieved upon the weares [fish weirs] of Chypanum, and the womens Towne, although the people were fled (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:327).

Lane returned to Chypanum on Easter Day after waiting a day for better weather in the sound, and found the village empty of Indians but the fish weirs full, of which he and his men helped themselves (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:331).

It seems that Ensenore of the Secotan was largely responsible for the continuing peace between the coastal Indian groups and the Roanoke settlers. After Ensenore's death, Pemisapan started gathering warriors to attack and remove the English. Pemisapan joined forces with the Mangoaks and some of the Weapemeoc (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:340). Pemisapan attempts to gain the support of King of the Weapemeoc, King Okisko, by offering him large quantities of copper. King Okisko has already sworn fealty to the Queen of England at King Mentatonen's request.

The answer within few days after came from Weopomeiok, which was divided into two parts. First for the King Okisko, who denied to be of the partie for himselfe, or any of his especiall followers, and therefore did immediately retire himselfe with his force into the maine: the other was

concerning the rest of the said province who accepted of it (Hakluyt 1904 [1598-1600]:339).

It seems that between seven hundred and eight hundred Weapemeoc men accepted the copper and joined forces with Pemsapan.

The resulting skirmishes between the settlers and the Indians continued until a portion of the colonists were picked up by Sir Frances Drake in 1586. Contact may have continued with the remaining 100 or so Roanoke colonists that were never seen again, now known as the Lost Colony of Roanoke. The pattern of some of Indian groups forming alliances with the settlers would continue throughout most of the Colonial Period.

### **Changing Territory**

The first documented Weroance (chief or King) of the Weopemeoc was Okisco as mentioned in Ralph Lane's account (Lane 1946:136; Smith 1906:16). None of the other Weapemeoc Indians are mentioned by name in this account. It is postulated that Powhatan rose to power between 1597 and 1607 along the Chesapeake Bay. The Chesapeakes, Nansemonds, Warraskoyaks, Quiyoughcohannocks, and Weanocks are all groups on the south side of James River and along the southern edge of Chesapeake Bay (Axtell 2001:233-235). Although this region is designated as Weapemeoc territory on the maps of the late sixteenth century, it is Powhatan territory by the seventeenth century. It is unclear if these groups were taken over autonomously or if there was an agreement between Powhatan and Weapemeoc. The loose confederation of groups that made up the Weapemeoc appears to have lost much of its northern region to the Powhatan and later to European settlement between 1595 and 1650.

A chief or king of the Weapemeoc does seem to maintain control of the southern region along the Albemarle shores. Strachey indicates that "No parte of this sowth country is supposed to be under Powhatan, but under an absolute Weroance, as powerfull and great as Powhatan"

(Strachey 1849 [1612]:28). This may be referring to the King of the Weapemeoc or of the Chowan, it remains unclear which group is referred to in Strachey's statement.

Jamestown was established in 1607 in the Chesapeake region. This was the first colonial venture in the region to survive. Jamestown colonists sent out a few exploratory voyages in an attempt to determine what happened to Raleigh's colony, as the fate of these lost settlers was a concern for the settlers of Jamestown. John Smith sent Michael Sicklemore on one of these voyages in 1609. Smith notes that Sicklemore returned but that there was no sign of Raleigh's colonists. Sicklemore reports that he saw few people and that the country was overgrown with pines and grasses (Smith 2007:148). Marmaduke Raynor went on an exploratory expedition into the area in 1620. John Pory led another expedition in 1622. Pory reported that the Indians were friendly and that area was suitable for settlements (Hill 1987:2).

In spite of Pory's favorable report, there were few attempts to settle the Albemarle region. This may be in part due to the ongoing conflicts between Jamestown settlers and Powhatan Indians. Between 1622 and 1646 there were hundreds of deaths on both sides. An attack by the Indians in 1644 resulted in five hundred settlers dying. The retaliation ended with the capture and death of their chief, Opechancanough (Axtell 2001:256-257). In 1646, Governor Berkley sent General Richard Bennet and Thomas Dew to explore the Albemarle Region. Henry Plumpton and Thomas Tuke surveyed Roanoke River in 1648 (Hill 1987: 2).

Nathaniell Batts is believed to be the first white settler in the Albemarle region (known as Roanoke to Virginians). He purchased the land from Kiscutanewh, King of the "Yausapin" Indians, for all the land south of the Paskotank River in 1660 (NCSA, Nathaniel Batts Papers, 1655-1660). Thomas Yeardley contracted Robert Bodnam to build Batts house. The location of the house appears on the Comberford map of 1657 (Cumming 1939:83-85; Figure 28). There is



**Figure 28. 1657 Comberford**

debate as to whether Batt's house was an isolated trading post or one of several settlements on the Albemarle Sound in the 1650s (Cumming 1939:86-87; Hill 1987:3). The deed refers to Mr. Mason and Mrs. Willoughby having been interested in the same land but never having paid for it (NCSA, Nathaniel Batts Papers, 1655-1660).

Batts' deed with Chief Kiscutanewh of the Yeopim in 1660 was in an area recorded primarily as Chowan territory in later maps as well as in the accounts from Amadas, Barlow and Lane (Powell 1994:123). Either this was an intentional act of Kiscutanewh or it may indicate that the Weapemeoc territory of 1586 included an alliance with the Chowan. If it is the latter, the deed with Batts would be one of the first indicators of the limitation of Weapemeoc territory.

Although little is known of the period between 1587 and 1653 regarding the Weapemeoc, several land grants after 1650 indicate some continuity of traditional culture with the retention of Indian first names. These documents are signed by a mark of the chief or the king, indicating that the Weapemeoc had not yet adopted the English written language. These are also some of the earliest examples of agreements between Indian and settlers in the region.

#### *Cultural Exchange: 1653-1704*

It was common for European governments and settlers to parcel and divide land along rivers in Virginia and Albemarle as there were few roads and water provided the only means of access to interior land. This use of the coastal lands mirrored Indian settlement patterns from the Late Woodland Period. The similar settlement patterns and the use of the rivers as main transportation thoroughfares brought the two groups into close contact on many occasions and led to greater cultural exchange during the second half of the seventeenth century.

As a result of living near each other, Indian and settler communication and cultural exchange increased. These relationships grew as Indians and settlers intermarried and “adopted” through kidnapping, slavery, war. Europeans often thought of all natives as “Indians” whereas the Indians themselves drew very distinct lines between the various Indian groups. The Indians distinguished settlers based on language and religion.

#### **Property and Boundaries**

Land ownership in the New World occurred through charters and grants from the Old World with little concern or consent from the current inhabitants. The earliest grants that affected Weapemeoc territory include the charter to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584, a secondary charter to Robert Heath in 1629 and a third and final charter to the Lords Proprietors in 1663.

The second land patent was declared null because Heath did not establish a settlement on the land. This was to be common during the early colonial period, with many references to lapsed land grants due to want of “seeding” and “planting” the soil. The earliest settlers that actually established homesteads came from Nansemond and Northumberland Counties in Virginia. The ownership of land was unclear prior to the charter in 1663 and in most cases simply required some sort of agreement with the Indians (DocSouth, Colonial and State Records of North Carolina [CSR], Charter granted by Charles I, King of England to Robert Heath for Carolana, 30 October 1629).

In 1653, Roger Green petitioned for a land patent for 10,000 acres be granted to the first 100 settlers willing to “seat” (cultivate the land and establish a building upon the land) and plant along the shores of Moratuck and Roanoke Rivers and the land south of the “Choan” River. Roger Green himself was allotted 1,000 acres at any place of his choosing. This passed as an Act of the Virginia General Assembly on July 5, 1653 (Doc South, Act of the Virginia General Assembly concerning a land patent to Roger Green and the inhabitants of Nansemond River in Virginia, 05 July 1653).

In 1654, Francis Yardley financed an expedition and through his men bought “three great rivers, and all such others as they should like southerly” in southern Virginia or Carolina as it was coming to be called (Salley 1911:27). Apparently this deal was completed when the Indians shot an arrow into the sold turf as recorded by Yardley in a letter to John Farrar, dated May 8, 1654 (Vaughan 2001:6). This symbolic gesture seemed similar to the European custom of establishing a wooden cross on lands claimed in the new world. Yardley goes on to say that the Indians “left the lands and rivers to us, retiring to a new habitation” (Salley 1911:27). The men

on Yardley's expedition also visited with the Tuscarora, who had a Spaniard, his family and several slaves that lived among them.

The land grant between King Kilcocanen of the Weapemeoc to George Durant on March 1, 1661 was long used in histories of the region as the first land grant in North Carolina (DocSouth, CSR, Records of Perquimans County, Book A, No.374, March 1, 1662). This is largely due to the fact that Batts' deed did not survive to the present day (if it was in fact a written agreement, it seems that the trade may have been oral with a symbolic deeding of land through the shot arrow in the land). It remains unclear if other early settlers in the 1650s obtained a record of sale from the Indians or if said grants were preserved.

George Durant moved into the Northern Albemarle region from Nansemond County, Virginia, after exploring the area in 1660 and 1661 with Nathaniell Batts and his brother, Richard Batts, a sea captain. Durant listed his occupation as mariner throughout his life and on his will dated October 9, 1688 (Powell 1994:123-135; Grimes 1912:165).

Just a few months after the March deed, Durant purchased a second tract of land from the Weapemeoc. Ciskitando, King of Yeopim, sold this land to Durant on August 4, 1661. Did Kilcacenen die between March and August? Was it a matter of succession? Or were these in fact sub-chiefs that were called King of the Yeopim. It seems that the both areas sold were in a similar region. A comparison of the two deeds proves informative (Table 2). In the August deed, there is no mention of the consent of the people, while in the Durant deed from March the land was sold with the consent of the people-the Yeopim. The August deed also includes Indian place names for the Pequimans River, Awosrake Creek and an area known as Wecocomike. This follows Indian habitation patterns in that they tended to live on a wedge of land between a large body of water and a smaller tributary.

**Table 2. Comparison of the two Durant-Yeopim deeds (Hathaway 1900).**

Ciskitando, King of Yeopim, and George Durant Land Deed August 4, 1661	Kilcocanen, King of Yeopim, and George Durant Land Deed March 1, 1661/2
<p>Know all men by these Presents that I Ciskitando, King of Yeopim do sell unto George Durant A Parcell of Land Bounding on Pequimans River at A Creek Issuing out of ye Same Beginning at ye aforesaid Creek and running down ye said aforesaid River to a marked Poplar standing on the side of A Great Swamp Which falleth into the River thence Running out into the Woods Parallel with ye aforesaid Creek As also up the said Creek side to another Great Swamp which falleth in to the same And thence again into the Woods Parallel with ye River to the Bounds Proceeding from ye Marked Poplar.</p> <p>To Have And to Hold ye same Land with all Belonging to the same to him &amp; his Heirs forever from me or any other Whatsoever Warrenting the same to him A lawfull Sale As Witness my hand this 4<sup>th</sup> of August, 1661.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">the marke of Cuscutenew</p> <p>Signed &amp; Delivered In Presence of Thomas Weamouth Caleb Calloway</p> <p>Registered the 24 October 1716 John Stepney</p>	<p>Know all men by these Presents that I Kilcocanen, King of Yeopim, have for a valuable consideration of satisfaction Received with ye Consent of my People sold and made over and delivered to George Durant a parcill of Land Lying &amp; being on Roanoake Sound and on a River called by ye Name of Pequimans which Isueth out of the North Side of the Aforesaid Sound which Land At Present Bears ye Name of Wecocomike, Beginning at A Marked Oak Tree which divides this land from ye Land I formerly sold to Sam Pricklove and extending westerly up ye said Sound to a Point or turning of ye aforesaid Perquimans River to A Creek called by ye Name of Awosrake, to-wit, all ye Land Betwixt ye aforesaid Bounds of Samuel Pricklove &amp; the said Creek thence to ye head thereof. And thence through the Woods to ye first Bounds—To Have And to Hold ye Quiet Possession of ye same to him &amp; His Heirs forever with All Rights and Privileges thereto forever from me or any Person or Persons whatsoever. As witness my hand this first day of March 1661.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">ye marke of Kilcocanen or Kistotanene</p> <p>Test. Thos. Weamouth Caleb Calloway</p>

Two witnesses appear on both Durant deeds: Thomas Weamouth and Caleb Calloway.

These two men would later settle in the northern Albemarle region and become key players in the events of the region. The March deed mentions the bordering lands of Samuel Pricklove who had bought land from the Weapemeoc Indians. Samuel Pricklove was banished from the county in 1680 (Hathaway 1900a:137). The mention of Pricklove’s land goes to show that settlement in



attempts to spell names and/or transcription errors are passed down through the historical record. The deed from August had similar phonetic spelling and/or transcription errors with the King's name written as Ciskitando (Hathaway 1900), Cuscutenew (Durant Family Bible, Memorandum, Charles E. Rush, June 25, 1942), and Cistacanoë (Wheeler 1884).

In 1663, the Lords Proprietors of Carolina attempted to draw more people to the area by improving the terms for settlement. They also sent Captain William Hilton on a voyage of discovery to the Carolinas at this time. A few of the settlers who accepted these terms and applied for land patents include Thomas Relfe, Robert Peel, John Harvey, John Jenkins and George Catchmany (Catchmang, Catchmeyd, Catchmaid).

George Catchmany arrived in Albemarle in 1662. A dispute between Durant and Catchmany began in 1663 and would not be resolved until after their deaths. Richard Watredy provided testimony that he looked at the property neighboring Durants for Catchmany in 1662. Catchmany settled and seated the land about a month afterwards along with a few of his servants. At this time the boundary between Durant's property and Catchmany's was established. Watredy describes the ensuing land patent dispute

[Watredy] heard the said Catchmany tell Mr. Durant aforesd that Sr William Berkeley was then lately arrived from England & that He resolved that Inhabitants of the South should hold no longer by Indian Titles, but that He would Grant Pattents to those who should desire them whereupon he heard said Durant tell Mr. Catchmany that then he would go & see to secure his land as aforesaod & Mr Catchmany then Replied & said he should not need to go himself But that He would have his stay there & look & see his People should not Lack Provision or other necessary & he would do his Business and his own too.—Richard Watrey (DocSouth, Deposition of Richard Watredy concerning the land of George Catchmany and George Durant, December 05, 1687).

Instead of applying for a patent for George Durant's existing lands, Catchmany applied for a patent for both Durant's land and his own under his name alone. Catchmany also refused to transfer this land into Durant's name in spite of an existing deed to transfer land from George

Catchmany to George Durant dated March 13, 1662, essentially relying on the validity of his patent under the 1663 charter. This land dispute may have aided in the preservation of the deeds between the King of the Yeopim and George Durant, as this would have been the proof Durant needed to establish his claim to the land. This in addition to Richard Watredy's testimony and the fact that this area was well-known as Durant's Point would eventually result in Durant's heir securing the title to the disputed land.

The first charter from King Charles II to the Lords Proprietors in 1663 bounds Carolina at 36'00' minutes north, while a second charter from King Charles II in 1665 records the boundary as 36'30' minutes north (DocSouth, Charter granted by Charles II, King of England to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, March 24, 1663; Doc South, Charter granted by Charles II, King of England to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, June 30, 1665). The 30 minute degrees of difference resulted in a 40 mile ribbon of "no-man's land" that proved to be an apt excuse for the settlers to avoid or dispute land taxes from both Virginia and Carolina Colonial Governors (Feeley 2007:108). This 40 mile of no-man's land matches the AOI exactly along the northern and southern boundaries. The territory of the Weapemeoc was geographically excluded from the 1663 charter, but was included in the 1665 charter. In neither charter was the land considered Weapemeoc land, it is solely described as the King's land.

The attempt to entice settlers to the region is reflected in the cartographic history. Maps from the first half of the seventeenth century often used Theodor de Bry's place names. Ogilby, who would be the official cartographer (Cosmographer Royal) of England in 1674, utilized as many English place names as possible in his 1672 map of the region (Cumming 1966:10-13; Figure 30). Indian villages do not appear at all; neither do any of the new settlements being established by people moving south from Virginia. Some of the rivers retain Indian names, but it



**Figure 30. 1672 Ogilby detail.**

seems that Ogilby prefers the English names if available. He also includes county names, one of the first to do so.

In 1669, the Lord Proprietors to Governor and the Council on Indian Affairs drew up a document stating that no one was to “take up lands” within 2.5 miles of an Indian town along the same shore of the river as the town (Vaughan 2001:11). Property across the river was allowed to be seated and settled. This boundary definition illustrates the established maritime culture of the Indians along with the importance of Indian towns in the seventeenth century for trade.

In 1670, there were enough settlers to set forth an “Acts of the Albemarle County General Assembly” (DocSouth, Acts of the Albemarle County General Assembly, January 20, 1670). The first act was a promise of deferment of debts for five years for new settlers. The second act allowed for civil marriages with a certificate and three of four witnesses as there is “noe minister as yet in the County”. This act was deemed “necessary for the preservation of mankind”. The third act exempted new settlers from having to pay levies and quit-rents for their first year of

living in Albemarle County. The sixth act prevented settlers from claiming more than 660 acres of land, as claiming more would lead to the land being “unpeopled”. The seventh act prohibits “strangers from trading with the Indians” and served to ensure that settlers or residents, not outside peddlers, controlled the Indian trade within the county.

In 1672, the land distribution was redefined yet again, “[s]ince the whole foundation of the Government is settled upon a right and equall distribution of Land, and the orderly taking of it up is of great moment to the welfare of the Province” (Vaughan 2001:16). The land allotted to Indians was also redefined: “18. That Square of twelve thousand acres wherein any Indian Towne stands and the next Square to it are to be left untaken up and unplanted on for the use of the Indians” (Vaughan 2001:16).

In the previously mentioned 1669 document from the Lord Proprietors to the Governor and Council on Indian Affairs, the proprietors state that they desire “to draw the Indians into our Government. And would have the quantity of a Barrony left about every Cassiques house or Towne” (Vaughan 2001:11). The concept of Barrony and Cassiques was developed as a solution to the lack of landed titles (inherited titles that came along with land inheritance) in the colonies. It was hoped that it would lead to a stronger allegiance with England, with Cassiques in America able to relate to the Lords of England. It did not take, as few settlers wanted to be under the direction of a Cassique.

In a letter from Lord Shaftsbury to Stephen Bull dated August 13, 1673: “Should be very glad that all the tribes of Indians round about had each an Englishman for their Cassique” (Vaughan 2001:17). This means of land division was never adopted. It would be decades before Indian groups would see the Governor’s council as having control in the region in regards to land division. A theoretical land title had little effect on the Indian groups, with their permanent

villages or seasonal procurement camps (both of which had more to do with available resources than the benefits of a title). In addition, land titles had little importance to the settlers of the region.

The typical land patent size was one square mile, or 640 acres (Brickell 1737:12). The Rent Roll of Albemarle County at the end of the seventeenth century illustrated that this standard was sometimes used, but a variety of land sizes were seated (North Carolina State Archives [NCSA], Miscellaneous Records, The Quit-Rent Roll of Albemarle County, 1678-1737; Hathaway 1900a: 301-304). This particular document is without a specific date but lists people in the Albemarle region with land grants who owe quit-rents (an annual sum paid to the Crown). Quit-rents were rarely paid, even by those in authority directly in employment of the crown. The Rent Roll of Albemarle County contains some interesting information. It includes land seated by Alexander Lillington who passed away in 1697, suggesting that this particular Rent Roll predates this. Also, many of the names listed in the rent-roll would be family names that would remain prominent in the region for centuries.

### **Marriage and Miscegenation**

The English clergyman, Dr. Thomas Bray described the Albemarle area in 1692 as “peopled with English, intermixt with the native Indians to a great extent” (Hawks 1859:339; Johnson 1972b:181 [attributed to Dr. Compton]). It is difficult to prove that these relations occurred outside of these brief details in historical accounts, letters and journals. A growing body of research is following these difficult genealogical lines and illustrating the extent of miscegenation during the early colonial period. Christina Snyder’s 2013 monograph *Slavery in Indian Country* is an excellent example of this type of research (Snyder 2013).

Lawson described Indians marrying outside of their own nations because of a lack of non-related fellow group members.

They never marry so near as a first Cousin; and although there is nothing more coveted amongst them, than to marry a Woman of their own Nation, yet when the Nation consists of a very few People (as now adays it often happens) so that they are all of them related to one another, then they look out for Husbands and Wives amongst Strangers (Lawson 1967 [1709]:193).

Lawson also went on to say that “it’s better for Christians of a mean Fortune to marry with the Civilz’d Indians, than to suffer the Hardships of four or five years Servitude” (Lawson 1967 [1709]:246). Byrd echoes this sentiment (Byrd 1866 [1728-1729]:77).

Both Lawson and Byrd also agreed that intermarriage as an effective means for converting the Indians to Christianity. The results of intermarriage in the Albemarle region seems to be less of conversion to Christianity and more of lacksadaisical view on religion in general, if the accounts of ministers and reverends travelling in the area is any indication.

Lawson also noted the difficulties in interracial marriages, speaking of European men that he knew who had “a Child or two by one of these *Indian Women*.” When the man was later married to a “Christian” the man would sometimes attempt to spend a night with his old Indian mistress. To which she responded that she “forgot she ever knew him, and that she never lay with another Woman’s Husband” (Lawson 1967 [1709]:195). Lawson also mentioned European men who give up their own culture and live forever with their Indians wives and her relatives.

Children born of European men and Indian women almost always stayed with the mothers and attempts to take these children from their mothers, (to raise them as Christians or for an English education) were met with little success (Lawson 1967 [1709]:192).

English Traders would often take Indian mistresses. There is even some indication that Lawson had a few Indian mistresses himself (Lawson 1967 [1709]:35, 189). This is sometimes

apparent in the historical record through land grants to traders' children who were kin to the Indians, indicating an Indian mother and a European father. In addition to white traders and Indian mistresses, there seems to have been a practice of sustaining Indian populations through the capture, enslavement, and adoption of settler women and children (Snyder 2010:66).

It is by no means a loss of reputation among the Indians, for damsels that are single to have intrigues with the men; on the contrary, they account it an argument of superior merit to be liked by a great number of gallants. However, like the ladies that game, they are a little mercenary in their amours, and seldom bestow their favours out of stark love and kindness. But after these women have once appropriated their charms by marriage, they are from thenceforth faithful to their vows, and will hardly ever be tempted by an agreeable gallant, or be provoked by a brutal or even by a careless husband to go astray (Byrd 1866 [1728-1729]:118).

When looking specifically at Indian groups in coastal North Carolina, the adoption of European surnames by Indians seems to have been fairly common. Christian first names were also adopted. This creates a good deal of confusion when attempting to determine any mixed relations as some of the offspring of these interactions were given European first names and surnames. In addition, sometimes the children were given their mother's surname rather than their father's.

In the Mattamuskeet Documents, Garrow details several illegitimate children of miscegenation that had a Mattamuskeet mother and a black father. Garrow goes on to mention that these children often had their mother's surname and that without a nuclear family, these mothers were unable to provide for the children and the fathers were also unwilling or unable to care for the children, so the children were apprenticed out (Garrow 1975:32-34).

With the Weapemeoc, the surname Durant seems to have been adopted by the chiefs rather early in Weapemeoc history. There are four distinct George Durants: the original settler of Durant's Neck born in 1632, his nephew George Durant (son of his brother John in London), and his grandson George Durant-the son of John Durant born in 1685. This George Durant

(grandson) married Hagar Crisp in 1714 and died in 1730. He had no sons that lived to maturity. The last George Durant is one of the great men of the Yeopim, recorded in Governor's Council minutes of 1723 (see *Dispersal of Indian Lands*).

Distinguishing the genealogy of the Durant family line is relevant to the appearance of the Durant surname among the Yeopim Indians. Some of the details concerning George Durant's life remain unclear. For example, even his birthdate varies in the Durant Family Bible. Some dates in the entries are marked out with a new date above them (and much debate over if the birth year was 1623 or 1632). It becomes apparent that one of the possessors of the Bible was attempting to reconcile the different dates.

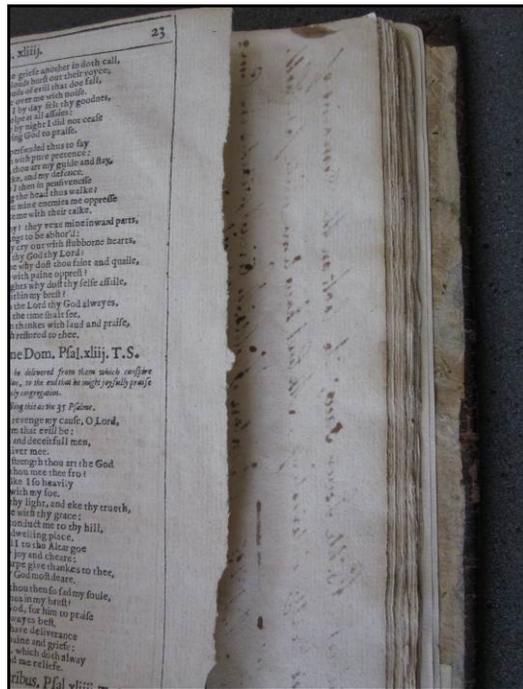
There is no mention of Indians in the Durant Family Bible. However, there are several margins that were ripped out at some point (Figure 31). The Bible was passed down through the Reed family, a family that Sarah Durant (George's daughter) married into. The Yeopim Indians would sell quite a bit of land to William Reed (640 acres) in the 1720s and 1730s. While there is no evidence that the settler and Indian Durant families shared blood, the use of the same surname brings up some interesting questions. Pricklove and Batts were not used. The adoption of the surname Durant may indicate some level of trust between the two families, as does the fact that Durant bought his land from the Weapemeoc through an actual deed.

