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The Ethnic Position of the Southeastern Algonkian

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THE ETHNIC POSITION OF THE SOUTHEASTERN ALGONKIAN

BY FRANK G. SPECK

THE Algonkian culture area of the coast of eastern and southeastern Virginia and eastern North Carolina, which may be designated as the old Virginia tidewater area, was among the first to be invaded and described by English-speaking explorers in North America. Thomas Hariot, in a book of 1588-90, wrote the descriptions accompanying a series of sketches of native life, villages, and social customs drawn with remarkable accuracy by the artist, White, who accompanied Raleigh's expedition for the founding of the English colony on Roanoke Island. The region was then occupied by the most southerly extended Algonkian-speaking tribes, forming a group whose divisions lay in a contiguous territory from the Neuse river in North Carolina as far north as what is now the Virginia state line. Northward of this imaginary border, through the Chesapeake Bay region to Maryland, we have evidence of the same dialect spoken, but of a slightly altered economic and social framework. Gradually the entire area has come to be known as the southeastern Algonkian linguistic and culture group. The upper or Chesapeake portion, which was inhabited by tribes forming a confederacy under Powhatan, has acquired, among ethnologists, the appropriate designation of the Powhatan culture area. The southern division may be conveniently called the Carolina Algonkian area.

Since it has become generally shown in America that linguistic and culture boundaries do not coincide either in time or space, it is impossible to refer to the southeastern Algonkian culture type as having limits within the territory where Algonkian dialects have been located. For instance, on the southern and western borders of the area were tribes speaking Siouan languages, but we have no patterns of their ethnology adequate to aid us in determining whether they shared ethnic traits with the southeastern Algonkian or not. The same is true when we consider the

Iroquoian-speaking Meherrin, Mangoac, Nottaway and Tuscarora, who resided also on the southwestern fringe of the Algonkian strip. Were we to rely solely upon archaeological evidence, the widespread similarity of form, material, and function shown in stone and ceramic remains would indicate a culture unit over the area occupied by all the peoples just mentioned, and even farther south and west. We might then simply treat the tribes of the area under present discussion as an ethnic group without attempting to assign definite boundaries to it.

While the name and dialectic boundaries of this area have been well recognized, little has actually been done toward the classification of its cultural features and almost nothing along lines of comparison with related neighboring groups. This is especially true in respect to the determination of what influence may have been exerted upon it from the outside and on the other hand what effect its presence had upon neighboring groups. Toward this end an attempt may now be made, since a pressing need has come for brief culture summaries, like that of Kroeber's in a recent number of the *American Anthropologist*, covering the less known areas in order that they may be employed in comparative studies. Something in this direction has already been carefully attempted by Willoughby¹ and more sketchily by Mooney.² A more detailed study of the existing bands and a reconstruction of some topics of Powhatan ethnology has been completed by myself, which, combined with the essays just mentioned and the numerous older sources, have served as a basis for the résumé which follows. The real source contributions, however, to the ethnology of the southeastern Algonkian have come from the pens of the immortal Capt. John Smith, Wm. Strachey, and Robert Beverley, whose words, though written during colonial times, afford us not only a wealth of information concerning the country and people but specimens of the kind of interest in scientific description which throw credit upon the keenness and accuracy of early English authors who dealt with the new world.

¹ C. C. Willoughby, *The Virginia Indians in the 17th Century*, *American Anthropologist*, n. s. vol. 9, 1907.

² J. Mooney, *The Powhatan Confederacy Past and Present*, *ibid.*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1907.

The southeastern Algonkian constituted a single dialectic group so far as the meagre existing lexical material permits us to conclude. The archaeological remains from the region also indicate unity. Documentary economic, social, and religious ceremonial descriptions likewise show uniform development in those departments of culture, allowing, of course, for certain points of difference between the two subdivisions mentioned.

