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Siouan Tribes of the Carolinas as Known from Catawba, Tutelo, and Documentary Sources

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SIOUAN TRIBES OF THE CAROLINAS
AS KNOWN FROM CATAWBA, TUTELO,
AND DOCUMENTARY SOURCES¹

B, FRANK G. SPECK

THE hope entertained since 1893 among students of native history and institutions, that the confusion of tribal names mentioned in the early narratives of the Carolinas would sooner or later be cleared up has not as yet been realized. Nor are the prospects very favorable, now that the last remaining persons speaking any of the Siouan languages of the Southeast have dwindled to the number of two of the Catawba. As Mooney points out in summarizing the results of his study of Siouan tribes of the east, the actual identity of only the Tutelo and Catawba languages can be ascertained with certainty, whereas twenty-two other of his Siouan classifications were so determined only through the inference of their political relations with the Catawba. Later Swanton described grounds upon which Woccon, of the extreme eastern North Carolina region, could be linked by lexicon with the Catawba as a Siouan idiom, and subsequently I was encouraged by him to suggest a similar solution for the identity of Duhare, spoken about Winyaw Bay, south of Cape Fear River. Mooney (1893), following Hale (1870) and Gatschet (1881), concluded that historical sources were sufficient to remove doubt as to the Tutelo relationship of Saponi and Occaneechi, finally reducing the totally unattached languages of the Carolinas to some fifteen. No lexical terms from these latter are known to exist for purposes of classification except for three or four chief's names in Cheraw and Santee, and the river and village names from which the tribes themselves had derived their proper names.

No adequate linguistic sources other than Catawba now exist to which we can turn for explanations of these perplexing proper names. Perchance the Tutelo, known as a speakable language until about 1890, had it been more intensively recorded than it was by Hale whose Tutelo vocabulary contains less than 200 words,² might have afforded sufficient etymological evidence to have settled the question for some of the unexplainable proper

¹ Published with the permission of the Bureau of American Ethnology and the American Council of Learned Societies (Committee on Research in American Indian Languages), organizations that contributed to the accomplishment of field work in the Carolinas, the partial results of which are incorporated in this article (correspondence F. Boas, Feb. 18, 1933 and M. W. Stirling, Feb. 21, 1933). Acknowledgement is also due to the Faculty Research Fund of the University of Pennsylvania, Grants No. 50 and 93, for the use of resources in the field which resulted in making additions to the material from native sources in Canada.

² Horatio Hale, *The Tutelo Tribe and Language*.

names of North Carolina. This chance passed by. Thus Catawba remained as the last and only source.

With this whole perplexing situation constantly in mind I have grasped every opportunity, while studying Catawba under funds provided by the Bureau of American Ethnology and the American Council of Learned Societies, to learn from the last speakers of the language what they could tell of the few tribal names applied to surrounding peoples. And at the same time I have tested the possibilities of explanation of proper names of the extinct tribes of the Carolinas through their knowledge of the Catawba language in the hope that tribal synonyms might help clear up some of the gaps in our knowledge by proving out meanings for some of the native names of surrounding tribes, rivers, and villages. The success of this attempt has not been phenomenal, yet some contributions to the terminology of the region have inevitably resulted from the memory-dredging process on the part of the four living speakers of Catawba with whom I have worked these past years.³ These results are now brought together from the notes and presented with certain of my own speculations on the Siouan lineages of the east, inasmuch as there is unfortunately no prospect that henceforth any additional first hand material can be elicited from the Catawba informants.

A question that has engaged attention for some time is that of the former wider distribution of the eastern Siouan peoples farther to the eastward and northward of where they were found by the first explorers. I have still to find convincing proof that the Algonkian populations did not displace some of these Siouan kindreds in their expansion southward and into the Alleghenian region.

The deep-rooted hostility that prevailed between the Powhatan and the Monacan and Manahoac may be attributed to intrusion of the one upon the territory of the other in later times. And in this case it would seem to have been due to the aggression of the Powhatan, supposedly the later arrivals in the Virginia lowlands.⁴

Such an attitude toward cultural history here could be held to account for the allocation of the Powhatan peoples in the lower country to the eastward and the Siouan peoples in the piedmont region, their hostility

³ Mrs Samson Owl, Margaret Brown and her son and daughter, Sam Blue and Sally Brown.