### **Maritime Culture**

In 1705, Beverley described the same method used in making canoes that Verrazzano, Barlow, Harriot and Strachey describe. The manufacturing process seems to have changed little in the 120 years since colonization began. Beverley stated that he had seen a canoe that was thirty feet long (Beverley 1855 [1705]:182-183).

Unlike the earlier descriptions, Beverley also described a lighter canoe that was fashioned as needed while travelling and readily abandoned. It may be that many of the earlier travelers did not have occasion to see these temporary vessels, having only visited among the Indians briefly themselves. It seems to have been made of birch bark that was essentially peeled off the tree.

This tree

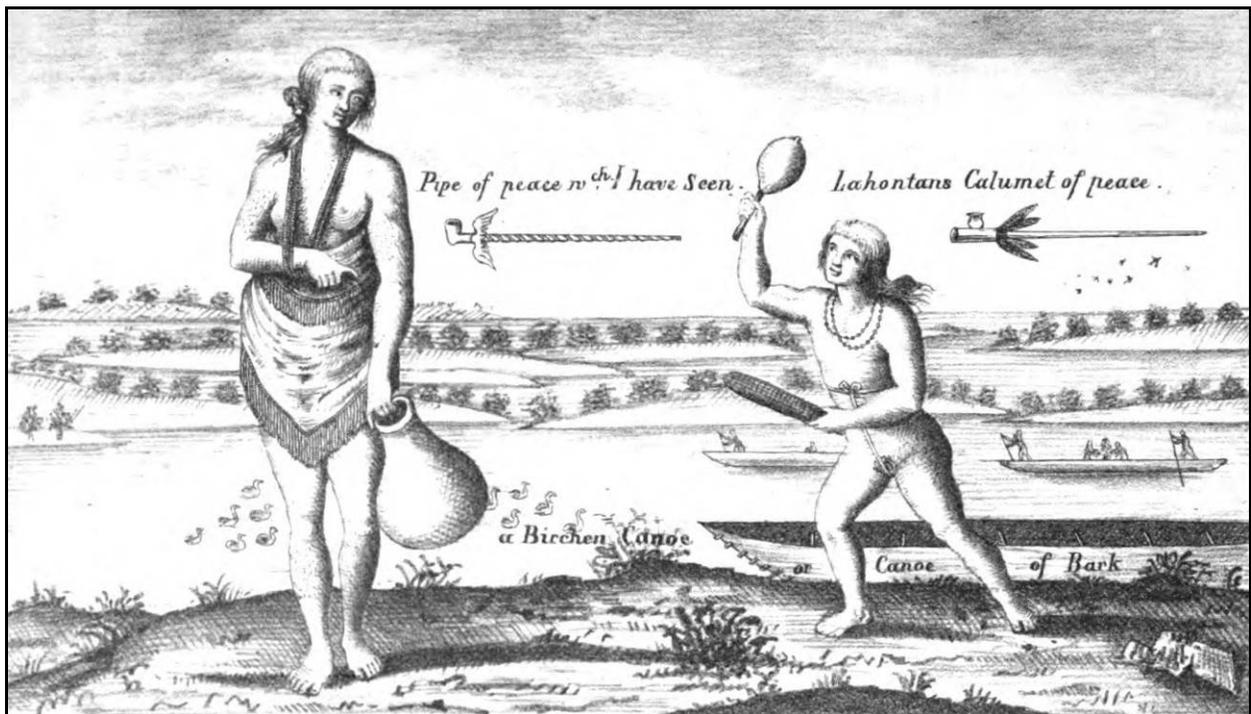


**Figure 31. Missing margin in the Durant Family Bible.**

shaped bark was propped open with sticks and sewn closed at the ends. The seams were then sealed with mud. Being very lightweight, it was easy to carry over short distances of land and was abandoned when no more water needed to be crossed (Beverley 1855 [1705]:143).

Beverley used Theodor de Bry images as a sort of outline in *The History and Present State of Virginia* and then added his own details. In one of these images, he included a detailed drawing of the bark canoes (Figure 32).

The Indians knew the waterways extremely well and could cross large bodies of water by navigating with the current. A stash of branches and twigs would be kept in the canoe, and every so often, a branch would be thrown overboard. By observing the direction the branch floats, coupled with their knowledge of the waters' currents, they rarely become lost. Lawson also noted their ability to locate the head of rivers and creeks. He does not elaborate on how this skill worked, but the rivers of Eastern North Carolina tend to have numerous creeks and streams that



**Figure 32. Beverley 1705, note the "Canoe of Bark".**

feed into the rivers, often of a similar size and this skill would have been extremely valuable (Lawson 1967 [1709]:213).

It was not just Indian men that had this skill and knowledge, Indian women did as well: “Many of the Women are very handy in Canoes, and will manage them with great Dexterity and Skill, which they become accustomed to in this watry Country” (Lawson 1967 [1709]:91). In this ‘watry Country’ the waterways were a primary means of transportation and communication. This

held true as settlers moved into the region and many settlers also became skilled canoesmen and canoeswomen.

George Fox records being rescued by the Secretary's wife in his journal: "We lay one night at the secretary's, to which we had much ado to get; for the water being shallow, we could not bring our boat to shore. But the secretary's wife, seeing our strait, came herself in a canoe, her husband being from home, and brought us to land" (DocSouth, Journal of George Fox [Extract], November 08, 1672 - December 09, 1672). The widespread use of canoes among settlers in the Carolina is indicative of the cultural exchange that took place in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Franz Louis Michel, a co-founder of New Bern (along with Graffenreid), in his account of his journey from Switzerland to North Carolina records another example of this adoption of Indian maritime technology in the blending of European and Native water vessel technology. Michel records that "On one occasion a sloop or canoe came from Carolina. It was made of one piece, its size was astonishing. It had two sails and carried forty barrels of pork" (Hinke 1916a [1701-1702]:41).

This may be describing a periauger, which has a keel that is essentially a canoe with a few added boards to heighten the wales. Michel stating that this was of one piece of wood would technically rule out a periauger. Lawson mentions "mat-sails" used by the Sewee Indians of South Carolina, but the mention is brief and there is little confirmation of mat-sails being used by Indians of the southeast. If the canoe described by Michel was of Indian design with sails of European design, it is a unique record of one of the first blending of technologies in the region, although the Tobacco Pipe was adopted earlier and its use was far more widespread in Europe. Canoes remained localized in their use.

Christopher (William) Gale an Indian trader offers a brief description of the Indians in eastern North Carolina.

As to what y'u desire to know off ye Ind's, some are Civil & some barbarous, they using ye Seabord. They live in small Townes and barke Cabbins, pallisado'd in w'th 2 or 3 Rows of Stakes; every Towne or nation hes its perticular King & different language; they have some notion of ye Flood, butt verry obscure. They offer ye First Fruits of every thing they eat to ye Devil, by whome they cure deseases & act severall strainge things, as laying ye wind, &c. Ye nations I am as yett acquainted with are, the Portes Leites, Nazimumbs, Choans, Maherins, Pampticoughs, Bay Rivers, Marchipooongs, News Rivers, Cores, Corennines, Connamocksocks, w'th all w'ch (ye Cores & Corennines excepted) & ye Tuscaroorays, have verry Free commerce w'th. To write every perticular custome, &c., requires Volums, so must refer itt till furth'r opportunity (DocSouth, Letter from William Gale to his father, August 05, 1703).

The very first thing Gale mentions about the Indians, is their use of the Seabord, illustrating the importance of the maritime subsistence and maritime communication among these Indian groups. Among these Indian groups, Gale mentions his knowledge of the Portes Leites, which refers to the Potoskite Indians located on the Currituck Peninsula, a sub-group of the Weapemeoc Indians.

Potoskite is also spelled Portes Leites (Gale 1703), Poteskeit (Lawson 1709), Dorteskite (NC Governor's Council Minutes 1715), Porteskill (NC Governor's Council Minutes 1715), Porteskyte (NC Governor's Council Minutes 1715), Pottaskites (Burrington 1731), Potoskite (Moseley 1737), and Potoskite (Bowen 1747). Of these names, the only consistent spelling is between Moseley and Bowen, and Bowen may have been using data from Moseley's map. Also of interest are two of the spelling variations: Portes Leites and Porteskill. Both of these spellings include the word port and may have been indicative of an Indian group that lived near ports and had great skill in these mooring places. This sub-group is also the closest to the Outer Banks with their village located on the southern edge of the Currituck Peninsula.

Portes Leites is also interesting, as it may indicate Port Lights. There is some evidence of intentional wrecking by early inhabitants that lived along the outer shores and although there is no evidence that Indians participated in this activity, the first spelling of the Potoskite Indians as Portes Leites remains interesting and does indicate a maritime mentality at the very least.

Gale also alludes to some of the Indians' rituals in his letter. He mentions "laying ye wind". The reference is so brief that one can only guess at possible meanings. One possibility is that the ritual was an attempt to divert tropical storms. Lawson does relate that the Indians would rarely paddle against a head wind, so it may be referring to conducting rituals for laying in a tail wind (Lawson 1967 [1709]:206).

Graffenried also relates a tale he heard regarding the Indians' laying the wind. A ship captain had several Indians on board and was becalmed in one of the sounds. One of the Indians stated that he could "procure a good wind" and shortly after that a strong wind came up, which frightened the ship captain (Graffenried 1920 [1714]:280).

It appears that the Carolina Algonquians had quite a few superstitions and religious rituals regarding the water:

They have also another kind of sorcery which they use in stormes, a kynd of botanomantia [editor's note-soothsaying] with herbes; when the waters are rough in the rivers and sea-coasts, their conjurers run to the waters sides, or, passing in their quintans [canoes], after many hellish outcryes and invocations, they cast whesican, tobacco, copper, poccones or other trash into the water, to pacifye that god whom they thinck to be very angry in those storms (Strachey 1849 [1612]:93-94).

Appeasing the gods for angry storms seems near universal among maritime cultures with groups such as the Romans, Greeks, British, and Portuguese participating in appeasing rituals.

Michel relates that the Indians respected the danger of water over that of fire, "because fire can be extinguished by water, hence water was to be feared and honored more" (Hinke 1916b [1701-1702]:131). Beverley confirms this when, in a discussion with an Indian, the "evil

spirit” is described as being present in the sound of thunder and in the storms (Beverley 1855 [1705]:156-157).

In another instance, Beverley records that “[w]hen they cross any great water, or violent fresh, or torrent, they throw in tobacco, puccoon, peak, or some other valuable thing, that they happen to have about them, to intreat the spirit presiding there to grant them safe passage” (Beverley 1855 [1705]:165).

Beverley describes Indian fish weirs of the sound and rivers as made of sticks interwoven with strips of green oak. This was pitched at high water to a depth of about ten feet, with one end on shore and a cod like shape formed and staked in place. Occasionally these weirs would stretch the entire length of a stream. Lawson also describes these weirs that he calls fyke weirs and designed to block the entire width of the waterway:

Thus they that live a great way up the rivers . . . make great wares with hedges that hinder their passage only except in the middle where an artificial pon is made to take them in so that they cannot return (Lawson 1967 [1709]: 339).

A different type of weir was used in the shallow water at the base of waterfalls. A loose wall of stones was formed across the water with a few gaps for the water in which large reed baskets (4’ x 10’) were placed. The conical shape of these baskets effectively trapped fish (Beverley 1855 [1705]:119).

Beverley provides further detail regarding the fishing of sturgeon. It seemed much more of a sport than previously described. Rather than a net on the end of a pole, a type of “noose” was fashioned on the end of a pole and cast around the sturgeon’s tail. At which point the sturgeon would struggle and the Indian would hold tight, often being submerged, until the sturgeon had tired. The length of the struggle and the persistence of the fisherman were counted as a form of bravery (Beverley 1855 [1705]:119).

Another form of fishing that Beverley describes, and which had heretofore passed unmentioned in settlers' accounts, is night fishing. The Indians would make a fire of lightwood and long burning splinters in the middle of their canoe that they would raise up to an inch or two of the wales. Then using a sharpened stick and standing on each end of the canoe, the Indians would spear fish that were attracted and stunned by the firelight. This method also increased water visibility, illuminating riverbeds (Beverley 1855 [1705]:120).

A Treaty between King Sothell of the Bear River Indians and Daniel Akehurst, Caleb Calloway, Thomas Blount, and Henry Slade on July 23, 1699 is indicative of the tension along the shoreline and ports between the settlers and the Indians. The Bear River Indians were located to the south of the Weapemeoc along the Outer Banks near Cape Lookout. Although they were not a proximal neighbor, the Bear River Indians shared with the Weapmeoc the Algonquian language, the Algonquian material culture, and the maritime culture of the Outer Banks.

The second point of this treaty is that the Bear River Indians shall assist any "cast away" ships or vessels on the shore and that the Indians will bring the survivors to an English plantation in exchange for a match-coat. The Indians shall also bring whatever goods they find on the seashore and the English government would "allow them reasonable salvage for the same". The third point is that the Bear River Indians may keep any ruined goods they find on the seashore (Vaughan 2001:37; Hathaway 1900a:598-599). There remains ambiguity on both sides: The Indians could claim that whatever they kept was ruined, while the settlers could give a negligible amount for any goods brought to them and call it reasonable.

This directive specifically to the Bear River Indians was largely brought about by their location. Cape Lookout has always been a dangerous shore with a greater number of shipwrecks than any other cape along the Eastern coast. While this may have also been the case along the

Outer Banks used by the Weapemeoc, particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by the eighteenth century, the inlets were fairly well known. A more common problem between settlers and Indians of the Albemarle Sound was the frequent borrowing (stealing) of smaller vessels to traverse the waterways.

Whereas the Practise of taking Boats, Cannoes and Perriaugers from people's Landings without leave is become so usual and common that the owners thereof are not only deprived of the use thereof but are very often put to Considerable Expense in procuring them again (Vaughan 1998:19-20).

Indians are not mentioned as the specific people taking these boats, and as manufacturers of canoes, may have been victims of having their own vessels taken as well.

The maritime culture of the Weapemeoc Indians seems clear when examining the early historical records regarding their maritime subsistence, maritime transportation, and maritime mentality. Their subsistence relied heavily on the catching of maritime foods. In addition, their knowledge and utilization of the different marine ecosystems to procure their subsistence indicates a significant aspect of their culture. Their use of permanent and temporary vessels to traverse the waters indicate that maritime transportation was significant and that this mode of transportation was heavily relied on to assist in maritime subsistence and maritime communication between the sub-groups of Indians as well as with the settlers of the regions. The Indians honor and respect of water, as well as fear, suggests a strong maritime mentality.

### **Material Culture**

The cultural exchange of items between Indians and settlers is fairly well-known. The Indian trade is mentioned by many settlers and trade items are a significant indicator of time periods in archaeological sites. But what Indians traded among themselves is far different than what they desired from their English neighbors. Most often, Indians in the Albemarle traded peak

(white beads made of quahog-clam-shells) or wampum peak (purple beads also made from quahog shells) as a sort of currency (Beverley 1855 [1705]:178-181; Hinke 1916b [1701-1702]:134; Lawson 1967 [1709]:203). White Indian traders would count wampum peak at 18 pence per yard (Beverley 1855 [1705]:180-181). These wampum beads were also worn as jewelry, frequently adorning women in particular (Lawson 1967 [1709]:203, 197). The quahog shells were only available along the coast and the importance of the beads formed from these shells as currency and decoration indicates a pervasive maritime mentality.

John Smith discusses the earliest trade items-mentioning that the settlers gave the Indians glass beads, bells, looking glasses, copper, fishhooks and hatchets, while the Indians gave the settlers food, skins, arrows, beads, and tobacco pipes (Smith 1907 [1624]:50, 62, 71, 118 and 224).

Beverley describes the Indians' axes as "sharp stones, bound to the end of a stick, and glued in with turpentine" (Beverley 1855 [1705]:182; 31CK8). He describes the Indians' traditional use of their stone axes and their adoption of the settlers' hatchets.

When they wanted any Land to be clear'd of the Woods, they chopp'd a Notch round the Trees quite through the Bark with their Stone Hatchets, or Tomahawks, and that deaden'd the Trees, so that they sprouted no more, but in a few years fell down. However, the Ground was plantable, and would produce immediately upon the withering of the Trees: but now for all these uses they employ Axes, and little Hatchets, which they buy of the English (Beverley 1855 [1705]:62).

It is interesting that the Indians were desirous of items that they already had in some form, such as European beads similar to their shell beads or copper beads (the Indians had copper already and desired it over silver and gold). Or fishhooks and hatchets both of which had a similar form among the Indians but the Indians' items were not made of steel and thus these trade items were desirous for their sturdier construction yet known function.

Through these known items, the Indians could actually understand the people coming to their shores better. “[T]he perceived similarity between novel items and familiar ones permitted the Woodland Indians to incorporate, not just the trade goods, but also the people who bore them” (Miller and Hamell 1986:318).

The settlers themselves saw these items as almost valueless and this seems to have influenced their view of the Indians as well. Smith states that they are “Generally covetous of Copper, Beads, and such like Trash” (Smith 1907 [1624]:62). William Byrd refers to Indian trade items as trinkets. The settlers saw these items that the Indians desired as commonplace and of little importance.

As the trade between settlers and Indians grew, the list of trade items also grew. “The goods for the Indian trade consist chiefly in guns, powder, shot, hatchets, (which the Indians call tomahawks) [sic] kettles, red and blue planes, Duffields, Stroudwater blankets, and some cutlery wares, brass rings and other trinkets.” (Byrd 1866 [1728-1729]:180). Beverley also records Duffield cloth and the match-coats (winter cloaks) of the Indians (Beverley 1855 [1705]:130).

Michel states during his visit to Williamsburg in 1702 that “The Indians shoot many of these animals. By means of rum or other more insignificant things one can get them from them. They can afterwards be sold advantageously in London, especially the beavers [. . .]” (Hinke 1916a [1701-1702]:36). While guns were desirable for the numerous skirmishes among neighboring Indian groups, the bow and arrow remained the medium used in the hunt. This is in part due to the damage done to the hide when using a gun.

Two of the major exports in the Carolinas during the early historic period were deerskins and Indian slaves. Between 1699 and 1715 it is estimated that 54,000 deerskins were exported per year with some years producing as many as 150,000 deerskins (Kicza 2003:143). Although

deerskin dominated the fur trade in the Carolinas, North Carolina was once overrun with beavers, and they were also a part of the initial fur trade.

John Kizca deduces that in 1708 there were 1,400 Indian slaves in Carolina (Kizca 2003:144). It seems that much of the Indian slave trade was limited to South Carolina with the assistance of various Indian groups. The raids were against Indians in the interior or against tribes that had run up large debts in promised deerskins. These debts were often acquired through alcohol (Kicza 2003:144-145).

There is little to suggest that the Weapemeoc participated in the raiding and selling of their neighboring Indians, or were themselves raided as slaves. As the Weapemeoc were within the established settlements, the following set of instructions from the Lord Proprietors to the Governor and Council of Indian Affairs dated June 21, 1672 may have offered some protection: “[n]oe Indian upon occasion or pretence whatsoever shall be made a Slave, or without his owne consent carryed out of Carolina” (Vaughan 2001:16).

The trade in deerskins applies significantly to the discussion of material culture and cultural exchange. The manner in which the deer were hunted, the manner in which the skins were prepared and the extent of the trade of these items all produced a distinct material culture. In addition, deerskins were a primary way of procuring European goods and remained the most notable medium of cultural exchange during this period.

Not only did the trade in animal skins involve Woodland Indians in the white marketplace, but the conjunction of that economic factor with the concomitant depletion of the native habitat had far-reaching social and cultural effects. Add the dislocating influences of white population pressure, European and native imperial warfare, climatic change, disease, and major dietary changes, including the introduction of alcohol, and what emerges is a dynamic pressure against which traditional Indian societies rooted in mutual dependence and reciprocity could not stand (Miller and Hammel 1986:326).

When the exchange of material culture began, it is interesting that the items the Indians desired were often seen as trifles or trash. But the same could be said of the items the Indians gave to the settlers. A deerskin was an essential item in the life of the Indians, but was also ubiquitous and carried no value for trade or as a currency prior to the Englishman's arrival (Beverley 1855 [1705]:180). Food surplus was even easier to give as it would rot if not dried or consumed (a primary trade item in the early Indian and settler interactions).

While deerskins and beaver skins were coveted by the settlers, the Indians generally desired guns, tomahawks, cloth of specific colors, reflective items, and household wares that were made of sturdier construction than their own. Reflective items had a deeply spiritual meaning and were much desired in early trade with items like looking glasses and glass beads frequently being found on trade item lists (Miller and Hammel 1986:318-319). "Indians in the Woodland region were trading in metaphors and [ . . . ] the value of trade goods was predominately ceremonial and ideological" (Miller and Hammel 1986:326).

Most of the Duffield and Stroudwater cloth traded to Indians was blue or red and of different pattern (especially along the selvedge edge) than that used by the settlers. Miller and Hammel discuss the importance of colors, especially red which had supernatural connotation for Woodland Indians (Miller and Hammel 1986:323-326). As time progressed, agricultural tools and housewares were more commonly desired by Indian of the Southeast. Through the accounts of Lawson and Brickell, it is clear that some Weapemeoc Indians had completely adopted the material culture of the settlers.

#### *Acculturation: 1704-1740*

The population of incoming settlers increased significantly between 1693 and 1704. The mounting tensions between the settlers and the Indians in addition to the concurrent pressures

between settlers and officials sent from England would result in a series of armed conflicts between 1704 and 1715.

During this time, the coastal Indian population was diminishing due to epidemics and the growing Indian slave trade. The swelling numbers of settlers in conjunction with the diminishing population of the Indians would create large swathes of liminal lands that would be hotly disputed between the two groups.

### **Diminishing Indian Populations**

In 1701, John Lawson listed neighboring Indian groups by number of towns and the number of fighting men. The following Weapemeoc groups are recorded:

Paspatank Indians, Town 1; Paspatank River, Fighting Men, 10; Poteskeit, Town, 1; North River, Fighting Men 30; [ . . . ] Jaupin Indians, 6 people (Vaughan 2001:38).

Lawson seems to list the fighting men along the entire river for certain groups and the fighting men by town for other groups. The Poteskeet town was located at the mouth of the North River, but rather than list the fighting men within Poteskeet town, Lawson listed the fighting men along the entire North River. This illustrates the dispersed village isolates settlement pattern that is consistent with Woodland Period settlement patterns.

The note from Lawson regarding the Jaupin Indians seems unusual. Lawson moved from west to east and north to south in his list of Indian group towns and fighting men, and Jaupin is listed after several other groups to the south of the Weapemeoc. This may suggest an early relocation of some of the group, or it may be describing a different group than the Yeopim altogether.

In addition, Lawson listed only 6 people-not 6 fighting men. The dispersed settlement pattern of the Weapemeoc resulted in fewer “Jaupin” people being counted. If this was in fact the

Yeopim Indian group that would in 30 years be represented as a much larger group in the legal records of the region, then the Jaupin Indians must have had significant population growth.

Ferguson in 1682 only mentioned the Tuscarora in the Albemarle region, failing to mention Weapemeoc, Mattamuskeet, Bear River or any other smaller dispersed groups of Indians in the region (Vaughan 2001:33).

In addition, “civilized” Indians may not have been counted among the Indian towns and fighting men. Lawson described these Indians as “more civilized than the rest, which wear Hats, Shoes, Stockings, and Breeches, with very tolerable Linnen Shirts, which is not common amongst these Heathens. The *Paspitank Indians* did formerly keep Cattle, and make Butter.” (Lawson 1967 [1709]:200). The Paspitank, or Pasquotank Indians seem to have adopted many aspects of the culture introduced by settlers. Lawson indicated that the Pasquotank Indians “formerly” kept cattle. Does this suggest that they abandoned cattle husbandry and returned to a more traditional subsistence pattern? It remains unclear. The Pasquotank Indians appear far less frequently in mid-eighteenth century documents and maps, with few references after Lawson’s 1709 reference.

In contrast to the counts of Ferguson and Lawson, Reverend James Adams estimated that about eighty Indians lived in Currituck precinct alone (DocSouth, Letter from James Adams to John Chamberlain, September 4, 1710). “We have in this precinct about seventy or eighty Indians, many of which understand English tolerably well, but our own distractions have hitherto prevented my thoughts of doing any great matters among them, considering the bad examples we show them.”

A count from 1721 suggests about a thousand Indians in the area between North Carolina and Virginia. This estimate likely includes several Indian groups.