In respect to native government the sway of the life-long hereditary dynasty of Powhatan seems to have leveled what slight differences in local forms there might have existed before European contact. Our knowledge of the entire region then in almost every particular indicates a culture area which was extended from Albemarle sound to the Potomac river, between the Piedmont zone and salt water. Only a more specific consideration of some topics of social and religious life warrants the subdivision into the Powhatan and North Carolina sub-groups, previously referred to. This statement bounds the ethnic horizon sufficiently for one to proceed to a first attempt at a summary of the tribes and characteristics of the southeastern Algonkian group.

Smith, Strachey, Beverley and some others whose accounts agree in most particulars, state that there were in the neighborhood of twenty-six to thirty-two smaller tribes in the confederacy which developed under Powhatan in the early 17th century. From the various authorities of the time, but based chiefly upon John Smith's narrative, Mr. Mooney and myself planned the chart (Figure 10) which pretends to assign the general location of these units to something like their proper places. In view of the fullness of the descriptions left us it was not so difficult to do, so it seemed more advantageous to provide in charted form an outline of the location of the tribes, than to refrain wholly from the undertaking on account of some doubtful elements of information.

The tribal subdivisions of the area were numerous. In the following list we may follow the enumeration of Smith for the bands of the northern or Powhatan group. The bands of the southern or Carolina group are best known from Hariot and Lawson from whose pages Mooney and Swanton have assigned their locations.

I. POWHATAN GROUP.

<i>Tribes</i> ³	<i>Location and Chief Towns</i>
Tauxenent	About Gen. Washington, i.e. Mt. Vernon, Va.
Patowomeke (Potomac)	Potomac Creek.
Cuttatawoman	About Lamb Creek on Rappahannock River.
Pissasec	Above Leedstown on Rappahannock River.
Onaumanient (Onawmanient)	Nomony River.
Rappahanock	Rappahannock River, Richmond Co.
Moraughtacund	Moratice River.
Secacaonie (Secacawoni)	Coan River.
Wighcocomico (Wicomoco)	Wococomico River.
Cuttatawoman	Cowtoman River.
Nantaughtacund	Port Tobacco on Rappahannock River.
Mattapoment (Mattaponi)	Mattaponi River.
Pamunkie (Pamunkey)	Romuncock, King William Co.
Werowócomico	About Roscow's (?), Gloucester—about opposite mouth of Queen Creek.
Payankatonk (Payankatank)	Turk's Ferry Piankatank River.
Youghtanund	Pamunkey River.
Chickahominie (Chickahominy)	Orapaks Chickahominy River.
Powatan	Powhatan James Falls at Richmond.
Arrohatoc	Arrohatocs, Henrico Co.
Kecoughtan	Roscows, Elizabeth City Co.
Appamatoc	Bermuda Hundred, Chesterfield Co.
Quiocohanoc	About Upper Chipoak Creek, Surrey Co.
Warrasqueak (Warrasqueoc)	Warrasqueak, Isle of Wight Co.
Nansamond	About Chuckatuck, Nansemond Co.
Chesapeak	About Lynnhaven River, Princess Anne Co.
Accomack (Accomac)	About Cheriton (Cherrystone Inlet), Northampton Co.

II. CAROLINA GROUP.⁴

<i>Tribes</i>	<i>Location and Chief Towns</i>
Weapemeoc (Yeopim)	North of Albemarle sound, west to Edenton.

³ Mooney information, 1920. He retained the English plural (s) in his original notes, but this I have omitted for philological reasons.

⁴ Regarding the identity of some of these there is doubt. For example Mooney in the Handbook of the American Indians entered the Neuse as probably an Iroquoian tribe, but subsequently followed Swanton in accepting an Algonkian conviction. That the Chowan may have been a branch of the wide-spread Shawnee seems to have been overlooked by ethnologists yet it is possible on the basis of name and location.

Chowan (Chowanoc)	Eastern bank of Chowan river.
Secotan	Between Albemarle sound and Pamlico river.
Mattamuskeet (Machapunga, Hatteras (?))	Islands back of Hatteras.
Hatteras	Islands about Cape Hatteras.
Pamlico (Pamticough)	Pamlico river and estuary of Neuse river.
Pomouik (Pamawaioe)	Bear river. (Possibly identical with Pamlico).
Neuse (Neusiok)	South of Neuse estuary.
Pasquotank	
Poteskeet	North of Albemarle sound, probably
Perquiman	divisions of the Weapemeoc.

