SOPER, W. B., and AMBERSON, J. B. *Pulmonary tuberculosis in young adults, particularly among medical students and nurses.* Amer. Rev. Tuberc. **39**: 9–32. 1939.
WOLFF, G. *Tuberculosis mortality as an index of hygienic control.* Amer. Rev. Tuberc. **34**: 734–748. 1936.
WOODRUFF, C. E., and KELLY, R. G. *The correlation between anatomical changes and the allergic state in tuberculous guinea pigs.* Journ. Immunology **45**: 79–85. 1942.
YERUSHALMY, J., HILLEBOE, H. E., and PALMER, C. E. *Tuberculosis mortality in the United States, 1939–41.* Health Public Reports **58**: 1457–1482. 1943.

ETHNOLOGY.—*Algonkian ethnohistory of the Carolina Sound.*[1]

MAURICE A. MOOK, American University. (Communicated by WILLIAM N. FENTON.)

SOURCES

During the period of first white contacts the Indian tribes inhabiting the area of the present State of North Carolina were of three linguistic stocks—the Iroquoian, Siouan, and Algonkian. The first two groups have been made the objects of investigation by both historians and anthropologists, but the Algonkian have been neglected and are still commonly called, as for example by Kroeber, the "little known" inhabitants of the Carolina Sound. Even the names and identities of some of the tribes are still in doubt—a situation due partly to the lack of primary historical sources relating to the groups in question and partly to students' failure to exploit thoroughly such sources as are readily available. The sources are few enough, and they are not particularly rewarding ethnologically. It seems time, however, to attempt an ethnohistorical picture of the area such as we already have for the neighboring native areas of the state (1).[2]

The Algonkian-speaking tribes of eastern North Carolina represent the southernmost extension of the groups of this linguistic relation which inhabited the Eastern States. All the tribes of New England were Algonkian in speech, those of the eastern portions of the Middle Atlantic states were of the same linguistic family, and the inhabitants of the tidewater area from the Potomac to the Neuse River were similarly affiliated (2). The classification is entirely linguistic, rather than racial or cultural, and is the only one available in the light of present information. The English were not so interested in native peoples as were the French or even the Spanish, and the historic ethnology of areas of English colonization is proportionately inferior. However, scattered native words in the relations of the Roanoke adventurers, modern place names of Indian derivation in the area, and the short Pamlico vocabulary given by Lawson in his *History* (3) are sufficient to justify the classification of the eastern native Carolinians as indisputably Algonkian.

The delimitation of the area of aboriginal Algonkian occupancy in Carolina is complicated by the fact that it was not coterminous with natural geographical lines of division, as was the case in Virginia. The Algonkian tribes of the Powhatan Confederacy in Virginia inhabited the tidewater area, with the fall line of the tidal rivers marking the western limit of Algonkian tribal distribution. In Carolina, however, tribes of Iroquoian and of Siouan speech also occupied the coastal plain. These latter groups were the western and southern neighbors of the Algonkian, with the latter inhabiting the region east of a line drawn from Bogue Inlet due north to the intersection of Meherrin River and the Virginia–Carolina line. Algonkian peoples thus occupied the greater portion of the area now contained in the 17 easternmost counties of the State, including most of the offshore islands. Algonkian occupancy covered some 6,000 square miles, approximately one-sixth of the land area of the modern State. The limits of distribution are tentative, however, for the western Algonkian boundary is merely suggested by contemporary accounts.

Our knowledge of the Carolina Algonkian of the late sixteenth century is derived

[1] Received February 28, 1944.
[2] Numbers in parentheses refer to the "Notes" at the end of the paper.

entirely from the documents of Raleigh's Roanoke enterprise. Historical research has added little of ethnological significance to the relations published by Hakluyt in 1590. It is now possible, however, to interpret these with less ethnohistorical naïveté than was characteristic of the days of Hawks, Hale, and Tarbox (4). Also for the problem of reconstructing tribal geography at the time of contact students now have access to facsimiles of John White's original maps of the Carolina coast (5). Until the publication of these facsimiles it was generally assumed that the engravings published by De Bry were faithful reproductions of the John White drawings. The De Bry engravings however, are now shown to be embellishments of White's original maps and other ethnological pictures (6). It has been said that "De Bry's engravings were copied, plagiarized, redrawn and re-interpreted for generations after his time" and that "De Bry is the man who immortalized the pictures (and maps) of the Roanoke colony" (7). This is historically correct, but it is also true that De Bry himself "copied, redrew, and re-interpreted" and that his pictures "immortalized" elaborations of the John White originals, rather than the originals themselves. Students of history and ethnology will prefer the originals in accurate facsimile (8). These are particularly valuable, for they are the first pictorial record of Algonkian environment and culture in the New World. Other than by the use of archeological methods it is impossible to come nearer to the aboriginal situation of precontact times in this area than by study of White's drawings and the written records of 1585–1590.

The written materials of the Roanoke colony are exceedingly uneven as sources of aboriginal history. Hariot's *Report* (9) is usually considered the classic in this respect, but it is disappointing as a document for ethnological and historical reconstruction. Unfortunately, Hariot's "Chronicle, according to the course of times," which in his *Briefe Report* he stated he had written and was holding for a "convenient" time for publication, apparently never was printed, or, if it was, it is now among the missing documents of the history of Roanoke settlement. From the point of view of historical anthropology this is a particular misfortune, for Hariot tells us that the Chronicle was a "large discourse . . . of the naturall inhabitants" (10).

Whereas Hariot's *Report* is quite silent on matters of tribal identity, location, history, and intertribal relationships, its section on "the nature and maners of the people" is historical in the sense that it describes aspects of the native culture at the time of contact. It is a gross exaggeration, however, to speak of it as "a statistical survey on a large scale" (11). Both historically and ethnologically it is less informing than Barlow's *The first voyage made to the coasts of America* (12). The value of the Barlow relation, on the other hand, is somewhat reduced by the fact that the first voyage was one merely of preliminary exploration, by an expedition too small in size and too short in duration to make more than superficial surveys of a small portion of the coast. Relationships with the natives were friendly, and Barlow was successful in obtaining considerable information during the few weeks he was in the Algonkian area. His tract was a report to Raleigh that presented a more hopeful picture of colonizing prospects than the resources of the region deserved, but there is little to indicate that his descriptions of native life are characterized by mistakes other than those that were the natural result of misunderstanding due to hasty and untrained observation.

White's relations of the fourth and fifth voyages made to Roanoke in 1587 and 1590 (13) are journals of the voyages, rather than accounts of experiences in the Carolina area. As such they are of little value as sources for the study of native history. Their almost complete lack of ethnological consciousness is sufficient, in fact, to suggest that John White the governor and the author of the relations may have been a different person than John White the artist of Lane's colony and the author of the map of 1585 (14). The map, with its long list of native locations, and the drawings of Indian scenes and subjects reveal an awareness of the native inhabitants that seems entirely foreign to the relations of the last two voyages.


CHOWANOC
(CHOWAN)
WEAPEMEOC
(POTE·SKEET)
(PASPATANK)
(YEOPIM)
MORATOC
ROANOKE
(ROANOAK)
CROATAN
(MACHAPUNGO)
(HATTERAS)
POMOUIOCK
(PAMLICO)
NEUSIOK
(NEUSE)
Ramushonoq
Cautaking
Chawanok
Ohanoak
Maratoc
Mascoming
Weapemeoc
Chepanoc
Pasquenoc
Metackwem
Tandaquomuc
Moratoc
Mecopen
Dasamonquepeuc
Roanoak
Tramaskecoc
Aquascogoc
Pomeioc
Cotan
Pananaioc
Secotan
Secotaoc
Rouconk
Chatooka
Neusiok
Croatan
ALBEMARLE SOUND
PAMLICO SOUND
EARLY·ALGONKIAN
TRIBES·AND·TOWNS
LATER · HISTORIC · TRIBES
SHOWN · IN · PARENTHESES

The prime documentary sources for the ethnogeography and ethnohistory of the Roanoke experiment are White's map (15) and Ralph Lane's *Account of the particularities of the imployments of the English men left in Virginia by Sir Richard Greenevill* (16). In spite of the development of unfriendly relations between the natives and colonists under Lane's governorship, Lane's account shows him to have been an individual of ethnological discernment. His narrative is the only Roanoke relation of more than perfunctory value for the student interested in the location, distribution, and relationships of the Carolina Algonkians and their neighbors in 1585. De Bry seems to have sensed its importance in this respect as early as 1590, for although this publisher chose Hariot's *Report* in preference to Lane's *Account* for the first volume of his *Voyages* (17), his map is based upon White's with additions of some of the locations mentioned in Lane's account (18). Both maps are therefore useful for the study of the tribal geography and the native history of the period. New maps of Carolina did not appear until the latter part of the next century (19), by which time the Algonkian tribes were so reduced in both population and culture as to be deemed unworthy of recognition by contemporary cartographers. Lawson was the only writer of the period of permanent settlement who took generous cognizance of the existence of the native tribes of Carolina; his map, however, shows but three names of Indian derivation in the Algonkian area, and these were used as place names rather than as designations of tribal locations (20).

References to locations in the Roanoke relations show that the explorations made by Lane and his colonists apparently took them to most of the important tribal towns inhabited by the Algonkian groups of the Sound area at the time. Their discoveries were confined largely to the shores and islands of Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds, and to the coastal area bordering the bays and rivers adjacent to the larger bodies of water. A trip was made to the Chesapeake tribe situated at the southern end of Chesapeake Bay, and two voyages were made into the interior in explorations of the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers. One exploration was made southwestward from Roanoke, probably as far as the Neuse River, but contemporary knowledge of the region south of the lower Pamlico River seems uncertain and ill-defined. In a concluding passage of Hariot's *Report* it is stated that "al which I have before spoken of have bene discovered and experimented not farre from the Sea coast, where was our abode and most of our traveling; yet sometimes . . . we made our journeys further into the maine and Countrey" (21). Hariot elsewhere referred to discoveries 80, 120, and 150 miles from Roanoke (22). Lane was still more specific with respect to the distances and directions involved in the exploratory expeditions under his direction. In the ethnogeographically most explicit passage of the relations he described the explorations of the colonists as follows:

> Our discoverie . . . of the Countrey . . . hath beene extended from the Iland of Roanoak, the same having bene the place of our settlement or inhabitation, into the South, into the North, into the Northwest, and into the West.
>
> The uttermost place to the Southward of any discovery was Secotan, being by estimation fourescore miles distant from Roanoak. The passage from thence was through a broad sound within the mayne, the same being without kenning of lande, and yet full of flats and shoals. We had but one boate, which could not carry above fifteene men . . . Winter being at hand we thought good wholly to leave the discovery of those parts untill our stronger supply.
>
> To the Northward our furthest discovery was to the Chesepians [Chesapeake], distant from Roanoke about 130 miles. The passage to it [Currituck Sound] was very shallow and most dangerous . . . The territorie and soyle of the Chespians, being distant fifteene miles from the shoare . . . is not to be excelled by any other whatsoever. There be sundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countreys of great fertility adjoyning to the same, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opossians, which all came to visite the Colonie of the English, which I had for a time appointed to be resident there.
>
> To the Northwest the farthest place of our discovery was to Chawanook, distant from Roanoak about 130 miles. Our passage thither lyeth through a broad sound [Albemarle], but all fresh water, and the chanell full of shoales. The Townes about the waters side situated by the way are these following: Passaguenoke The woman's Towne, Chepanoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, & Metackwem, all these being under the jurisdiction of the king of Weapomiok, called Okisco.
>
> From Muscamunge we enter into the River and

jurisdiction of Chawanook. There the River beginneth to straighten untill it come to Chawanook, and then groweth to be as narrow as the Thames betwene Westminster and Lambeth. Betwene Muscamunge and Chawanook upon the left hand as wee passe thither is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called The blinde Towne, but the Savages called it Ohanoak, [which] hath a very goodly corne field belonging unto it. It is subject to Chawanook.

Chawanook it selfe is the greatest Province & Seigniorie lying upon that River, and the very Towne it selfe is able to put 700 fighting men into the fielde, besides the force of the Province it selfe . . .

Very neere [to the mouth of Chowan River] . . . directly from the West runneth a most notable River, and in all those parts most famous, called the River of Moratoc [Roanoke]. This River openeth into the broad Sound of Weapomeiok [Albemarle] . . . Moratoc it selfe . . . is a principall Towne upon that River . . . The Mangoaks . . . is another kinde of Savages dwelling more to the westward of said River (23).

Lane proceeds to describe his exploration of the Roanoke River to a point that took the party more than 160 miles from Roanoke Island. The exploration led them into the territory of the Mangoak, or Mandoag (24), the Carolina Algonkian term for their western Iroquoian neighbors (25). The foregoing passage is of special interest in its references to the locations and towns of the Weapemeoc, Secotan, and Moratoc tribes. These positions can be determined with greater exactness by reference to the data of contemporary cartography. For collateral textual evidence, however, it is necessary to consider passages from two other relations.

The voiage made by Sir Richard Greenvile for Sir Walter Ralegh, to Virginia, in the yeere 1585 (26) is in the form of a brief journal of the daily experiences of the English during the two months that Grenville was in the colony. Its references to native locations are as follows:

The 26 [of June] we came to anker at Wocokon . . . The 3 [of July] we sent word of our arriving at Wococon to Wingina at Roanoak . . . The 6 M. John Arundel was sent to the maine, and Manteo with him, and Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten the same day were sent to Croatan . . . The 8 Captaine Aubry and Captaine Boniten returned . . . To Wocokon. The 11 day the Generall [Grenville, with Lane, Hariot, Amadas, John White] . . . and divers other Gentlemen . . . passed over the water from Wocokon to the maine land . . . in which voyage we first discovered the townes of Pomejok, Aquascogoc, and Secotan, and also the great lake called by the Savages Paquipe, with divers others places . . . The 12 we came to the Towne of Pomeiok. The 13 we passed by water to Aquascogok. The 15 we came to Secotan, and were well entertained there of the Savages.