Besides the Indians above mentioned there are about 1000 Savages dispersed in several parts between Carolina and Virginia from whom we have not much to apprehend Provided your Majesty's Governors of those Provinces live in that perfect Harmony and good understanding which they ought to maintain with each other and do justice to these poor people, who seldom give the first Offence (DocSouth, Report by the Board of Trade of Great Britain concerning general conditions in North Carolina [Extract], September 08, 1721).

The Indians are described as “these poor people, who seldom give the first Offence” in the quotation above. This suggests a certain amount of peace among these Indians and their neighbors. Of course, this may have something to do with the diminishing Indian populations leading to fewer interactions. However, this population estimate does seem higher than the number put forth by Lawson just two decades earlier.

In 1731, George Burrington mentioned six Indian nations living amongst the English and the “Pottaskites” are included in these nations. He also stated that the nations are “much diminished” and not one of the nations has more than twenty families. (NCSA, CSR Vol. III:153). The Yeopim go unmentioned in Burrington’s account of Indian nations. However, in Moseley’s map of 1733, the Yeopim are as clearly indicated as the Potoskite (see Figure 34 and Figure 35).

Although the region was not overpopulated with Indians prior to contact, many firsthand accounts suggest that those numbers were significantly decreasing because of exposure to new diseases. Brickell is among the first to discuss the great number of Indian deaths from viruses brought by Europeans to Virginia,

*Indians*, who were very numerous and powerful in those Days [1585-1590], but are now very few, being for the most part destroyed by their continual Wars with each other, and *European Distempers*, brought in amongst them, and especially the *Small-Pox*, which prov’d fatal to most of the Indians that were seized with it. This distemper, and many others unknown to these Savages, before the arrival of the Christians amongst them in those Parts. (Brickell 1737:9).

Lawson also recorded the epidemics, as well as alcohol addiction, as factors significantly reducing the Indian population: “The Small-Pox and Rum have made such a Destruction amongst them, that, on good grounds, I do believe, there is not the sixth Savage living within two hundred Miles of all our Settlements, as there were fifty Years ago” (Lawson 1967 [1709]:232).

The Albemarle region experienced far fewer epidemics than the neighboring bays and ports to the north and the south (such as Charleston or the Chesapeake). This is in part due to the dispersed population and in part due to the isolation from the sea. In addition, the region produced more agricultural products than commercial products (the latter often led to more condensed living and working conditions).

Charleston was a major source of epidemics in the south and was frequently the origin of smallpox that swept the Indian nations of the southeast. There are several factors that led to the many Charleston epidemics: the size of the port, the swamp and marsh environment, and the large number of slave ships (extremely condensed population of slaves aboard ships). The slave trade inland could hardly provide a more perfect means for the spread of epidemic viruses (Grob 2002:74).

Many of the epidemics that struck Charleston also affected inland Indian groups. Some of this is recorded in historical records, especially among the Cherokee (Kelton 2004: 45-71). Epidemics swept through Charleston in 1697, 1711, 1718, 1732, 1738, and 1760 (Grob 2002:74). Paul Kelton examines Indian responses to epidemics and provides a date span for these epidemics which illustrates the length of time an epidemic could last as well as the time it took the disease to spread from the point of origin before the strain died out. Kelton records the following epidemic year spans for the Southeast: 1696–1700, 1718–22, 1728–33, 1738–42, 1747–50, 1759–60, 1763–65, and 1779–83 (Kelton 2004:66). It seems that the 1696 smallpox

epidemic struck the Albemarle region particularly hard. The 1711 epidemic affected Indians of both North and South Carolina and seems to coincide with the coalescing of Indians groups during what would come to be known as the Tuscarora War. The 1738 epidemic is estimated to have killed 50% of the Cherokee Indians with other tribes suffering similar losses (Drake 1836:179; Grob 2002:74; Kelton 2004: 45-71).

There is no direct evidence of these epidemics affecting the Weapemeoc. However, the initial decision to form a reservation for the Yeopim in 1704 may have resulted from epidemics in the area leading to land disputes regarding unused or abandoned Indian land. There are also documents regarding land disputes in 1715 with the Potoskite, although this may have a greater correlation to the ending of the Tuscarora War than the epidemics in the region. However, a petition of the chief men of the Yeopim to sell land in 1739 does seem to be directly correlated to a Smallpox epidemic that swept through Indians of South Carolina and North Carolina in 1738 and 1739. Some of the land may have become available after the deaths of members of the tribe from Smallpox.

There were a few means of countering the effect of depopulation due to epidemics. These include the adoption of non-kin into the clan as well as the bearing as many children as possible, through marriage among themselves and through miscegenation (Snyder 2010: 105-109, 114-118, 120). One quotation of a Cherokee chief (alternatively attributed to Judd's Friend and Ostenaco) stated in 1763, "Our women are breeding Children night and Day to increase our People" (Snyder 2010:109). This statement indicates that the decrease in the population was noted and that there were conscious efforts to increase the population (at least among the Cherokee).

In addition to increased birth rate, many groups practiced adoption. This would often occur through capturing settlers or Indians from other groups. Sometimes these captured persons would retain the status of servant or slave, but often they were adopted and became kin. Language capability and technological capability seem to have been significant factors in adopting captured Indians and settlers, or runaway slaves, into Indian groups. “The selective adoption of outsiders into their communities allowed Indians to control the process of cultural change. They embraced certain individuals, technologies, and ideas and rejected those they did not value” (Snyder 2010:111).

### **Land Limitations**

Boundaries existed prior to contact between Indian groups although these were frequently changing through inter-group wars. Groups were displaced through conquest and taking of land. Other Indian groups, such as the Tuscarora, expanded or established themselves along trade routes.

As previously mentioned, the northern boundary of the Weapemeoc territory was changing at the end of the sixteenth century with Powhatan’s expansion. The southern and eastern boundaries were well established by the Albemarle Sound and the Atlantic Ocean. The western boundary and the northern boundary would be far more difficult to delineate during the Historic Phase as displaced Indian groups from Virginia and even the Chowan from the western side of the Roanoke River would occupy space along the western and northern boundaries.

The Yeopim, Chowan, and Meherrin (groups that lived within the AOI during the historical period) share similar stories and discussing these groups will be essential to understanding the displacement of Weapemeo Indians and the loss of traditional Weapemeoc land and water. The Weyanoke and Sapponi groups to the north would share similarities with the

Yeopim during the historical period and though not consistently within the AOI, they will be discussed briefly.

Yeopim territory, Chowan territory, and Meherrin territory are all distinct on the Moseley map of 1733. None of these territories, or reserved lands, was located on the Albemarle Sound as they were in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: all are removed significantly to the north of their original locations and none, save the Potoskite, are on Albemarle Sound shorelines.

The Meherrin did not originally come from Weapemeoc territory and were displaced from lands north of Weapemeoc territory. Their displacement into Weapmeoc territory has left information regarding original Weapemeoc land boundaries. In 1726, the North Carolina Council ordered a land survey for the Meherrin Indians and in this document, some of the history of the Meherrin is outlined. The neighboring settlers claim of the Meherrin-

[T]hey beg leave to Represent with the true account of those Indians who are not original Inhabitants of any Lands within this Government but were formerly called Susquahannahs and Lived between Mary Land and Pensilvania and committing several Barbarous Massacrees and Outrages there Killing, as tis reported all the English there settled excepting Two Families, they then drew off and fled up to the head of Potomack and there built them a fort being pursued by the Mary Land and Verginia Forces under the Comand of One Major Trueman who besieged the fort Eight months but at last in the night broke out thro the main Guard and drew off round the heads of several Rivers and passing them high up came into this country and settled at old Sapponie town upon Maherrin River near where Arthurs Cavenah now lives but being disturbed by the saponie Indians they drew down to Tarrora Creek on the same River where Mr. Arthure Allen's Quarters is; afterwards they were drove thence by the Jennetto Indians down to Bennets Creek and settled on a Neck of Land afterwards Called Maherrin Neck because these Indians came down the Maherrin River and after that they bgan to take the name of Maherrin Indians; but being known the English on that side would not suffer them to live there, then they removed over Chowan River and Settled at Mount Pleasant where Capt. Downing now live but being very Troublesome there one Lewis Williams drove them higher up and got an order from the Government that they should never come on the So. Side of Wickkacones Creek and they settled at Catherines Creek a place since called Little Tonwe but they being still Mischievous by order of the Government Coll

Pollock brought in the Chief of them before the Governor and Council and they were then ordered by the Government never to appear on the south side of Meherrin. They then pitched at the mouth of Meherrin River or the North side called old Meherrin Town where they afterwards remained tho they were never received or became Tributaries of this Government (Vaughan 2001:80; DocSouth, North Carolina Governor's Council, October 27, 1726-October 28, 1726).

This rather long passage illustrates the fate of many displaced Indian groups along the east coast. The Meherrin did adopt a small group of Susquahannah Indians, but it remains unclear how long the Meherrin themselves inhabited the shores of the Meherrin and Blackwater Rivers. The earliest maps of the region do not indicate the Meherrin by name (or anything phonetically similar), although they are clearly marked on Moseley's map of 1733.

The Meherrin seem to have been pushed southward by the settlements along the Chesapeake Bay. Their towns along the upper reaches of the Chowan River near the disputed North Carolina/Virginia border may have assisted in the establishment of a permanent residence for the Meherrin. These liminal lands could be settled by the Meherrin who could utilize treaties with either Virginia or North Carolina as necessary (a singular case of multiple treaties/agreements being of an advantage to an Indian group). In the Minutes of the Virginia Governor's Council on June 26, 1705, the council proposed to determine that course of the state line but to "keep secret the intentions of this Government" under the guise of "laying out the Maherin Indians land" (DocSouth, Minutes of the Virginia Governor's Council, June 26, 1705).

In this camp three of the Meherrin Indians made us a visit. They told us that the small remains of their nation had deserted their ancient town, situated near the mouth of the Meherrin river, for fear of the Catawbas, who had killed fourteen of their people the year before; and the few that survived that calamity, had taken refuge amongst the English, on the east side of Chowan. Though, if the complaint of these Indians were true, they are hardly used by our Carolina friends. But they are the less to be pitied, because they have ever been reputed the most false and treacherous to the English of all the Indians in the neighbourhood (Byrd 1866 [1728-1729]:67).

Meherrin Indians were asked by the North Carolina government to assist the Pamlico settlers based on their long interaction with the North Carolina Government. However Governor Spotswood of Virginia disputed this, and neither side could agree as the boundary was still not established and it remained unclear which state the Meherrin settlements were in (Feeley 2007:289).

In the North Carolina Governor's Council from October 1726, it was read that the Meherrin settled in an "old Saponie town". The Saponi Indians also lived along what is now the North Carolina and Virginia border, and were invited to the North Carolina side provided they would be allies during the Tuscarora War. The Haliwa-Saponi Indians are an established tribe today, located along the North Carolina and Virginia border in Halifax and Warren Counties.

The Chowanoke reservation lands had been set up as early as 1677 (Phelps 1984:14). These lands were not accurately surveyed or recorded as settlers in the area petitioned for these lands to be resurveyed and to clarify any deeds or grants to the Chowan Indians. It seems that the motivation behind the settlers' complaint was Chowan Indians hunting on settlers' lands (Vaughan 2001:39).

Both the Tuscarora and the Chowan were displaced eastward after the Tuscarora War (compare Figure 19 and Figure 33). Chowan lands are qualitatively defined in an order by the North Carolina Governor's Council on August 10-11, 1714, "Land on the Eastern side of Bennets Creek including Meherins Neck of Twelve Miles Square".

In 1707, a letter from Edmund Jennings and William Glover discussed Chowan displacement and recorded that the Yeopim (Yawpine) Indians originally gave the land to the Chowan in a grant:

As to the Right which you say was derived from the Yawpine Indians by Grant to the Chowanoakes and from them acquired by the Lords

Proprietors by Conquest We can't apprehend it so easily a matter to ascertain what Right and Indian Nation had to such a particular Tract of Land before the memory of man their Title being as precarious as their means of Transmitting the same to posterity are Defective but supposing the whole to be True which we must take Leave to doubt of till we are better satisfied of the Validity of those imaginary Indian writings and Records yet it will not follow that any such acquisition Could give the Proprietors a Right to Land to the Northward of Weyanoake Creek which is the bounds of the Charter and whoever maintains such a position must at the same time forget by what means the Proprietors came to have a Right to any Lands in America and that their Title to the same can be extended no further than their Grant from the Crown gives them leave (DocSouth, Minutes from Virginia Governor's Council, Letter from Edmund Jennings and William Glover, September 2, 1707).

Jennings admitted that the Indians originally owned the land, but to value their land ownership from oral records would make written grants of England null and void, so no Indian record of land ownership could be validated. Nor could the northern boundary of North Carolina be pushed farther north than 36°30' without violating the 1665 charter to the Lord Proprietors.

The use of Weyanoke Creek to delineate the North Carolina/Virginia boundary was less than clear as there was a group of Weyanoke Indians that lived on several different rivers and creeks (the group was originally displaced from the Chesapeake region). Thus a boundary based on Weyanoke River/Weyanoke Creek as stated in the 1665 charter and in the Edmund Jennings letter remained disputed between Virginia and North Carolina for several decades. Oral histories from the elderly among the Weyanoke were gathered in an attempt to resolve the dispute and determine the exact locale of the Weyanoke River at the time of the charter. The Weyanoke illustrate the difficulty in tracing the path of displaced Indian groups through time and space.

Between 1701 and 1704, conflicts between the settlers and the Indians intensified and were largely related to land limitations. Lawson stated that Carolina has the friendliest Indians of any of the colonies; unfortunately, Lawson would himself die just two years after writing this account, at the hands of the Tuscarora Indians (Lawson 1967 [1709]:92-93). The increased

number of settlers in the region led to additional pressure as desirable land was already seated. The Quit-Rent Roll of Albemarle County at the end of the seventeenth century already had 245 entries for seated land (NCSA, Miscellaneous Records, The Quit-Rent Roll of Albemarle County, 1678-1737; Hathaway 1900a: 301-304).

Court minutes from November 22, 1704 include a number of complaints from both settlers and Indians about the other party. These complaints came from both Pamlico and Albermarle inhabitants. King Charles (Indian) stated that three of his hogs were killed and that he had killed two of Robert Molyne's hogs (unclear whose hogs were killed first). John Easter stated that one of his hogs had been killed by Indians and that these Indians had beat him when he asked why they killed the hog. It goes on to record the testimony of William Lewis regarding "Patrick an Indian" who had plans to kill the sheriff if he saw him in the woods (Hathaway 1900c:441; NCSA, Miscellaneous Records, November 22, 1704).

Also included in the November 22 court minutes is an example of the land disputes. Henry Hoborn agrees that he owes Indians for his land, but can't afford the 7 pounds, 13 shillings and 6 pence that the Indians were asking for. The author of this document, Samuel Norton, ends his official notes with the statement "[t]he people are all willing to pay the Indians for the lands, but they demand such great prices, that they cannot buy of them."

William Barecock petitioned the Governor's Council regarding his land "lying in Pascotank binding on the Indyan Land" (Hathaway 1900:251). He states that the surveyor Robert Peel refused to survey his land despite an order from the court on July 20, 1704 requiring that the area be surveyed. Does this reveal a personal prejudice between Reel and Barecock? Or is it simply that the surveyors of these newly settled colonies were poor at surveying? It is difficult to determine what may have been the cause of contention between surveyor and Barecock.

These conflicts led to the settlers' determination to demarcate and limit Indian lands. The order to survey and limit certain lands for the Yeopim Indians occurred on April 12, 1704.

Att a Councill held att the House of Captn John Hecklefield in Little River April 12<sup>th</sup> 1704. Prsent the Lords Deputyes.

Ordered that the Surveyr Generall or Deputy Shall (with what Expedition is possible) Upon Complaint of the Yawpim Indians Lay out for the sd Inidans (where they now live) four miles Square of Land or the Quantitty not injoining any of the old Settlements which was made before the Order of Councill bearing Date in October 1697, And Mr. John Hawkins, Mr. Thomas Taylor, Mr. Robert Morgan and Mr. john relfe or any three of them are hereby required to attend the Surveyor or Deputy in laying out the same. To John Anderson Dep. Surveyor or to be directed to Captain Thomas Relfe to execute with Speed and make returns (Hathaway 1900c:73-74).

The reservation was located near the headwaters of North River and was to be located where the Indians were living at the time. But the Weapemeoc Indians lived in several different locations. Is this reservation for all Yeopim Indians or the Indians specifically from the Yeopim village? It seems that this area was known as "Yawpim" town by the end of the seventeenth century. This document also notes that several men had to attend the surveying-possibly to serve as witnesses in any future land disputes and make for a more accurate survey.

The surveyors mentioned in the establishment of the reservation in 1704, offer an insight into the settlers that worked closely with the Yeopim, just as Lawson had a close relationship with the Indians he had worked with as a surveyor. Of the mentioned surveyors, only John Hawkins and John Relfe seem to have had additional interactions with the Yeopim.

There appears to have been at least five different settlers named John Hawkins. The one referred to in this document is likely John Hawkins, a Quaker who lived in Pasquotank precinct who died in 1717 (Powell 1994:73). It is difficult to define the relationship between Hawkins and the Yeopim. In the previously mentioned Rent Roll, John Hawkins appears several times with

hundreds of acres listed under his name, most likely purchased from the Yeopim. His interest and involvement with the Yeopim may have been business and land related only.

John Relfe's wife, Mary Relfe petitioned the Yeopim Indians for payment of her husband's surveying at a later date.

Upon Petition of Mary Relfe widd Setting forth that her decd husband did in his life time by order of this board Survey and lay out for ye Yawpun Indyans Ten thousand two hundred & forty acres of Land and pray's that ye Said Indyans may be ordered to pay her for ye Same amounting to Eleven pounds Eighteen Shills. And ye Said Indyans appeareing Confessed that they were to pay one halfe of ye Charge and noe more.

Whereupon it is Ordered that ye Said Indyans doe pay unto ye Said Mary Relfe ye Sum of five pound nineteen shills being the one halfe of ye Charges as afsd (DocSouth, Minutes of the North Carolina Governor's Council, August 10, 1714 - August 11, 1714).

Four miles square equals 2,560 acres. The Widow Relfe's petition stated that Mr. John Relfe surveyed 10,240 acres of land. Even accounting for the additional land surveyed while attempting to determine boundaries, this seems like a much larger amount of land than designated in the 1704 reservation decree. Does this indicate the amount of land held by Weapmeoc prior to the establishment of the reservation? If so, the reservation was a significant reduction of land.

The establishment of a reservation marks a culture in transition. Indian lands were consolidated and delineated. The traditional subsistence patterns with the reliance on seasonal camps and hunting and fishing patterns would be limited because of the legal creation of reservation lands far from the original shorelines utilized by the Weapemeoc.

### **Tuscarora War**

Just as the coastal Indians along the Albemarle Sound had been pushed inland (and northward) by settlers, the Neuse River and Pamlico Sound coastal Indians were also displaced

inland. Many moved closer to their Tuscarora neighbors with some unease. Many of these groups had fought among themselves at some point and to live in close quarters increased tensions between Indian groups. This pressure, along with the conflicts with settlers unified many of these groups. The tensions between settlers and these Indian groups erupted in the Tuscarora War, between 1711 and 1715.

A few specific events were catalysts in the commencement of this war. The surveying and claiming of land for the town of Bath (English) and New Bern (Swiss and German) brought more settlers who further encroached upon Indian lands. In September of 1711, John Lawson (surveyor) and Christopher von Graffenried (founder and leader of the Swiss and German immigrants) travelled up to visit the Tuscarora. They were held captive and Lawson was killed. Within a few days, an alliance of Pamlico Indians, including the Tuscarora, the Machapunga, the Bear River, and the Corree, attacked the settlers along the Neuse and Pamlico Rivers.

The Pamlico settlers appealed to Albemarle and Virginia settlers to the north and South Carolina settlers to the south for assistance. Governor Spotswood and his fellow Virginians blamed the Tuscarora war on the shady people (“abundance of disorderly people”) that settled along the Roanoke River that conducted illegal trade with the Tuscarora as well as the “stupidity and dissention in that Governm’t of No. Carolina” (Feeley 2007:164). This was a vastly different picture than that portrayed by the Pamlico citizens themselves. Rather than conducting illegal trade along the Tuscarora Trail between Virginia and the Tuscarora of North Carolina, the Pamlico and Albemarle settlers were simply trading with their neighboring Indians.

Another source of tension between the Virginia settlers and the North Carolina settlers that led to a reputation of lawlessness was the settlement of Virginia natives in the isolated northern parts of Currituck and Pasquotank. These Albemarle settlers frequently claimed their

land was within either Virginia or North Carolina borders as best suited their interests at the time. This flip-flopping was often done to avoid paying fees to both colonial governments. North Carolina had acquired a “reputation for lawlessness” and settlers of Virginia and South Carolina had colored perceptions of the Pamlico and Albemarle settlers (Feeley 2007:106).

The Pamlico settlers sent pleas to their closest neighbors, the settlers in the Albemarle region. The response was poor, possibly because the Albemarle settlers had few resources themselves in either manpower or food, although more manpower and food than the Pamlico region (Feeley 2007:174). Feeley suggests that the geographical separation of swamps, marshes and the Albemarle Sound also played a role. Graffenried (founder of New Bern) commented that “it is provoking to see such coolness and so little love among the inhabitants of Albemarle County that with folded arms they can see how their nearest neighbors are frightfully murdered by this barbarous nation” (Graffenried 1920[1714]:263).

Another possible reason for Albemarle settlers’ reluctance to assist their neighbors in the Pamlico region may have stemmed from religion. Many of the Albemarle citizens claimed to be pacifists during the Tuscarora War because of their Quaker religion. The Quakers of Pasquotank County had publicly posted their principles regarding war and the shedding of blood in 1704 (DocSouth, Minutes of the Friends’ Monthly Meeting in Pasquotank Precinct, March 1, 1704). A few men who were not Quakers followed their neighbors’ example, and claimed pacificism as a way to oppose forced military service and taxes.

Many Pasquotank, Perquimans and Currituck settlers have been portrayed as Quakers and were not. Others were Quaker in name only. The confusion over who was a Quaker and who was not is demonstrated by Cary’s Rebellion, a rebellion that seemed to be mostly motivated by wanting to avoid British control rather than protecting Quakers’

right not to swear allegiance-the stated cause of rebellion. This contradiction is especially evident when the Quakers (and Quaker allies) actually attacked Thomas Pollock's home, where the newly arrived Governor Edward Hyde (replacing Governor Thomas Cary) was staying on June 30, 1711 (Feeley 2007:174-175). This attack occurred in spite of pacificism being a strong tenet of Quaker beliefs.

George Durant personified the Quaker label confusion in the Albemarle region. Durant is often described as a Quaker because he actually bought his land from the Indians, but there exists very little evidence that he was actually a Quaker. Stephen Weeks argues that Durant was not a Quaker. Weeks comes to this conclusion because neither William Edmunson nor George Fox visited the Durant household during their visit to Carolina in 1672 (Weeks 1896:33-34). In addition, the Durant Family Bible does not use Quaker language. George and his wife Ann were married by an Anglican minister in Northumberland County, VA, which may have been the only available minister or it may indicate that the Durants had a preference for the Anglican religion (Powell 1994:124). Yet George Durant seems to have identified with other Quaker settlers in the Albemarle region in not wanting to participate in the colony's conflicts, nor swear allegiance to the King and Durant was a key player in Cary's Rebellion.

During Fox and Edmonson's travels through the Albemarle region in 1672, they note regretfully that there are few Quakers but that several friendly people would show up for meetings. The most that can be said with any surety is that the Northern Albemarle was a very Quaker friendly region during the late 1600s and early 1700s. It also seems to be a very Indian friendly region during this time. Certain settlers were even described by their relationship with Indians: Henry White (1712) of Pasquotank County was known for his loving behavior towards

the Indians (Weeks 1896:133). This friendliness towards the Indians may have been another reason the Albemarle settlers refused to assist the Pamlico settlers

The number of Quakers seems to have grown during the early 1700s, and Quakers were most commonly located in today's Pasquotank and Perquimans Counties (Weeks 1896:34, 70, 80, 81, 84). This increase in numbers may have been due to the Cary's Rebellion as well as the Tuscarora War, with the Quaker tenet of pacificism leading to an increase in the Friends numbers during this conflict wrought period of colonial North Carolina history.

Some Albemarle Quakers did fight in the Tuscarora War, Ephram Overman of Pasquotank, actually bore arms to fight the Indians and was publicly reprimanded for these actions at the monthly meetings (DocSouth, Minutes of the Friends' Monthly Meeting in Pasquotank Precinct, November 16, 1711). Robert Morgan, who was not a Quaker, refused to fight in the Tuscarora War. This is the same Robert Morgan that had participated in the surveying of the Yeopim Reservation. It appeared that individual circumstances were the overruling motivation for fighting or refusing to fight.

Efforts to force settlers to fight in the Tuscarora war went poorly. Few could be found to impress the settlers into service and those that were willing to work for the crown and local government often faced condemnation from the settlers. Cox and Stafford of "Corretuck" were actually convicted of encouraging men away from military service (Feeley 2007:178).