A word as to population. Mooney after a careful survey of records estimated the Powhatan group to have contained about 8500 souls, or about one inhabitant to the square mile of habitat. For the Carolina group we have only one attempt at estimation and then practically no basis for its correction. An author, of unknown identity,⁵ writing in London 1850, estimated the Virginia territory south of Cape Henry to contain 30,000 natives, which would of course be something of an overestimate for even so fertile and populous a region. A survey of the present Indian descendants of the whole southeastern Algonkian group still shows the persistence of the native population to the approximate number of something over 2000.⁶

Roughly outlined, the culture area, from the point of view of archaeology and recorded ethnology, embraced that portion of eastern Virginia south of the Potomac river through North Caro-

⁵ Peter Force Tracts, Vol. III, No. XI, London, 1650, signed by E. W.

⁶ From manuscript prepared on this topic it appears that the following mixed tribal groups exist in the same general locations where their ancestors lived. These places are indicated on the chart by triangles enclosed in circles; Pamunkey 300+, Mattaponi 75, Upper Mattaponi 75, Chickahominy 400+, Rappahannock 500, Nansamund 200+, Wicomoco (?) 300 (?), Potomac 150, Hanover Co. (Powhatan) 15+ (?), Werowocomoco 100+, total 2115+. In North Carolina there are a number of uninvestigated remnant bands of mixed Indians. For example the Machapunga are represented by about 100 survivors on Roanoke Island. Some of these bands are organized with incorporated charters, others are still tribal Indians on state reservations; the Pamunkey and Mattaponi. The Rappahannock, Chickahominy, Nansamund, Nanticoke and Upper Mattaponi succeeded in reorganizing the "Powhatan Confederacy" in 1923, in an attempt to hold together the various bands in the region as a body. The idea of racial segregation and reconstruction is growing among them and will probably develop into an advantageous local social movement.