The 16 we returned thence, and one of our boates with the Admirall was sent to Aquascogok, to demaund a silver cup which one of the Savages had stollen from us, and not receiving it according to his promise, we burnt and spoyled their corne and Towne, all the people being fled (27). The 18 we returned from the discovery of Secotan, and the same day came aboord our Fleete ryding at Wococon. The 21 our Fleete ankering at Wococon, we wayed an anker for Hatoraske. The 27 our Fleete ankered at Hatorask, and there we rested. The 29 Grangino, brother to King Wingina, came aboord the Admirall, and Manteo with him. The 2 [of August] the Admiral was sent to Weapomeiok. The 5 M. John Arundell was sent for England. The 25 our Generall wayed anker and set saile for England (28).

The above locations occur on the maps of White and De Bry and can be transferred to modern maps with the aid of such supporting geographical information as can be found in the narratives of the colony. A passage from Barlow completes the roster of native place names as they occur on the early charts. Barlow's information is a supplement to that of the other relations, for it mentions two tribes, the Pomouik and Neusiok, that are not referred to by Hariot, Lane, or White. His facts, however, are from native informants rather than based upon his own discovery or exploration. His references are as follows:

My selfe with seven more went twentie mile into the River that runneth toward the Citie of Skicoak, which River they call Occam (29), and the evening following wee came to an Island, which they call Roanoak, distant from the harbour [inlet] by which we entred seven leagues. At the North end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turne pike very artificially (30). When wee came towardes it, standing neere unto the waters side, the wife of Granganimo, the kings brother, came running out to meete us very cheerefully and friendly. Her husband was not then in the village . . .

Beyond this Island there is the maine lande, and over against this Island falleth into this spacious water, the great river called Occam (31) by the inhabitants, on which standeth a toune called Pomeiock. And sixe dayes journey from the same is situate their greatest citie, called Skicoak,

which this people affirme to be very great; but the Savages were never at it, only they speake of it by the report of their fathers and other men, whom they have heard affirme it to bee one houres journey about.

Into this river falleth another great river, called Cipo, in which there is found great store of Muskles in which there are pearles. Likewise there descendeth into this Occam another river, called Nomopana [Chowan River], on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called Chawanook, and the Lord of that towne and countrey . . . is not subject to the kind of Wingandacoa (32), but is a free Lord . . .

Towards the Southwest foure dayes journey is situate a towne called Sequotan, which is the Southermost towne of Wingandacoa, neere unto which [is] . . . an out Island, unhabited, called Wocokon . . . Adjoyning to this countrey aforesaid called Secotan beginneth a countrey called Pomouik, belonging to another king whom they call Piamacum, and this king is in league with the next king adjoyning towards the setting of the Sunne, and the countrey Newsiok, situate upon a goodly river called Neus. These kings have mortall warre with Wingina, king of Wingandacoa but about two yeeres past there was a peace made betweene the King Piemacum and the Lord of Secotan, as these men which we have brought with us to England have given us to understand (33). But there remaineth a mortall malice in the Secotanes for many injuries and slaughters done upon them by this Piemacum . . .

Beyond this Island called Roanoak are maine Islands . . . with many townes and villages along the side of the continent, some bounding upon the Islands, and some stretching up further into the land (34).

Barlow's narrative is one of the most valuable minor histories of English colonization in the New World. Although its geography is largely based upon the reports of his native informants, supplemented by such explorations as could have been made in a few weeks by a small party in two barks, it is none the less valuable on that account. It offers the most direct and detailed information concerning the political organization and intertribal relationships of the coastal Algonkian groups that is available for this region. It is the first record of white contact with the natives of the Sound area, and it is, therefore, impossible to come nearer to the local precontact aboriginal culture by historical methods of investigation than by a study of its descriptions of the native way of life (35). Barlow's relation, though shorter than Hariot's *Report*, is more genuinely ethnological and is more valuable for its general cultural description than for its allusions to tribal geography. It is characterized by numerous naïvetés and contains some items of misinformation (36), but when it is remembered that the first voyage was made to a strange environment and that Barlow was at first without command of the Algonkian language, the information embodied in his account seems all the more remarkable. Lane's and Hariot's works are longer and for some aspects of ethnology more explicit; both of these writers, however, were in the Algonkian area approximately a year, and they had in Manteo a native informant who had been in England five to six months and must have acquired in that time a working knowledge of the English language.

LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TOWNS AND TRIBES

Apart from the above-quoted passages from Carolina's first historians, the data of the narratives respecting tribal names, locations, and relations are scattered and fragmentary. When collected, collated, and interpreted in the light of independently established historical and ethnological facts, it is possible to suggest the following with respect to the location of tribal territories, the towns within them, and the relationship of the tribes to each other in the area of Algonkian occupancy:

The Weapomeiok, or Weapemeoc (37), inhabited the area north of Albemarle Sound, including the four northeastern present counties and perhaps also the southern part of Chowan County. White's map specifies four native towns in this area as "Weapemeoc(an)"; while De Bry's map and succeeding ones designate the entire area north of Albemarle Sound and east of Chowan River as belonging to the same group. Their northern neighbors were the Chesapeake, a tribe on the south bank of the James River, which then inhabited the two southeasternmost counties of present Virginia; their western neighbors were the Chowanoc, who occupied both banks of the river which took their name. The Weapemeoc "king," or chief, in 1585 was Okisco, whose relations with the chieftains of neighboring groups reveal the native political

status of his own tribe. He was independent of Menatonan, chief of the Chowanoc, but was dominated to some extent by the latter, by whom he was induced to acknowledge subjection to the English. Lane states that Menatonon "commaunded Okisko, King of Weopomick, to yeelde himselfe servant and hommager to the great Weroanza (38) of England, and after her to Sir Walter Raleigh; to perfourme which commandement received from Menatonon the sayde Okisko . . . sent foure and twentie of his principallest men to Roanoak . . . to signifie that they were ready to perfourme the same, and so had sent there his men to let mee knowe that from that time forwarde hee and his successours were to acknowledge her Majestie their onely Soveraigne" (39).

Although subservient to the Chowanoc chief, Okisko conducted himself independently of Pemisapan, chief of the Secotan, in the latter's conspiracy against the colonists. Pemisapan, as chief of the natives of Roanoke Island and the adjacent mainland (40), had hoped for Okisko as an ally in his plans for an attack upon the English. "Okisko, king of Weopomeiok [was to] . . . be mooved, and with great quantitie of copper intertained, to the number of 7 or 8 hundred bowes, to enterprise the matter" of attack. Pemisapan dispatched messengers to Okisko, who were "with great imprest of copper in hand" and who made "large promises . . . of greater spoile." Okisko, however, sent word to Pemisapan that neither he nor "any of his especiall followers" would be "of the partie . . . and therefore did immediately retire himselfe with his force into the maine." But "Weopomeiok . . . was devided into two parts, [and] . . . the rest of the province accepted" Pemisapan's proposition and "received the imprest" (41).

The Weapemeoc are thus revealed as a tribe separate from and independent of their neighbors to the west and to the south, although Okisko's authority as a chief seems to have been somewhat weaker than that of his neighboring chieftains in their jurisdictions. The reference to the possibility of drawing upon 700 or 800 warriors from Weapemeoc territory suggests a total tribal population of at least 2,500 (42). Lane's figure of the number of warriors north of Albemarle Sound may be unduly exaggerated, as most contemporary estimates are (43); on the other hand, Mooney's calculation of a total population of 800 for the "Weapemeoc of 1585" would seem to be unreasonably conservative (44). Perhaps 500 warriors, with a total population of 1,500 to 1,750, would be a reasonable estimate.

Some of Okisko's "principallest men" were the chiefs of towns within the territory of what the English called his "kingdom." There are records of four towns within Weapemeoc tribal limits—Pasquenoc, Chepanoc, Weapemeoc, and Mascoming. Here, as usual, the chief tribal town was of the same name as the tribe. Lane's enumeration of them in the order above given may indicate that this was their relative location from east to west, for he mentioned them in this order in a context in which he described crossing Albemarle Sound in order to enter the Chowan River. His reference to them as "about the waters side" suggests that they were on the shore of the Sound, probably at or near the mouths of the northern rivers. The Eastern Algonkian were notable rivermen, and their villages were located, if possible, on the necks of land formed by converging streams (45). With these considerations in mind, and with the aid of White's and De Bry's maps, it is possible to suggest locations of the Weapemeoc settlements more specifically as follows:

On the De Bry map and its copies Pasquenoc, or the "Woman's Town," is placed on the second point of land west of Currituck Sound; this would be modern Camden Point, in southern Camden County, between the North and Pasquotank Rivers. It is entirely possible, as Mooney suggested, that Pasquotank as the name of the river and the modern county is a corruption of the name of this early native village (46). Lawson located a "Paspatank" Indian town, with ten warriors, in this vicinity in 1709 (47). Mooney's location of Pasquenoc "on the north shore of Albemarle sound perhaps in Camden county" (48) would place the town at Camden Point. Hawks claimed to "have no difficulty in fixing the

locality of Passaquenoke," but his location of it "in the southwest corner of the present county of Pasquotank" (49) places it too far to the west. It is impossible to use White's map for a specific location in this instance, for the map shows but one river flowing into Albemarle Sound from the north, and it is impossible to decide which river is intended. However, White's "Masequetuc" is undoubtedly synonymous with the Pasquenoc of other sources. Gerard's derivation of the latter term from *pasakwenok*, meaning "close together people," is an attempted etymology with a meaning appropriate enough for any native town or village. Speck's analysis of *pa-skwen-ok* as "woman's town or village" is more in accord with Lane's information; on the same basis White's term *ma-skwe-tuk* would mean "woman's river" (50). There can be no doubt that the settlement and river referred to were on the eastern edge of Albemarle Sound; White's and De Bry's maps so designated the village, and Lane clearly indicated an eastern location in a passage describing his return from exploring the Roanoke River: "I thought it good for us to make our returne homeward [i.e., toward Roanoke Island], and that it were necessary for us to get [to] the other side of the Sound of Weopemeiok in time, where wee might be relieved upon the weares [weirs] of Chypanum and the womens Towne" (51).

Lane's enumeration of Weapemeoc towns lists Chepanoc, or Chypanum, between Pasquenoc and Weapemeoc, and it was probably likewise geographically situated between them, east of the latter and west of the former. It is missing from White's original map, but on De Bry's chart "Chapanun" (52) is placed on a river approximately midway between Pasquenoc (Camden Point) and the Chowan River. Transferred to a modern map this would be Perquimans River. Hawks places "Chepanock . . . in the lower part of Perquimons county, near the sound" (53), but De Bry's map has the town up the river a distance, perhaps near present Hertford; Smith's map, which was but a copy of De Bry's, shows Chepanu in the vicinity of modern Chapanoke, in Perquimans County, and there is no doubt that the present town's name was derived from the Indian term. However, Chepanoc may have been located on Harvey or Stevenson Point, on either side of the mouth of Perquimans River, for there is no reference in any of the relations to the explorers ascending rivers other than the Chowan, Roanoke, Pamlico, and perhaps the Neuse. Lane placed it "about the waters side" of Albemarle Sound and elsewhere stated that "upon Easter day [1586] in the morning, the winde comming very calme, we entred the sound [at the mouth of Roanoke River], and by foure of the clocke we were at Chipanum . . . The next morning wee arrived at our home, Roanoak" (54). This definitely locates the town some distance east of the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers, with a site "on Albemarle sound, in Perquimans county" (55) perhaps as near as can be come to the matter.

It is clear that Weapemeoc was the name of a town as well as of the tribe, but it is impossible to locate the town exactly, as the district, rather than the settlement, is the only location by that name that occurs on the maps of White and De Bry. White's four Weapemeoc towns occur on his map north of the western part of the Sound, in the area of present southeastern Chowan and western Perquimans Counties. Lane's list of towns north of the Sound implies that Weapemeoc was west of Chepanoc, which we have already located on Perquimans River. The tribal town and chief's residence may have been on the Yeopim River near its mouth, and it is altogether possible that Yeopim as the name of the river is a contraction of Weapem-eoc (56). It is impossible to support Mooney's statement that the town "seems to have been in Pasquotank county," and Tarbox's allusion to it as "in what is now Perquimans or Pasquotak County" is a mere guess, made without reference to contemporary cartography and based upon a misunderstanding of Lane's narrative in which his note is offered as explanation (57).

White's map shows Mascomenge as a Weapemeoc town, and De Bry's map locates Mascoming in what would now be southern Chowan County, near or at modern Edenton. Smith's map copies the name from De

Bry but places the town inland from the sound (58). Lane's statement that "from Muscamunge we enter into the (Chowan) River and jurisdiction of Chawanook" (59) indicates the town was in southern Chowan County, near the mouth of the river and on the north shore of the sound. This was the interpretation of Mooney, who placed the village "on the northern shore of Albemarle sound, in Chowan county"; Hawks was again incorrect in locating "this town . . . on the lower waters of the [Chowan] river on their eastern side . . . [some distance] above the sound proper" (60).

Lane included Metackwem (Metocaum) among his Weapemeoc towns, and White listed both Warowtani (Maraton) and Cautaking (Catoking) as belonging to the Weapemeoc. It seems possible, however, that all three of these were Chowanoc villages. The evidence is entirely that of location and geographical distribution, but owing to the crudity of early maps and the indefiniteness of early textual references it is impossible to draw tribal boundary lines with exactness. These three towns were in the region that marked the division between the territory of the Chowanoc and the Weapemeoc, and they may have belonged, therefore, to either of the two groups.