⁴ In a previous article I gave reasons for my inference regarding the relatively recent migration of the Powhatan peoples into the Virginia tidewater region (Ethnic Position of the Southeastern Algonkian). Also Birket-Smith. In a recent study Bushnell also proposes a similar movement (Bushnell, 1934).

toward each other, the survival of the language of the Occaneechi as a trade language of the region and as the language of religious ritual, which facts we learn from Strachey.⁵ If accordingly, my inferences for a more easterly habitat of certain Siouan peoples, the Shoccoree and possibly the Eno, are accepted, then we have a trend of evidence hinting at the conclusion that Siouan peoples were earlier residents in eastern Virginia and Carolina and were invaded several centuries before the coming of the Europeans by the Powhatan, and gradually dispossessed of their territories by them.

THE SIOUAN TRIBES OF THE CAROLINAS AND THE MEANINGS OF
THEIR NAMES IN CATAWBA

The deep mystery surrounding the identity of the small extinct tribes to the east and south of the Catawba receives but little light from an inquiry into tradition among the survivors of the tribe. That many of these peoples on the lower courses of the rivers flowing from the Appalachians into the Atlantic were of southeastern Siouan affinity has been substantially shown by Mooney. And nothing has developed through later inquiry into the question to weaken this supposition. The tribal names and local designations characteristic of the area in question would fall well within the phonetic range that we find in the Catawba language. It is indeed even possible for renderings to be given to many of them in Catawba, yet we can not feel certain that interpretations for the proper names are to be relied upon when the Catawba themselves do not know until we mention them that peoples under these designations ever existed. In view, however, of the avidity with which any possible clue to the perplexing aboriginal history is sought in our process of investigation, I shall offer the results of discussion with the Catawba-speaking informants apropos of the tribal names of the long-extinct groups so painstakingly worked over from various sources by Mooney.

Catawba. The proper name Catawba has been the subject of speculation as respects its origin and meaning. No definite source in neighboring Indian languages can be traced to the satisfaction of critical judgement. Both Swanton and Mooney considered the possibility of Catawba (*Kata'pa*) and Kituhwa (variations *Katuha*, *Kuttawa*, etc.) being related forms. And while the latter term is an accepted proper name for the Cherokee in a number of instances, it appears as a synonym for the Catawba as well in some southern tongues, such as Shawnee and evidently Delaware. The interchange of *b*, *p*, and *h*, *w* in the others need cause little embarrassment

⁵ Strachey, p. 161. See also Hale, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

for they are phonetically interchangeable. Ostensibly the proper name is an old one referring to the populations of the Carolina mountain and foot-hill region, without specifying the particular tribe or idiom of its bearers as being Catawba, Cherokee, or mixed groups of the two.

My own suggestion regarding the analysis of the mysterious proper name is a brief one. We may begin by taking the form of the name as given by the speakers of Catawba themselves. This form is $y\epsilon\ k\alpha t'ha'p\alpha$, "Catawba people." This form is known to the informants without any further consciousness of its literal meaning. Yet in experimenting with various possibilities with a view to its analysis, the following discovery was made. If we accordingly regard the term as a sentence in construction we may divide the elements into syllables with a fairly definite meaning. $Y\epsilon\ k\alpha$ may be rendered "people the present, or now," the element $-t'$ would be a subjective case form and $ha'p\alpha$ "on the edge of or bank of," referring to a river. Hence the construction could and does express the idea of "the People upon the Edge or Bank of River." This possibility has some degree of likelihood in the fact that the Catawba have always been designated as located in proximity to the river that bears their name. The historical proper names of the tribe have been, from the first (Lederer), variations of the term $i'sw\alpha'$, "river (people)," as Esaw, Issa, Ushery and the like, all too well reviewed in the accounts to need listing here.

In the Catawba language the term $y\epsilon\ i'sw\alpha'$ ($h\alpha r\epsilon$), "People of the River," is also applied to the nation. This is probably the form of the proper name from which the common names in early records were derived, as for instance those just given. And we might go further in constructive speculation concerning all these forms. By combining the elements into a perfectly good idiomatic sentence we have $y\epsilon\ i'sw\alpha'k\alpha th\alpha'p\alpha$ which would mean, depending upon the arbitrary literal values of the stems, "People of the River (Catawba) Banks," "People of the River (Catawba) Broken Banks."⁶ In connection with this name it should not be forgotten that the

⁶ Swanton's suggestion of explanation is also worth considering here (correspondence May 24, 1933):

"Please consider the following which I find among our Catawba [vocabulary] cards: $ya'p\ k\alpha' t\alpha pa$, a tree fork. It also appears that $k\alpha t$ is the stem of a verb meaning "to break." As the Catawba appear in Lawson's narrative as one of two bands of the tribe of about equal strength, the other being called Esaws, probably from the river, it has occurred to me that the word may be taken from this native term indicating a separate part of the main Catawba nation.