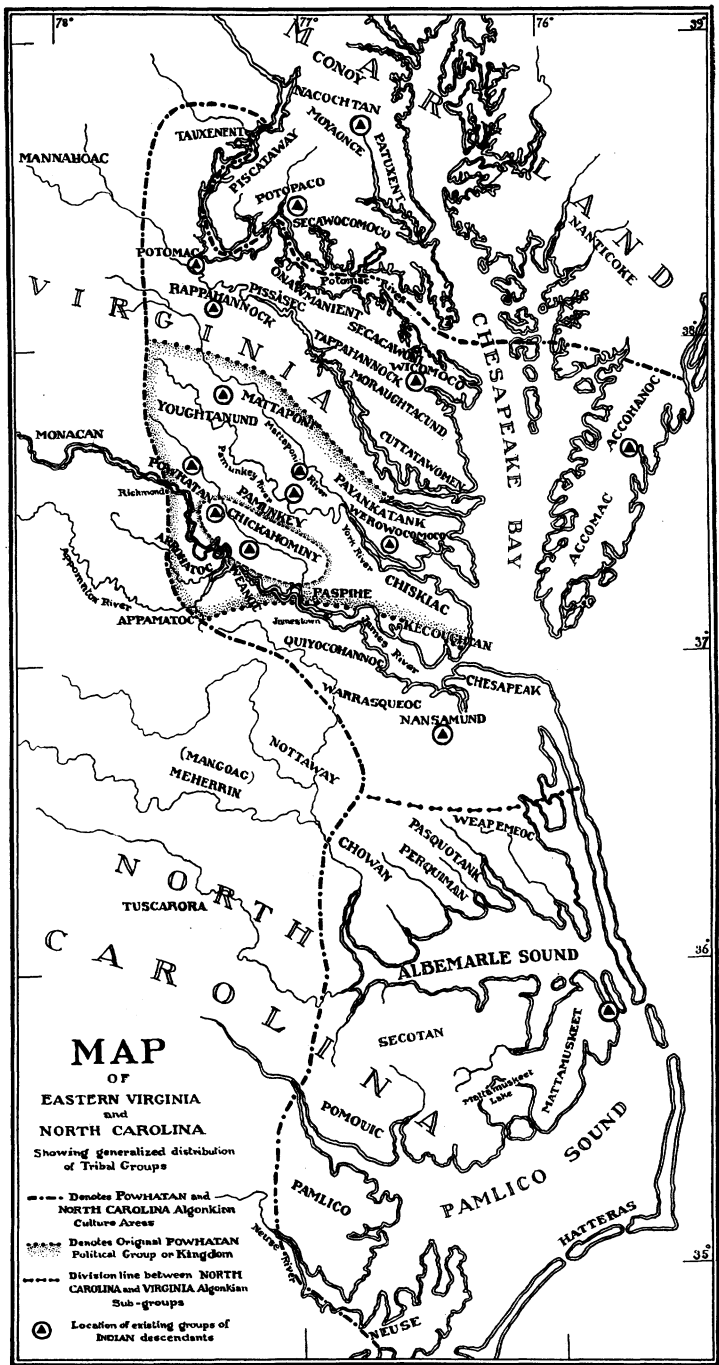


Fig. 1.

lina to the Neuse river; all the territory lying east of the Piedmont, or the fall line, running irregularly from Washington through Fredericksburg, Richmond, Petersburg and so southward. Approximately speaking, on each of the great tidal rivers this western girdle of the area was only a little above the tide line. The southeastern Algonkian definitely possessed a culture adapted to the tidal stretches of the coastal plain. They exhibit well an illustration of Dr. Wissler's theory of altitudinal habitat, having of all the Algonkian peoples the most extensively unelevated habitat. The determining factor was their aptitude for fishing. The same culture no doubt marked the tribes of the North Carolina coast below Pamlico Sound, though this will have to be more definitely ascertained by ethnologists because south of the Neuse river the Algonkian sequence is continued by Siouan groups about whom very little is known at present. On the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay along the Accomac peninsula dwelt the Accomac and Accohanoc, included also under Powhatan rule, as far north as the Maryland line. Yet the Powhatan culture circle cannot accurately be said as yet to have extended over them although John Smith left us the definite statement that the Accomac spoke the language of Powhatan and acknowledged his dominion. If subsequent archaeological research establishes a relationship here closer to the Powhatan than to the Nanticoke above them, it may mean that the Accohanoc or Accomac did not migrate into the lower peninsula from its northern base, but that they crossed Chesapeake Bay moving eastward, tracing their expansion directly from the Powhatan units with whom they remained in touch.

Up to this point we have considered the boundary features of the culture group which became so well known as the Virginia or Powhatan Confederacy. Evidently the surmises of ethnology that the Powhatan group bore close resemblance to the Conoy and Nanticoke, are reasonable. And going even further the culture connection is extendable in larger terms to the Delaware.⁷ Among the earmarks of unity over the whole territory

⁷ M. R. Harrington's summary of Delaware ethnology has been used in this connection, *American Anthropologist*, vol. xv, no. 2, (1913) and *Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape*, Indian Notes and Monographs, Museum of the American Indian, N. Y. (1921).

just noted, were the practices of cleaning the bones of the bodies of chiefs, and preserving their bodies or bones in houses consecrated to the purpose,⁸ the burial ossuaries, the cranial deformation, idol ceremonies directed to supernatural beings called *okee*, the new fire rite, the scratching rite and the emetic at harvest time in southern Virginia and North Carolina, a priesthood-shaman order, the members called *quiocos*, and the quasi-monarchical form of government; also many technical and industrial traits, showing forth in architecture, ceramics, basketry, clay pipes, the feather work, and prominently in the elements and utensils of maize, tobacco, and bean cultivation. Relationship confronts us as a likelihood in other fields of activity such as warfare, fishing and hunting.

For instance, the relative shortness of the hunting season, in contrast with intensity of agriculture, the deer-drive and the practice of using fire in driving game, the communal village hunt, in general all savor of the Gulf culture area. Certain fishing practices do also; the use of the basket trap, killing fish by poisoning the streams with vegetable juices, and shooting fish with an arrow tied to a line, all being customs attributed to the Virginia tribes in the past, as well as to the Creek and the Siouan populations of the Carolinas.