The most detailed information concerning the Chowanoc tribe comes from Lane, and his most explicit reference to the "Chawanook . . . Province and Seigniorie" and the towns within it is the one already quoted. He located the town of Chawanook "about 130 miles . . . distant from Roanoak," where "the River beginneth to straighten untill it . . . groweth to be as narrow as the Thames betwene Westminster and Lambeth" (61). The Chowan River begins to straighten and is narrow in the area that separates modern Hertford and Gates Counties, and it is this upper course of the stream that seems to have been the center of Chowanoc territory in 1585. White's map shows Chowanooc on the west bank of the river, just below a small tributary that may have been meant for Wiccacon Creek in eastern Hertford County. This map carries White's symbol for a native town or village, whereas De Bry's and subsequent maps show Chawanook as a district rather than as a town site. On these maps the territory of the tribe is indicated as still farther up-river, in and around the neck of land formed by the convergence of the Meherrin and Nottoway Rivers to form the Chowan. This location makes the Chowanoc the northernmost Algonkian tribe of the Carolina area and indicates that they were the immediate southern neighbors of the linguistically related tribes inhabiting the south bank of the James River in Virginia (62).

The northern position of the Chowanoc is confirmed by the narratives of the Jamestown colony. Both Smith and Strachey mention the "Chawonokes," or "Chawonocks," as among the "many severall nations of sundry languages that environ Powhatans Territories" to the south (63). Smith was told that the "Chawwonocke" lived "one daies journey" from the Nansemond tribe on the Nansemond River (64). In January, 1609, Michael Sicklemore, a member of the Jamestown colony, was sent from Warraskoyak (Burwell's Bay, James River, northern Isle of Wight County, Va.) to "Chowanoke" with Warraskoyak Indian guides to look for Raleigh's lost colonists and for silk grass. He returned with "little hope and less certainetie" of the fate of the lost Englishmen, reporting the river to be "not great, the people few, the country mostly over growne with pynes, where there did grow here and there straglingly Pemminaw, [which] we call silke grasse. But by the river the ground was good and exceeding furtill" (65). Thirteen years later, in February, 1622, John Pory went to "the South River Chawonock, some sixtie miles over land" from Jamestown, and reported finding "a very fruitfull and pleasant Country, yielding two harvests in a yeare, and . . . much of the Silke grasse." He was "kindly used by the people" there, although we are told nothing of their number or condition at that time (66). They were probably reduced in number, for by the middle of the century they were a mere remnant of the strong and numerous group described in 1585. They were referred to in 1650 as friends of the Powhatan tribes of Virginia and as the enemies of the Iroquoian-speaking Tuscarora, Meherrin, and Not-

taway tribes then inhabiting the Roanoke River region and the area west of the Chowan (67).

The Chowanoc were described as the leading tribe north of Albemarle Sound at the time of the Roanoke settlement. Lane referred to them as a "more valiant people and in greater number" than other tribes of the region (68) and reported that Chawanook, the chief town of the tribe, was "able to put 700 fighting men into the fielde, besides the force of the Province itselfe" (69). He also had heard of and believed that a "generall assembly" had been called by Menatanon, the Chowanoc chief, consisting "of all his Weroances and allies to the number of three thousand bowes." Among Chowanoc allies in this instance were the Mangoak, who were reported as "able of themselves to bring as many more to the enterprise" of the tribal conspiracy against the English (70). These figures are clearly exaggerated, for they were given Lane by Pemisapan, who was attempting to impress the English with the great strength of the natives in case of trouble with the colonists. There was no town in this part of native America with as many as 700 warriors, or a total population of 2,000 to 2,500. It is well to remember Hariot's sober observation that "their Townes are but small, and neere the Sea coast but fewe, some contayning but tenne or twelve houses, some 20; the greatest that we have seen hath bene but of 30 houses" (71).

Hariot's *Report* has several other passages that may apply to the Chowanoc. We can not be sure that Hariot was among the colonists who explored the Chowan River, for he says that "some of our company . . . have wandered in some places where I have not bene" (72), but that he was on one of the expeditions of western exploration—either that of the Chowan or of the Roanoke River—is certain, for he stated that "sometimes we made our journeys further into the maine," and he described the physical features of the inland area as one could only from personal observation. He observed that the interior was "more inhabited with people, and of greater pollicie [governments] and larger dominions, with greater townes and houses" (73). Discussing the number of villages to be found within a tribal territory, he said that "in some places of the Countrey one onely towne belongeth to the government of a Wiroans or chiefe Lord, in other some two or three, in some sixe, eight, and more. The greatest Wiroans that yet wee had dealing with had but eighteene townes in his government, and able to make not above seven or eight hundreth fighting men at the most" (74). It is probable that Hariot here referred to the Chowanoc tribe, for Lane called it "the greatest Province" and was particularly impressed with the power of its chief and the size and strategic situation of its towns. With respect to tribal population Hariot is almost certainly more correct than Lane, and if we allow the whole tribe, rather than one of its towns, a warrior population of 700 to 800, its total population may have been approximately 2,500. Mooney's figure of 1,500 for the period of first contact is an estimate that errs on the side of conservatism (75).

If the Chowanoc tribe had 18 towns at the time of the Roanoke colony, we know the names of less than half of them. This is not a surprising circumstance when it is realized that there is record of only one visit of the English to the area of the upper Chowan River. It seems reasonable to suppose that the town of Chawanook, from which both the river and the tribe took its name, was located in the approximate geographical center of the territory of the tribe, and, as we have seen, both Lane's description and White's map locate the town on the upper river. This would place the tribal capital, i.e., the chief's residence, at a site in either eastern Hertford County or southern Gates County. The sense of the relations is unanimously to the effect that the nucleus of Chowanoc territory and the center of tribal strength were in this region. On this basis Mooney located the tribe, perhaps too far northwestward, "on Chowan river, about the junction of Meherrin and Nottaway rivers" (76). and Tarbox stated that "the country of Chawanook appears to have been about the upper waters of Chowan River" (77). Hawks located the tribe somewhat farther to the south; in one reference he placed the "jurisdiction of Chawanook . . . on the upper waters of the Cho-

wan" and placed the town "on the eastern side of Chowan [River] . . . below the point at which Bennet's Creek enters the Chowan. It was in the northern part of Chowan county" (78). Elsewhere, however, he found it "hard to resist the conviction that the name of the town is retained in the county we now call Chowan; and if so, the locality of Chawanook was in that district of country." His first proposition is correct, but his conclusion is wrong, for native names in modern nomenclature are unreliable indices of aboriginal location unless supported by collateral information. Hawks's further assumption that "the ancient native town may have been but the predecessor of our Edenton, or at any rate not far from its site" (79), is contrary to the testimony of the contemporary documents he printed.

There were probably Chowanoc towns on the lower course of the river, however. We have seen that the territory of the Weapemeoc tribe included the four northeastern modern counties of North Carolina, and perhaps also the southeastern part of Chowan County. Mooney omitted Chowan County from his statement of Weapemeoc distribution (80), and Speck gives the tribe's location as "north of Albemarle sound, west to Edenton" (81). The Weapemeoc town of Mascoming, near present Edenton, seems to have been near the western boundary of Weapemeoc territory. This location of the boundary leaves the eastern bank of the lower Chowan River and the greater portion of present Chowan County the possession of the Chowanoc tribe in 1585. Speck states that the Chowanoc lived on the eastern bank of the river, west and to the north of Edenton, and his map of tribal locations shows the tribe on both banks of the lower river, extending northward to the region east of the confluence of Meherrin and Nottoway Rivers (82). Contemporary sources indicate Chowanoc distribution to have included the territory adjacent to both banks of the river, to and including that portion of land in present northern Hertford County bounded by Meherrin River to the south and west, Nottoway River to the east, and the Virginia–North Carolina line to the north. This distribution is suggested not only by the northern extension of Chowanoc territory already discussed, but also by Lane's statement that "from Muscamunge [i.e., Edenton] we enter into the River and [into the] jurisdiction of Chawanook" (83). Barlow also understood the Chowan River (which he called the "Nomopana") to be the jurisdiction of the Chowanoc tribe. His account gives the impression that there were two divisions of this tribe—a southern one on the lower river, and a northern division "beyond," i.e., farther up the river: "There descendeth into this Occam [Albemarle Sound] another river, called Nomopana, on the one side whereof standeth a great towne called Chawanook, and the Lord of that towne and countrey is called Pooneno. This Pooneno is not subject to the king of Wingandacoa [Roanoke Island and the mainland west of it and south of Albemarle Sound], but is a free Lord. Beyond this country is there another king, whom they call Menatonon, and these . . . kings are in league with each other" (84). Barlow's information was not first-hand, for his expedition did not explore the river, and he was mistaken in understanding Pooneno to have been the resident chief at Chawanook. Menatonon was then the tribal chief, but Pooneno may have been the chief of one of the lower towns near the mouth of the river. That there were several towns belonging to this tribe is made clear by both contemporary narratives and maps. They can be located with some degree of accuracy as follows:

Chawanook, the principal town of the tribe, was located on the river in the area where present Hertford, Gates, and Chowan Counties meet.

Ohanoak seems to have been the second most important Chowanoc settlement. The only specific reference to it is made by Lane, who says that "Betwene Muscamunge and Chawanook upon the left hand as we pass thither is a . . . Towne which we called The blind Towne, but the Savages called it Ohanoak . . . It is subject to Chawanook" (85). This clearly locates Ohanoak on the western bank of the lower river, in eastern Bertie County, probably below the present town of Colerain. The native town does not occur on White's map, but on De Bry's and Smith's it is shown on the west bank of the

upper river in a position between present Winton and Wiccacon Creek. Smith merely copied from De Bry, and the latter's location is apparently based upon a too northern location of Chawanook. Mooney based his location of Ohanoak on De Bry's map rather than Lane's account, and placed it "on the west side of Chowan river, not far below Nottoway river, probably in Hertford county" (86). Hawks's location "in Bertie [County], on its eastern side, somewhere on the waters of the Chowan" is more accurate, and his suggestion that Roanoke River was named after this town, rather than after the island, is quite possible: "We call it Roanoke, an easy corruption from Ohanoak" (87). It would be interesting to know why the English called Ohanoak the "blind town," but there is no suggestion of the reason in contemporary narratives.

The village of Metackwem (Lane) or Metocaum (Smith) is placed on the De Bry and Smith maps on the west bank of the Chowan River at its mouth, on or near present Salmon Creek. It does not occur on White's map. Mooney lists it as "probably" a Chowanoc town (88), which it would seem to be from the standpoint of location; Lane, however, refers to it as if it were "under the jurisdiction of the king of Weopomeiok" and seems to place it on Albemarle Sound east of Chowan River (89). Following De Bry and Smith, rather than Lane, both Mooney and Hawks located it in southeastern Bertie County, the latter specifying a "few miles north of Walnut Point" (90).

The only evidence for the Chowanoc village of Tandaquomuc is De Bry's map. The term occurs neither in the narratives nor on White's map. Smith failed to copy it from De Bry. The Dutch map of 1621 (91) has it "Tantaquomuck." If De Bry's location is correct the village was on Batchelor Bay, at the west end of Albemarle Sound, between the mouths of Chowan and Roanoke Rivers (92). In this position it would be the southernmost Chowanoc village and on the eastern edge of the territory of the Moratoc.

The village of Waraton, or Maraton, may have belonged to the Weapemeoc rather than Chowanoc tribe. White's map designates it as of the Weapemeoc group. Lane does not mention it by name, but on De Bry's and Smith's maps it is placed on the east bank of the lower Chowan River, De Bry giving it a somewhat more southern location than Smith. Smith's location corresponds to that of the modern village of Mavaton in south central Chowan County, a town that evidently took its name from the Indian word. If a Chowanoc village, it was the only one whose name has been preserved located east of the lower course of the river. It is, in fact, the only known Chowanoc village of 1585 located in present Chowan County.

The two other Chowanoc villages whose names have been recorded for us existed in the northern portion of the territory of the tribe. Catoking occurs on the De Bry and Smith maps at the head of Chowan estuary, apparently on the right bank of modern Bennetts Creek at its mouth. This would place it in southern Gates County, and if our location of the town of Chawanook is correct Catoking must have been situated across the Chowan River from the tribal capital. Mooney's location "about Gatesville" (93) places the town too far to the northwest according to all early maps. White's map, in fact, classifies Cautaking as a Weapemeoc town and places it on the north shore of western Albemarle Sound in southern Chowan County. The name is not mentioned in contemporary narratives.

Another town in Chowanoc territory that does not occur on White's map and is not mentioned in the relations but which is found on De Bry's map and on Smith's, is Ramushonoq. These maps place the settlement between the Meherrin and Nottoway Rivers, in northern Hertford County. Speck notes that *l* and *r* were interchangeable in eastern Algonkian dialects and translates *lamushowok* as "small place or little town [Littleton]" (94). Its small size may account for its lack of mention in the earliest sources. It was the most northern Algonkian town located within the limits of present North Carolina for which there is any record in the historical sources of the Roanoke colony. After the Indian troubles of 1675–1676 the Chowanoc ceded this northern tribal land to the Lords Proprietors, but it was soon preempted by the Iroquoian Meherrin and

Nottoway, who pressed down from more northern locations. Their new residence here was used as a pretext for the boundary-line dispute, which was not settled for over 50 years thereafter (95).

The foregoing seven Chowanoc settlements are less than half of the "eighteene townes in his government" that Hariot ascribed to "the greatest Wiroans that wee had dealing with." The Chowanoc tribe was, however, the largest Algonkian tribe of the coastal Carolina area, and it is, therefore, altogether probable that Hariot alluded to the Chowanoc in his reference to the anonymous "greatest Wiroans." The only larger tribe at this time in the entire region of Virginia-Carolina (96) was the Tuscarora, but these natives were neither Algonkian nor a tribe with which the Roanoke colonists had any contacts. They were not described ethnologically until Lawson published his famous *New voyage of a thousand miles thro' several nations of Indians* in 1709.

A final item of tribal history is of interest in connection with the Chowanoc. The Algonkianist William Jones, himself an Algonkian Indian (Fox) trained in linguistics, derived the tribal name from *shawuni*, "south"; *shawunogi*, "they of the south," or "southerners." The same student derived the word "Shawnee," the name of a Southeastern Algonkian tribe at one time resident in South Carolina, from the same source (97). This linguistic relation does not necessarily indicate a close historic connection between the two groups, although Speck has reminded students "that the Chowan may have been a branch of the wide-spread Shawnee." This relationship is unattested by the sparse historical records for the ethnological Southeast, although Speck argues that "it is possible on the basis of name and location" (98).