This discord between Pamlico and Albemarle citizens led to a stall in action against the Indians. Further division occurred as Graffenried and Brice struggled for command of the Pamlico forces. Although, both Virginia and South Carolina would eventually assist the Pamlico citizens, each had their own agenda (mainly against each other) for helping. Virginia attempted

to help by using their alliances with the upper Tuscarora, while South Carolina sent fighting men, the majority of which were Indians, under the command of Captain John Barnwell.

The Indian groups in the area were similarly divided and allied. Various Indian groups supported the Pamlico Indian groups, while others assisted the settlers. Even the Tuscarora were divided during this war, with the Tuscarora that initiated retaliation led by King Hancock and those that assisted the settlers led by King Blount. The groups to the south were labeled the Lower Alliance with those to the north, the Upper Alliance.

One of the major reasons that the Lower Alliance, comprised primarily of Indians from South Carolina, went north to fight against the Upper Alliance was the desire to enslave conquered Indians. This would alleviate their debt to traders in South Carolina. Indian slaves were valued at about two hundred deerskins per adult Indian (Feeley 2007:226-230).

When the Lower Alliance, led by Barnwell, captured Catechna on April 7, 1712, he expected a generous reward and when the reward was minimal he and his troops took hundreds of Tuscarora Indians as slaves. This incited the lower Tuscarora to attack and the war was started again. Fighting ceased in 1713 and in 1715 a treaty was finally agreed upon.

John Brickell described three civilized Indian Kings in his *Natural History of North Carolina*, published in 1737. "They have three *Paricosy's*, or *Indian Kings* in this Province, who are civilized, viz. King *Blunt*, King *Durant*, and King *Highter*; but they may rather be compared to Heads of Clan than Kings." He also provided his definition of civilized: "I have frequently made use of the word *Civilized Indians*, and for the better information of my Readers they are those that assisted the *Christians* against the other *Savages* of that Country in the late *War* when the Hon. Colonel *Barnwell* intirely defeated them in *Bath* County, Anno Dom. 1712" (Brickell 1737:331). Using his own definition, it seems that the Yeopim assisted the settlers during the

Tuscarora War. In spite of this, King Durant never appeared in any of the documents regarding the Indian Kings that worked with the settlers during the War, whereas King Tom Blount (Tuscarora) and King Hiter (Chowan) appeared frequently.

The Chowan were allies to the settlers during the Tuscarora War.

[T]he said Indyans have been upon Eight Expeditions against the Indyan Enemy of this province and durin the time they were in the Countys Service they Suffered Consdierable loss in their plantations and Stocks loosing Seaventy five head of hogs a Mare and Colt their Corne destroyed by horses and Cattle their fences burnt and fruit trees destroyed by all which and the wearing out of their clothes they are reduced to very great poverty (Vaughan 2001:68-69; DocSouth, North Carolina Governor's Council, August 10-11, 1714).

This single paragraph illustrates the acculturation that had already occurred among the Chowan Indians by 1714. Cattle, fruit trees, plantations, mares, colts, and hogs were all introduced by Europeans. In fact, not a single item except for corn was a part of their indigenous culture. The Chowan are often described as an extinct tribe in much the same manner that the Weapemeoc are described as extinct (and both were Carolina Algonkians that inhabited the northern Albemarle region), and yet this paragraph suggests assimilation rather than extinction. It also captures the loss of maritime subsistence. Although Chowanoke sites from the Late Woodland period had a greater number of Cashie material culture, they were still dominantly Colington in ceramics and other artifacts and shared the maritime culture of the Secotan and Weapemeoc.

Popple's map differed from Moseley's of 1737 significantly (Figure 33, Figure 34, and Figure 35). Popple recorded in detail the many events from the Tuscarora War, while Moseley recorded very few of these events on his. Popple also does not include any mention of the Yeopim, the Potoskite, or the Chowan. This may support the hypothesis that the Yeopim and



Figure 33. 1733 Popple detail.



Figure 34. 1733 Moseley detail, Albemarle Sound.



Chowan supported the settlers in the war but may not have had quite as significant a role in conflicts as the Tuscarora did.

Popple was not a cartographer by trade. It seems that he was a financier and that there were cartographic discrepancies in his map. However, it was extremely aesthetically pleasing and contained a great amount of detail as it was quite large. It became a popular map. Popple also clearly intended to show the growth of English influence in the new world: “A supporter of colonial trade development, Popple's intent was to present Britain's position in relation to that of France and Spain” (<http://www2.lib.virginia.edu/exhibits/onthemap/index.php/themes/18th-century/the-popular-popple-map/>).

The Moseley map of 1733 is the first map on which one of the Weapemeoc sub-groups, the Potoskite, appeared (see Figure 34; see Figure 35). The Potoskite group would appear on maps for several decades and was often depicted as a distinct village from the Yeopim Indian village to the north. The Potoskite may have outnumbered the Yeopim based on depiction of village houses in Cowley and Moseley's map from 1737 (Figure 36). While Moseley's map of 1733 and Bowen's of 1740 includes both the Yeopim and Potoskite, Popple (1733) and Moll (1736) depict neither group (Figure 33 and Figure 37).

The creator's bias came into play here. Popple was attempting to depict the English growth and influence in America. Henry Moll's map from 1736 stated the purpose of his map in a very direct fashion in a caption beneath the map title:

The *English* Claim the Property of Carolina from Lat. 29 & c Degrees as part of Cabot's Discoveries who set out from Bristol in 1498, at the Charge of King Henry ye 7<sup>th</sup> but they did not take Possession of that Country till King Charles the II's time in 1663 who Granted a Patent to divers Persons to Plant all the Territories within the North Lat. of 31 to 36 Deg. and so West in a direct line to the South Sea (Moll 1736).

Unfortunately, these Eurocentric maps do little to assist in determining the extent of Indian displacement or the diminishing of Indian populations.

Popple and Moll do provide an insight into the changing perspective of settlers in the eighteenth century. While living with Indians was an accepted part of colonial life in the seventeenth century, in the eighteenth century, it was becoming increasingly clear that there was an expectation of space between Indian and settlers. In short, such maps are ethnocentric images, and part of the apparatus of cultural colonialism. It is not only that they offer a promise of free and apparently virgin land—an empty space for Europeans to partition and fill—but that the image offered is of a landscape in which the Indian is silent or is relegated, by means of the map's marginal decoration, to the status of a naked cannibal. Through these silences, the map becomes a license for the appropriation of the territory depicted.



Figure 36. 1737 Cowley and Moseley.



Figure 37. 1747 Bowen detail.

### Legal Limitations

The Indians did retain some protection under the law, especially involving land rights as Indian land was often defined, or reserved, in previous Acts, Treaties and Grants. When Indian groups of North Carolina appear in the Governor’s Council Minutes it is often regarding the use or misuse of their land and rights as defined by existing grants and treaties.

The Tuscarora were one of the most frequent Eastern North Carolina Indian groups in legal statutes and they were neighbors to the Weapemeoc and Chowan Indian groups. However, their experience and material culture did differ from the Weapemeoc significantly, and only the legal issues involving land treaties and grants are considered relevant in this discussion of legal limitations as it sheds light on the settlers’ and Indians’ land disputes during the Historic Phase.

A petition from the Chiefs of the Tuscarora Indians goes beyond mentioning existing grants and treaties and reminded the Council that they were the original owners of the land: “The Assembly sheweth That your Petitioners Ancestors were the aborigines of the said Province and

possessed of greatest part of the Lands in the same in their own right, long before it was discovered by the English.” (Vaughan 2003:244). This claim extended the power of the Indians through time and space, having claimed both the rights of their ancestors to a large geographic region and for a significant period of time.

This same petition outlined all of the previous treaties between settlers and Indians, both those that existed at the time of the writing of the petition in 1766 and treaties had been “lost”. The details of the original lost treaty (1714) were outlined in this petition. This treaty seems to be similar to the treaty of 1712 with Chief King Tom Blount of the Tuscarora. It is important to recall that this lost treaty was drafted during the Tuscarora War. The Tuscarora Chiefs point out that the selling of parcels of reserved Tuscarora land in 1748 was unjust, as it contradicts the original treaty of 1714.

This petition illustrated an example of an Indian group in the area that both protested the settlers’ initial taking of Indians’ native soil, as well as continued encroachment on Indian reservation lands. The Tuscarora utilized the settlers’ own definition and understanding of land ownership to bring these matters before the courts. This differs from Weapemeoc and Chowanoke experiences, where the land was willingly sold by chiefs. But the Tuscarora Chiefs would also sell the reserved lands to move their remaining people to join Tuscarora in the north (Feeley 2007). The Tuscarora Chiefs stated a lack of game as the main cause of these migrations, but it is entirely probable that the social and political climate of the eighteenth century was an additional pressure to move northward.

Another document dated late in 1766, records that “Poverty must excuse the smallness of the present, for we are mostly old men, unable to hunt, our young men having gone to the Northward with the Northern Chief, Tragaweha” (Vaughan 2003:249). This alludes to the

Tuscarora migration and the lack of game to hunt. There was the expectation of a “present” at court. This single sentence illustrates a significant difference between settlers petitioning to the Governor and Indians petitioning to the Governor. Did settlers’ send gifts along with petitions and correspondence? Did they consider it a form of payment for legal fees or as a present to the Governor?

There are several laws that pertained to slaves and named negroes, mulattos and Indian slaves as falling under this category. This included legislation between 1715 and 1741 that prevented slaves from traveling away from plantations alone and stealing or mismarking livestock (Vaughan 1998: 15, 31, and 43). It seems that the use of negro, mulatto and Indian slowly passed out of use to be replaced simply with slave, perhaps because the understood meaning included all three of these groups.

Laws that also cemented these racial groups as ‘less than’ were the laws that denied negroes, mulattos, and Indians suffrage. In North Carolina, it is recorded as early as 1715 and 1716, that “no Negroes, Mulattoes, Mustees, or Indians shall be capable of voting” (Vaughan 1998:13).

Another law from 1741 prevented “clandestine and Unlawful Marriages” with “Indians, Negroes, Mustees, or Mulattoes” indicating two possibilities: that clandestine relationships had become so numerous as to be concerning to settlers and/or that racial tensions were increasing and this was another way to enforce and preserve race distinction.

Indians were the first group named in the “Prevention of that abominable mixture” which could possibly indicate that this was the most common type of interracial marriage (Vaughan 1998: 17, 29). As seen in the discussion of marriage and miscegenation, it seemed that these

unlawful marriages were quite popular and that it was a means to counteract diminishing Indian populations during the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth century.

An additional law specifies that any child of a white servant woman by Negroe, Mulatto or Indian would be sold to the Church Wardens for two years and said child would be bound by the county court till 31 years old (Vaughan 1998:35).

A contradictory picture emerges from legal issues involving Indian groups, one that should protect the Indians' land rights as the treaties and grants were written in accordance with the settlers' legal system but often didn't. And a growing set of laws that were designed to keep the Indian groups separate from the settlers.

### **Dispersal of Indian Lands**

The increased and steady pressure of settlers inhabiting "unused" land led to Indian displacement. The majority of this displacement occurred between 1700 and 1740 with significant resettlement after the Tuscarora War. Although epidemics reduced Indian populations and resulted in less Indian land, there were numerous complications between settlers and Indians regarding how property was used. What the settlers believed to be unused land was often traditional hunting land, used seasonally or temporarily for hunting by Indians. What Indians believed to be their traditional hunting land was often within a settler's marked and surveyed property.

In October of each year, the Indians set fire to certain portions of the underbrush to drive deer into narrow areas of land, such as isthmuses, to easily pick off these animals (Beverley 1855 [1705]:39-40; Hinke 1916a [1701-1702]:42; Lawson 1967 [1709]:215; Brickell 1737:13). The fire and water would encircle the game, at which point, Indians used bows and arrows and

circling the game would kill the entrapped animals. Flushing out the game with fire served two purposes: stocking up on pelts and meat, as well as burning away old growth. Hunting with fire also shows a resourceful use of the natural environment. With the numerous rivers and sounds cutting through the land, there are plenty of narrow necks of land for this use.

Many of the seasonal hunting camps were inland and temporary, although located along water sources. The whole family would travel to an area that seemed to have the most of the type of animal that they were hunting and build a cabin over the space of a couple of days. They lived in these cabins for the duration of that particular hunting season and then abandoned these cabins. This seemed to be for bow and arrow hunting rather than the hunting with fire described above (Beverley 1855 [1705]:125).

Hunting rights were contested between Indians and settlers as Indian populations diminished. As their population diminished, these Indian groups' knowledge of traditional hunting grounds was not decreased. And traditional hunting grounds were being intruded upon in the eyes of the Indians while settlers believed that they were suffering the intrusion of Indians on their land. Sometimes the land had even been sold to them by the Indians' themselves. It seems the Indians were granting people the right to settle there, along the same lines of allowing displaced Indian groups to create permanent settlements nearby, although not necessarily with rights to all the resources in that area. At the same time, the settlers saw it as their private property, not just a home, and any intrusion onto that land seemed like a personal intrusion.

On March 10, 1715 the Porteskyte Indians petitioned the governor regarding their rights to traditional hunting lands:

Upon Petition of the Porteskyte Indyans showing that the Inhabitants of Corratuck Banks have & doe hinder y<sup>e</sup> Said Indyans from hunting there

and threaten them to breake their gun and that they Cannot subsist without the liberty of hunting on those their usuall grounds.

Whereupon it is hereby ordered that y<sup>e</sup> said Indyan from henceforward have Liberty to hunt on any of the said Banks land that noe Englishman presume to disturbe them thereon without application made to the Board. (DocSouth, North Carolina Governor's Council, March 10, 1715).

In another dispute in July 1715, the "Dorteskite" Indians were summoned to settle a complaint from John Jones about burning "Lightwood" on his land. Another case of traditional hunting and land use being impeded by different views regarding ownership of land. In November of 1715, the "Porteskill" Indians petitioned to make "good and sufficient Titles" to John Jones, Isaac Jones, and Captain Richard Sanderson (see Figure 35). A part of the land sale included the Indians having "free liberty to hunt on any of the said Lands". These titles were granted as they did not conflict with land previously sold from the Poteskeet Indians to William Reed. There was also a restriction to any further selling of land "without leave". Also, the Indians were not allowed to hunt by burning the lightwood (brush) on Jones' or Sanderson's land, restricting the Indians' traditional means of hunting deer.

Despite having their hunting grounds protected by the Governor, Poteskeet numbers continued to decrease and by 1731 Mook estimates that only about twenty Poteskeet Indians remained (Mook 1944:221-222). As mentioned earlier, Mook's numbers tend to be lower than other estimates, but it does seem that their numbers were decreasing.

In 1723 several Yeopim Indians met before the North Carolina Governor's Council to confirm that they had sold 640 acres, one square mile, to William Reed. Several pieces of important information appeared in the Minutes from that meeting:

John Durant, King, John Barber, John Hawkins, Harry Gibbs, George Durant, great men the of the Yawpims came before this Board an acknowledged a sale of Land for six hundred and fforty Acres to the

Honorable William Reed Esq<sup>r</sup> part of a great Tract laid out to them by the Government and that they were Satisfied for the same and this Board being asked whither they consented the s<sup>d</sup> sale gave their opinion in the affirmative (DocSouth, Minutes of the North Carolina Governor's Council, March 28,1723).

The men listed create a starting point in genealogical research of the Yeopims. Notice that all of the names were Anglicized. Note also that these men were called the “great men of the Yawpims”, indicating a larger group than just those represented in this meeting.

Brickell described King Durant, the chief of these great men, whom Brickell had met on several occasions, as being dressed in this manner:

King Durant had on an old Blue Livery, the Wastecoat having some remains of Silver Lace, with all other Necessaries fit for wearing Apparel such as Shirt, Stockings, Shoes &c. made after the English manner [ . . . ] And it is to be observed, that after their return home to their Towns, that they never wear these Cloaths till they make the next State Visit amongst the *Christians* (Brickell 1737:283-284).

As mentioned earlier, much of the Indian trade cloth was blue or red. Brickell also mentioned that the “civilized Kings” had houses built in the same manner as the Christians, but that the other Indians all maintained traditional *wigwams* (Brickell 1737:290-291).

The name John Barber appears in another record from 1746 and may refer to the same John Barber recorded in the Yeopim petition. In this second record, John Barber “proved his rights” along with those of Anna and Sarah Barber (Hathaway II 1901: 628). In addition, Barber would be a Mattamuskeet surname during the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century (Garrow 1975:40).

This John Hawkins is different than the one mentioned in the setting out of reservation lands. Little else is conclusively known of this particular John Hawkins of the Yeopim.

In a record of marks, there is a record of John Hawkins recording marks for his daughters Frances and Mary Hawkins (Hathaway 1900c:275). Unfortunately, this document is undated and it is difficult to determine the ethnicity of the people listed in the document. A record of marks is usually to record distinguishing marks or scars (often done intentionally) of slaves so they could be tracked. But ethnicity was not always included. One clue could be the name Frances. One John Hawkins born in Perquimans precinct in 1671/72 was the son of Thomas and Frances Hawkins. His parents died when he was a child and he was raised by his uncle John Godfrey (Powell 1994:73). This John Hawkins, father of Frances and Mary, may have been a descendent of the one born in 1671, entering marks for his children by a slave woman. Or this may be an unrelated John Hawkins who was a slave himself. Or it may be the same John Hawkins one of the great men of the Yeopim, who entered marks for his children by a slave woman. This single reference to the marks of Francis and Mary Hawkins illustrates some of the difficulty in tracing relations and miscegenation during this period.

During the 1720s and 1730s, the name George Durant appeared in several records regarding land patents and rights. It is difficult to determine if these refer to the grandson of the original settler George Durant or if they refer to the George Durant of the Yeopim, as both had land in the northern Albemarle during this time. In one record George Durant requested that his land be surveyed according to a warrant he had (DocSouth, Minutes of the North Carolina Governor's Council, August 4-12, 1720). Another example is a lapsed land patent for the land not being "seated and planted" (DocSouth, North Carolina Governor's Council Minutes March 30, 1721).

"For want of seating and planting" occurs frequently in the transfer of land heard by the North Carolina Governor's Council. Seating meant that at least one building was built on the

land and planting was completed through the cultivation of at least an acre of land. It seems between 1712 and 1717, several large plots of land were granted to settlers through these lapsed patents. The required seating and planting as a part of land ownership is in stark contrast with traditional Indian hunting and gathering at seasonal and temporary sites, although anywhere the Indian groups grew corn and had their permanent villages could be considered 'seated' and 'planted'. Land ownership defined by "seating and planting" narrows the amount of land that the colonial government would consider necessary for the Indians' use and as belonging solely to the Indians. All of the land not permanently seated by Indians would seem to be without owner according to the government officials' definition of seated and planted land.

Meherrin, Corree, Blount's Tuscarora, and Mattamuskeet Indians were all granted lands or had lands defined between 1714 and 1727 (Vaughan 2001:75-81). In 1733, the Saponi and Chowan Indians requested permission of the Governor's Council to live with the Tuscarora. "This Board taking the same into consideration are Willing that the Supponees do live with the Tuskarooroes in case both parties agree to the same, and that they Chowan Indian Indians have Leave to live with the Tuskarooroes Indians provided King Blount Will Receive them." (Vaughan 2001:319).

Another possible cause of the dispersal of reservation lands by the Indians themselves was the availability of land due to epidemics decreasing Indian population. A petition by King John Durant of the Yeopim in 1739 seems to be correlated to the 1738-1739 smallpox epidemic that devastated Carolina Indian tribes. The petition was read before the North Carolina Governor's Council in 1739:

Read the petition of John Durant King of the Yeopim Indians in behalf of himself and the said Nation praying an Order of Council may pass empowering them to sell or exchange their lands as may best [suit] their

conveniency and that the Sales or exchange by them so made may be good and valid to the purchaser which was accordingly granted (DocSouth, North Carolina Governor's Council, February 22, 1739).

This is the first official petition by the Yeopim to sell their own lands without a specific purchaser defined. This suggests a change in subsistence patterns as well. By 1739, the Yeopim had been removed from their lands along the ocean sound and shores for a generation and the accompanying loss of traditional subsistence seems to have resulted in even greater assimilation.

Another reason for the Yeopim petition may be related to their neighbors, the Chowan, that had profited from selling their reservation lands. The Chowan sell over 2050 acres of land between 1734 and 1735 (Vaughan 2001:320-321). These lands were sold by the chief men of the Chowan. Some of the chief men that appear in these deeds include Thomas Hoyter, James Bennet, Charles Beazley, Jeremiah Pushing, Thomas Hoyston, Thos. Hoyton, Charles Beaseley, John Robins, John Reading, and Neuse Will.

At least a portion of this land was sold without the knowledge of the landowners, or those who had seated the land. As indicated earlier, many of the Chowan were keeping plantations and livestock in the same manner as the settlers and it is likely that the chiefs were selling off the land of their own people without their permission. In a petition by the inhabitants of Meherrin Neck regarding the selling of their land, the original land grant for the Chowan reservation of 1729 is mentioned along with the stipulation "so long as they should continue a nation and Inhabit the same", indicating that the inhabitants of Meherrin Neck were continuing to inhabit the same land they always had (Vaughan 2001: 326).

Thomas Jonekin petitions:

[T]hey had been in possession of several small Tracts of Land on the said neck for several years; That they had cultivated the same at great expense, and paid quit rents; That the Indians had lately surveyed the said Lands in

order to get a patent for the same, and had Included their Lands in their lines, and threatened to drive them off said Land (DocSouth, North Carolina Governor's Council, May 4, 1742; Vaughan 2001:326-327).

It is unclear if Thomas Jonekin was one of the settlers that settled on Indian land illegally-either through purchase from Indians that was not recorded with the colonial government-or through seating and planting the land. Or it is possible that Thomas Jonekin was or Indian descent himself and was having his land sold by the chief men. Jonekin would be a common surname among the Chowan Indians.

This continued to be a problem. In March of 1743, additional information about Chowan land appears in the Council Minutes.

This Indenture made the nineteenth day of March Anno Domini One thousand seven hundred and forty two three by and between Thomas Hyter James Bennet Chief men of Chowan Indians of the one part and James Hinton Junior of Chowan County in the Province aforesaid of the other part Witnesseth that the said Thomas Hyter and James Bennet for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred pounds Current Bills of Credit of the Province aforesaid to them in hand Paid and Received, and therewith fully satisfies Hath given granted, bargained, sold Enfeoffed and confirmed, and by these Presents do absoluted, Granted, sell enfeoff and confirm unto the said James Hinton his heirs and assigns forever one certain tract of Land lying and being in Chowan County in the Province aforesaid (Vaughan 2001:329).

James Hinton Jr. appears as a Chowan Indian in other records (Vaughan 2001:329).

This was a common problem in the region and at the time. In the 1760s, the Chiefs of the Tuscarora (to the west of the Chowan) sold off reserved lands without the consent of the entire group, but with the approval of the North Carolina Government (Feeley 2007:526-527). This occurred while the Tuscarora were preparing a second migration northward and were leaving behind old men and children who remained with "circumscribed lands" as the ones leaving sold off the remaining group's land (Vaughan 2003:249-250). Also within this petition, the Tuscarora

asked that renters and leasers be removed from reservation lands. This is an interesting development in land use, with either the Indians or the colonial government receiving dues from settlers that were renting reserved Indian land.

Ironically, with the right to sell their land in the late 1730s, the Yeopim practically disappear in archival records. Mook stated that once the petition above was granted “the Yeopim tribe disappears from the recorded history of the colony” and Johnson states “by 1735 their tribal identity no longer was recognized” (Mook 1944:222; Johnson 1972b:184). Phelps at least recognized their continued existence at Indian Town, although he too suggests that they disappeared: “[a]fter selling and/or being forced from their western lands, the Yeopim moved to the site of ‘Indiantown’ in Camden County and there ended their history” (Phelps 1984b:16).

At the time of discovery the native tribes were large and the indigenous cultures were living realities. By the end of a century and a half of white contact tribes were disorganized, the native population had all but vanished, and the original local cultural properties had disappeared. The ethnohistorical process in the Algonkian area of Carolina was one marked by disturbance, defeat, decline, disorganization, and final extinction (Mook 1944:225).

Mook’s statement that dispersal of the Algonquians of North Carolina resulted in their final extinction is an extreme and erroneous conclusion. The Indians of eastern North Carolina retained their cultural identity as Indians, even if they did not retain their specific group cultural identity, their material culture, or even the name Indian.

### **Loss of Maritime Mentality and Communication**

As mentioned previously, the establishment of the Yeopim reservation significantly changed subsistence patterns and culture of the Yeopim. The results of this loss of maritime subsistence and maritime mentality can be seen in the loss of the traditional culture among the

Yeopim and assimilation into the surrounding settler and colonial culture. The petition to sell reservation lands in 1739 illustrates the change in priorities from hunting and gathering lands to a more “civilized” lifestyle with European goods, clothes, and housing.

However this loss of maritime communication and maritime mentality did not occur overnight and there are accounts from 1704 to 1739 that indicate that some aspects of maritime subsistence and maritime technology persisted.