To the foregoing summary of Powhatan culture traits may be added some more whose far southern affinities are suggestively shown forth. These, to be sure, cannot be classified dogmatically until tests have been carried farther. A very useful résumé of Virginia ethnology, based upon seventeenth century sources, is given by Willoughby in the article previously mentioned, in which he considered a number of Virginia religious institutions to have been "adopted from the southern Indians."⁹ We may add that a similar

⁸ The custom of bone cleaning and the bone-house burial—the latter even under the same name as in Virginia (Nanticoke, *awacason*, *chiocason*; Virginia *quiyough-cosughes*.)—recorded of the Nanticoke of Choptank river (D. G. Brinton, *A Vocabulary of the Nanticoke Dialect*, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. XXXI, 1893, p. 327), was gradually working its way northward and was adopted in historical times by the Delaware of the "Wolf Clan" and recognized by them as of Nanticoke derivation (M. R. Harrington, *Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape*, Museum of the American Indian, *Indian Notes and Monographs*, p. 183, 1921).

⁹ Willoughby, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

inference may be drawn from the occurrence of such characteristics in Virginia as the pot-drum used in dances; that is a drum consisting of an earthen pot containing some water and covered with a piece of stretched hide, the "roached" hair fashion affected by men, the dressing of the hair among priests by shaving off all in front except a visor-like ridge across the forehead, the use of body decoration in the form of feathers stuck onto the skin after it had been coated with a sticky oil, wearing on the person the dried head of an enemy, the weaving of feather mantles, one-piece garments of the "poncho" type, the absence of tailored garments, the moccasin of one piece of leather gathered together in one long seam reaching from the toe up the instep, the "reed" or bamboo knife, the cone-shaped metal arrowhead of historic times, the "sword" or club with small pieces of stone set like teeth along both edges, all remind the ethnologist of certain well-known far southern culture traits.¹⁰

Agriculture was certainly fundamental, four varieties of corn, tobacco, beans, squashes, gourds, potatoes, which latter may indeed have been correctly artichokes, grass nuts, and possibly *yucca filamentosa*, being the crops. The associated arts of a sedentary life, pottery, clay pipes, splint and grass basketry, as has been previously shown, were well developed.

At this point it may be noted how few things there are of an older northern Algonkian pattern to be found in the early descrip-

¹⁰ These articles of industry are mentioned in the article by Willoughby previously referred to in which he fully cites references in Smith, Strachey, and Beverley, to the early documents describing them. His article is indispensable as a summary, so it hardly seems necessary to document the above-mentioned facts. I might add a few additional references to Willoughby's citations. For the body decorations of feathers Beverley (*History of Virginia 1722*, p. 149) says "to make themselves appear yet more ugly and frightful they strew feathers, down, or the hair of beasts upon the paint while it is still moist and capable of making these light substances stick fast on." The knives of cane are described by Smith (Tyler edition, N. Y. (1907), p. 102) and the stone-edged "swords" by Smith (*op. cit.* p. 102), and Lord Percy (*Narratives of Early Virginia*, Tyler Edition, *ibid.*, p. 14). The one-piece moccasin of the southeastern type was seen by Beverley (*op. cit.* p. 128), "the skin being drawn together like a purse, on top of the foot and tied around the ankle." The stone-edged (microlith(?)) club has been found by Clarence B. Moore in Florida, and something similar is also known in Eskimo ethnology. Its relationship in Virginia is, however, more probably with the southern article.

tions of Virginia. But the knife with blades of beaver teeth, woven rabbit-skin robes, the use of the head-skin of the deer as a decoy in stalking, and the subdivided individual hunting territories may be of this derivation, though most of them are widespread in America and therefore possibly old and general properties of the continent. The absence of the conical pointed wigwam of the northern Algonkian and Great Plains area points also to southern architectural influence in Virginia.

Such correspondences, with the south, would seem to provide reason for making a conclusion, in fact the main one arrived at after going over the contents of the Powhatan culture area, namely that we have a migrant Algonkian group transformed extensively by contact with the Gulf or Southeastern area.