A third tribe within the area of Algonkian occupation, near its western boundary, was the Moratoc. From the evidence of location and the fact that Moratoc is an Algonkian-sounding word, I classify this group as Algonkian-speaking. This is inadequate evidence upon which to base linguistic classification, but it is practically all there is available. The only word preserved is the name of the town and tribe. The Roanoke River was called the Moratoc until the eighteenth century (99), and it was upon the banks of the lower Roanoke that this tribe lived in 1585–1586. Speck, who shares the opinion that Moratoc is an Algonkian word, analyzes it as "nice [or] good river" and cites an Algonkian analogy in the Malecite word *wolastaguk*, "beautiful, [or] nice river." Lane says that "The Savages of Moratoc themselves doe report strange things of the head of that River, and that from Moratoc it selfe, which is a principall Towne upon that River, it is thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof" (100). Lane's statement reveals that the colonists had had contacts with the Moratoc and that the tribe was located on the lower river. Mooney, who relied upon Smith's second-hand account, rather than upon Lane's original narratives, located the Moratoc "160 miles up Roanoke river, perhaps near the south Virginia line" (101). This is clearly an error in conflict with Lane's information. Mooney's reference to them as "an important tribe which refused to hold intercourse with the English" is also incorrect, for Lane refers to them as a group "with whom before wee were entred into a league, and they had ever dealt kindly with us" (102). The English colonists understood only the Algonkian language and the fact that they had been able to receive "reports" from and enter into a "league" with the Moratoc is the best evidence available that this tribe was Algonkian in speech.

The initial friendly relations between the Moratoc and English did not long continue. By the time Lane and his party were ready to explore Roanoke River the Moratoc had been persuaded by Pemisapan that the English were advancing westward as enemies of the native tribes. As the English proceeded up the river they found that the Moratoc had "abandoned their Townes along the River, and retired themselves with their Crenepos (103) and their Corne within the maine, insomuch as having passed three days voyage up the River wee could not meete a man, nor finde a graine of Corne in any [of] their Townes . . . Wee were then 160 miles from home" (104). The experi-

ence of being unable to trade with the natives was disappointing, for the supplies of the colonists at Roanoke were much depleted by the spring of 1586. Lane laments that "wee had no intention to bee hurtful to any of them, otherwise then for our copper to have had corne of them." The English continued their exploration of the river for two more days until their supplies were exhausted and they were forced to return to Roanoke. Their unsuccessful expedition had taken them into the territory of the hostile Mangoak, who were "another kinde of savages, dwelling more to the westward of the said River." The fact that Lane refers to the Mangoak, who were the Iroquoian-speaking Nottoway, and not to the Moratoc as "another kind" of natives is also presumptive evidence that the Moratoc were Algonkian.

Lane's reference indicates that the Moratoc occupied a considerable stretch of land on the lower course of the Roanoke and that there were at least several towns of the tribe located on the banks of the river. De Bry's map shows but one town and locates it on the second northern bend of the river west of Batchelor Bay. This site would be west of Woodward, in southern Bertie County. Moratoc tribal territory in 1585 probably included southern Bertie and northern Martin Counties and may have extended farther northwestward into the present counties of Halifax and Northampton. The latter area was more likely the territory of the Mangoak, however, who are described as the western neighbors of the Chowanoc (105). Moratoc land may also have extended eastward into present Washington County. On White's map the town of Moratuc is on the south bank of Roanoke River, near its mouth, and just east of a tributary that may have been meant for present Welch Creek. If Moratoc holdings extended east to Albemarle Sound it is possible that the villages of Tandoquomuc and Metocaum also belonged to this tribe, rather than to the Chowanoc. In spite of our inability to establish the exact boundaries of the tribe, it is here suggested that we have in the Moratoc an important Algonkian tribe of the Sound area. It is one whose identity and affiliation have never been recognized, probably because of Mooney's early mistake in placing it in the area of Southeastern Iroquoian distribution (105a).

(*To be concluded.*)

NOTES

(1) E.g., J. Mooney, *The Siouan tribes of the East*, Washington, 1894; J. N. B. Hewitt, "Tuscarora," *Handbook of American Indians* **2**: 842–853, Washington, 1910; J. R. Swanton, "Early History of the Eastern Siouan Tribes," *Essays in anthropology in honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber:* 371–381, Berkeley, 1936; F. G. Speck, "The Catawba Nation and Its Neighbors," North Carolina Hist. Rev. **16**(4): 404–417, 1939. C. W. Milling's otherwise adequate *Red Carolinians* (Chapel Hill, 1940) omits discussion of the Algonkian tribes—another example of their neglect in the history of historical scholarship.

(2) T. Michelson, "Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes," 28th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.: 221–290, Washington, 1912.

(3) *Lawson's History of North Carolina, 1714*, edited by F. L. Harriss: 242, 243, Richmond, 1937. All references in this paper will be to this edition of Lawson's *History*.

(4) F. L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina* **1** (1584–1591), Fayetteville, 1857; E. E. Hale, "Original Documents . . . Illustrating the History of Sir Walter Raleigh's First American Colony," Trans. and Coll. Amer. Antiquarian Soc. **4**: 3–33, 317–344, Boston, 1860; I. N. Tarbox, *Sir Walter Raleigh and his colony in America*, Prince Society, Boston, 1884. Hawks and Tarbox reprinted Hakluyt's *Voyages* relating to the Roanoke colony.

(5) The definitive edition of Hakluyt is that of the Hakluyt Society: *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols., Glasgow, 1903–1905. The Roanoke relations are in vol. 8, pp. 297–422. This edition first included a facsimile of White's original map of the Roanoke region (vol. 8, opp. p. 320). The map is also accurately reproduced in H. S. Burrage, ed., *Early English and French voyages, 1534–1608*, opp. p. 248, New York, 1906.

(6) For De Bry's care-free handling of historical materials, see Chester M. Cate, "De Bry and the Index Expurgatorius," Papers Bibliogr. Soc. Amer. **11**(3–4): 136–140, 1917.

(7) R. G. A(dams), "A Brief Account of Ralegh's Roanoke Colony of 1585," William L. Clements Libr. Bull. **22**: 14, 16, Ann Arbor, 1935.

(8) White's drawings of Indian subjects afford the student a number of ethnographic details not to be found in the written relations of the Roanoke colony. Bushnell published photographic reproductions of White's original drawings ("John White—The First English Artist to Visit America,

There is a little grana, not within the city but in the highlands like those between the city and the mountain and range of Tlaloc, which is somewhat more temperate and yet here the Indians give little to the city. Indeed, it may be that they have no time to attend to it because of their ordinary occupation which demands personal services to such an extent that they could not have time to harvest wheat and barley and to produce silk and grana.

Grana may mean the seed of a plant, but it can also mean scarlet grain, or cochineal, which the ancient Mexicans used so extensively for dyeing. According to Ximenez, the care and rearing of the coccids from which the dye was obtained was a recognized industry.

There is a sapient remark about the use of simples which must be mentioned before these notes are terminated. Those who have often perused the long dissertations about the real *and* fancied medicinal worth of many plants written by natives and Europeans in the sixteenth century will enjoy this soft sarcasm from Pomar's pen: "They have many roots for purging all sorts of humors and very good in the opinion of those who use them, except that they don't know how to apply them and they cure more or less by chance."

A study of his account of the botanical and agricultural topics relating to Texcucan civilization impresses one with his accurate, first-hand information on the subject, which should guide those who would search for plants worthy of wider utilization in our time.

ETHNOLOGY.—*Algonkian ethnohistory of the Carolina Sound.* MAURICE A. MOOK, American University.

(*Continued from page 194.*)

In some respects the best-known Carolina Algonkian group, at least the one with which the Roanoke colonists had the most numerous contacts, was the so-called Secotan. This tribe's domain extended from Albemarle Sound to lower Pamlico River and from Roanoke Island to the west-central region of present Beaufort County. Western Beaufort County and the river region above the present city of Washington, as will be seen, seem to have belonged to another tribe (the Poumouik). The northeastern section of the peninsula between the Pamlico and Neuse Rivers was also a part of Secotan territory. Secotan distribution thus included the present counties of Washington, Tyrrell, Dare, and Hyde, the greater part of Beaufort, and the northern part of Pamlico. The native inhabitants of the offshore islands were geographically, and perhaps also culturally and politically, closer to the Secotan than to any other Algonkian group.

Because of proximity to Roanoke the English colonists had closer contacts with the Secotan Indians than with any other tribe of the Carolina coast. Barlow's Wingandacoa is usually identified with Secotan (106), and most of the Indians whom he mentioned by name—Wingina, the chief, Granganimo, his brother, Wanchese and Manteo, the natives whom he took to England with him—were inhabitants of this area. Other persons and places referred to in his narrative are known by the relation of Secotan informants. Hariot stared that most of his ethnological information pertained particularly to the coastal area in the vicinity of Roanoke, and White's pictures of Indian scenes and subjects dealt largely with the towns of the Secotan tribe. He claimed that there were minor differences in native customs between towns in this territory, but such differences are to be expected among towns spread over an area as large as the one above indicated.

There is no information on the size of this group in 1586 (107), but that it was not the largest and strongest tribe of the region may be deduced from the facts of aboriginal history that are recorded in the narratives. For example, when Pemisapan (Wingina) planned his conspiracy against the English he called upon the northern tribes (Weapemeoc, Chowanoc, and Moratoc) for help and seems to have been but indifferently supported by the mass of his own people. Lane stated that the Chowanoc were the

strongest tribe of the area, and Hariot reported that native towns on the Secotan coast were small and not numerous. When Barlow visited Roanoke Island the native town on it had but nine houses, and White's drawings of the towns of Pomeiock and Secotan show them to have been small settlements (108). Yet the territory of the Secotan was greater in area than that of any other Algonkian group of the Carolina seaboard.

Eight Secotan villages are known by name, the locations of some of which can be determined more accurately than is possible for most of the settlements previously considered. There were two villages in northern Secotan territory south of Albemarle Sound, two in the eastern area on Pamlico Sound, and four in the southern section west of Mattamuskeet Lake. It is possible to locate the first four of these more accurately than the others, in spite of the fact that there are several accounts of the colonists' southern exploration, because White's (and De Bry's) map is geographically more accurate for the northern than for the southern area. The reason for our better knowledge of the native geography of the northern area is that the English "new Fort in Virginia" was established at the northern end of Roanoke Island (109) and that in their explorations by water the colonists usually sailed northward into Albemarle, rather than southwestward into Pamlico Sound. The Croatoan Indians lived south of Roanoke Island, and at least one historian has suggested that their consistent friendliness toward the English was due to their more distant southern location, in an area farther removed from and less molested by the English and therefore less threatened by the prospect of dispossession (110).

Grenville's relation of the Second Voyage (111), as well as Lane's *Account of the particularities of the imployments of the English men left in Virginia*, gives an account of the colonists' first exploration to the mainland after arriving in America. The towns visited were Pomeiok, Acquascogoc, and Secotan, and this was the order of their location from east to west. The voyage was made from the island of Wococon (Ocracoke); the ships sailed westward to the mainland (Hyde and Beaufort Counties), entered the Pamlico River, and then returned to Wococon. The towns can be located as follows:

White's map locates Pomeyoc between Lake Paquippe (Mattamuskeet) and Pamlico Sound, and the text accompanying White's drawing of "A Chiefe Herowans wife of Pomeoc" (112) states that "about 20 miles from the Iland [Roanoke], neere the lake of Paquippe, ther is another towne called Pomeioock hard by the sea." White's map shows the town on the bank of the lake rather than on the shore of the Sound, but that it was located on the Sound is indicated by Barlow's reference to "the great River called Occam (Pamlico Sound) . . . on which standeth a towne called Pomeiock" (113). De Bry's map places Pomeiock between Lake Paquuyp and the Sound, and Smith's map is again but a copy of De Bry's in this location. The site of the town on a modern map could be either Gibbs Point or the northern shore of Wyesocking Bay, probably the former. Both Mooney and Hawks placed it at the mouth of Gibbs Creek, at or near the present town of Engelhard in eastern Hyde County (114). The town was drawn by White and is represented as a small, circular, palisaded village of 18 houses (115). The Secotan town of Pomeioc is not to be confused with the tribe of Pomouik, which was also Algonkian and which bordered Secotan territory to the west and southwest.

On White's map Aquascogoc is shown west of Mattamuskeet Lake on a body of water that is apparently meant to represent modern Pungo River. De Bry's map shows a similar location. The Indian town was probably situated at or near modern Belhaven, in eastern Beaufort County. Mooney believed it to have been on the east bank of the river and gave it a location in the vicinity of the present towns of Scranton and Makelyville, in western Hyde County (116). Hawks decided that Aquascogoc was near the mouth of the Neuse River, "possibly somewhere about Broad Creek, perhaps not so low down," but he was led into error by confusing the tribe of Pomouik with the town of Pomeioc (117). Before the English had been in Carolina three weeks they burned the town and destroyed the corn

fields of Aquascogoc because one of its inhabitants had stolen a silver cup (118). Thus began that enmity in the natives that led them to refuse to trade with the English, thereby depriving the colonists of food and contributing toward their decision to abandon the colony when Drake appeared with his ships in the spring of the next year.