Brickell described the Indians sharing these maritime skills in the eighteenth century much as they did with the original Roanoke colonists in the sixteenth century.

The civilized *Indians* are very serviceable to the Planters in many Cases, particularly in making Weares to catch Fish; this they do for a small consideration and it proves very advantageous to large Families, because they not only take great Quantities of different Sortes, but moreover what is good and nourishing; these Weares are made after a method peculiar to the *Indians* only (Brickell 1737:42; emphasis in original).

The Indians would also hunt for settlers and “assist the poorer sort of Planters” in planting crops (Brickell 1737:42). This last tantalizing piece of information is interesting given the previous discussion regarding land ownership defined through seating and planting. It suggests that even as the Indians were losing traditional land, they were assisting settlers meet their basic subsistence needs.

As the region is essentially a land of water, the inhabitants of the nineteenth century through the present are going to preserve some of the same maritime subsistence, maritime mentality and maritime communication as the Weapemeoc Indians of early centuries. Speck indicates a similar belief, “[u]nconsciously, however, the natives, in the real sense of the term, are preserving some phases of Indian culture in their present economic life, which is, of course inseparably associated with local environment” (Speck 1916:2).

One unique maritime technology that persisted was the use of fish weirs. “Prior to 1815 the river fisheries were mostly conducted with weirs and small seines, but in that year two northern fishermen introduced long haul seines into Albemarle Sound” (Dunbar 1956:35). That traditional fish weirs were used through 1815 indicates a persistent and effective maritime technology. Frank G. Speck also notes that the use of temporary palmetto leave shelters used on the outer banks in 1916 may have had indigenous roots (Speck 1916:2).

Another interesting and persistent form of maritime technology, which is still in use today, was the indigenous manner of swimming: “One of our Indians went in along with us, and taught us their way of swimming. They strike not out both hands together, but alternately one after another, whereby they are able to swim both farther and faster than we do” (Byrd 1841 [1728-1736]:112). A swimming style that is not only still in use, but is the most commonly used and considered a basic swimming technique.

It appears that new technologies were slow to reach the Albemarle. The people of the Albemarle region always remained somewhat unique and isolated from other Atlantic Seaboard ports and the traditional fishing techniques of the Indians were well established and useful in this locale, leading to the persistence of Indian fishing technologies into the nineteenth century. However, maritime communication and maritime mentality seemed to have fallen out of use by the Weapemeoc towards the end of the eighteenth century. In addition, it seems that maritime subsistence did not have the importance it once had, although the dependence on hunted game and corn remained much the same, as did their technology for hunting and planting. This loss of maritime subsistence is to be expected given the Indian groups’ displacement from ocean and sound shores.

*Assimilation: 1740-1790*

In 1752, Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg travelled through North Carolina with the purpose of establishing a Moravian Settlement. While in Edenton on September 13, 1752 he recorded: “The condition of the Indians in N.C. is rather a deplorable one. The tribe of Chowans is reduced to a few families. Their land has been taken away from them.” He goes on to state that the Tuscarora still own some land but they are disliked by the settlers, while the Meherrin Indians are “reduced to a mere handful” and he speaks of the Meherrin as a cursed people. The Yeopim are not mentioned at all.

Of the eighteenth century maps that show Indian towns, Jeffrey’s is the first on which the Potoskite Indians do not appear. At some point between 1747 and 1776, the Potoskite were no longer recorded as a distinct group. At the start of the French and Indian war, a military muster was taken of North Carolina Counties. The number of potential Indian allies was carefully recorded, and in Pasquotank, Perquimans and Currituck Counties, no Indians were recorded (DocSouth, Roster of the field officers in the Pasquotank County Militia and Letter from Robert Murden to Arthur Dobbs, December 18, 1754). In Chowan County, the muster records that “[t]here is but one Indian Nation the Chowans in the County only 2 men and 5 women and children ill used by their neighbors” (DocSouth, Report Concerning the Militia in each county of North Carolina, Abstracts of returns from the several counties in response to circular from Governor Dobbs, 1754).

Another interesting result of the French and Indian War was the change in attitude of Britain towards their Indian allies and Indian enemies. Indians that fought with the French were to be dispatched, while the King issued a Proclamation on the Protection of Indian Rights for Indian allies in North Carolina on July 16, 1767.

[T]he said Indians have made and do Still Continue to make great Complaints that Settlements have been made and Possession taken of Lands the property of which they have by Treaties reserved to themselves, by Persons Claiming the said Land under pretence of Deeds of Sale and Conveynce, illegally, fraudently, and Surreptitiously obtained of the said Indians And Whereas it has likewise been represented Unto Us, that some of Our Governors or other Cheif [*sic.*] Officers of Our said Colonies regardless of the duty they Owe to Us, and of the Wellfare and Security of Our said Colonies have countenanced such unjust Claims and pretensions by passing Grants of the Land so pretended to have been purchased of the Indians We therefore taking this matter into Our Royal Consideration as also the fatal Effects which would attend a Discontent amongst the Indians in the present Situation of Affairs, and being determind upon all occasions to Support and protect the said Indians in their Just Rights and possessions, and to keep inviolable the Treaties and Compacts which have been entered into with them, Do hereby Strictly enjoin and Command, that neither Yourself, nor any Leutenant Governor, President of the Council or Commander in Cheif of Our said Province of North Carolin do upon any pretence whatever upon pain of Our highest Displeasure, and of being forthwith removed from Your or his Office, pass any Grant or Grants to any Persons whatever, of any lands within or adjacent to, the Territories possessed or occupied by the said Indians, or the property or possession of which has at any Time been reserved to, or claimed by them. (Vaughan 2003:261-262)

This is quite a different story than the initial charters of the 1600s claiming all of the land for the King, who then granted land to a few English men as theirs “[t]o have, hold, possess and enjoy” (DocSouth, Charter granted by Charles II, King of England to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, March 24, 1663). But as the settlers were asserting their independence they did so in part by carving out their own land regardless of the King of England’s claims (as illustrated by the difficulty government officials had in collecting quit-rents). It is possible that an additional motive to protecting Indian allies’ rights was limiting further land settlement by the settlers in the colonies.

Another order on April 7, 1773 required the stop of all surveys and land grants of Indian land ([Order signed by Steph. Cottrell] Vaughan 2003:331-332). At the time, Cherokee were

selling large tracts of land to pay off debts. This order to not sell any Indian land would protect some Indian groups while reducing other groups to the whims of the traders to whom they owed debt. The Cherokee were also gifting large tracts of land to traders that had children by Cherokee women: traders such as Alexander Cameron, Richard Pearis and Jacob Hite (Vaughan 2003:297-339). It begs the question if groups eastward of the Cherokee, such as the Yeopim or the Chowan, had practiced a similar settlement of debt in the first half of the eighteenth century.

In spite of no Indians appearing on military musters for the French and Indian War or the Revolutionary War, the prevalence of tomahawks in ammunition musters suggests that some aspects of Indian culture were retained in the region (in much the same way that traditional fish weirs were used through the beginning of the nineteenth century). Pugh recorded a munitions and weapons muster from the Revolutionary War:

The weapons reported were forty-eight guns, two swords, three tomahawks and two axes, and the company had received 120 rounds of powder. With minor variations this was typical of equipment in other counties. Perquimans, for example, with a total of forty-eight men, had only forty-three guns complete but they had eight swords and fourteen tomahawks. The tomahawks, by the way, are a reminder that Indians still constituted a very real threat in the western part of the state (Pugh 1957:107)

The prevalence of tomahawks may have been less dependent on the 'very real threat in the western part of the state' and had more to do with the acculturation of Indians in the area, and the possible descendants of Indians themselves, retaining an Indian tool that proved useful in the swampy coastal environment. Speck found that several descendants of a Mrs. M. H. Pugh were descendants of Mattamuskeet Indians, and the author of this book, Jesse Forbes Pugh, may have been of Indian descent himself (Speck 1916:2).

## **Indian Town**

Early colonial maps often recorded several Indian towns. “Indian town” seemed to be used for any type of Indian settlement, whether it be a reservation or a palisaded town or just a few permanent homes. The settlers themselves only formed a few towns in the eighteenth century. The specific Indian Town related to the Yeopim is found near Indiantown Creek (which feeds into North River just a mile or two to the South). This Indian Town appears in the same location as the Yeopim reservation indicated in historical maps and in the description in the document from 1704.

One of the first records of this particular Indian Town in the archives was in the Acts of the North Carolina General Assembly of 1758. Indian Town Bridge was to be established as an inspection checkpoint for “Tar, Pitch, Turpentine, Staves, Heading and Shingles” (DocSouth, Acts of the North Carolina General Assembly, November 23, 1758 - December 23, 1758).

Another record of interest was written by Edward Taylor and is undated. It discussed the creation of a road between “Pascotank” and “Coratuck” to be maintained by Pasquotank precinct up to the “Indyan” Town House and by Currituck precinct to William Brayes’ house. Hathaway transcribes an inscription that was on the back of this record: “Wee The Jurors Make Informashion yt The Roade from Paspantank River to Vopim Indian Towne is nott Cleared achording to Act of Assembly” (Hathaway 1900:327). This is one of the few specific references to the Indian Town in Camden County as being composed of Yeopim (Vopim) Indians. A bill was introduced referring to the same road in the Minutes of the North Carolina Governor’s Council on November 23, 1762 (DocSouth). It is likely that this is an approximate date for the “Vopim Indian Towne” inscription.

Anecdotal records suggest that Indian Town may have been called Culong by the Yeopim Indians.

The most important school of [Currituck] county was Indian Town Academy, built by William Ferebee, Sr., in 1761, and burned during the “negro raid” of 1862. It was on land reserved by the Lords Proprietors in 1704 to the Yeopim (pronounced Yawpim) Indians, the country around being called Coretuck (Currituck) in imitation of the call of a wild goose. Their chief town was by the Indians called Culong, and by the whites Indian Town. In 1840 [sic], by permission of the General Assembly, the Indians sold their lands and, with their king, John Durant, let the state. The lands were bought by a very intelligent class of people, such as Thomas McKnight, Col. Gideon Lamb, Col. Solomon Perkins, John Humphries, Thomas Pool Williams, Maj. Taylor Jones, Gen. Peter Dange, Gen. Isaac Gregory, William Ferebee, Sr. all of them military officers or members of the legislative bodies before and after the Revolution. The Indian Town Academy was on the plantation of William Ferebee Sr., known as Culong, which descended to Thomas Cooper Ferebee, Sr., and from his to Thomas Cooper Ferebee, Sr., and was sold by the latter since Civil War (Mebane 1898: 622-623).

The Thomas Cooper Ferebee House on the National Register of Historic Places is also referred to as Culong (National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/CK0006.pdf>). The Ferebee family likely had Yeopim origins. The Ferebee name has also been spelled as Forbes at various times. In the 1780 Clinton map (see Figure 40), Forbes appears slightly to the northeast of Indian Town.

This house would come to be owned by the Gregory family in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, <http://www.hpo.ncdcr.gov/nr/CK0006.pdf>). Jesse Forbes Pugh organized a historical tour of the area in 1955:

Thirty-six persons attended the historical tour on May 15 in Camden County. The tour, which was arranged by Mr. J. F. Pugh, was one of those of the North Carolina Society of County and Local Historians. A number of interesting historical stops were made and many old homes were opened [. . .] and refreshments at the home of Mr. and Mrs. P. P. Gregory,

the site of the village of the Yawpim Indians, were enjoyed by those who attended (North Carolina Historical Review, Volume XXXII: 439).

During the eighteenth century, for every one map that identified the Yeopim “Indian Town” there were quite a few that failed to note it all. This is likely due to a number of factors including the decline in population of the group, the scale of the map (several maps were produced that outlined all of the colonies, a scale that does not allow for smaller town names, especially in densely populated areas), and the prejudice or ignorance of the creator of the map (unintentional cartographic silences). Also it is quite possible that Indian Town was no longer an appropriate descriptor for what was once the Yeopim Reservation at the head of the North River, especially if few recognizable Indians existed at the end of the eighteenth century.

### **Sir Thomas MacKnight-Belville**

Sir Thomas MacKnight came to the Albemarle region in 1757 as a merchant and mariner. He owned a ship, Belville, and several tracts of land; among them two he named Campania and Belville. He describes the region as having richer soil than could be found along the coast to the south or the north and that the trees were excellent. He even mentions the potential for harvesting the trees using the navigable North River to export the timber. (NCSA, Thomas MacKnight, The Estate of Belville 1783-1788; NCSA, Thomas MacKnight, Schedule: Containing a Description of my Property, and the Value thereof, 1783-1788)

MacKnight bought portions of what he would call Belville at various times and from various people.

This tract of land lay in one of the most populous parts of the country, and on each side of the North River, which was navigable for sea-vessels to a bridge which crossed the river in sight of, and about one quarter of a mile distant from my dwelling house; over this bridge lay the only road from the county of Currituck to the country of Pasquotank, and a main road

from Norfolk in Virginia to Edenton in North Carolina (NCSA, Thomas MacKnight, Schedule: Containing a Description of my Property, and the Value thereof, 1783-1788).

This illustrates that Belville extended to both sides of the river, and also describes previously mentioned infrastructure, such as the road from Currituck to Pasquotank and the Indiantown Bridge. He also mentioned that the roads were much neglected and that the area had secluded itself from Norfolk prior to his arrival in 1757 (NCSA, Thomas MacKnight, The Estate of Belville, 1783-1788).

It seems that at least part of Belville was bought from reservation lands. MacKnight stated that he would buy “the remaining part of the Indian Patent” for 50 pence sterling per acre. He owned about 8000 acres of what had once been reservation land. As the original reservation was 10,240 acres (according to the survey boundaries as mentioned by Mary Relfe), it seems that two thousand acres were privately owned between 1739 and 1757 (Stevenson 2009:29).

MacKnight started improvements on the land in 1761. Belville consisted of many plantations and houses and MacKnight stated that the “quit rent was only an ear of corn if demanded” (NCSA, Thomas MacKnight, The Estate of Belville, 1783-1788). It seems he saw himself as a benefactor to his renters and he described his neighbors as “respectable” and “thriving”. There “were many settled plantations, which I had improved by making convenient roads from one to the other, by inclosing them properly, and by cutting drains where these were necessary” (NCSA, Thomas MacKnight, Schedule: Containing a Description of My Property, and the Value thereof, 1783-1788).

This role as benefactor may have also motivated MacKnight in his building of a church. He received approval to build a church and accompanying burial ground on two acres of land in Indian Town on March 1, 1773 (DocSouth, Minutes of the Upper House of the North Carolina

General Assembly, January 25, 1773 - March 06, 1773). This church may be marked on Jeffrey's map of 1776 (Figure 38). Josiah Martin noted that this church was located in Belville, recently known as Indian Town (DocSouth, Letter from Josiah Martin to William Legge, July 13, 1774). While Indian Town appears on numerous maps, Belville appears on none. It seems that the name did not last long and was not widely adopted.

MacKnight also developed Indian Town's port infrastructure and created a shipyard:

On each side of this river [North River] (which divided the counties of Currituck and Pasquotank) and adjoining to the bridge I had built very large wharfs and convenient warehouses thereon, and I had erected on the north side of the river, at a very great expense, the most commodious, and I will venture to say the best shipyard in the province, where I had every conveniency for careening as well as building vessels. From this yard I have launched a ship (one hundred feet long) into fourteen feet water, upon sliding board not more than thirty feet in length (NCSA, Thomas MacKnight Papers, Schedule: Containing a Description of my Property, and the Value thereof, 1783-1788).

Schooners and sloops frequently plied the water of Albemarle Sound and along the Atlantic Coast, with Brigs also trading along the coast and across the Atlantic to the West Indies or to Britain. North Carolina's coast was infamous for navigational hazards but smaller vessels had few troubles traversing these dangers. These vessels were often preferable when crossing marshes and swamps. It was not until the nineteenth century with the dominance of larger shipping vessels that North Carolina began to fall far behind other port cities in importance and development (Crittenden 1931:1-13).

MacKnight was a Loyalist and during the Revolutionary War, his property was ordered to be seized and secured on Monday, December 9, 1776 (DocSouth, Minutes of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, November 12, 1776 - December 23, 1776).

Resolved, That Mess. Isaac Gregory, William Ferebe and Abner Harrison, who have been appointed Commissioners to take into their care the Estates



Figure 38. 1776 Jefferys detail.

of Thomas Macknight and James Parker, in Pasquotank and Currituck Counties, sell such Part of the said Estates as they shall judge most liable to Waste, for six months' credit for all sums above £3, taking Bond and security, and make Return thereof to the next ensuing Congress or Assembly (DocSouth, Minutes of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, November 12, 1776 - December 23, 1776).

While many Loyalists were forgiven and their property returned by the North Carolina General Assembly in 1784 (excluding that which was already sold), MacKnight never returned to North Carolina and was never compensated for his lost property (DocSouth, Minutes of the North Carolina House of Commons, April 19, 1784 - June 03, 1784). His attempts to receive compensation from Britain for his lost property were in vain (NCSA, Thomas MacKnight, Letter to Charles Monroe esq., 1788).

A map from 1780 from the Henry Clinton papers (Sir Henry Clinton, Commander-in-Chief of the British forces during the Revolutionary War) archived at the University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library, does not locate Belville, but does mark Indian Town along with numerous family names. These families were living on the original Indian Patent described by MacKnight (Figure 39 and Figure 40).

Several family names that appear on this 1780 map were also on the Albemarle Rent Roll (from the beginning of the eighteenth century). Some of these names along with the amount of land owned include: Thomas Simmons (200 and 90 acres), Rob. Lowry (260), William Godfrey (350 acres), John Godfrey (640 acres), Thomas Sawyer (450 and 200 acres), Henry Sawyer (190 acres), John Jones (85 acres), John Upton (191 acres), Wm. Bray (350 acres), John Sanderson (300 acres), William Lury (250 acres), Jenkins Williams (317 acres), Isaac Wilson (490 acres), and Cornelius Lurry (150 acres). Were the family names on the 1780 map descendants of the original Albemarle Quit Rent Rolls? It seems likely.



Figure 39. 1780 Clinton (NCSA).



**Figure 40. 1780 Clinton, Indian Town detail, (NCSA).**

Another name of interest on the 1780 map is Barecock. Descendents of Thomas Barecock (1653-1721), the first Barecock in the region, would marry into a variety of families including Bell, Forbes, Gregory, Squires, Bray, Leary, Ferebee, Lamb and Williams-most of the names located in this portion of the map and, perhaps coincidentally, all surnames common among the Lumbee Indians (Pugh 1957:26-27).

This is not the only surname from the AOI of the eighteenth century that would later be a common a Lumbee surname in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A few of these Lumbee surnames include; Bell, Berry, Jones, Lamb, Legatt (Leggett), Lowery (Lowry), Reed (less frequent among Lumbee surnames), Sanderson, and Williams (Britt 2007). Of course, several of these surnames are extremely common among all surnames (Jones and Williams are particularly prominent), so the link is tenuous at best. Frank G. Speck also records Berry as an Indian surname among the inhabitants of Dare County (Speck 1916).

The Lumbee have long had disputed origins and the nature of Indian group displacement may indicate Weapemeoc Indians becoming integrated with Indians in swamp areas to the south that would later be known as the Lumbees. A study of maps from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries illustrates that what is now Robeson and Bladen Counties in North Carolina was largely uninhabited prior to Waccamaw Indians near the Great Green Swamp on Carey's map of 1814. The Seminole Indians that inhabited the swamps of northern Florida consisted of displaced Indian groups from Georgia and Alabama. This displacement to uninhabited and undesirable areas is a common theme among the Indians of the southeast in general. The displacement of the Weapemeoc from traditional shores and waters is a part of this larger picture.

### **Indian Island**

The second half of the eighteenth century saw the reformation of Indian groups in liminal lands to the south and to the north. Tuscarora Indians moved to the north. Various Indian groups were reforming in the south such as the Lumbee and the Seminoles. In North Carolina, Indian groups began to appear in regions previously designated as "swamp" lands. The further displacement of Indians into these liminal lands can be seen in the AOI, as a swampy area gains

the designation of Indian Island, a name that is retained today. This area now falls within the North River Game Land.

The map of 1780 recorded three families—Lurry, Mires, and Barefoot—living in Indian Island, a peninsula of the North River (Figure 41). Lurry and Barfoot both appeared in Jeffery’s map of 1776, although Lurry was slightly to the north of Indian Island while Barfoot was to the west (see Figure 38). This location is still designated as Indian Island today (Figure 42).

It is difficult to ascertain exactly why this area was designated as Indian Island in the nineteenth century, but does not appear to have been called Indian Island prior to this. There is some suggestion that the families living there were Indians or mulattos. Barefoot was a Lumbee surname tied to the Oxendine family (Britt 2007).

Hester Oggs (later took the name Dixon) was a slave woman who had children by John Oggs. Her daughter Prudence, after being invested with “an indefeasible right of inheritance” and manumitted, bought 50 acres near Indian Island (Minutes of the North Carolina House of Commons, November 02, 1789-December 22, 1789, DocSouth; Pugh 1957:62-64). Her son, Charles Oggs (also known as Charles Alley and Charles Dixon) appears as a free person of color in the 1790 census of Pasquotank County along with 4 persons in his household (1790 Federal Census of Currituck County). The Oggs family purchase of land near Indian Island may be indicative of mixing of marginal groups that was occurring throughout the south.

Snyder provides examples of African American inclusion in Indian groups. This often occurred through slavery, establishing kinship (via intermarriage) or adoption. Free blacks also often chose to reside within Indian communities (Snyder 2010:205).

Since the late eighteenth century, Indians had thought of themselves as a race of people separate from whites and blacks. As their economies changed and their polities became centralized, another affiliation became increasingly important to them: national citizenship. Community, once



Figure 41. 1780 Clinton, Indian Island detail (NCSA).



Figure 42. Indian Island on North River (Google Earth).

firmly grounded in kinship ties, was now defined by a more complex and exclusionary constellation of factors (Snyder 2010:208).

This was especially true in the south, where the dialogue increasingly became solely that of white and black, with mixed race people left without an identity. Through generations of adoptions and intermarriage, Indian groups in particular did not fit the white vs. black dialogue.

The 1790 Census offers some insight into the perception of people's status at the end of the eighteenth century. The persons within a household are divided into five sections, white males under 18, white males over 18, white females, "all other free persons", and slaves. 'All other free persons' indicated something 'other' than the categorically accepted white and slave. In documents from the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, "white" people were rarely distinguished by their color and are more commonly referred to as Europeans or Christians (Brickell 1737: 31). As Christianity spread among the slave and indigenous populations, this term was no longer useful to distinguish those of European descent and the use of the term "white" becomes more prevalent. Slaves were not necessarily distinguished solely by a color at this time (as they would in the nineteenth century)-it was essentially their status of being in bondage that distinguished them from others.

### **Yaupon Tea**

Yaupon tea derived from the Yaupon Holly, *Ilex vomitoria*, was quite popular for several centuries and seems to have been mainly harvested and manufactured by the Poteskeet Indians of the Albemarle region and the Corree Indians of the Pamlico region (Barfield 1995:33). Both groups hunted and gathered on the Outer Banks of North Carolina. According to Lawson, the Yaupon tree "grows chiefly on the Sand-Banks and Islands, bordering the Sea of Carolina; on this Coast it is plentifully found, and in no other Place that I know of." (Lawson 1967 [1709]:97).

Brickell paraphrased Lawson, calling it Yaupan, or Caffena, and stated that there are “none to be met with near the Freshes or heads of Rivers, that I ever could learn” but common along the coast. Brickell went on to describe the three types of Yaupon (Brickell 1737:87).

The Yaupon tree went unmentioned in Harriot’s list of native plants and historical geographer Geroge Dunbar suggested that it may not have been brought northward to North Carolina until the late seventeenth century. Dunbar did confirm that Yaupon “has always been very common on the Outer Banks, and the Banks have come to be identified with the drinking of Yaupon tea” (Dunbar 1959:13-14).

Charles M. Hudson suggested that the use of the term Yaupon, indicates Indian origins which corresponds with accounts from Outer Banks natives (need more; Hudson 1979:55). Lawson described the use of Yaupon tea as a diuretic (Lawson 1967 [1709]:229). He also recorded the Carolina Indians account of the discovery of the tea: a sick man, plagued with distempers and fevers, fell asleep and dreamed of being cured from a tea made of the tree he woke up at the foot of, a tree that wasn’t there when he fell asleep (Lawson 1967 [1709]:230). Yaupon tea was shipped to Philadelphia as late as 1840, possibly by Poteskeet descendents, before the Yaupon Holly forest was exhausted in the mid nineteenth century (Barfield 1995:33).

In Frank G. Speck’s 1919 ethnographic study of Dare and Hyde county residents, he recorded that Yaupon Holly was found in “large proportions”, indicating that the Yaupon Holly had revived between the mid nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. He also states that the tea is “conspicuous as a regular beverage, thought to have some beneficial medicinal qualities among the people of the locality” (Speck 1916:3).