In the North Carolina sub-group we have strong indications, from the illustrations of White, of what is evidently Muskogian influence in the ceremony of the corn harvest (the "busk" of the Creek), with its ceremonial adjuncts, the emetic or "black drink," the scratching rite and other details. Except that in White's pictures the people of Secotan are seated in a circle instead of in the "square" ground of the southeastern tribes, we might imagine the procedure to be a Muskogian one. Other ceremonial and religious rites of special significance are the burial customs, bone burial, cleaning the bones of important persons, the mortuary house or temple, and the like.

The social unit of the area is impossible to determine. We have no direct information bearing on the question. Smith's observation on the maternal descent of Powhatan's dynasty is suggestive but not conclusive. Chieftaincy descent may have been at times maternal in the same group where the common people may either have had no sib or have had an economic social determination; for instance, the hunting territory institution like the Delaware as was recently shown by MacLeod, (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 24, No. 4, 1922). It may be regarded as a likelihood that the Powhatan group had an organization of a similar nature, since the hunting territory basis is common to both.

If one were induced to point out what special preferential relationships in culture, if any, showed forth in this region it

would undoubtedly be the features of religious and political autocracy, which latter had assumed under Powhatan the form of a true Algonkian dynasty. Both developments appeal to the culture type of Siouan peoples in the Carolinas and farther south, where hierarchic and royal privilege were so impressive as culture traits that they seem quite unlike the usual thing in native North American government.

All native mythology is now gone, and none was placed on record by the Virginia adventurers. Even though a fairly large body of folk-lore and superstition remains among the Indian descendants, there is nothing ethnically distinctive about it. Animal tales and some personal narratives of European and negro extraction, locally adapted to the condition of recent Indian life in the region, are all that we now have to represent the oral tradition of this area.

There is little archaeological differentiation from the other parts of the middle Atlantic coast, though ceramic texture and form are relatively crude. Pottery vessels had generally pointed bottoms, without flaring or shouldered rims, and the clay substance abundantly provided with pebbles and mussel shell material. The shell heaps along the coast and river shores, where aboriginal mollusk-curing operations were conducted, are numerous but shallow. This does not indicate great age. The occurrence of clay smoking-pipe fragments among the usual pottery forms extending from top to bottom of the shell deposits furnishes evidence that tobacco culture was present among native industries at the first migration. No stratification or superimposed levels are indicated. For the most part the layer of refuse and the deposits containing the residue of human industry are not much more than 10 to 16 inches below the surface. The shells of clams and oysters, black loam, potsherds and stone artifacts rest upon the undisturbed yellow sand or ocean mud bottom of Tertiary deposition. In view of the apparent lateness of human occupation through the thinness of the deposit layer we have the testimony of a tradition recited to Strachey by Powhatan that the Powhatan peoples had been in Virginia only about three centuries. It may not be held as a strictly valid inference

by many at present, but despite the evidences of a cruder stone age, (slate, quartzite and argillaceous material) intermingled with a finer age of industry everywhere present in the tidewater region, neither is deep nor characterized by special types or separate levels. Even the slate and soapstone implements, which incidentally have been accepted by Parker,¹¹ and for a while by Skinner, when occurring in New York state, as suggestive of an Eskimo industry, lose much force in view of their appearing on the surface of eastern Virginia and North Carolina associated with similar forms of implements, arrowpoints, scrapers, knives, and spear-heads made of quartz, quartzite, chert, jasper-like flint, and flint, which are considered as materials of a later period. Would anyone think seriously of making out a case for Eskimo occupation upon the basis of these occurrences as far southward, over unglaciated country, as Virginia and North Carolina? The archaeological content of the Powhatan area, along the Chesapeake, can not be differentiated from that of the Virginia and Carolina highland section and the Delaware region. Similar hard stone material and forms are discovered over the whole Atlantic section from the Alleghanies to the sea, from the Carolinas northward through southern New England, except for the intrusion of Iroquoian ceramic patterns and the polished celt at certain points especially in New England. Here in the southeast, however, at the very doors of a southern Iroquoian habitat (Meherrin, Tuscarora) we find the Powhatan industries to have kept remarkably free from borrowing. This is certainly true of pottery and pipe forms. Virginia Algonkian ceramics are in brief in close resemblance to what in New York and New England has been described by northern archaeologists (Willoughby, Moorehead, Skinner and Parker) as archaic Algonkian. The walls of the pots are thick, their size large, the material unrefined and gravelly, the surface