Weapemeoc, Chowanoc, and Moratoc were not only tribal names but also the names of towns within their territories, and the same was true of Secotan. These towns were the residences of the tribal chiefs and therefore the political centers of the tribes. Secotan differed from the three northern tribes, however, in not having its principal town in the geographical center of tribal territory. According to White's map and Barlow's and Lane's accounts, the town of Secotan was in the southern part of the territory of this tribe. Lane placed it at "the uttermost place to the Southward of any discovery" and estimated that it was "fourscore miles distant from Roanok." Barlow wrote that "Towards the Southwest foure dayes journey [from Roanoke] is situate a towne called Sequotan, which is the Southernmost towne of Wingandacoa, neere unto which . . . [is] an out Island, unhabited, called Wocokon" (119). The eastern shore of the peninsula between the Pamlico and Neuse Rivers is approximately 80 miles from Roanoke Island and is also near the island of Ocracoke or Wococon (120). White's map is improperly oriented south of the Pungo–Pamlico River region, but when corrected for the confusion in directions his towns of Secotan and Secotaoc seem to be on the south bank of Pamlico River. The former is placed about halfway up the estuary, probably east of present Bonnerton in Beaufort County, while Secotaoc is put east of Secotan in the region of Hobuchen and Mesic in northeastern Pamlico County. Secotan's site was on the south bank of the Pamlico, apparently between Durham and South Creeks, while Secotaoc may have been on the north shore of Bay River. De Bry, however, placed Secota on the north bank of a river apparently meant for the Pamlico, and put Sectuoc on the south bank. Mooney, who used De Bry's map rather than White's, accordingly located Secotan "on the north bank of Pamlico river, in the present Beaufort county" (121). Hawks relied on the narratives rather than the maps in attempting to locate Secotan, and not realizing that there were two towns involved, could not decide whether to place Secotan "somewhere near . . . Bay river" or "at the mouth of South Creek on Pamlico river, a half mile above Indian Island" (122). As a matter of fact, Hawks's alternative locations for the town of the narratives approximately correctly locate the two towns of the early maps. It is an interesting fact that whereas Secotan is one of the most frequently mentioned Indian villages in the Roanoke narratives, it is also one of the most difficult to locate specifically. This is due, of course, to the geographically indefinite references of the relations, plus the failure of White's map in this respect for the southern Secotan settlements.

In addition to Secota and Sectuoc, De Bry's map shows a town named Cotan on a stream flowing into Pamlico River from the north. The name does not appear on White's map, nor is it mentioned in the relations. Mooney identified it as "an Algonkian village in 1585 about Ransomville, Beaufort county" (123). Mooney based his location upon Smith's map; from De Bry's it would seem more likely that Cotan was situated at or near the historic town of Bath.

The relations mention but two towns in the northern part of Secotan territory, but White's map shows three and De Bry's map shows four. These were Roanoak on the island by that name, Dasamonquepeuc on the western shore of Croatan Sound, and west of Dasamonquepeuc and south of Albemarle Sound the two towns of Tramasquecoc and Mecopen. Mecopen is absent from White's map, but on De Bry's it is placed on the east bank of a stream flowing into the sound a short distance east of the mouth of Roanoke River. Mooney accordingly located the village south of the sound, near the Roanoke (124). The stream shown on the map, however, is clearly not a tributary of the Roanoke. It may have been meant for Scuppernong River, in which case the native town would have been in either eastern Washington or western Tyrrell

County. It is shown on the map as somewhat inland from the sound, which may account for Lane's failure to mention it in his accounts of the trips made in exploration of the Chowan and Roanoke Rivers. It was apparently a small village; at any rate, Barlow had not heard of it in 1584.

White's map shows the town of Tramaskecooc at the head of a stream that, to judge from its size and location, was meant to represent Alligator River. Smith's map has Tamasqueack and De Bry's has Tramasquecoock on the west bank of the river. All maps show the town on the upper course of the stream. Gerard etymologized the name of the town as "people of the white-cedar swamps" (125)—a name ecologically appropriate for inhabitants of this region.

The native village of Roanoke, situated on the northern shore of Roanoke Island, was the first one visited by Englishmen in the New World and is the only one that is specifically described in the relations of the colony. Barlow described it as a small village of nine houses fortified with a palisade of sharp posts (126). It was the residence of Granganimo, a brother of the chief of the Secotan tribe, while Wingina, the chief, seems to have lived at both Roanoak and Dasamonquepeuc. The latter was a village on the mainland across the sound from Roanoke. White spoke of Roanoke as "the Island directly over against Dasamongwepeuk," and Lane referred to "Dasamonquepeio in the maine, within two leagues over against" the English settlement on the island (127). That Wingina lived at either Roanoak or Dasamonquepeuc is indicated by Lane's statements that "the King . . . sow[ed] his ground, not onely in the Iland, but also at Dasamonquepeio" and that "Pemisapan [Wingina] went of purpose to Dasamonquepeio . . . to see his grounds there broken up and sowed for a second crop" (128).

Shortly after the colonists built their settlement on the island, the native village and the entire island seem to have been abandoned by the Indian inhabitants. This was done probably after the death of Granganimo and his father, Ensenore, both of whom were friendly to the English. Wingina then became full chief, in fact as well as in name. At that time he changed his name to Pemisapan and thereafter adopted the policy of opposing the English at every turn. He gathered about him certain confederates, such as Osacan, Tanaquiny, Wanchese, and Andacon, and chose the town of Dasamonquepeuc as the operating base for his plan of destroying the English settlement. There was no native town on the island when Governor White established his group there in 1587, or when he returned to the place in 1590. By 1587 the island was only visited by natives who came over from the mainland to hunt and fish. In that year George Howe, one of White's assistants, was slain by "divers Savages which were come over to Roanoak, either of purpose to espie our company and what number we were, or else to hunt Deere, whereof [there] were many in the Island" (129).

Both White's and De Bry's maps carry the symbol of a native settlement at the northern tip of the island of Roanoke, and Barlow stated that the village stood "neere unto the waters side" (130). None of the relations mention more than the single village, although superficial archeological reconnaissance conducted 50 years ago uncovered evidence of four sites of aboriginal occupancy (131). The excavation at that time was neither systematic nor adequate, and the investigator failed to describe both the number and the characteristics of the artifacts discovered. The island of Roanoke and the entire eastern area of the Carolinas await scientific study by trained archeologists. The early work at Roanoke revealed the possibilities of archeological studies in this region, and it is to be hoped that scientific excavation may someday be accomplished, for only by careful investigation of the native sites of occupation, such as those revealed by the contemporary narratives and early maps, can the complete history of native cultural development in this area be discovered.

In some instances tentative suggestions as to prehistoric migrations and cultural relations can be extracted from the meaning of native words, and the word Roanoak itself has been analyzed from this point of view. The modern spelling of this word is an

adaptation of the native term Roanoak, or Roanoac, as it is invariably spelled in the early narratives. Gerard claimed that in the Eastern Algonkian languages the word signified "northern people" or "northerners," and suggested that the name of this people may have derived from their location on the northern end of the island they inhabited, but more probably that it was in reference to a current tradition that they had originally migrated from an ancestral home in the north (132). That the Algonkian tribes of Virginia and Carolina came from an earlier home in the general area of the Great Lakes is the consensus of students of prehistoric migrations in eastern native North America (133).

Whereas the island of Roanoke is known to have had a native village on it at the time of the arrival of the English, it is difficult to determine which of the other islands were inhabited and which were not. White's map designates most of the larger sandbank islands by native names, but this in itself is no indication of aboriginal residence. The only island location on his map that shows the symbol of an Indian village is the northern end of Roanoke. De Bry's map shows a village here and also three towns on the island of Croatoan (134). Ocracoke Island (Wococon) was uninhabited, as was also the land near the inlet Barlow entered in 1584 (135). White found both Roanoke and "Hatorask" uninhabited in 1587. Inasmuch as there are a number of references in the relations to the mainland people crossing Pamlico Sound on hunting and fishing excursions, it is possible that the island villages were temporary settlements seasonally occupied for these purposes. On the other hand, White stated that Manteo "had his mother and many of his kindred dwelling" on Croatoan Island and referred to it as "the place where Manteo was borne and the Salvages [are] . . . our friends" (136). The proximity of the larger islands to Secotan suggests that the Indians who frequented them were members of that tribe. However, Manteo and his people were sufficiently independent of the Secotan of the mainland to refuse to join Pemisapan's conspiracy against the colonists in 1586. It is impossible to decide whether the inhabitants of Roanoke and Croatoan Islands were separate local groups, with their own tribal organization, or whether they were divisions of the Secotan tribe of the mainland. If parts of a single larger tribal territory, the distance separating the inhabitants of Roanoke Island, Cape Hatteras, and the lower Pamlico River may be assumed to have resulted in some local political autonomy and perhaps also in a degree of general cultural differentiation. However, the information embodied in contemporary accounts is too sparse to prove or disprove this theory of regional specialization.

Before we consider other original Algonkian groups of this area the relationship of the modern so-called "Croatan Indians" to the Croatoan of the sixteenth century deserves a word of mention. Among the present "Croatan" of Robeson and adjacent counties in North and South Carolina (137) there has been a persistent tradition of Indian ancestry. It has also been argued, notably by McMillan and by Weeks, that they are descendants of Governor White's "lost colonists," who are supposed to have taken refuge with the Croatoan Indians in the area of Cape Hatteras (138). In 1709 Lawson reported that some of the Hatteras Indians, as the Croatoan were known by that time, had gray eyes and that they then had a tradition of white ancestry and "value[d] themselves extremely for their affinity with the English." It was Lawson's opinion that White's settlement had miscarried, either through the want of supplies from the English or through the treachery of some of the natives, and that "in process of time they conformed themselves to the manners of their Indian relations" (139).

Lawson's theory is as reasonable as any proposed since his time, but it is an unproved hypothesis and must remain so in the nature of the case. If the Croatoan–Hatteras had absorbed their ancestral white blood as completely as Lawson suggested by the early eighteenth century, the theory of the Croatoan ancestry of the modern Croatan must be held to with temerity. The connection between the Hatteras and the ancestors of the modern Croatan is still unsubstantiated, and therefore the hypothesis of Croatan descent from either the lost

colony or the early Croatan must be regarded as quite baseless. In a recent reconsideration of the anthropological aspects of the problem, Swanton has concluded that "it is not improbable that a few families or small groups of Algonquian . . . connection may have cast their lot with" the modern Croatan, but that "contributions from such sources must have been relatively insignificant" (140). Without denying the present "Croatans" their possible Indian ancestry, we may conclude that that ancestry was almost certainly not Algonkian. From the point of view of their probable history they are legally Indians, but not ethnically Algonkian.

South of the Secotan of 1585 were the Pomouik and Neusiok tribes. The only reference to the existence of these people during the earliest historic period is in a paragraph of Barlow's *First Voyage*. I quote the passage inasmuch as it is the only information available in contemporary accounts:

> Adjoyning to this countrey aforesaid called Secotan beginneth a countrey called Pomouik, belonging to another king whom they call Piemacum, and this king is in league with the next king adjoyning towards the setting of the Sunne, and the country Neusiok, situate upon a goodly river called Neus. These kings have mortall warre with Wingina, king of Wingandacoa. But about two yeers past there was a peace made betweene the King Piemacum and the Lord of Secotan, as these men which we have brought with us to England have given us to understand. But there remaineth a mortall malice in the Secotanes, for many injuries and slaughters done upon them by that Piemacum. They invited divers men and thirtie women to the best of his countrey to their towne to a feast, and when they were altogether merry and praying before their Idol . . . the captaine or Lord of the town came suddenly upon them and slewe them every one, reserving the women and children. And these two have oftentimes since perswaded us to surprize Piemacum his towne, having promised and assured us that there will be found in it great store of commodities . . . Their persuasion be to the ende they may be revenged of their enemies (141).

The passage is of interest for a number of particulars: it establishes the fact that Manteo and Wanchese, "these men which we have brought with us to England," were Secotan tribesmen. Manteo's home village was on the island of Croatoan, which is thus indicated as a part of the Secotan tribe. Barlow also stated that the Neusiok tribe lived on the Neuse River and that the Pomouik "adjoined" the territory of the Secotan, presumably between the latter and the Neusiok. This suggests western Beaufort and northern Craven Counties as the location of the Pomouik. Their western neighbors—the "next king adjoyning towards the setting of the Sunne"—are not mentioned by name, but tribal distribution in this area suggests they may have been the Woccon, a tribe of Siouan speech (142). Piamacum's town is not named, but in the location of Pananaioc on De Bry's map we may have this tribal capital. On both De Bry's map and Smith's it is placed on the south bank of the Pamlico River toward the western end of the estuary. Mooney, who considered Pananaioc the principal tribal village of the Pomouik, located the tribe "on Pamlico river, west of the Secotan, in what is now Beaufort county" (143). However, Barlow's location of the Pomouik and Neusiok implies that these tribes "adjoined Secotan to the south, rather than to the west, and it was the "next adjoining" tribe, the group neighboring the Pomouik and Neusiok, which was "towards the setting of the Sunne." Hawks suggested that Pomouik territory was "the tract lying between the head of Bay river and Newbern" (144), and Speck thinks the Pomouik were "possibly identical with [the later] Pamlico" and locates the latter between the Pamlico River and Neuse River estuary (145). Pomouik tribal territory may be put down as including the western part of present Beaufort County, extending southward into the western and southern portions of the peninsula formed by the Pamlico and Neuse Rivers. The northeastern part of this peninsula was the southern part of Secotan territory.

The southern neighbors of the Pomouik were the Neusiok and the Coree, both of which tribes inhabited the area south of the lower Neuse River. White's map shows two native villages near the river—Newasiwac, on the south bank of the lower estuary, and Marasanico, located at the western end of Bogue Sound, perhaps at the mouth of present Whiteoak River. Correspondingly located towns on De Bry's map are Neuusiooc and Cwareuuoc. Mooney at one time re-

garded both of these towns as belonging to the Neusiok, but later he considered Cwareuuoc to have been a Coree settlement (146). Unless the latter assumption is permitted the first mention of the Coree tribe was by Governor Archdale in 1707. He described them as "a bloody and barbarous People," most of whom had been "cut off by a neighboring Nation" sometime previous to 1696 (147). Lawson named two Coree towns in 1709, with 25 fighting men, or a total population of less than 100 (148). A Coree town was located 10 miles from New Bern at the time of the founding of that settlement in 1710. Von Graffenried described it as "very well situated" on the Neuse River, but he did not state whether it was below or above his own community. He stated that there were "two chiefs in the village . . . the first an enemy of the English and the other . . . a friend" (149). He referred to this village as "Core Town" and in another communication mentioned Coram and Corutra as Indian villages on the Neuse River above New Bern (150). Their names suggest that they were Coree villages (151), and, if so, the tribe's location at this period is established as northern Craven County. Its location was somewhat farther northwest but had not changed much from that in 1585.