## **Changing Maritime Shores**

The maritime culture of the Carolina coast in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries incorporated many aspects of European shipping and trade. The people of the region retained the unique blend of fishing and boating technology that developed from the acculturation of Indians, settlers and slaves of the Abemarle. An example of this blend of technologies can be seen in the periauger, a unique boat of the Chesapeake region that incorporates a single carved keel log (created in the same shape and manner as canoes) with additional wales added.

The most significant difference between traditional Weapemeoc maritime culture and the historic Coastal Carolina maritime culture were the resources. Rather than gathering and harvesting items solely for subsistence, items were gathered, harvested and processed for export. As early as 1590, Harriot discussed the value of pitch, tar, rosin and turpentine and cedar, “a fine timber” (Harriot 1972 [1590]:8-9). The value of these products did not decrease, and in 1821 the primary exports of North Carolina were pitch, tar, turpentine, lumber, Indian corn, and tobacco (Morse 1821:156). Strachey commented on the pines of the coastal region, describing them as infinite and can be used as yards and masts for large ships (Strachey 1849 [1612]:130).

In November 1777 a law to prohibit burning of woodlands is passed. This states that a person cannot burn land except their own and can only do so after giving notice to their neighbors. This legislation does not mention Indians specifically by name, whereas the laws from the first half of the eighteenth century frequently refer to specific Indian groups (Vaughan 1998:69). This law served to protect the valuable pitch, tar, turpentine and lumber resources of the region.

Indian corn and tobacco as exports are interesting to note as these are both originally Indian products. The tobacco used by the Indians was different than that grown by the settlers.

The settlers were using a variety originally from the West Indies. Indian corn was adopted by the settlers and, ironically, many of the Indian groups after the Tuscarora War requested Indian corn from the NC Governor's council to feed their people and as payment for their efforts during the war.

While small seines and weirs remained common in the northern Albemarle region through the nineteenth century, a few settlers attempted to broaden their catch through large seine fishing and through creating fisheries to process the catch for export. One of these settlers was Parson Earl who built the Bandon Plantation house in 1760 near what was once thought to be Waratan (31CO1) and on what was once Chowan reservation land (Cross 1986:2-3). Others followed Earl's example and fisheries were built throughout the region.

With there was an increase of exports, there was a particularly difficult obstacle to shipping these exports which had to be overcome. While the region had a great many waterways, few were suitable for larger vessels and this was a continuous problem for the inhabitants of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: "The banks of these rivers are rich and fertile, but not a single point has been found on the coast, within the limits of the state, at which a safe and commodious port could be established." (Morse 1821:155).

During the second half of the eighteenth century, Ocracoke Inlet was the inlet for all vessels sailing to Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds. This inlet did not have great depth and shifted dangerously, making it difficult for larger vessels to pass through safely. Cape Fear River had greater depth and a more secure passage and goods were commonly transported from these locations into the North Carolina sounds (Crittenden 1931:4-6).

Shipping in North Carolina consisted of vessels rarely over 300 registered tons. These were frequently schooners and sloops that traded along the Atlantic coast. Smaller vessels were

frequently used in trade to Virginia and Maryland. Brigs were the most commonly used vessel for voyages and trade to Europe or the West Indies. For the largest cargos, ships and snows between 80 and 200 tons frequently entered the port of North Carolina (Crittenden 1931:1-4).

The maritime industry remained small and localized for most of North Carolina's history. This makes for a rich personalized maritime heritage, but does not bring the economic wealth that ports with significant tonnage brought to other colonies. The hazardous inlet passages increased the cost of imports, and the exports were less likely to bring the same net as a crop from Virginia or South Carolina, because of the increased insurance needed for ships traveling to North Carolina (Crittenden 1931:8).

The need for a more direct route to Chesapeake Bay rather than risking the inlet runs would eventually lead to the creation of the Great Dismal Swamp Canal between 1793 and 1805. The creation of canals and other modifications to the maritime landscape were frequently the focus of infrastructure improvements in North Carolina during the first half of the nineteenth century. Jedidiah and Richard Morse, geographers, note:

It is intended to improve the navigation of the inlets and sounds, so as to open a direct and easy communication with the ocean; to remove the obstructions in the navigation of the principle rivers; to connect the rivers by navigable canals; to improve the roads; and to drain the marshes and swamps of the eastern and southern counties (Morse 1821:155).

A canal connecting Currituck Sound to Indian Ridge and then terminating at the head of the North River was originally proposed by Mr. Ferebee of Currituck County on November 23, 1786. An act to this effect was passed and the commissioners of the canal who were to carry out its construction and enforcement of tolls included: Thomas Young-Husbands, William Maund, Thomas Mercer Sr., Hillery Simmons, William Ferebee, James Dauge and Joseph Ferebe

(DocSouth, Minutes of the North Carolina House of Commons, The House Journal 1786:242; DocSouth, Acts of the North Carolina General Assembly 1786:871).

In spite of fewer vessels coming out of North Carolina than some of the neighboring colonies, “[s]hipyards were to be found, especially in the Albemarle” (Crittenden 1931:7). Shipbuilding in the region increased during the 1770s. Nathaniel Duckenfield and Thomas MacKnight both had large shipyards. Charles Crittenden, historian, stated that the “[s]hips built in North Carolina, most of which were made of the live oak that grew near the coast, were among the best constructed in America” (Crittenden 1931:8).

The Weapemeoc Indians and the European settlers both experienced acculturation during the seventeenth century. Beginning in the eighteenth century, the Weapemeoc Indians assimilated with the European settlers. Although this is partly by choice and partly by force, it was also part of a larger assimilation occurring in the United States. In the south, this resulted in the loss of individual Indian cultures into a more general reservation Indian culture which was then subsumed into a liminal not-white, or “other”, culture. Many Indians in Eastern North Carolina refused to assimilate into the bi-racially construed classes that were deemed acceptable during the nineteenth century. The Weapemeoc Indians may have assimilated prior to the formation of these liminal communities that refused to assimilate, but it is also entirely possible that Weapemeoc descendants moved and joined these liminal communities (such as the Haliwasaponi, Meherrin, or Lumbee), thus retaining an Indian identity although losing a Weapemeoc identity.

In maps the only visible remnant of the Weapemeoc that persists through the nineteenth century is the still clearly marked Indian Town where the Yeopim Reservation once existed and on some maps, Indian Ridge and Indian Island (Figure 43, Figure 44, and Figure 45).



Figure 43. 1804 Lewis detail.

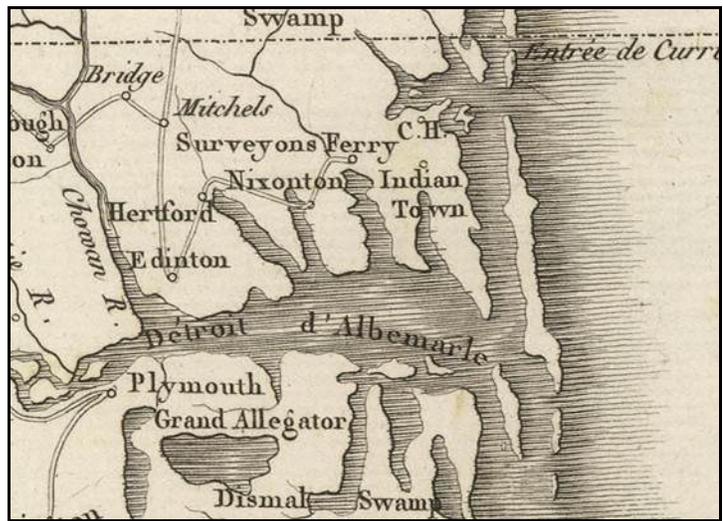


Figure 44. 1807 Marshall detail.



Figure 45. 1827 Tanner detail, note Indian Ridge.

## CHAPTER 6: HISTORIC PHASE ARCHAEOLOGY

The most obvious evidence of historical exchange between cultures is when an artifact with an absolute date is found in the context of an archaeological site outside of its culture of origin. Some artifacts with absolute dates include coins and any artifact with a makers mark. Additional evidence of Historic Phase material culture is the presence of glass or iron, as the Indians did not have the technology to produce these materials prior to European contact. If glass beads or worked glass are discovered amongst Colington Phase material culture, it is a good indicator that the feature is post contact. Tobacco pipes also reflect cultural change. Pipes of Europeans design and Indian design were an early exchange item for both Indians and Europeans.

Trade goods found among Indian habitation sites, burials, and midden are also a sign of exchange. As mentioned in Chapter Five, some of the most common trade goods included guns, powder, ammunition, tomahawks, beads and copper items. Later trade good included kettles, red and blue Duffield and Stroudwater cloth, and household goods.

### **Indian Town (31CM13)**

The first archaeological site believed to be Indian Town was recorded by William Haag. According to a local informant, about three hundred feet of sediment had been removed from the site. The potsherds that Haag located were found along the Indiantown Creek shoreline. Haag also mentions bones but does not distinguish between human and animal (Haag 1958:28).

In 1983, David Sutton Phelps and Peggy Phelps recorded burials and artifacts related to Indian Town. This was a survey conducted prior to sand mining of the area. Artifacts from the site included Colington Phase and Mount Pleasant Phase ceramics, over a thousand disk-shaped

shell beads, more than a dozen drill-edged shell beads, glass beads, Roanoke and Palmer points, and an incised pipe bowl fragment. Glass beads and pipes dated from 1662-1705 (Site Report, 31CM13, 1983, OSA).

The burials from excavations in 1984 revealed the extent of cultural exchange between Weapemeoc and European Settlers. Rather than ossuaries, burials consisted of both extended and flexed burials. Extended burial suggests an adoption of European Christian mortuary rituals. These burials also had accompanying grave goods, a practice unknown to the Carolina Algonquian groups. The grave goods consisted of both European and Indian material, including glass beads, shell beads, and copper ornaments. Copper staining was found on various skeletal materials (Phelps 1984b:16-18).

Ceramics on the site appeared to be similar to Colington Phase ceramics; however, the clay is poorly made which represents a loss of traditional knowledge. Several clay pipe fragments were found with the burials and one larger fragment was incised. Phelps addresses the importance of the site and also how it differs from the Chowanoke reservation:

The Indiantown site has information relating to culture change and acculturation of the Weapemeoc-Yeopim society from its traditional form to that of Colonial Society, and here we may be able to address the casual factors of social system collapse through population reduction (from disease, inadequate subsistence and other factors) [ . . . ] 'Indiantown ware', is still shell tempered in the Colington tradition, but the temper is poorly crushed and the clay has been insufficiently worked, producing a crude, contorted copy of the older Colington ware. (Phelps 1984b:17)

The general site of Indian Town is located at the mouth of Indiantown Creek, a tributary of North River (Figure 46). There is a high ridge of arable soil to the north of Indian Town. This site may have originally been a hunting or seasonal site that was repurposed for permanent settlement due to the arable land along Indian Ridge. This removal to an upper tributary would indicate a lessening of the "mainline communication" that Phelps describes as essential in

settlement patterns from the Late Woodland Period. It also suggests that arable land and access to roads became more important not just for settlers, but for Indians as well. Several roads crossed through Indian Town and several records mentioned in the previous chapter were concerning transportation through Indian Town via bridge and road.



**Figure 46. Field Survey (in red), Indian Town, 31CM13, Shiloh Quad, (Abbot 2012:3).**

Indian Town, site 31CM13 was revisited in 2012 as a result of mining activity. Lawrence Abbot of the Office of State Archaeology conducted a field survey of the site and found little additional evidence to that recorded by Phelps in 1983. No artifacts or sites were found during the visual inspection and test pit excavations. Because the site lacks integrity (due to archaeological salvage and mining activity), no further archaeological work was required for the surveyed area (Abbot 2012:26-30).

The lack of artifacts and sites supports the idea that Indian Town was actually located on the northern shore of Indiantown Creek (see Figure 40 and Figure 46). It is entirely possible that a burial area was on the southern shore of Indiantown Creek, with the majority of the “town” itself across the creek. Another aspect to consider is that Indian Town as it appears in the 1780 state archives map was settled by individual families who most likely farmed their plots. Extensive farming could lead to disturbed plow zones and removal of sediment over time, minimizing evidence of prior habitation.

### **Robert’s Wharf (31GA9)**

The Robert’s Wharf (31GA9) site dates to 1677-1750 when the land was used as the Chowanoke Reservation. As previously mentioned there are some fascinating parallels between the Chowanoke and the Weapemeoc; The division of land between the two groups prior to European settlements, the subsequent selling of land by the chiefs, and acculturation. Both Robert’s Wharf (31GA9) and Indian Town (31CM13) fall within the AOI and together these sites shed important information on Historic Indian reservations in Eastern North Carolina.

Among the ceramics recorded during the 1977-1978 survey by Phelps were several shell-tempered specimens typical of Late Woodland coastal groups. Phelps states that “[t]hese wares are typical of the Algonquian tribal distribution, and authenticate the Chowanoke occupation” and while these are typical of the Algonquian coastal groups, it assists little in distinguishing the Chowanoke from the Weapemeoc, if in fact there was cultural distinction during the Late Woodland Period (Matthis and Phelps 1978:28). The prevalence of shell-tempered over sand-tempered or grit-tempered ceramics also illustrates the range of the “coastal” region.

Later excavations in 1982 and 1983 revealed possible postmolds, along with Colington phase ceramics associated with Brunswick Burnished Colono-Indian ware. Seventeenth century

European style pipes and Cashie ware were also recovered. This illustrates trade with both Europeans and the Tuscarora to the west. The dating of this mixed material culture matches the Chowanoke reservation years (Phelps 1982:6).

This site offers some insight into the acculturation process. Phelps summarizes the importance of the site:

[T]he Colington and Reservation phase components which are of primary interest to this project, [are] particularly applicable to the goal of general knowledge and the type of culture change experienced by the Chowanoke from 1677 to 1750. Evidence indicates a continuation of traditional subsistence and material culture, with the addition of European Colonial materials (pipes, bells, ceramics) after 1677, and the Colonial Records are testimony to the Chowanoke's own desire to acculturate through Colonial education (Phelps 1984:14).

Refer to Chapter 5: Contact and Cultural Exchange for details of Colonial Records related to the Chowanoke.

Old Indian Fields (31CO5) and Bandon (31CO1) appear to be related sites with Old Indian Fields being the fields within or near the Chowan reservation.

The Bandon Site was frequently interpreted as Waratan from historic maps. Cross describes the problem with the placement of Waratan on maps over time, with the Theodor de Bry map of 1590 location near the modern Chowan Beach (Cross 1986:1-2). However, the Comberford map of 1657 suggests that Waratan is farther inland and the village of Catokinge was at the location of modern Chowan Beach (Cumming 1939; Williams 1896). However, White's map of 1585 suggests that neither Catokinge [Cautaking] or Waratan [Warowhini] are located at the present location of Chowan Beach, both instead located along the Yeopim River.

It is possible that the villages were relocated or that the village along the Chowan River was a seasonal site of the Weapemeoc. Although not impossible, it seems unlikely that the site would have been a seasonal site for the Chowanoke. The Chowan River was the established

boundary with Chowanokes to the west, and Weapemeoc to the east, and the White map of 1585 also suggests that Waratan was a Weapemeoc sub-group.

### **Bennet's Creek (31CO1, 31CO5)**

Bandon Site (31CO1) and Old Indian Fields Site (31CO5) along Bennet's Creek were traditionally seasonal sites, temporarily but regularly used for food procurement. The Chowanoke Reservation was located here in the eighteenth century. This forced displacement illustrates a lessening of maritime subsistence and communication in much the same way that Indian Town located on Indiantown Creek illustrates the same. The displacement from main rivers to tributary creeks seems to be common during the early eighteenth century. The development of land thoroughfares and roads in the mid-eighteenth century seems to have led to the next era of Indian displacement in the Albemarle Region, with lands even along these tributary creeks passing from Indians to settlers.

### **Edenton (31CO89, 31CO183, 31CO184, 31CO185)**

Phelps believed that the four Weapemeoc villages shown in White's 1585 map were located along Edenton Bay (Phelps 1977: 9). In his investigation of the area for the Edenton 201 Facilities Project he found little evidence of permanent habitation. It seems possible based on White's 1585 map, and future maps, that the cluster of Weapemeoc Villages was to the east of Edenton Bay along the Yawpim River. If Durant bought his land proximal to the main Weapemeoc holdings this would definitely be the logical location for these four Weapemeoc Villages. In addition, Edenton Bay does not appear on maps until 1733 and no significant habitation is shown in the locale of modern Edenton.

An isolated piece of Colono-Indian ware was discovered in cellar fill during an archaeological investigation of the Edenton Snuff and Tobacco Manufacture (31CO185; Foss et al. 1979:111) and several fragments of Colono-Indian ware were found in cellar fill at the Edenton Courthouse Square Project (31CO183; 31CO184; Garrow et al. 1978:58, 70-80). Colono-Indian ware only represented 0.2% of the total ceramic assemblage. However, as these artifacts were not *in situ*, the original site of production or use remains unknown. It is entirely possible that colono-Indian ware was brought into Edenton or manufactured in Edenton by any one of a number of ethnic groups.

The only site that suggests permanent habitation on Edenton Bay during the Late Woodland Period and into the Historic Phase is 31CO89 which has significant amounts of Colington Phase ceramics and a protohistoric/colono-Indian ceramic sherd (Haynes 1993:24, 30). Further investigation has not yet been conducted at this site.

### **Ashland Plantation (31PQ133)**

Excavation at Ashland Plantation (31PQ133) reveals that dietary patterns from the end of the eighteenth century had little seafood (McClintock 2006:246-247). The evidence of historic subsistence patterns at sites such as Ashland Plantation illustrates the decline in maritime subsistence among inhabitants of the region. These sites are not specifically indicative of Indian subsistence patterns during the Historic Phase. Seine fishing introduced by Joseph Skinner of Harvey's Neck briefly revived the fishing industry at the beginning of the nineteenth century; however during the nineteenth century seafood would only represent a small portion of the diet (Dunbar 1956:35; McClintock 2006:247). Far more important were pig, cattle, sheep and chicken.

### **Amity Site (31HY43)**

Just as the Lake Mattamuskeet canoes offer a keen insight into Late Woodland Period maritime culture, the Amity Site (31HY43)-also located near Lake Mattamuskeet-offers insight into acculturation during the Historic Phase. Excavation in 1985 and 1986 revealed the location (floorplan) of a longhouse and parts of several other buildings as well as a portion of palisade. Colington pottery fragments and pipe stems were found in postholes. Decorated rouletted terra cotta pipes, copper ornaments, lithic projectile points, as well as faunal and shellfish remains were found during excavations (Green 1987:29-30; Gardner 1990a:26-27).

The projected diameter of the palisade was only about fifty feet and could not contain more than a single longhouse (Gardner 1990a:33). It seems the palisade may not have been circular, as two longhouses were discovered, proving that the initial postholes produced a small oval shape rather than a large circular-as originally surmised by Gardner. The size of this small isolated village conclusively illustrated that the site, originally thought to be Pomeoic depicted by Harriot and White in 1585, was not Pomeoic. At best it was a fortified core of a dispersed village (see Figure 10). However, the site had great importance as a Historic Phase Indian site.

Nine white and blue glass seed beads were recovered. This assemblage appears to date from 1650-1675. Four projectile points of green glass were discovered, with edges worked. This glass was in common use between 1625 and 1675. Six kaolin pipe fragments were found, the diameters suggest a mid seventeenth century date. A gunflint was also discovered, although no other gun parts were found (Gardner 1990a:56-60).

### **Cape Creek Site (31DR1)**

The Cape Creek Site (31DR1) near Buxton, North Carolina is another site that while not within the Weapemeoc AOI, is of significance to understanding Historic Phase Indian sites of Carolina Algonquians. It is located along Hatteras Island (Outer Banks) at the head of Cape Creek. Clay pipe fragments, projectile points, faunal remains, English gun flint, glass bottle fragment, iron spikes, cooper farthings and a brass buckle fragment. The finding of these artifacts in association provides one of the best examples of settler and Indian interactions in the eastern North Carolina coastal region. There was also extensive shell midden. The site has been significantly reduced from erosion since first recorded by Porter and Harrington in 1938, followed by investigations by Haag in 1958 and Phelps in 1984 (North Carolina Archaeological Survey, 31DR1, OSA; Mintz et al. 2011:8-3).

One of these sites, 31CM8, has evidence of historic artifacts with some associated shell midden, but this area was inhabited by William Joy as early as 1698 (DocSouth, Minutes of the North Carolina Governor's Council, November 11, 1718). This may simply illustrate the settlers' subsistence on local maritime resources. The Ferry crossing of Joyce Creek (a tributary of Pasquotank River) was noted as Joy's Ferry on Moseley's map of 1733.

A cellar excavated at the Reid Site (31PK8) reveals a significant amount of oyster shell which may have come from a prehistoric shell midden or from historic settler refuse (Clauser 1985). It also illustrates the maritime subsistence of the region, consistent of both settlers and Indians. It also may indicate a common practice of using shell midden as cellar fill or wharf fill (ECU Maritime Studies Fall 2009 Field School, Publication pending).

A comparison of cellar fill as well as further investigation into Colono-Indian ware in Edenton (for example which Indian groups were residing in Edenton either as free men, servants,

or slaves) would prove beneficial. Further investigation of Indian habitation sites proximal to Edenton (such as 31CO89) would also further understanding of Historic Phase culture in the region.

When viewing the overall change in settlement patterns, it seems that Indian lands were consolidated even prior to the creation of reservations in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The most common settlement patterns during the early Historic Phase are dispersed village isolates. This was followed by the division of Indian lands and gradual but steady displacement of Indians through the buying and seating of land by the settlers (Figure 47).

### **Ethnography and Anthropology**

In addition to archaeological excavations there are a few ethnographers and anthropologists who studied Carolina Algonquian culture, some of whom include information regarding descendants of Weapemeoc, Meherrin and Chowanoke Indians.

Benjamin Smith Barton (1766-1815) was a member of the Society of the Antiquaries, the American Philosophical Society and a professor of natural history and botany at the University of Pennsylvania. Barton represents the transition from travel accounts and curio collection to linguistic study and ethnology. Barton wrote about the Algonquian groups of the Pamlico Sound and the Tuscarora group of North Carolina in 1798, both areas neighboring the present study area. His linguistic study includes the language of the “Pampticoughs” as recorded by John Lawson.

Peter Stephen Du Ponceau (1760-1844) was an ethnologist who conducted linguistic studies of Algonquian speaking groups. His description of Algonquian speech is quite thorough and eloquent: “The Algonkian group of Indians speak distinctly; they pronounce vowels openly and their syllables are accentuated. They have a strong and harsh accent; with emphasis on the

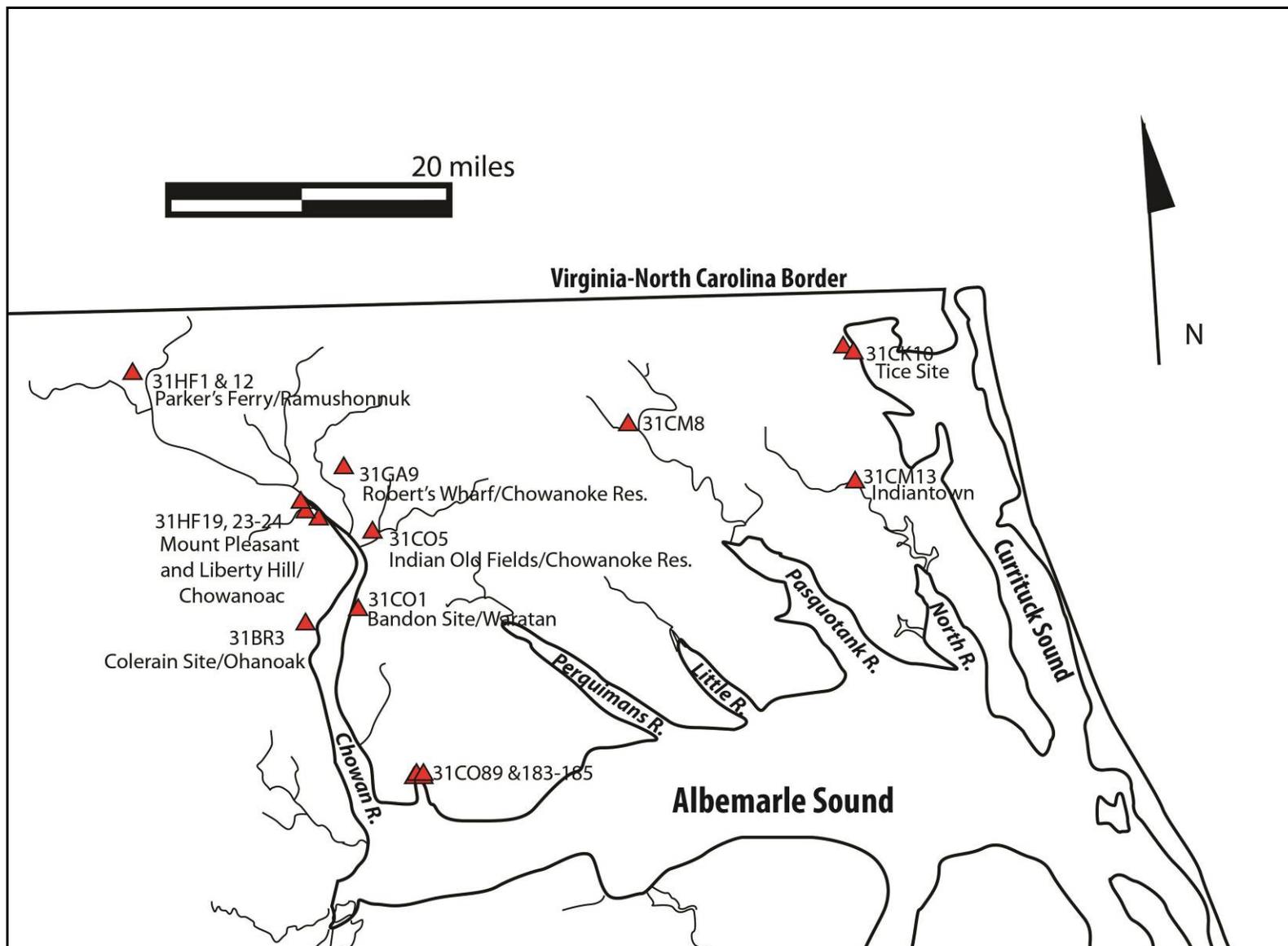


Figure 47. Recorded Historic Phase Sites.