¹¹ Even Hawkes (*The Labrador Eskimo*, Geological Survey of Canada 1916, pp. 2 and 17) admits a scattered Eskimo population as far south on the verbal authority of Skinner. Skinner in his recent statements (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1923, p. 96) more logically inclines to regard Parker's "Eskimoan" evidences in New York state as a phase of archaic Algonkian culture; relying upon a certain fundamental similarity between Eskimo, old Algonkian and Athabaskan culture, which is of late coming to be more generally recognized since it was broached some years ago by Boas.

not extremely well smoothed, the bottoms very pointed and the rims generally straight. The surfaces of the pots are decorated with cord, net, and, less frequently though occasionally, with incised angular designs. The latter I may add from having looked over material in eastern museums besides that actually in the ground, increases in abundance the more one goes southward along the coast toward South Carolina and again toward the mountains. Admitting withal that the archaeological question is still an open one, I believe we may say without prejudice that the Powhatan area has affinities with the southern coast region, and that similar types reach northward to southern New England.

The southeastern Algonkian area turns out to be one of considerable importance. The reason for this lies in the bearing it had upon the absorbing problem of Algonkian distribution. The Virginia tribes were geographically situated near the southeastern terminus of the great linguistic family. Their culture was therefore marginal to the stock, and yet on account of its advancement and complexity it appeared as a peak of culture sufficient to deserve rank as a distinct sub-center; in short, a marginal sub-center. The complexities are, however, by no means baffling, inasmuch as the main source of influence from the outside may be distinctly traced to the southeastern or Gulf area, without specifying whether it arose from a Muskogian or possibly an older eastern Siouan, or even an Iroquoian civilization. The Virginia tidewater Algonkian, as we shall see with increasing emphasis, appear to have been less Algonkian in culture than they were in speech. A similar change of culture has been noted in the history of the prairie Algonkian whose Algonkian affinities stand forth only through the link of language. The parental linguistic characteristics of the Virginia branch of the stock were retained with remarkably little modification other than phonetic shifts, yet in respect to material and social life the Powhatan tribes had become converted by southern influences to such an extent that their culture status, had we no information concerning language to guide us, would deserve to be included with the Gulf area rather than with the Algonkian of the north. As to racial classification at present we know practically nothing,

yet a determination of physical type would go far toward solving the problem.

A second feature of importance in an attempt at the interpretation of culture movements in this area is the part played by these intermediate Algonkian in conveying to their northern kindred tribes, through Pennsylvania, New Jersey and even as far as southern New England, a revised adaptation of southern ethnic traits. Thus there was created a northeasterly culture migration, affecting, by the introduction of agriculture and its arts, the industrial and social life of Algonkian groups far into the hunting area of the north. We then are led to see where the Algonkian of the North Atlantic and southern New England states got their corn, bean and tobacco culture and most of the artifacts concerned in those sedentary activities, their splint basketry, woven fabrics, especially the remarkable feather technique, their mat and bark-covered rectangular wigwams, dome-shaped instead of conical in form, and many other details of economic life which can best only be hinted at as yet. Other traits, extending as far as the southern New England coast, to be traced with this point of derivation in view as a possibility are the "long-house," the stockaded villages, ceramic influences, fish nets, shell beads, the ungrooved adze or "celt," the water-drum, the flageolet, the netted stick ball-game (similar to lacrosse), methods of hair-dressing, and the unpuckered one-piece moccasin. The culture complex of agriculture and ceramics has already been treated suggestively by Kroeber and Spinden,¹² while in another paper I presented a similar case for splint basketry. In surveying the social and religious aspects of eastern Algonkian life there is a strong suspicion that from the southern portion of the continent brought along by Iroquoian migration, also came such traits as the matrilineal reckoning of descent, with animal totemic associations. With the foregoing also came the development of autocratic power vested in the hands of the hereditary chief, the