The Coree fought against the colonists in the Indian wars of 1711–1715 (152), and Coree stragglers were reported roaming the Neuse River frontier after peace was signed in 1715. In September of that year the Governor's Council was informed that "the Core Indians [had] made a Revolt and Dangerously wounded one of his Majtes Subjects." A small garrison was ordered established on the river "to Range upon ye Frontiers" in an attempt to effect the "Entire Destruction of ye Said nation of Indians as if there had never been a peace made with them" (153). The known history of the tribe ends with this threat of extinction. What survivors remained may have joined the Tuscarora in their migration northward to the Iroquois, by whom they were adopted into the League of the Five Nations (154).

The postcontact history of the Neusiok is similar to that of the Coree. By the later colonial period their Algonkian tribal name had been Anglicized to Neus or Neuse, and they were located somewhat westward of their situation in 1585. Maps of the early period located them on the south bank of the Neuse River near its mouth, but by 1710 they inhabited the eastern part of the area between the Trent and Neuse Rivers. In 1709 Lawson stated that they lived in two towns, Chattooka and Rouconk. Von Graffenried wrote that Chatooka was "the old name of the town of Newbern," and Rouconk is believed to have been located nearby on the Neuse River in present Craven County (155). Lawson gave the two towns but 15 warriors—approximately half a hundred people—in 1709, but Von Graffenried claimed "about a score of families" inhabited Chatooka alone. When Von Graffenried bought the site of New Bern from the Indians the natives are said to have removed to "another place . . . upon the same river not far from" New Bern. The Neuse joined the Tuscorora in the war of 1711–1712, in which the smaller tribes suffered more heavily than did the Tuscarora themselves. In September, 1712, Pollock wrote that colonial troops had "killed 40 or 50 Cores, Bare River, River Neuse and Matamusket Indian men, and took near upon 200 of their women and children, yet in all the time . . . not above 30 Tuskarora Indians were killed that we can hear of, the others being small nations not able of themselves to hurt us" (156). At the end of the war Neuse survivors probably lost their tribal identity by incorporation with the Tuscarora. Subsequent to 1715 the history of the Neuse, Coree, and Pamlico Indians is the history of their stronger native ally in the previous war against the colony. Those that were not exterminated by war, disease, and dispossession of their tribal lands found more friendly dwelling places among Iroquoian hosts in New York and Ontario. Unlike the Tuscarora and Tutelo, however, the smaller North Carolinian tribes did not survive the numerical decline and general cultural disintegration incident to their forced northward migration (157).

The Pomouik of 1585 and the Pamlico of the later colonial period lived in the same territory, and from the coincidental situa-

tion of the two it has been inferred that the latter were descendants of the former. This assumption was held by Mooney and has been accepted by Speck (158). Archdale wrote that the "Pemlicoe" had been reduced in number by a "great Mortality," perhaps smallpox, previous to 1696 (159). Lawson reported that the adult fighting men of the "Pampticough" numbered but 15—a total population of about 50—in 1709; he said they lived in one town on an island of the river, which may have been Indian Island at the mouth of the Pamlico, in eastern Beaufort County (160). The tribe fought in the Tuscarora War and suffered the fate of the smaller tribes of eastern Carolina in that struggle—tribal disorganization, resulting in ultimate disappearance. The only definite statement in the sources concerning Pomouik–Pamlico population is Lawson's figure of 15 warriors in 1709. Mooney's figure of 1,000 for the Pomouik of 1585 (161) is an estimate based upon the persistence of the tribe for more than 100 years and upon population estimates, which are little more than conjectural approximations, for neighboring tribes. Mooney's estimate is probably too high.

The linguistic position of two of the three tribes just discussed has been made the subject of a great deal of speculation. Lawson's vocabulary of 37 Pamlico words has been deemed sufficient to classify the Pomouik–Pamlico as Algonkian. To the nonlinguist, however, one of the most striking characteristics of Lawson's Pamlico vocabulary is its lack of correspondence with the words with which it can be compared in the Virginia Algonkian vocabularies given by Smith and Strachey (162). There is also Barlow's statement that the Pomouik and Neusiok had "mortall warre" with the chief of the Secotan (163), a condition that would more likely, but not necessarily, obtain between groups of different linguistic stocks than between two tribal groups of the same stock. If the Pomouik were Algonkian and were at war with the Secotan in the precontact period, it is the only instance of one Carolina Algonkian group fighting another of which there is any record in the early narratives (164). Until better evidence to the contrary is presented, however, the Pomouik may be classified as Algonkian.

The Neusiok and Coree inhabited an area in which Algonkian, Siouan, and Iroquoian languages met, and students are thereby deprived of geographical location as an indication of possible linguistic affiliation. In 1894 Mooney classified the Neusiok as probably Algonkian, on the basis of their "alliance with the Pamlico," but in 1910 he characterized them as "an unclassified tribe, perhaps of Iroquoian stock." Speck classifies them as Algonkian, stating that "Mooney . . . subsequently followed Swanton in accepting an Algonkian conviction." In a recent essay, however, Swanton refers to the Neusiok and Coree as "two small tribes on the lower course of Neuse river, [which] . . . were perhaps of Iroquoian lineage," and on his map of the linguistic stocks of the Southeast both tribes are shown in the Iroquoian area of the Tuscarora (165). The name Neusiok is Algonkian, with the characteristic terminal suffix *-ok* for "people," but it is possible that this was an Iroquoian-speaking tribe known only by the name given them by their Algonkian neighbors to the near-north.

There has been similar disagreement among students with respect to the linguistic affiliation of the Coree. In an early essay Mooney stated that "the Coree, on the coast lands south of the Neuse, may have been a tribe of the same stock" as the Tuscarora, and on his tribal map of the region he put them in the coastal Iroquoian area. In a later statement, however, he considered them as "possibly Algonquian" (166). Speck excludes the Coree from his "Carolina group" of Southeastern Algonkian, having elsewhere pointed out that "*-re* terminations in proper names and place names [are] . . . suggestive of Siouan affinity" (167). On the basis of this item of evidence the Coree might be regarded as presumptively Siouan; Speck does not suggest that they were, however. Swanton has presented "one fragment of evidence" bearing on the linguistic affinity of the Coree. He quotes Lawson who said that "I once met with a young Indian woman that had been brought from beyond the mountains [i.e., from the west] . . . She spoke the same lan-

guage as the Coramine [Coree] that dwell near Cape Lookout, allowing for some few words which were different, yet no otherwise than that they might understand one another very well." Swanton doubts that a theory of the linguistic relationship of the tribe should be built upon Lawson's incidental statement but points out that tribes of Iroquoian speech were the western neighbors of the Coree, while those of Siouan language were their neighbors to the south, and adds that Lawson's reference "seems to exclude the Siouan connection and point to Iroquoian relationship" (168).

From the point of view of the distribution of linguistic families in this region the Pomouik, Neusiok, and Coree all inhabited in interstitial area between tribes that were definitely Algonkian, Siouan, and Iroquoian. Evidence is too inadequate to permit of the classification of the tribes without a large margin of uncertainty. As a tentative formulation, however, it is perhaps not too much to suggest that the Pomouik were probably Algonkian, that the Neusiok were possibly Algonkian, while the Coree were almost certainly affiliated with a non-Algonkian stock. The evidence is nonhistorical however, and the safer position is to consider the tribes themselves as of doubtful linguistic position.

THE POSTCONTACT PERIOD

Because of the virtual lack of records from the time of the Roanoke colony until the second half of the seventeenth century, we know nothing of the history of the Weapemeoc Indians for over 70 years. During this period the Weapemeoc were reduced in numbers, had been dispossessed of their originally held tribal lands, and had become separated into bands or divisions. Currituck, Pasquotank, and Perquimans Counties, each set up as a precinct of Albemarle County in 1670, are usually said to have been named for Indian tribes inhabiting the vicinity of these political divisions (169), but the only record of native groups by these names is Lawson's reference to a "Paspatank" Indian town of 30 or 40 inhabitants, which he named after the river on which the town was located in 1709 (170). Mooney referred to the Yeopim, Perquiman, Pasquotank, and Poteskeet as "bands or sub-tribes" of the Weapemeoc of 1585 (171), but his only authority cited is Lawson, who enumerated 10 "Paspatank" and 30 "Potaskeit" adult male Indians and 6 "Jaupin (Yeopim) people" in 1709. The Jaupin are not located, but Lawson referred to the Paspatank and Potaskeit as inhabiting towns on Paspatank (Pasquotank) and North Rivers, respectively. Lawson's names for these Indian groups were, with the possible exception of Potaskeit, place names already in use by the colonists.

Only two of the four Weapemeoc bands above mentioned seem to have been commonly known by the names given them by Mooney. These are the Yeopim, who inhabited the Yeopim River region and in general the western part of former Weapemeoc territory, and the Poteskeet who lived in the eastern half. In March, 1715, the Council of Carolina was petitioned by the "Porteskyte Indians" who complained that the white inhabitants of "Corratuck Bank" were hindering them from hunting on "those their usual grounds." The natives reported that white settlers had threatened to destroy the guns of the Indians, without which they could not hunt, and that "without the liberty of hunting" they could not subsist. The Council ordered that thenceforth the Poteskeet should be permitted to hunt on any of the banks without the hindrance of the English (172). The reference is of interest in locating the Poteskeet in Currituck County and in indicating their possession of firearms by 1715. There is also mention of trade with these Indians and of their sale of tribal lands previous to that date (173). Governor Burrington included the "Pottaskites" as one of the six Indian "nations" inhabiting Carolina in 1731 and stated that they numbered then less than 20 families. Twenty years earlier the Rev. James Adams had reported "about 70 or 80 Indians . . . in the Precinct and Parish of Carahtuck . . . many of which understand English tolerably well" (174).

Information concerning the Yeopim goes back to 1662, when in the oldest recorded land grant in North Carolina, the Yeopim chief, Kilcocanen or Kistotanen, "with the consent of my people" sold to George Du-

rant a "parcell of land lying and being on Roneoke Sound and on a River called by the name of Perquimans . . . which land at present bears the name of Wecocomicke." This tract has been identified as Durant's Neck, in southern Perquimans County (175), between the Perquimans and Little Rivers. The deed identifies the area as belonging to the Yeopim, rather than "Perquiman," Indians at that period. Previous to 1714, 10,240 acres of land had been reserved for the "Yawpin" Indians, whose "King and great men" within nine years petitioned the Governor's Council to approve the sale of 640 acres "of the great Tract laid out to them by the Government." By this time George Durant was the name of a Yeopim Indian, John Durant was the tribal "king," and the other three tribal "great men" who appeared before the Council also had English names. John Durant was still chief in 1740, when he petitioned the Council "in behalf of himself and the Yeopim Nation" to be permitted "to sell and exchange their lands as may best [suit] their conveniency" (176). With this request, which was granted, the Yeopim tribe disappears from the recorded history of the colony.

The third group of native people inhabiting the area north of Albemarle Sound in the later colonial period was the Chowanoc, who retained their name of the previous century. Though diminished in numbers and reduced in territory they still occupied settlements on the river to which they had given their name. They were said to have gotten along peacefully with the whites until 1675, when they "struck swiftly and effectively in the usual Indian fashion," having been incited, it was claimed by the Carolina authorities, by the "rebellious Indians of Virginia who [had] fled to them." Thereupon the settlers of the Albemarle region made "open war" upon them by which with the loss of "many men" on both sides they were said to have been "wholly subdued." They then "had land for their habitation assigned them" (177) which was a reservation on Bennetts Creek in northern Chowan County, other tribal lands at the same time having been "resigned into the immediate possession of the Lords Proprietors as of their province of Carolina" (178). Either the precise limits of the reservation were never clearly surveyed or the land-hunger of the settlers resulted in trespass across the boundaries theoretically agreed upon, for in 1694 the Chowanoc complained to the General Court of Albemarle that they were being "much injured by the English seating soe near them," and in 1714 "Jno Hoyter on behalfe of himselfe and the rest of ye Chawan Indyons" petitioned the Governor's Council for the land "on the Eastern side of Bennets Creek including Meherins Neck," which they said was theirs by previous agreement with colonial authorities. Hoyter legitimately argued that the Chowanoc deserved their land without molestation from the settlers, inasmuch as the Chowanoc had been upon eight expeditions against "the Indian Enemy"—i.e., the Tuscarora and their allies—and that during their absences they had sufferred considerable losses in stock and crops (179). Again in 1720 "John Hoyter, Chief man of the Chowan Indians" found it necessary to protest to the Governor's Council that white people were continually intruding upon Indian land (180).

After the Tuscarora War the history of the Chowanoc is that of further reduction in population, the sale of additional land, and their gradual accommodation to the folkways of the whites. From the largest group in Algonkian Carolina in 1585 they had been reduced, according to Lawson, to 15 men—perhaps 50 people—living in one settlement on Bennetts Creek in 1709 (181). At a Council meeting in January, 1735, that body approved of the sale of ten plots of their land, totaling 2,025 acres, the reason given being that "the Chowan . . . [were] possessed of a large parcel of lands lying in Chowan precinct" and that being "but few in number" they were unable "to cultivate the same or make any benefit thereby." The Indians still retained certain "Lands on Bennets Creek" (182). There are also records of the sale of unspecified amounts of land in December, 1735, and in March, 1743; and in 1744, 640 more acres were disposed of by the "chief men of Chowan."