**Table 3. Recorded Historic Phase Sites**

Site Name	Site #	Description	Investigator
Bandon Site	31CO1	Thought to be Waratan, excavation in 1962: Ceramics, bone and shell ornaments, animal teeth necklaces.	Wilson, 1977, local enthusiasts, Green 1987b, Cross 1986
Indian Old Fields	31CO5	Chowanoke Res. Fields	Wilson 1977
	31CO73	Protohistoric or colonial variant clay pipe	Green 1987b
	31CO89	Colington ceramics and Historic Phase Indian ceramics (silty paste thin direct rim sherd), permanent habitation site.	Haynes 1993
	31CO89	Historic Phase Indian ceramics (single silty paste thin direct rim sherd).	Haynes 1993
Edenton Courthouse	31CO183-184	Colono-Indian ware found in cellar fill	Garrow et al. 1978
Edenton Snuff and Tobacco	31CO185	Colono-Indian ware found in cellar fill	Foss et al. 1979
Colerain Site	31BR3	Shell midden, subsurface features. Thought to be Ohanoak (lost to dev.)	Various 1948
Robert's Wharf	31GA9	Chowanoke Reservation 1677-1750	Phelps 1978
Parker's Ferry	31HF1, 12	Trad. location Ramushonnuk, Meherrin historic artifacts	Binford 1964

Site Name	Site #	Description	Investigator
Mount Pleasant Complex	31HF19,23-24	Chowanoac, capital of Chowanoke, later a Meherrin village, includes Freeman site and Dogwood Landing site	Wilson 1977
Liberty Hill Complex	31HF28, 30	Just south of Mount Pleasant site and considered a continuation of Chowanoac	Wilson 1977
	31CM8	Colington projectile points, lithics along with Historic Phase clay pipe stems, bricks, porcelain ceramics, and associated shell midden. Likely a Late Woodland farmstead site, Historic farmstead.	Phelps and Widmer 1976
Indian Town	31CM13	Yeopim town 1662-1780	Phelps 1984
Tice Site	31CK10	Colington Phase material, Historic Phase material (lost to erosion)	Owner

long vowels, like in the Italian words *quando, quello*” (DuPonceau 1838:105). DuPonceau had a very different interpretation on the sound of the Algonquian language than the settlers of the early eighteenth century. He did not see it as harsh but “very wonderful, so that I cannot describe how it sounds and how they change their voice” (Hinke 1916b [1701-1702]:131).

Du Ponceau was born in France and moved to Philadelphia after the Revolutionary War. He became President of the American Philosophical Society in 1834. Du Ponceau is most famous for his linguistic studies. He was the first to recognize that Indian languages often utilized polysynthesis, which he defines as several ideas described in as few words as possible. He was also the first to determine that the Algonquian language does not have an equivalent to

the verbs “to have” or “to be” (Pratt 1971:151). This shapes the way the Algonquians saw themselves. It is much easier to take things from people who do not “have” things which may explain, in a limited way, the ease of gaining Indian lands.

Maurice A. Mook was an anthropologist/ethnologist of the twentieth century who studied the Carolina Algonquian groups. Mook was a professor of Anthropology at Lycoming College. His article “Algonkian Ethnohistory of the Carolina Sound” examines the Indian groups of Eastern North Carolina based on linguistic study and historical documents and he explicitly mentions that his classification is not based on race, which marks a change from the ethnographic studies of the nineteenth century (Mook 1944). He wrote another article, “A Newly Discovered Algonkian Tribe of North Carolina” in 1943 in which he determines that the Moratuc are an Algonquian group.

Frank G. Speck, of the University of Pennsylvania, was an expert on Algonquian culture and he conducted ethnographic studies of Indian groups in Eastern North Carolina. His papers archived at the American Philosophical Society include dozens of documents that relate to the Weapemeoc, in spite of Speck not finding any current descendents in Currituck or Camden Counties.

Both Speck and Garrow recorded families in Dare and Hyde counties that retained their Indian identity and were able to trace the heritage of these families to some of the Indians in historical documents and deeds. These families seem to have been descended from various Eastern North Carolina Indian groups.

William G. Haag makes a bold statement in 1956 claiming that there were no people living on the banks “that may be recognized as of Indian origin”. He goes on to dispute Speck’s claim: “It is difficult to understand and impossible to accept Speck’s statement that one hundred

surviving Indians were to be found on Roanoke Island in 1915” (Haag 1956:12). In spite of unflinching statements on ethnography in the area, he was an excellent and thorough archaeologist and recorded numerous sites in Coastal North Carolina along with distinguishing material culture types for pottery in the region.

Another ethnography that is essential is that of Weapemeoc descendants themselves. Their oral history and genealogy offers an emic view on the culture and remains an essential aspect of identity in many Woodland tribes that are not yet federally recognized.

## CHAPTER 7: INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

The shores of Albemarle and Currituck sounds have been inhabited for thousands of years because of the abundance of food resources available from ocean, estuary and river. The groups of people along the Currituck and Albemarle shorelines were called the Weapemeoc on early European maps. Significant cultural change occurred in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries for the Weapemeoc Indians and an Historic Phase appears in their cultural development.

The AOI contains diverse ecosystems. The variety of maritime resources available from these ecosystems is substantial (Appendix A: Edible Maritime Species by Environment). These maritime resources are divided into four specific ecosystems: Saltwater, Tidal Brackish Water, Tidal Freshwater, and Inland Riverine. The examination of different maritime resources illustrates the necessity of temporary procurement sites as some of the fish species travel to specific locations annually.

A result of the environment and site formation processes of the region is the extent of shoreline erosion. As an alluvial plain subject to flooding, the shorelines can be subject to significant erosion. Cypress and swamp forests prevent this erosion and are also frequently found in the region; however they are less common on the eastern banks that are subject to strong headwinds. The erosion has significantly influenced archaeological research and investigation within the region, leading to a significant number of salvage archaeology projects

Various types of maritime subsistence technology by the Weapemeoc included spear fishing (day and night), the use of different types of weirs and nets, and gathering of shellfish. The waterways were extensively used in transportation, both in temporary bark canoes and longer lasting wood canoes. Crossing these waterways allowed the Weapemeoc to trade, communicate and conquer other groups. Heads of waterways were often utilized as meeting

points. The shorelines served as the first contact and scene of cultural exchange with settlers. Many of these meetings first took place on the water itself. The Weapemeoc identity was tied to the water. As seen in the religious beliefs, water was feared and respected above almost all else, including fire.

The Historic Phase was one of cultural exchange and eventual assimilation. It is quite difficult to determine which groups referred to in historical texts and maps are in fact part of a group with a different name later in the historical record. The origins of the Weanock Indians are a great example. It is difficult to determine if these Indians are the same group, the Mangoake, mentioned by Lane in 1586 in the same area. The Weanoke River was also a subject of debate and research as it marked the border between North Carolina and Virginia, but it was unclear which river was used for this border marker, as the Weanoke River was the name of several creeks and rivers during the seventeenth century.

Archaeological investigation on Indian reservations, such as the Robert's Wharf site (Chowan Indians) and Indian Town site (Yeopim), also illustrate an interesting aspect of culture. These reservations are comprised of Indian groups that initially refused to assimilate. Many of these reservation Indians on the east coast would eventually assimilate, and disappear into the depths of the historical record. A closer examination of the artifacts might reveal specifically which portions of European culture were adopted and which were rejected. For example, European made gunlocks are frequent finds at these sites indicating that guns were accepted. The early historical records indicate that the Indian groups of Eastern North Carolina were awed and fearful of guns. Perhaps the early acquisition of guns by these groups was an attempt to gain the power of the Europeans.

Sites like Indian Town offer a view of a transition period and acculturation. By examining transition sites with evidence of acculturation, more can be learned about these lost peoples and it is possible that the material culture may hold a key for rediscovering them. A prevalent artifact in the archaeological record can indicate that the artifact was extremely common or that it was a significant part of the culture. It also indicates that the artifact was made of a hardier material which could survive the elements. In the case of Historic Phase material cultures, clay pipes for trading are frequent finds. The clay trading pipes that are prevalent at these sites have a deeper significance than simple bartering tools. It showed the importance of smoking as a form of cultural bonding between Indian groups, and between Indians and Europeans.

For example, the mortuary practices of the Algonquian Indian groups included extensive preparation of the remains and burial in ossuaries (group burials). When a burial site is found that contains only Indian material culture and yet the human remains are buried individually and in an extended supine position, this would indicate an adoption of some of the European mortuary practices. This is the case at the Indian Town site (31CM13) and these types of sites illustrate the exchange of ideas between two cultures and yet it still remains difficult to determine the significance of this exchange. Were the new mortuary practices adopted because it was more practical? Or does it signify an acceptance of the Christian religion and thus Christian burials?

The role of Indians and settlers in the exchange of culture has been interpreted in a variety of ways depending on the bias of the author and the purpose of the examination of Indian and settler interactions. Initially, settlers were attempting to carve out land and a settlement for themselves and saw Indians as hostile, but even from an early date, some of these settlers saw

that their own actions could and would be interpreted differently and that the Indians were victims of European intrusion. John Lawson was one of those men:

We reckon them Slaves in Comparison to us, and Intruders, as oft as they enter our Houses, or hunt near our Dwellings. But if we will admit Reason to be our Guide, she will inform us, that these Indians are the freest People in the World, and so far from being Intruders upon us, that we have abandon'd of our own Native Soil, to drive them out, and possess theirs [ . . . ] We trade with them, it's true, but to what End? [ . . . ] No, we have furnished them with the Vice of Drunkenness, which is the open Road to all others and daily cheat them in every thing we sell (Lawson 1967 [1709]:243-244).

Others interpreted the Indians as “less than” the settlers. Early historians of the antiquarian period saw the Indians as curiosities. In the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, there were attempts to document and photograph the Indians as a vanishing race. Indians persevered and by the 1960s and 1970s, there was a movement to revive traditional language and culture. Academia followed suit, with a greater focus on the Indian point of view, and what Americans did to the Indians. More recent interpretations moved to looking at the acculturation between cultures rather than glorifying or victimizing the cultures involved.

#### *Areas for future research*

With the publication of the Yeopim website in 2013 and a social media page, the first and most pressing area for future research is among Yeopim descendants themselves. A wealth of oral history may exist regarding the Yeopim that has yet to be included in academic writings.

Another area for (continued) research is the Eastern North Carolina Indian displacement to liminal lands. A careful examination of deeds and the selling of lands in the late eighteenth century and nineteenth century may provide valuable information regarding the formation of displaced groups into a singular group in liminal lands such as swampy and uninhabited areas.

Archaeological investigation could be conducted on the north shore of Indian Town Creek using the 1780 archives maps through the direct historical approach in determining the extent of Indian Town. The one Edenton Bay site that showed evidence of protohistoric ceramic sherds, 31CO89, could also potentially benefit from further archaeological investigation.

Another valuable archaeological investigation would be the completion of a statistical analysis of Weapemeoc maritime subsistence, similar to the statistical analysis completed by Binford regarding the Chowan, Powhatan, Tuscarora and Nottoway-Meherrin (Binford 1991). The majority of this data is available here. Unfortunately a statistical analysis of this data was not within the scope of this thesis.

Another interesting bit of information that may be connected to the Yeopim Indians is regarding the Indian Ridge Academy in Camden County. Indian Ridge Academy is reported to have been established in 1761 by William Ferebee Sr. (Mebane 1898). North Carolina Indians have long had a unique history in the development of Indian public schools distinct from the segregated white and black public schools common to the south in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is possible that Indian Ridge Academy is related to the Indian public school movement.

William Brenton Shaw matriculated from Indian Ridge Academy in June of 1861 and provided the name of one of the teachers at the academy, a Prof. J. T. Lassell (Couper 2005:181). This offers a starting point for research into Indian Ridge Academy. Although the Shaws were not of Weapemeoc descent, William Brenton married into the Ferebee family, who are of Weapemeoc descent.

There are a few brief references from the nineteenth century which would profit from further investigation. Pearce's *New Map-The State of North Carolina* of 1859 mentions the

landowner Hawkins and illustrates the Yeopim Indian Town. Rev. L. R. Ferebee in his slave reminiscences in 1849 records that his mother was said to have Indian blood (Ferebee 1882:6).

Pugh recorded that a Samuel Jarvis was killed by Yankees along the road to Indian Island during the Civil War (Pugh 1957:163). Jarvis was, and remains, a common Lumbee surname and Indian Island seems to have been inhabited by mulattoes during the nineteenth century. Pugh also mentioned the Battle of Indiantown Bridge during the Civil War (Pugh 1957:179-181). It is possible that destruction in the area may have resulted in families moving from the area.

### *Conclusion*

A review of the history and archaeology of the Weapemeoc reveals a distinct Historic Phase when they were known as the Yeopim and the Potoskite. This period is defined by displacement, acculturation and assimilation, both a cause and a result of the loss of maritime culture. The loss of maritime subsistence, maritime transportation, maritime communication, and maritime mentality led to the acculturation of Weapemeoc descendants of the eighteenth century and complete assimilation by the nineteenth century.

While there is a lack of evidence of maritime culture in the archaeological record of the Northern Albemarle region, there is a great deal of evidence in the detailed account by early explorers as well as the historic maps of the region. The maps are particularly useful in illustrating displacement from the Ocean shores (Outer Banks) to the Sound shores (Albemarle) and finally even from the River shores with the disappearance of the Potoskite village and the relegation of Indian Town to uninhabited swamp areas and creek shores.

Weapemeoc displacement is directly related to maritime cultural change. The diachronic examination of the Weapemeoc Indians provided in this thesis illustrates the importance of the loss of maritime culture in acculturation and assimilation. It is of greater importance than any

synchronic calamitous events (such as war or disease) among this particular group of Indians in the Southeastern United States.

## ARCHIVAL REFERENCES

North Carolina State Archives, Albemarle County, Miscellaneous Records, 1678-1737;

Microfilm.

North Carolina State Archives, English Records, British Public Record Office, Audit Office

Papers 1765-1790, Loyalist Claims, Thomas McKnight.

North Carolina State Archives, Nathaniel Batts Papers, 1655-1660.

University of North Carolina, Wilson Library, North Carolina Collections, Durant Family Bible,

Raleigh, North Carolina.

## MAP REFERENCES

Blaeu, William

1640 *Virginiae partis australis, et Floridae partis orientalis, interjacentiumq<sup>3</sup> regionum Nova Descriptio*. University of South Florida, Special Collections, Tampa, Florida.

Bowen, Emanuel D.

1747 *A New and Accurate Map of the Province of North and South Carolina, Georgia, etc.*  
North Carolina Maps, University of North Carolina.

Comberford, Nicholas

1657 *The south part of Virginia, now the north part of Carolina*. New York Public Library,  
Charting America: Maps from the Lawrence H. Slaughter Collection and Others,  
New York, New York.

Cowley, John and Edward Moseley

1737 *A New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina drawn from the Original of Colo. Mosely's*. This is a copy of an original map in the possession of Mike McNamara (167 W Landing, Williamsburg, VA). North Carolina State Archives,  
North Carolina Maps, University of North Carolina.

Bry, Theodore de

1590 *Americae pars, Nunc Virginia*. North Carolina Maps, University of North Carolina.

Hondius, Jodocus and Gerhard Mercator

1632 *Virginiae Item et Floridae America Provinciarum nova Descriptio*. North Carolina  
Maps, University of North Carolina.

Jefferys, Thomas

1776 *An Accurate Map Of North And South Carolina With Their Indian Frontiers, Shewing in a distinct manner all the Mountains, Rivers, Swamps, Marshes, Bays, Creeks, Harbours, Sandbanks and Soundings on the Coasts; with The Roads and Indian Paths; as well as The Boundary or Provincial Lines, The Several Townships and other divisions of the Land In Both The Provinces; the whole From Actual Surveys By Henry Mouzon And Others.* Sayer and Bennett, London. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

Lewis, Samuel and Benjamin Tanner

1804 *North Carolina.* John Conrad, Philadelphia. North Carolina Collection. North Carolina Maps, Univeristy of North Carolina. From Arrowsmith and Lewis' A new and elegant general atlas comprising all the new discoveries to the present time.

Marshall, John

1807 *Carte des Provinces Meridionales des Etats-Unis.* Dentu, Imprimeur-Libraire, Paris. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

Moseley, Edward

1733 *New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina.* East Carolina, North Carolina Maps Collection, call no. MC0017.

Ogilby, John

1671 *A new discription of Carolina by the order of the Lords Proprietors.* North Carolina Maps, Univeristy of North Carolina.

Popple, Henry

1733 *A Map of the British Empire in America with the French and Spanish Settlements adjacent thereto. by Henry Popple.* Willm. Henry Toms & R.W. Seale, London. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

Tanner, Henry S.

1825 *Map of North & South Carolina.* American Atlas. Published by H.S. Tanner, Philadelphia. Entered according to Act of Congress, 20th Day of August, 1823, by H.S. Tanner, of the State of Pennsylvania [1833]. David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

Clinton, Henry

1780 [*Parts of the modern Counties of Currituck, Camden and Pasquotank, NC*]. Based on Mouzon 1775 and DeCollett 1779. Photostat made from the original manuscript, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (Sir Henry Clinton Papers Collection. Clinton maps 293, catalog no. MAPS 6-H-5). Accessed at the North Carolina State Archives, M.C.154.1780c. Raleigh, North Carolina.

## REFERENCES

Abbott, Jr., Lawrence E.

2012 *An Archaeological Inspection of Site 31CM13: Camden County, North Carolina*.  
Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Abbott, Jr., Lawrence E., and Dolores A. Hall

2005a *Report of fieldwork, 31CK9*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

2005b *Report of fieldwork, 31CK129*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

2005c *Report of site inspection, 31CK9 (The Baum Site) and 31CK129*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Ambers, Janet, Joanna Russell, David Saunders, and Alice Rugheimer

2012 *Examination of patches on a map of the east coast of North America by John White ("La Virginea Pars"; 1906,0509.1.3)*. The British Museum, London, UK.

Anderson, David G.

2000a Paleindian Artefact Distributions: Evidence and implications. *Antiquity* 74:507-513.

Anderson, David G. and J. Christopher Gillam

2000b Paleindian Colonization of the Americas: Implications from an examination of physiography. *American Antiquity* 65(1): 43-66.

Anderson, David G. and Glen T. Hanson

1988 Early Archaic Settlement in the Southeastern United States: A case study from the Savannah River Valley. *American Antiquity* 53(2): 262-286.

Anderson, David G., Jerald Ledbetter, Lisa O'Steen, Daniel T. Elliott, Dennis Blanton, Glen T. Hanson, and Frankie Snow

1986 *Paleoindian and Early Archaic in the Lower Southeast: A view from Georgia*. Presented at Ocmulgee National Monument 50th Anniversary Conference, Macon, GA.

Axtell, James

1981 *The European and the Indian: Essays in the ethnohistory of Colonial North America*. Oxford University Press, New York.

1985 *The Invasion Within: The contest of cultures in Colonial North America*. Oxford University Press, New York.

2001 *Natives and Newcomers: The cultural origins of North America*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Baker and Hargrove

1982 *Archaeological Study of the Ferry Point Locality, Perquimans County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Barfield, Rodney

1995 *Seasoned by Salt: A historical album of the Outer Banks*. University of North Carolina Press, Durham, NC.

Barton, Benjamin Smith

1798 *New views of the origin of the tribes and nations of America*. Originally published in Philadelphia. Electronic document, <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY3802820343&srchtp=a&ste=14>, accessed 22 April 2010. *Sabin Americana*. Gale, Cengage Learning. East Carolina University.

Bellis, Vincent, Michael P. O'Connor, and Stanley R. Riggs

1975 *Estuarine Shoreline Erosion in the Albemarle-Pamlico Region of North Carolina*. University of North Carolina Sea Grant Publication.

Beverley, Robert

1855 [1705] *The History and Present State of Virginia, In Four Parts*. J.W. Randolph, Richmond, VA.

Binford, Lewis R.

1961 Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Investigation of Cultural Diversity and Progressive Development among Aboriginal Cultures of Coastal Virginia and North Carolina. Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Michigan.

1967 An Ethnohistory of the Nottoway, Meherrin and Weanock Indians of Southeastern Virginia. *Ethnohistory* 14 (3/4):103-218.

1991 *Cultural diversity among aboriginal cultures of coastal Virginia and North Carolina*. Garland, New York.

Bradley, Dawn M. and Susan E. Bamann

2009 *Archaeological Data Recovery at Site 31CK15, Nicholson's Point Development, Currituck County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Brickell, John

1737 *The Natural History of North Carolina; with an account of the trade, manners, and customs of the Christian and Indian inhabitants. Illustrated with a map, and copper-plates, etc.* Printed for the author, Dublin.

Britt, Morris F.

[2007] "Appendix T. List of Lumbee surnames with dates of appearance in the greater Lumbee Settlement (N=523 surnames) 1740-2007." Unpublished manuscript (appendix to a forthcoming book). Accessed: <http://linux.library.appstate.edu/lumbee/29/BRIT004.htm>

Byrd, William

1841 [1728-1736] *The Westover Manuscripts: Containing the history of the dividing line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina; A journey to the land of Eden; and a progress to the mines.* Edmund and Julian C. Ruffin, Petersburg.

1866 [1728-1729] *History of the Dividing Line and other Tracts.* Richmond, VA.

Caldwell, William S.

2001 *Hydrologic and Salinity Characteristics of Currituck Sound and Selected Tributaries in North Carolina and Virginia, 1998-99.* U.S. Geological Survey, Water-Resources Investigations Report 01-4097, Raleigh, NC.

<http://nc.water.usgs.gov/reports/wri014097/pdf/report.pdf>

Clauser, John W., Jr.

1985 *Site Inspection of the Reid Site, 31PK8, Nixonton Vicinity, Pasquotank County, North Carolina.* Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Couper, William (editor)

2005 *Biographical Sketches of the VMI Cadets who Fought in the Battle of New Market.* The Virginia Military Institute Museum and Mariner Publishing: Buena Vista, VA.

Cumming, W. P.

1939 The Earliest Permanent Settlement in Carolina. *The American Historical Review* 45(1):82-89.

Cumming, William P.

1966 Mapping of the Southeast: The first two centuries. *Southeastern Geographer* 6:3-19.

Crittenden, Charles Christopher

1931 Ships and Shipping in North Carolina: 1763-1789. *The North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. VIII(1-4):1-13. North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Cross, Jerry L.

1986 *Bandon, a Brief History of a Chowan County Plantation.* Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Dame, Richard, Meryll Alber, Dennis Allen, Michael Mallin, Clay Montague, Alan Lewitus, Alice Chalmers, Robert Gardner, Craig Gilmann, Bjorn Kjerfve, Jay Pinckney, and Ned Smith

2000 Estuaries of the South Atlantic Coast of North America: Their Geographical Signatures. *Estuaries* 23(6):793-819.

Davis, Thomas W., William H. Lowthert, Peter Godwin, Jennifer Tobey, W. Patrick Giglio, Martha R. Williams, Meril Dunn, Matthew Gill, Jesse Kulp, and Joshua Weller.

2000 *Phase I Archaeological Inventory Survey or Harvey Point Defense Testing Activity, Perquimans County, North Carolina.* Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Dolan, Robert and Kenton Bosserman

1972 Shoreline Erosion and the Lost Colony. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 62(3):424-426.

Dunbar, Gary S.

1956 *Historical Geography of the North Carolina Outer Banks*. Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, LA.

DuPonceau

1838 *Memoire sur le caractere grammatical des langues de l'amerique du nord*. Electronic document, <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY3801800498&srchtp=a&ste=14>, accessed 22 April 2010. *Sabin Americana*. Gale, Cengage Learning. East Carolina University.

Feeley, Stephen Dilbert

2007 *Tuscarora Trails: Indian migrations, war, and constructions of colonial frontiers*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, College of William and Mary, Virginia.

Ferebee, London R.