¹² H. T. Spinden, *Origin and Distribution of Agriculture in America*, p. 269; A. L. Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, (p. 393), both articles in *Proceedings 19th Congress of Americanists*, 1915, Wash., 1917. Also Kroeber, *American Anthropologist*, vol. 25, no. 1., 1923.

confederacy idea centering about the "Long House,"¹³ the weakening of the Algonkian institution of the hunting territory as the nomadic hunting life gave way to agriculture, and finally such an agricultural rite as the corn harvest festival, to which may be added shamanistic societies, religious communalism in general, mound erection, group burial, and no doubt far-reaching influences in mythology.

In brief I feel a certain security in making a preliminary interpretative conclusion that the explanation of eastern, more properly Atlantic coast, Algonkian culture relationships, may be understood as resulting from a southeastward migration of Algonkian-speaking peoples, who gradually, after reaching the culmination of their drift, probably somewhere on the western shores of Chesapeake bay, cultivated the superior economic and social properties of the south and then, secondly, after its assimilation served in the northern spread of the resulting culture-complex.

The question of chronology might be thought of in this connection. There seems to be some fairly good evidence that the southeastern Algonkian drift was a relatively recent one. We have an eastern migration legend, the Walam Olam, accredited to the Delaware and their neighbors, relating to a period not much before the historical era when this group of people migrated into Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The archaeological phenomena of the Chesapeake region are not suggestive of great antiquity; there is homogeneity over a single rather thin surface stratum. And finally we have the ensuing historical testimony. Strachey, the most explicit author on Virginia ethnology, estimated from what he had been told by the Powhatan that the Indians had, at that time, not been inhabitants below the falls of the James (the site of Richmond) for much more than 300 years (Strachey, *op. cit.* p. 23).

There seems to my mind to be still better reason now than there was seven years ago for the following statement of the situation in the southeast as I saw it then, that the Carolina Algonkian

¹³ An obscure but important statement from Strachey tells us that the towns and forts of Powhatan, and the country in general of Powhatan, were known as Tsenacommacoh, (Strachey *op. cit.* p. 29).

were comparatively recent intruders into the region and formed the last offshoot of the general Algonkian movement southward along the Atlantic Coast, where, step by step, it seems, wherever the advancing bands settled down, the migration appears to have been continued later by a smaller offshoot, until the moving force had expended itself.¹⁴

An interesting problem stands forth if this be true: Why should the Algonkian, drifting southward across the Alleghenies and down the coast, have retained their parent speech when they acquired a more advanced material culture by contact with outsiders? Among various possibilities it may be met by assuming that the Algonkian immigration was a rather sudden one carried forward by warlike men who took the women and children of the invaded territories, that its coming was met with hostility by the resident peoples, that it brought the immigrants into an unfamiliar and exotic southern climatic environment where already a well-adapted sedentary culture was found established. These requirements are logically met if we regard the old Algonkian center of distribution to have been in the Canadian zone, say in the regions about the Great Lakes, and the advancing wave to have collided with eastern Siouan bands among the mountains and on the eastern slopes, or with other cultures of the southeastern of Gulf type. The preceding remarks accordingly lay down some conclusions which have been the outcome of a rather long period of research both in the field¹⁵ and through the older published records of the Atlantic Coast region. I would hardly venture to offer them in such definite form were it not for the conviction of their basic correctness, of which amplifications are still to be expected as more comes to be known concerning the surrounding cultures in the Carolina and Gulf area, and in the upper Mississippi valley.

Although the argument, if it is one, may not have been presented in its details with sufficient art to bring out its most

¹⁴ Remnants of the Machapunga Indians of North Carolina. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 1916.

¹⁵ This work was carried on under the auspices of the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) N. Y., and the collections of ethnology from the region are to be found in this institution.

convincing aspect, nevertheless, for the fundamental idea of a fairly recent Algonkian migration into the southeast there seems to be some basis.

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