The tribesmen were soon complaining that the purchasers were appropriating more land than they had bargained and paid for (183). All the individuals of the tribe involved in these transactions had English names, viz. Thomas Hoyter (Hoyton, Hoyston), John Hoyter, Charles Bennet, James Bennet, John Robins, John Reading, Charles Beazley, Jeremiah Pushing, and Neuse Will. These names also occur as those of white settlers of the Albemarle communities. The acculturational process had started years earlier, however. In 1712 the Rev. Giles Rainsford wrote that "Thomas Hoyle, King of the Chowan Indians . . . [was] very inclinable to embrace Christianity" and that he had expressed the desire that his son be educated in an English school (184). Rainsford located the tribal remnant in the "upper end of Chowan" precinct and stated that he had lived "5 months in Chowan Indian town and made myself Master of their language." It is a pity that, knowing the Chowan as he must have, Rainsford did not tell us more about them, for by his day they were on the verge of extinction as a group. Forty years later Bishop Spangenburg, of the Moravian Church, wrote that "the tribe of Chowans is reduced to a few families [and] their land has been taken away from them" (185). In 1754 the commander of the Chowan County militia reported to Governor Dobbs that "there is but one Indian Nation in Chowan County, which are called the Chowan Indians, but their strength is nothing and their condition very deplorable by the artifice and cunning of some of their neighbors. I am informed they consist of two men and five women and children, which two white men would at any time overcome" (186). This miserable remnant of the former tribe must have disappeared within the next few years, for no more is heard of the Chowanoc in the subsequent records of the colony.

The records of the Roanoke colony show, as we have seen, that the region between Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds was originally the home of the Secotan Indians. The descendants of these tribes went unmentioned in the historical records of the seventeenth century, except for one report. In September, 1653, Francis Yeardley of Linnhaven, Va., sent a small party of a few relatives and neighbors to "Rhoanoke" Island and the adjacent mainland. For £200 Yeardley claimed to have "purchased and paid for three great rivers" of land from "the great commander of those parts . . . his war-captains, and a great commander of another province and some other Indians . . . Actual possession was solemnly given them [Yeardley's representatives] by the great commander and all the great men of the rest of the provinces, in delivering them a turf of the earth with an arrow shot into it." With the completion of the transaction the natives are said to have "totally left the lands and rivers to us, retiring to a new habitation," which is, unfortunately, not specified. The "lands on the rivers" mentioned could not have been on Roanoke Island and must, therefore, refer to the mainland west of Pamlico Sound. "Sundry other kings of the provinces" were visited, including chiefs of villages in the tribal territory of the "Tuskarorawes" as well as the Secotan. The English were told of "a great nation called the Newxes [Neuses], . . . a great nation called the Cacores [Shakori], . . . and another great nation by these, called the Haynokes [Eno]." Subsequent to the trip of the Virginians into Carolina the "Rhoanoke emperor" paid Yeardley several visits at his home at Linnhaven, leaving "his only son, having but one" to be taught "to speak out of the book and to make a writing." At his departure the chief "expressed himself desirous to serve that God the Englishmen served, and that his child might be so brought up" (187).

Nothing more is heard of the Roanoke chief or his son, and the Roanoke Indians, as well as other Secotan descendants, faded from history for over 50 years. By the end of that period the native inhabitants south of Albemarle Sound had experienced the same sort of divisive process that had separated the Weapemeoc into bands or divisions. Writing of the first decade of the eighteenth century, Lawson mentioned two groups in this area—the Machapungo and the Hatteras, the former numbering 30

adult men in the Town of Maramiskeet and the latter having 16 men in a town near Cape Hatteras. Lawson added one item of Machapunga tribal history in stating that they and the Coranine (Coree) "had been a long time at war together, (having but) lately concluded a peace" (188).

In the eighteenth-century records of the colony the Machapunga were usually known as the Mattamuskeet, the latter name being derived from that of the principal village. The fact that they impressed their name upon the lake in Hyde County and that Pungo River and Creek in eastern Beaufort County were also named after them gives an indication of their tribal location. There is an indication, also, in the meaning of their name, although decision as to the latter is a somewhat doubtful process, depending upon interpretation of the phonetic elements involved in the original tribal eponym. Heckewelder derived the name from *matchi-pungo*, meaning "bad dust"; Mooney, however, suggested *massa-pungo*, " 'great or much dust,' in allusion to the sandy soil of the district" (189). Speck calls attention to the fact that the element *pung* may signify either sand or dust or "pond," and suggests that "great pond or lake [people]" is a more appropriate etymology (190).

During the Tuscarora War the Mattamuskeet went on record a number of times for their activities in that struggle. Von Graffenried mentioned the "Marmusckits from the rivers Bory, Wetock, Pamtego, Neus, [and] Trent" and the "Cor [Coree] Indians" as Tuscarora allies who fought against the settlers. Pollock classified the "Matamusket,' among the smaller enemy tribes who, without the aid of the stronger Tuscarora, were at first considered "not able of themselves to hurt us" (191). Pollock later wrote of "some Matamuskite Indians disturbing the people at Matchepungo" and claimed that the same group had "killed and carried away about 20 persons at Roanoke Island and at Croatan." They also attacked the settlers at Alligator River, killing or capturing some 16 or 20 of the inhabitants (192). There are several references to their manner of fighting. Von Graffenried wrote that they made their attacks by "small platoons," which plundered and killed the whites at their isolated plantations. Pollock commented a number of times upon their taking advantage of "dismal swamps to fly into" and stated that in the woods and "pocosuns" the Indians were superior to the whites. In "lakes, quagmires, and cane swamps . . . it is almost impossible for white men to follow" the Indians, who have "boats and canoes, being expert watermen, wherein they can transport themselves where they please" (193).

By the summer of 1713, after two years of warfare, a peace was concluded with Tom Blunt (or Blount), chief of the northern Tuscarora towns. The Mattamuskeet and Coree were not a party to these negotiations, Pollock stating at the time that "if Blount keeps the peace we shall have only the Mattemuskeet and Core Indians to mind, who of late have done us great mischief . . . The army are now out against the Mattemuskeet Indians, in which expedition if they succeed it will go near to finish the war" (194). Within a few months it was reported that there was "no enemy to go against, but a few Mattamuskeets" and that only "stragglers [were] left of the Cores or Cotechnees and Matamuskeets" (195). By 1715 peace was concluded with the totally defeated Indians and a reservation was established for the survivors at Mattamuskeet Lake. The Governor was instructed to appoint an overseer "to live with ye Said Indyans . . . at Mattamuskeet . . . the better to Inspect into their behavior and to remit accounts thereof" (196). This marks the establishment of North Carolina's first Indian reservation with a resident commissioner paid for and responsible to the governing authorities.

There is no indication of the number of natives who took advantage of the reservation, for some of the survivors seem to have joined the Tuscarora and Siouan tribes in their trek toward the north. During the last two years of the war Pollock's letters referred to the coastal Indians as "few" in number, wasted, "stragglers," and a remnant. However, for a group accorded but 30 warriors in 1709 the Mattamuskeet seem

to have offered their share of trouble during the four years of the war. In 1731 Governor Burrington reported that the "Maremuskeets" lived on their reservation "secure from the attacks of Forreign Indians" and that they had been "of late years . . . much diminished" and numbered less than 20 families (197). Returns for about 1760 gave "about 8 or 10 Maramuskeet" Indians on the mainland with about "as many on the Islands or Banks" (198). In 1761, and again in 1763, the Rev. Alexander Stewart referred to "the remains of the Altamuskeet, Hatteras and Roanoke Indians [which] live mostly along the coast [of Hyde County], mixed with the white inhabitants." They attended Stewart's services, "behaved with decency, seemed desirous of instruction, and offered themselves and their children . . . for baptism." This missionary baptized 7 Indians in 1761 and 21 in 1763, all of whom he described as being "fond of hearing the Word of the true God, . . . of being admitted into the church," and as having as much "notion of any religion" as the whites of the neighborhood (199).

Nothing is heard of the Mattamuskeet or of any other Carolina Algonkian group in the nineteenth century. All records of the previous century denote the numerical paucity of the coastal tribes and suggest that the surviving people were interested in learning and conforming to ways of the settlers. The final few remaining descendants must have become merged with the negroes and whites of the frontier community. Aboriginal culture was largely lost as the result of the impact of culture of Old World derivation. The extent to which this is true is shown by Professor Speck's search for ethnic and cultural survivals in the area formerly inhabited by one group of the Algonkian aborigines. "Persistent inquiry" by this investigator uncovered "a few families of mixed blood," whom he regarded as "descendants of the local Indian tribes" living on the coast of Dare and Hyde Counties and on the adjacent islands in 1916. Their descent was traced from "Indians who came originally from Pungo river," and they are put down as "evidently remnants of the Machapunga tribe." In appearance they are described as varying greatly "from individuals with pronounced Indian characteristics, through people with noticeable white or Negro features, the latter sort predominating in the younger generations." No more than the merest fragments of a former Indian way of life were discovered among these mixed bloods. "Not one of these people knew a single word of the Indian language and not one knew of any definite Indian customs or traditions, not even the name of their tribe" (200).

Speck's survey shows that neither ethnology nor native history can be rescued from the memories of living descendants. Archeological excavation and the study of documentary sources remain the only methods by which ethnic history can be investigated in this important area of aboriginal America. The present study has shown that, contrary to the usual impression, the various Algonkian groups of the coastal area are not all to be considered as contemporary inhabitants of the region of their occupancy. Historic perspective reveals that the native tribes of this region must be differentiated into those of the period of the earliest explorations and those of the period of later colonization. The Algonkian of the former period (1584 to 1590) were the Weapemeoc, Chowanoc, Moratoc, Secotan, Pomouik, and Neusiok. Those of the later period (*c.* 1650 to *c.* 1800) were the Yeopim, Poteskeet, Chowan, Machapunga (Mattamuskeet), Pamlico, and Neuse. 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.

NOTES

(106) *HAI* **2**: 495, 1173.

(107) Mooney's figure of 1,200 persons for the "Wingandacoa of 1585" is an estimate deduced from the size of remnant bands of the Secotan (Machapunga, Hatteras, etc.) in the later colonial period, i.e., *c.* 1700 (*Aboriginal Population North of Mexico:* 6, 1928). The Roanoke records give no information whatsoever on Secotan population in 1585.

(108) LANE, p. 142; HARIOT, p. 186; BARLOW, p. 127. For White's drawings see BUSHNELL, 1927, pls. 7, 8, opp. pp. 428, 429, or BINYON, 1925, pls. 24, 27.

(109) White's *Fifth voyage*, Hakluyt, p. 221.

(110) EDWARD CHANNING, *History of the United States* **1**: 130, 1905. On the other hand, Croatoan was frequently visited by the colonists when watching for the arrival of their expected supplies from England.

(111) *The voiage made by Sir Richard Greenvile, for Sir Walter Ralegh, to Virginia, in the yeere 1585*, Hakluyt **6**: 132–139. I ascribe authorship to Grenville, rather than to Lane, inasmuch as the narrative deals with events up to and including Grenville's return to England; however, both "our Generall Sir Richard Greenevil" and "our Lieutenant Master Ralph Lane" are referred to in the third person, as if neither were the author. The account is in the form of a daily journal and must, therefore, have been written by a member of the expedition.

(112) Misprint for Werowan's; in De Bry this picture is entitled "A chieff Ladye of Pomeioc" (De Bry, pl. 8; for original see BUSHNELL, 1927, pl. 4, opp. p. 425, or BINYON, p. 28-b).

(113) Hakluyt **6**: 129.

(114) MOONEY, *HAI* **2**: 276; HAWKS, *History of North Carolina* **1**: 85, 237, 238. Tarbox is entirely incorrect in saying that "Pomeiok . . . seems to have been the chief town of the Indians called the Newsioks, [and] was on or near the Neuse River . . . [near] the spot where now stands the town of Newbern" (*op. cit.:* 140n.)

(115) BUSHNELL, 1927, pl. 7, opp. p. 428 (also in Amer. Anthrop. 9(1): opp. p. 32, 1907); BINYON, pl. 27-a.

(116) *HAI* **1**: 71.

(117) *History of North Carolina* **1**: 101. Here Hawks made the mistake that he warned his readers against in another connection: "The district of Pomouik must therefore not be confounded with the town of Pomeiock" (p. 85). Tarbox repeated Hawks's error in placing Aquascogoc "on the Neuse River, some little way up from its mouth" (*Sir Walter Ralegh's colony:* 140n). Tarbox gave Hawks credit for doing "as much perhaps as any one to find and fix the places covered by the Indian names" of the Roanoke relations, and throughout his own book repeated Hawks's erroneous locations.

(118) GRENVILLE, in Hakluyt **6**: 137–138.

(119) Hakluyt **6**: 129 (Barlow), 141 (Lane).

(120) White's and De Bry's maps, and all subsequent maps based upon the latter, show that Wococon was the native name for modern Ocracoke Island.

(121) *HAI* **2**: 295.

(122) *History of North Carolina* **1**: 74, 101.

(123) *HAI* **1**: 352.

(124) *HAI* **1**: 829.

(125) *HAI* **2**: 801.

(126) Hakluyt **6**: 127.

(127) *Ibid.:* 155 (Lane), 221 (White).

(128) *Ibid.:* 155, 156.

(129) *Ibid.:* 201 (White's *Fourth voyage*); 221–222 (White's *Fifth voyage*).

(130) *Ibid.:* 127.

(131) TALCOTT WILLIAMS, "The Surroundings and Site of Raleigh's Colony," Ann. Rep. Amer. Hist. Assoc. for 1895: 54–60, 1896.

(132) W. R. GERARD, "Virginia Indian Contributions to English," Amer. Anthrop. 9(1): 106, 1907; also *HAI* **2**: 392. Gerard claimed that "Roanoke" as a name for the shell beads used by the natives as ornaments and as a medium of exchange was a misnomer, due to the colonists' mishearing of the original word, which Smith gave as *rawrenock* (*Works*, Arber, p. 46), and Strachey gave as *rarenaw* (*Historie*, p. 185). This word, with the root *rar* meaning to "rub, abrade, smooth, or polish," according to Gerard's etymology, meant "smoothed shells" (*HAI* **2**: 393). However, Lawson gave "ronoak" as the Pamlico word for "peak" in his short vocabulary of the tribe. (*History*, 1937 ed., p. 243). It is possible that by 1709 the Pamlico had accepted an English corruption of the original Algonkian word.