1882 *A Brief History of the Slave Life of Rev. L. R. Ferebee, and the Battles of Life, and Four Years of His Ministerial Life*. Edwards, Broughton & Co., Steam Printers, Publishers and Binders, Raleigh.

Ferguson, Leland

1980 Looking for the 'Afro' in Colono-Indian Pottery. *Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America: Afro-American and Asian American Culture History*. Baywood Publishing, New York.

Fesler, Garrett, Matthew Laird, and Karisa Jacobsen

2007 *A Phase I Culutral Resources Survey of 90.37 acres at Old Oaks at Belle Isle, Currituck County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Fesler, Garrett, Matthew Laird, and E. Clay Swindell

2008 *A Phase I Culutral Resources Survey of Approximately 80 acres located at Harvey Point Defense Testing Activity, Harvey Point, Perquimans County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Ford, Ben (editor)

2011 *The Archaeology of Maritime Landscapes*. Springer, New York.

Foss, Robert, Patrick H. Garrow and Silas D. Henry

1979 Archaeological Investigations of the Edenton Snuff and Tobacco Manufacture. *North Carolina Archaeological Council Publication No. 12*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Fowler, Henry.

1945 *A Study of the Fishes of the Southern Piedmont and Coastal Plain*. Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia (Monographs no. 7), Philadelphia.

Gardner, Paul S.

1990a *Excavations at the Amity Site: Final report of the Pomeiooc Project, 1984-1989*. Archaeological Research Report no. 7, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC.

1990b *Final Report, archaeological survey and testing of the proposed Black Rock Development, Bertie County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Garrow, Patrick H., Robert W. Foss and Silas D. Henry

1970 Archaeological Investigations, Edenton Courthouse Square Project, Edenton, North Carolina. *North Carolina Archaeological Council Publication No. 11*.

1975 *The Mattamuskeet Documents: A Study in Social History*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Gray, Nancy

1997 *Unearthing Clues to Lost Worlds: An archaeological dig on the Outer Banks of North Carolina reveals evidence of the Croatan Indians and possible links to the Lost Colony*. *The ECU Report* 28(2). East Carolina University, Greenville.

Green, Paul R.

1987a *The Archaeology of 31HY43, "Pomeiooc" 1985-1986 Field Seasons*.

1987b *The Archaeology of Arrowhead Beach, Chowan County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Grimes, J. Bryan

1912 *North Carolina Wills and Inventories*. Heritage Books, Inc., Westminster, Maryland.

Grob, Gerald N.

2002 *The Deadly Truth: A history of disease in America*. Presidents and Fellows of Harvard College, United States.

Gosser, Dennis

2007 *Archaeological Data Recovery of Site 31CK9 Proposed Currituck Crossing Subdivision, Currituck County, North Carolina (ER 06-2740)*. Coastal Carolina Research, Inc. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.

Haag, William G.

1958 The Archaeology of Coastal North Carolina. *Louisiana State University Coastal Studies Series* (2). Baton Rouge, LA.

Hakluyt, Richard.

1904 [1598-1600] *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques & discoveries of the English nation made by sea or over-land to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeeres*. J. MacLehose and Sons, Glasgow.

Hallowell, A. Irving

1949 The Size of Algonkian Hunting Territories: A function of ecological adjustment. *American Anthropologist* 51(1):35-45.

Halvorsen, Scott E.

2007 *Archaeological Survey Report, Replacement of Bridge No. 21 over Joyce Creek on NC 343, Camden County, North Carolina, TIP Project No. B-4451*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Harley, J.B.

1988 Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe. *Imago Mundi* 40:57-76.

Harrington, Jean Carl

1962 Search for the Cittie of Raleigh. *National Park Service Archaeological Research Series* (6). National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Washington D.C.

Harriot, Thomas

1972 [1590] *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*. Dover Publications, New York.

Hathaway, James Robert Bent

1900a *The North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register, Volume I*. Edenton, North Carolina.

1900b *The North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register, Volume II*. Edenton, North Carolina.

1900c *The North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register, Volume III*. Edenton, North Carolina.

Haynes, John H., Jr.

1993 *Archaeological Investigations at Edenton Bay, Report No. 2, Chowan County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Hill, Michael and Mark Wilde-Ramsing

1987 *Historical Documentation and Archaeological Reconnaissance of Salmon Creek in the Vicinity of the Batts-Duckfield-Capeheart Site, Bertie County*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Hinke, William J.

- 1916a Report of the Journey of Frances Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701-December 1, 1702. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24 (1):1-43.
- 1916b Report of the Journey of Frances Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701-December 1, 1702, Part II. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24 (2):113-141.
- 1916c Report of the Journey of Frances Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701-December 1, 1702, Part III. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24 (3):275-303.

Hodge, Frederick Webb (editor)

- 1912 *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico Part 2*. Washington Government Printing Office, Washington D.C.

Johnson, Frank Roy

- 1972a *The Algonquians: Indians of the part of the New World visited by the English, Vol. 1*. Johnson Publishing, Murfreesboro, NC.
- 1972b *The Algonquians: Indians of the part of the New World visited by the English, Vol. 2*. Johnson Publishing, Murfreesboro, NC.

Kelton, Paul

- 2004 Avoiding the Smallpox Spirits: Colonial epidemics and Southeastern Indian survival. *Ethnohistory* 51(1):45-71.

Kicza, John E.

- 2003 *Resilient Cultures: America's Native Peoples confront European Colonization, 1500-1800*. Prentice Hall, Upper Saddle River, NJ.

Killgrove, Kristina

- 2009 Rethinking Taxonomies: Skeletal variation on the North Carolina Coastal Plain. *Southeastern Archaeology* 28(1): 87-100.

Lautzenheiser, Loretta.

- 1985 *Limited Archaeological Testing of Church Island, placement of rip rap along SR 1142, Currituck County*. Submitted to North Carolina Office of State Archaeology. Raleigh, NC. Copies available at Coastal Carolina Research: Tarboro, NC.
- 1987 *Archaeological Testing of Site 31CK32, U.S. 158, Point Harbor, Currituck County*. North Carolina Department of Transportation, Raleigh, NC. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.
- 2007a *Archaeological data recovery of Site 31CK9 proposed Currituck County Crossing Subdivision, Currituck County, North Carolina*. Submitted to North Carolina Office of State Archaeology. Raleigh, NC. Copies available at Coastal Carolina Research: Tarboro, NC.
- 2007b *Archaeological evaluation of site 31CK129, proposed Currituck Crossing Subdivision, Currituck County, North Carolina*. Submitted to North Carolina Office of

State Archaeology. Raleigh, NC. Copies available at Coastal Carolina Research: Tarboro, NC.

Lautzenheiser, Loretta and Jennifer Stewart

2006 *Archaeological survey and limited testing, sites 31CK9 and 31CK129, Currituck County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Lautzenheiser, Loretta, Susan E. Bamann, and Dennis C. Gosser

2011 "Now you see it; Now you don't. Coastal Erosion and Coastal Cottages: Twenty years of Coastal Resource Management." *The Archaeology of North Carolina: Three Archaeological Symposia*. North Carolina Archaeological Council Publication Number 30.

Lawson, John

1967 [1709] *A New Voyage to Carolina*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

Lightfoot, Kent G.

1995 Culture Contact Studies: Redefining the relationship between Prehistoric and Historical Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 60 (2):199-217.

Loftfield, Thomas

1976 "A Briefe and True Report . . .": *An archaeological interpretation of the Southern North Carolina Coast*. The University of North Carolina, Ph.D. Anthropology.

Loftfield, Thomas and David C. Jones

1995 Late Woodland Architecture on the Coast of North Carolina: Structural meaning and environmental adaptation. *Southeastern Archaeology* 14(2):120-135.

Loren, Diana DiPaolo

2008 *In Contact: Bodies and spaces in the sixteenth- and seventeenth- Century Eastern Woodlands*. AltaMira Press, New York.

Magoon, Dane T.

1999 "Chesapeake" Pipes and Uncritical Assumptions: A view from Northeastern North Carolina. *North Carolina Archaeology* 48:107-126.

Mathis, Mark A.

1990 *Field Reconnaissance and Site Inspection Report for Willow Point Subdivision, Currituck County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Mathis, Mark A. and Jeffrey J. Crow (editors)

1983 *The Prehistory of North Carolina: An archaeological symposium*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Mathis, Mark A. and David S. Phelps

1978 *A Preliminary Cultural Resource Management Plan for Bennetts Creek, Gates County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

McClintock, Stacy and Timothy R. Sara

2006 *Archaeological Significance Evaluations of Four Sites (31PQ123, 31PQ127, 31PQ131, and 31PQ133) and Investigation of Harvey Cemetery, Defense Testing Activity Harvey point, Perquimans County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Mebane, Charles H.

1898 *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina for the Scholastic Years 1896-'97 and 1897-'98*. Guy V. Barnes, Printer to Council of State, Raleigh, NC.

Merrell, James H.

1989 *The Indians' New World: Cattawbas and their neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC.

Miller, Christopher L. and George R. Hamell

1986 A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural symbols and colonial trade. *The Journal of American History* 73 (2):311-328.

Mintz, John J., Thomas E. Beaman, Jr., and Paul J. Mohler

2011 "They in Respect of Troubling our Inhabiting and Planting, are not to be Feared": Archaeology and ethnohistory of native coastal populations before and after European Contact. *The Archaeology of North Carolina: Three Archaeological Symposia*. North Carolina Archaeological Council Publication Number 30.

Mook, Maurice A.

1943 A Newly Discovered Algonkian Tribe of North Carolina. *American Anthropologist* 45(4-1):635-637.

1944 Algonkian Ethnohistory of the Carolina Sound. *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 34 (6):181-196, 213-228.

Morton, Samuel G.

1839 *Crania Americana, or, A comparative view of the skulls of various aboriginal nations of North and South America: to which is prefixed an essay on the varieties of human species*. Electronic document, <http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/Sabin?af=RN&ae=CY3807947481&srchtp=a&ste=14>, accessed 22 April 2010. *Sabin Americana*. Gale, Cengage Learning. East Carolina University.

Morse, Jedidiah and Richard C. Morse (editors)

1821 *New Universal Gazetteer, or Geographical Dictionary: Containing a Description of the Various Countries, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Seas, Lakes, Rivers, Mountains, Capes &c. in the Known World*. Sherman Converse and Silas Andrus; New Haven and Hartford.

Murray, Tim (editor)

2004 *The Archaeology of Contact in Settler Societies*. Cambridge University Press, UK.

Naylor, Simon

2008 Historical Geography: Geographies and historiographies. *Progress in Human Geography* 32(2):265-274.

Noel-Hume, Ivor

1962 An Indian Ware of the Colonial Period. *Quarterly Bulletin, Archaeological Society of Virginia* 17(1).

Oberg, Michael Leroy

2008 *The Head in Edward Nugent's Hand: Roanoke's forgotten Indians*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Padgett, Thomas J.

1990 *Archaeological Study, US 17 Hertford Bypass, State Project 8.1120301, R-2208B, Perquimans County*. Planning and Research Branch, Division of Highways, North Carolina Department of Transportation. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

1992 *Archaeological Data Recovery, Wright Memorial Bridge, Currituck County, TIP No. R-2418A*. Planning and Research Branch, Division of Highways, North Carolina Department of Transportation. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Phelps, David Sutton.

1977 *Archaeological-Historical Study of the Edenton 201 Facilities Project*. Archaeology Laboratory, East Carolina University, Greenville. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

1980 *Archaeological Salvage of an Ossuary at the Baum Site*. Report on file, Archaeology Laboratory, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC.

1981a *The Archaeology of Colington Island*. *Archaeological Research Report* (3). Report on file, Archaeology Laboratory, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC.

1981b *Prehistoric and Historic Archaeological Survey of Merchants Millpond State Park, Gates County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

1982 *A Summary of Colington Phase Sites in the Tidewater Zone of North Carolina*. Report on file, Archaeology Laboratory, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC.

1983 "Archaeology of the North Carolina Coast and Coastal Plain: Problems and hypotheses". *The Prehistory of North Carolina: An Archaeological Symposium* (1-52). Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

1984a *Archaeology of the Tillett Site: The first fishing community at Wanchese, Roanoke Island*. Report on file, Archaeology Laboratory, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC.

1984b *Archaeology of the Native Americans: The Carolina Algonkians*. Report on file, Archaeology Laboratory, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC.

1989 *Ancient Pots and Dugout Canoes: Indian life as revealed by archaeology at Lake Phelps*. Report on file, Archaeology Laboratory, East Carolina University, Greenville, NC.

Phelps, David Sutton, H. Trawick Ward, Burton L. Purrington and Joffre L. Coe

1983 *The Prehistory of North Carolina: An archaeological symposium*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Phelps, David Sutton, and Randolph J. Widmar

1976 *An Archaeological Survey of the Joyce Creek Watershed, Camden County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Postlewaite, Matt and Scott Seibel

2008 *An Intensive Cultural Resource Investigation: Perquimans County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Powell, William Stevens

1994 *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*. The University of North Carolina Press, North Carolina.

Pugh, Jesse Forbes

1957 *Three Hundred Years Along the Pasquotank River: A biographical history of Camden County*. Seeman Printery Inc., Durham, NC.

Pratt, Peter P.

1971 Peter Du Ponceau's Contributions to Anthropology. *Ethnohistory* 18 (2): 147-158

Richter, Daniel K.

2001 *Facing East from Indian Country*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Riggs, Stanley

1996 Sediment Evolution and Habitat Function of Organic-Rich Muds within the Albemarle Estuarine System, North Carolina. *Estuaries* 19, 2a:169-185.

1978 *Estuarine shoreline types and erosion in the Albemarle Sound system*. N.C. Coastal Resources Commission, Joyner NC Broadsheds.

Riggs, Stanley and Dorothea V. Ames

2003 *Drowning the North Carolina Coast: Sea level rise and estuarine dynamics*. North Carolina Department of Environment and Natural Resources and North Carolina Sea Grant, Raleigh, NC.

Robinson, Kenneth W.

1993 *Archaeological Study Widening of N.C. 168 Barco to Virginia State line, Currituck County, North Carolina, TIP No. R-2228*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Rönnby, Johan

2007 Maritime Durées: Long-term structures in a coastal landscape. *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 2:65-82.

Rogers, Rhea J.

1989 *An Archaeological Reconnaissance of Selected Portions of Perquimans and Pasquotank Counties, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Russ, Terri

2006 *An Intensive Cultural Resource Investigation: Leigh Farm, Pasquotank County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Salley, Alexander S. Jr. (editor)

1911 *Narratives of Early Carolina: 1650-1708*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Shomette, Donald G.

1993 *A Sub-Surface Exploration of Lake Phelps*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Seibel, Scott, and Matt Postlewaite

2007 *An Intensive Cultural Resource Investigation: Riversound, Chowan County, North Carolina*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

Smith, John

1907 [1624] *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England & The Summer Isles: Together with the True Travels, Adventures and Observations, and A Sea Grammar*. James MacLehose and Sons: Glasgow, Scotland.

Smith, John and John M. Thompson (ed.)

2007 *The Journals of Captain John Smith*. National Geographic Society, Washington DC.

Snyder, Christina

2010 *Slavery in Indian Country: The changing face of captivity in early America*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA.

Speck, Frank G.

1916 Remnants of the Machapunga Indians of North Carolina. *American Anthropologist* 18: 271-276.

1924 The Ethnic Position of the Southeastern Algonkian. *American Anthropologist* 26:184-200.

- Steponaitis, Vincas P.  
1986 Prehistoric Archaeology in the Southeastern United States, 1970-1985. *Annual Reviews in Anthropology* 15:363-404.
- Stevenson, George, Jr.  
2009 Indian Reservations in North Carolina. *Carolina Comments* 57(1):26-31.
- Strachey, William  
1849 [1612] *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*. Hakluyt Society; London, England.
- Taylor, David A.  
1992 *Documenting Maritime Folklife: An Introductory Guide*. Library of Congress, Washington DC.
- Tippit, V. Ann  
1988 *An Archaeological Reconnaissance of Selected Portions of Gates, Camden, and Currituck Counties*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.
- Twidale, C.R.  
2004 River Patterns and Their Meaning. *Earth-Science Reviews* 67: 159-218
- Vaughan, Alden T (general editor) and W. Stitt Robinson (editor)  
2001 *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and laws, 1607-1789*. Volume XIII North and South Carolina Treaties, 1654-1756. University Publications of America, Bethesda, MD.
- Vaughan, Alden T (general editor) and W. Stitt Robinson (editor)  
2003 *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and laws, 1607-1789*. Volume XIV North and South Carolina Treaties, 1756-1775. University Publications of America, Bethesda, MD.
- Vaughan, Alden T (general editor) and Deborah A. Rosen (editor)  
1998 *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and laws, 1607-1789*. Volume XVI Carolina and Georgia Laws. University Publications of America, Bethesda, MD
- Ward, H. Trawick and R. P. Stephen Davis Jr.  
1999 *Time before History: The Archaeology of North Carolina*. The University of North Carolina Press.
- Westerdahl, Christer  
1992 The Maritime Cultural Landscape. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 21(1):5-14.
- Weeks, Stephen Beauregard

1896 *Southern Quakers and Slavery: A study in institutional history*. The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, MD.

Wheeler, John H.

1884 *Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina and Eminent North Carolinians*. Columbus Printing Works: Columbus, OH.

Williams, Talcott A

1896 *The Surroundings and Site of Raleigh's Colony*. Annual Report of the American Historical Association, pp. 47-61. Washington D.C. (Unlocated).

Wilson, Jack H., Jr.

1977 *A Summary of Archaeological Sites Along the Chowan River*. Report on file, Office of State Archaeology, Raleigh, NC.

APPENDIX A: EDIBLE MARITIME SPECIES BY ENVIRONMENT

**Table 4. Edible Saltwater Species**

<b>Fish</b>		
<b>Common Name</b>	<b>Scientific Name</b>	<b>Source and Date</b>
Angelfish	<i>Chaetodipterus faber</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709], Smith 1624
Black Drum	<i>Pogonias cromis</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Bluefish, Blue Snapper	<i>Pomatomus saltatrix</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Bonito	<i>Sarda sarda</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Breams	<i>Abramis brama</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709], Smith 1624
Casada	Unknown	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590]
Cavallies	<i>Caranx hippose</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Congar Eels	<i>Conger conger</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Croaker	<i>Micropogonias undulates</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Divel-Fish	<i>Manta birostris</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Dog-fish	<i>Mustelus canis</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709], Smith 1624
Eels	<i>Muraena bostoniensis</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709], Smith 1624
Fat-backs	<i>Mugil curema</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Flounder	<i>Paralichthys dentatus</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Green Guard-Fish	<i>Strongylura marina</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Green Sunfish	<i>Lepomis cyanellus</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Herring	<i>Pomolobus pseudo-harengus</i>	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590]; Lawson 1967 [1709]
Hickory Shad	<i>Alosa mediocris</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Lamprey Eels	<i>Petromyzon marinus</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Mullet	<i>Mugil cephalus</i>	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590]; Lawson 1967 [1709]
Oldwives	<i>Enoplosus armatus</i>	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590]
Oyster Toadfish	<i>Opsanus tau</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Plaice	<i>Paralichthys dentatus</i>	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590]; Lawson 1967 [1709]
Red Drum	<i>Sciaenops ocellatus</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Saltwater Trouts	<i>Cynoscion regalis</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]

Sea Tench	<i>Tautoga onitis</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Sheepshead	<i>Archosargus probatocephalus</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Skate	<i>Raja eglanteria</i>	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590]
Smelt	<i>Notropis hudsonius amarus</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Soles	<i>Achurus fasciatus</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Spanish Mackarel	<i>Scomberomorus maculatus</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Stingray	<i>Dasyatis say</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Striped Bass, Rockfish	<i>Morone saxatilis</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Sturgeon	<i>Acipenseridae</i>	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590]
Sword Fish	<i>Xiphias gladius</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Taylor's	<i>Pomatomus saltatrix</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Thornback (Skate)	<i>Raja eglanteria</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Thrasher	<i>Alopias</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Trout	<i>Oncorhynchus mykiss</i>	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590]
White Guard-Fish	<i>Lepisosteus osseus</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
<b>Mammals</b>		
Bottlenose Dolphins	<i>Tursiops</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Crampois	<i>Grampus griseus</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Porpoise	<i>Phocoenidae</i>	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590]; Lawson 1967 [1709]
Tortoise	<i>Testudinidae</i>	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590]
Whales	<i>Cetacea</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
<b>Mollusca</b>		
Mussels	<i>Mytilidae</i>	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590]
Periwinkle	<i>Littorina littorea</i>	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590]
Oyster	<i>Crassostrea virginica</i>	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590], Smith 1624
Scallop	<i>Pectinidae</i>	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590]
<b>Crustacea</b>		
Horseshoe Crab	<i>Limulidae</i>	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590]
Sea Crabs	<i>Chaceon quinque-dens</i>	Harriot 1972:20-21 [1590]

**Table 5. Edible Brackish Water Species**

<b>Fish</b>		
<b>Common Name</b>	<b>Scientific Name</b>	<b>Source and Date</b>
Alewife	<i>Alosa pseudoharengus</i>	Binford 1991, Smith 1624
American Shad	<i>Alosa sapidissima</i>	Binford 1991
Black Drum	<i>Pogonias cromis</i>	Binford 1991
Bluefish, Blue Snapper	<i>Pomatomus saltatrix</i>	Binford 1991
Butterfish	<i>Peprilius triacanthus</i>	Binford 1991
Croaker	<i>Micropogonias undulatus</i>	Binford 1991
Eel	<i>Anguilla rostrata</i>	Binford 1991
Flounder	<i>Paralichthys dentatus</i>	Binford 1991
Hogfish	<i>Orthopristis chrysotera</i>	Binford 1991, Smith 1624
Sea Mullet, Whiting	<i>Menticirrhus americanus</i>	Binford 1991
Spot	<i>Leiostomus xanthurus</i>	Binford 1991
Spotted Weakfish	<i>Cynoscion nebulosus</i>	Binford 1991
Sturgeon	<i>Acipenseridae</i>	Binford 1991
Weakfish, Gray Trout	<i>Cynoscion regalis</i>	Binford 1991, Smith 1624
White Perch	<i>Morone americana</i>	Binford 1991
<b>Crustacea</b>		
Oyster	<i>Ostrea Virginica</i>	Binford 1991
<b>Mollusca</b>		
Hardshell Clam	<i>Mercenaria mercenaria</i>	Binford 1991
Softshell Clam	<i>Mya arenaria</i>	Binford 1991
Saltwater Mussel	<i>Mytilus edulis</i>	Binford 1991
Scallops	<i>Pectinidae</i>	Binford 1991

**Table 6. Edible Freshwater Species**

<b>Fish</b>		
<b>Common Name</b>	<b>Scientific Name</b>	<b>Source and Date</b>

Bluegill	<i>Lepomis macrochirus</i>	Binford 1991
Bowfin	<i>Amia calva</i>	Binford 1991
Brown Bullhead	<i>Ictalurus nebulosus</i>	Binford 1991
Brown Perch	<i>Huro salmoides</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Carp	<i>Cyprinus carpio</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Chain Pickerel	<i>Esox niger</i>	Binford 1991
Dace	<i>Leuciscus leuciscus</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Fountain-Fish	<i>Micropterus</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Grindals	<i>Amia calva</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Gudgeon	<i>Hybognathus regius</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Hogchoker	<i>Trinectes maculatus</i>	Binford 1991
Hogsucker	<i>Hypentelium nigricans</i>	Binford 1991
Largemouth Bass	<i>Micropterus salmoides</i>	Binford 1991
Loaches	<i>Cypriniformes</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Longnosed Gar	<i>Lepisosteus osseus</i>	Binford 1991
Pike	<i>Esox niger</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Potomac Catfish	<i>Ictalurus furcatus</i>	Binford 1991
Pumpkinseed	<i>Lepomis gibbosus</i>	Binford 1991
Roach	<i>Notemigonus crysoleucas</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Sturgeon	<i>Acipenseridae</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Sucking-Fish	<i>Catostomus commersonii</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Trout	<i>Salvelinus fontinalis</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
Warmouth	<i>Chaenobryttus coronaries</i>	Binford 1991
White Catfish	<i>Ameiurus catus</i>	Binford 1991
White Perch	<i>Morone Americana</i>	Binford 1991
Yellow Bullhead	<i>Ameiurus natalis</i>	Binford 1991
Yellow Perch	<i>Perca flavescens</i>	Binford 1991
<b>Crustacea</b>		
Craw-Fish	<i>Cambaridae</i>	Lawson 1967 [1709]
<b>Mollusca</b>		
Freshwater Mussel	<i>Margaritifera margaritifera</i>	Binford 1991, Lawson 1967 [1709]

**Marine Mammals and Sea Turtles**

Common Mud Turtle	<i>Kinosternon subrubrum</i>	Binford 1991
Red-bellied Turtle	<i>Pseudemys rubriventris</i>	Binford 1991
Eastern Painted Turtle	<i>Chrysemys picta</i>	Binford 1991
Snapping Turtle	<i>Chelydra serpentine</i>	Binford 1991