(133) D. I. BUSHNELL, JR., "Tribal Migrations East of the Mississippi," Smithsonian Misc. Coll. **89**(12): 2–3, maps 1–4, 1934; KAJ BIRKET-SMITH, "A Geographical Study of the Early History of the Algonkian Indians," Internat. Archiv für Ethnogr. **24**, 1918; *idem*, "Folk Wanderings and Cultural Drifts in Northern North America," Journ. Soc. Américanistes de Paris **22**: 1–32, 1930.

(134) Croatoan is now usually identified as the land between Ocracoke Island and Cape Hatteras. Some have given it a more southern location, on the northern part of present Portsmouth Island (e.g., Mooney, *HAI* **1**: 365).

(135) Hakluyt **6**: 122–124, 130.

(136) *Ibid.:* 202, 223.

(137) For the number and present social status of this group see O. M. MCPHERSON, *Report on the condition and tribal rights of the Indians of Robeson and adjoining counties of North Carolina* (Senate Doc. 677): 7–40, 120–132, 223–252, 1915; and R. M. HARPER, "A Statistical Study of the Croatans," *Rural Sociology* **2**(4): 444–456, 1937.

(138) HAMILTON MCMILLAN, *Sir Walter Raleigh's lost colony*, privately printed, Raleigh, 1907; *idem*, "The Croatans," North Carolina Booklet **10**: 115–121, 1911; STEPHEN B. WEEKS, "The Lost Colony of Roanoke: Its Fate and Survival," Papers Amer. Hist. Assoc. **5** (pt. 4): 107–146, 1891; *idem*, "Raleigh's Settlements on Roanoke Island, An Historical Survival," Mag. Amer. Hist. **25**: 127–139, 1891. McPherson and D. L. Rights have reviewed the arguments for and against the Croatoan affiliation but are personally noncommital (McPherson, *op. cit.:* Rights, "The Lost Colony Legend," Bull. Arch. Soc. North Carolina **1**(2): 3–7, 1934).

(139) *History of Carolina*, 1937 reprint, p. 62.

(140) J. R. SWANTON, "Probable Identity of the 'Croatan' Indians," U. S. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs (typescript), p. 5, 1933. Swanton concludes that probably "certain Siouan tribes" of the Southeast mainly contributed to the Indian ancestry of the modern Croatan. "If the name of any tribe is to be used in connection with this body of . . . people, that of

the Cheraw would, in my opinion, be most appropriate."

(141) Hakluyt **6**: 130–131.

(142) MOONEY, *The Siouan tribes of the East:* 65 and map opp. p. 5; *idem, HAI* **2**: 967–968; LAWSON, *History* (1937 ed.), frontispiece map.

(143) *HAI* **2**: 277.

(144) *History of North Carolina* **1**: 74.

(145) Amer. Anthrop. **26**(2): 188, 189 (map), 1924.

(146) *HAI* **1**: 222 (Cawruuoc); **2**: 60 (Neusiok); *Aboriginal population of America North of Mexico:* 6, 1928 (Neuse and Coree = Nusiok and Cawruuock).

(147) *A new description of . . . Carolina* (London, 1707), in A. S. SALLEY, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina:* 286, 1911. Archdale refers to them as the "Coranine . . . Nation of Indians."

(148) *History,* 1937 ed., p. 255. Lawson calls them "Connamox" Indians, with Coranine and Raruta as the names of their towns.

(149) V. H. TODD, ed., *Christoph von Graffenried's account of the founding of New Bern:* 376–377, 1920.

(150) Von Graffenried to Governor Hyde, *Colonial records of North Carolina* **1**: 990.

(151) Hewitt listed Coram and Corutra as settlements of the Tuscarora (*HAI* **2**: 852). They were located on the border of Tuscarora and Coree territory, and it is difficult to determine to which tribe they should be accorded.

(152) *Colonial records of North Carolina* **1**: 827, 868, 875, 934, 955, 990–992; **2**: 24, 29, 39, 45, 62, 168 indicate Coree participation in the Tuscarora War. For this conflict as an aspect of the history of the colony see R. D. W. CONNOR, *History of Carolina:* 1 (ch. 7), 1919, and ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, *North Carolina: The Old North State and the New* **1** (ch. 4), 1941. For its ethnological aspects see J. N. B. HEWITT, "Tuscarora," *HAI* **2**: 842–853, and C. W. MILLING, *Red Carolinians:* ch. 8, 1940.

(153) *Colonial records of North Carolina* **2**: 200, 244.

(154) Mooney stated that "in 1715 the remnants of the Coree and Machapunga were assigned a tract on Mattamuskeet lake . . . where they lived in one village, probably until they became extinct" (*HAI* **1**: 349). There is but one reference in the colonial records which suggests that the Coree were included in the Mattamuskeet reservation (*Colonial records of North Carolina* **2**: 168). They more probably joined the Tuscarora remnant in its northward migration. (For the Tuscarora in North Carolina their migration northward, and their adoption by the Iroquois, see J. N. B. HEWITT, "Tuscarora," *HAI* **2**: 842–853.)

(155) *History,* 1937 ed., p. 255 and map (frontispiece); VON GRAFFENRIED, in *Colonial records of North Carolina* **1**: 910, 933, 978; MOONEY, *HAI* **1**: 237; **2**: 60, 397; V. H. TODD, *op. cit.:* 234, 373–374.

(156) *Colonial records of North Carolina* **1**: 875; also pp. 843, 933–934, 955 for Neuse participation in the war.

(157) Approximately 400 Tuscarora today live on a reservation near Niagara Falls, N. Y., and Speck has found the tradition of Tutelo tribal identity preserved among half a hundred Tutelo mixed descendants who live among the Iroquoian Cayuga at Six Nations Reserve near Brantford, Ontario. (See map of Iroquoian reservations and settlements in 1940, W. N. FENTON, "Problems Arising from the Historic Northeastern Position of the Iroquois," in *Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America,* Smithsonian Misc. Coll. **100**: 214–215, 1940. Also F. G. SPECK, *The Tutelo spirit adoption ceremony:* v–xvii, 1–3, Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1942.) There is no similar trace of Neuse, Pamlico, or Coree descendants among modern mixed peoples.

(158) MOONEY, *HAI* **2**: 277 (Pomouic); Speck, Amer. Anthrop.**26** (2): 188, 1924.

(159) *A new description . . . of Carolina* (London, 1707), in A. S. SALLEY, ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina:* 286.

(160) *History of Carolina,* 1937 reprint, p. 255.

(161) *Aboriginal population of America north of Mexico:* 6, 1928.

(162) Compare, for example, the words for the numerals from 1 to 10 given by these three authors (Lawson, *History of Carolina,* 1937 reprint, pp. 240–243; Smith's *Works,* Arber edition, pp. 44–46; Strachey, *Historie:* 183–196).

(163) Hakluyt **6**: 130.

(164) The entrance of the English, of course, disturbed the native situation, and wars within linguistic stocks occurred; for example, one section of the Tuscarora tribe fought against the colonists while another fought with them in the wars of 1711–1715.

(165) MOONEY, *The Siouan tribes of the East:* 7, 1894; *idem, HAI* **2**: p. 60, 1910; SPECK, Amer. Anthrop. **26**(2): 187n, 188, 189 (map), 1924; Swanton, "The Probable Identity of the 'Croatan' Indians," U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs: p. 2, 1933; *idem,* "The Southeastern Indians of History," *Conference on Southern Prehistory:* map no. 1, opp. p. 98, 1932.

(166) *The Siouan tribes of the East:* 8, frontispiece map; *HAI* **1**: 349.

(167) "The Ethnic Position of the Southeastern Algonkian," Amer. Anthrop. **26**(2): 187–188, 1924; "The Possible Siouan Identity of the Words Recorded from Francisco of Chicora," JOURN. WASHINGTON ACAD. SCI. **14**(13): 303, 1924. Siouan tribes in the Southeastern area with the characteristic termination Dr. Speck alludes to were Shoccocree (Shakori), Sugaree, Wateree, Congaree (and Coree?). There were also the Saponi, Occaneechi, Keyauwee, Pedee, Santee, and Sewee. The terminations *-i, -e,* or *-ee* practically never occur in Eastern Algonkian proper names.

(168) J. R. SWANTON, "Unclassified Languages of the Southeast," Internat. Journ. Amer. Linguistics **1**: 3, 1917.

(169) E.g., J. H. WHEELER, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina* **2**: 132, 339, 341, 1851; C. C. CRITTENDEN and D. LACY, eds., *The Historical Records of North Carolina: The County Records* **2**: 42, 1938 (Currituck County); **3**: 114, 142, 1939 (Pasquotank and Perquimans Counties).

(170) *History,* 1937 reprint, p. 255.

(171) *Siouan tribes of the East:* 7, 1894; *HAI* **2**: 207, 234, 293, 297, 1910. Speck considers the Yeopim the same as the Weapemeoc and the Pasquotank, Perquiman, and Poteskeet as "probably" divisions of the latter (Amer. Anthrop. **26** (2): 187–188, 1924).

(172) Council Journal, 1715, *Colonial records of North Carolina* **2**: 172.

(173) *Colonial of North Carolina* **2**: 22, 734 (1703, "Portes Leites" Indians), 141 (1714, "ye

Poteskeyt Towne"), 204–205 (1175, "Porteskill" Indians).

(174) *Ibid.* **3**: 153; **1**: 734.

(175) *Ibid.* **1**: 19; H. T. Lefler, *North Carolina history told by contemporaries:* 14–15, 1934; R. D. W. Connor, *History of North Carolina* **1**: 27, 1919.

(176) *Colonial records of North Carolina* **2**: 140, 483; **4**: 446.

(177) Pollock letter to the Virginia Council, June 17, 1707, *Colonial records of North Carolina* **1**: 657–658.

(178) Mooney, *HAI* **1**: 292; R. D. W. Connor, *History of North Carolina* **1**: 50–51.

(179) *Colonial records of North Carolina* **2**: 140–141; also **1**: 857–860, for the Chowanoc participation in the war of 1711–1712 on the side of the colonists. Mooney is incorrect in placing them in the Tuscarora War against the whites (*HAI* **1**: 292).

(180) *Colonial records of North Carolina* **2**: 379–380.

(181) *History of Carolina*, 1937 reprint, p. 255.

(182) *Colonial records of North Carolina* **4**: 33–35. The average purchase price was *c.* $1.85 an acre (with the £ at par); in addition 100 acres were sold for 60 barrels of tar.

(183) *Ibid.* **4**: 74–75, 630–632; **2**: 379–380.

(184) Letter of G. Rainsford to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, *Colonial records of North Carolina* **1**: 857–860.

(185) Spangenburg Diary, entry dated Edenton, September 13, 1752, *Colonial records of North Carolina* **5**: 1. There is a more complete version of the Spangenburg diary in A. L. Fries, ed., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* **1**: 36 ff., 1922.

(186) James Craven to Governor Dobbs, Edenton, December 7, 1754, *Colonial records of North Carolina* **22**: 329; also p. 312.

(187) Francis Yardley to John Farrar, Linnć-Haven, Va., May 8, 1654, in A. S. Salley, ed.: *Narratives of early Carolina:* 25–29. The Shakori and Eno were interior tribes, living just west of the Tuscarora. For identification of Cacores as Shakori and Haynokes as Eno, see J. Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes of the East:* 62–64, and *HAI* **1**: 426; **2**: 521.

(188) *History of Carolina:* 255, 212.

(189) *HAI* **1**: 781.

(190) Personal Communication, December, 1942.

(191) Von Graffenried, *Colonial records of North Carolina* **1**: 933–934; Thomas Pollock to the Lords Proprietors, September 20, 1712, *ibid.:* 875.

(192) *Colonial records of North Carolina* **2**: 29, 31, 39, 45.

(193) *Ibid.* **1**: 875; **2**: 28, 38, 39, 45.

(194) Pollock, May 25 and June 25, 1713. *Colonial records of North Carolina* **2**: 45, 52–53.

(195) Pollock, September 1, 1713, *ibid.:* 61–62. Pollock was mistaken in identifying the Coree with the "Cotechnees." Cotechney was a large Tuscarora town, the home of Hancock, one of the principal Tuscarora chiefs and the colonists' chief Indian enemy during the first years of the war. The town was the scene of the execution of Lawson in 1711 and was located in eastern present Greene county, near the mouth of Contentnea Creek. (J. N. B. Hewitt, *HAI* **1**: 352; **2**: 846, 852.)

(196) Council Journal, *Colonial records of North Carolina* **2**: 168, 316.

(197) *Ibid.* **3**: 153.

(198) *Ibid.* **5**: 321; **6**: 616.

(199) Rev. Alexander Stewart to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, *Colonial records of North Carolina* **6**: 563, 995.

(200) "Remnants of the Machapunga Indians of North Carolina," Amer. Anthrop. **18**(2): 271–272, 1916.

ENTOMOLOGY.—*The Mexican species of leafhoppers of the genus* Texananus (*Homoptera: Cicadellidae*).[1]

Dwight M. DeLong, Ohio State University.

(Communicated by C. F. W. Muesebeck.)

A paper dealing with the Mexican species of *Texananus* including the new species then at hand was published together with the Mexican species of *Phlepsius* in 1939. Since that time the writer has had the opportunity of collecting additional material in several states of Mexico in company with C. C. Plummer, J. S. Caldwell, and E. E. Good. As a result 27 species of the genus have now been taken in Mexico, 6 of which are described as new at this time and 19 of which are known only from Mexico. In comparison, 20 species are known to occur only in the United States and 8 species are found in both countries. In addition to the 6 new species described, 3 male allotypes are described, one species placed in synonomy and many new records cited of geographical and altitudinal distributions. All types are in the author's private collection.

Genus **Texananus** Ball

Texananus cuspidatus DeLong

Texananus cuspidatus DeLong, Anal. Esc. Nac. Cien. Biol. **1**: 382. 1939.

In addition to the records of material collected in Chiapas at elevations of about 2,500 feet near Finca Vergel, specimens are at hand from Fortín, Veracruz (3,200 feet) and Tamazunchale, San Luis Potosí (350 feet). This species apparently is associated rather definitely with the low altitude tropical vegetation of the monsoon forest association.

[1] Received January 4, 1944.