"However, if it is identical with Kituhwa, it must be fairly old. Mooney says this last was originally that of an important settlement on Tuckasegee River. Is it possible that the Catawba were once settled there? And if they were, would not this be an excellent hint for archeological investigation?"

Wateree river, which is nothing but a section of the Catawba lower down, traces its name to a Catawba word meaning "Washed Away Banks" (watəŋ'həre).

Saponi and Tutelo. The identification of these two tribes in the historic period with the Monahassanugh and Monasickapanough (Smith, 1607), divisions of the Monacan group, as residents in the Virginia foothills has been undertaken by Mooney and concluded by Bushnell.⁷ Their exodus from Virginia, their wanderings southward and then their return to Virginia to settle for a while at Fort Christianna⁸ have been succinctly traced by Mooney. As yet, however, we have no mention of their association with the Catawba as allies or as incorporated units. Nevertheless there must have been at one time an association between the northern (Tutelo and associated peoples) and the southern (Catawba, Woccon, and others) divisions of the Siouan tribes of the region.⁹ Swanton thinks that the incursion of the Spaniards into the Carolinas in the 16th century resulted in forcing certain of them to the northward.

Catawba tradition is silent in regard to the Tutelo. A single echo of the once important name Saponi possibly comes down to us through Catawba memory in the mention by Margaret Brown of a tribe whose name was remembered as (yε) pa'nα spoken of by her mother. She knew nothing more of the term or its meaning.

Of the proper names denoting the Tutelo (Toteri, Yesang, Nahissan, etc.) there is no hint of cognizance among the Catawba. Treating the village names of the Tutelo and Saponi identified as Monahassanugh and Monasickapanough, from the viewpoint of Catawba stem similarity, the element mona- is valid as the Catawba designation for "land, earth, ground" but this etymology does not apply to forms in the dialects of the northern (Monacan) eastern Siouan area.

Incidental to this brief discussion of Tutelo and Saponi history, I have added a few notes on these tribes secured from informants among

⁷ Mooney, 1894, p. 37; Bushnell, 1919, pp. 13, 17.

⁸ Bushnell (*ibid.*, p. 28) locates this fort about ten miles north of Roanoke River, Brunswick Co., Virginia.

⁹ The definition of the northern and southern division of eastern Siouan languages was announced first by Swanton, 1928, pp. 34-35. The extant linguistic sources for Tutelo are Horatio Hale, *The Tutelo Tribe and Language*; L. J. Frachtenberg, *Contributions to a Tutelo Vocabulary*; E. Sapir, *A Tutelo Vocabulary*.

A notice of some importance in connection with the Tutelo language is given by Gatschet (*A Grammatic Sketch of the Catawba Language*, p. 52) stating that J. O. Dorsey had found in an old document in Washington a mention that Tutelo and Winnebago could understand each other's language at a treaty taking place at Prophet's Town, Indiana, in 1809.

the Six Nations at Grand River, Ontario, since here these observations will meet the eyes of students interested in them.

The words of Mooney applying to the Saponi seem to be the last that can be said of the tribe. One clue concerning its disappearance from history, in solving the identity, is a family name and family group named Boni', domiciled among the Mohawk of the Bay of Quinté, Ontario. At the Six Nations this information was furnished; the Boni' family, under the name Boni' ha'ga, "Boni' people," was understood to have come from the United States about 1800. The family is classified as being of mixed Mohawk and Cayuga lineage, affiliated with the Mohawk of the Bay of Quinté. If, by remote chance upon deeper inquiry, the tradition of this family should possibly develop an association with the Saponi tribal appellation, Saponi' ha'ga, the question of the fate of the mysterious Siouan tribe from the southeast may be reopened.

Among the Six Nations Iroquois of Ontario a reminiscence of the Tutelo, which has escaped recording by those who have questioned the Iroquois on the subject, was offered me in 1925 by Joe Henry, the oldest Cayuga living at that time. This addition to our knowledge of the Tutelo relates that the name of the last Tutelo chief was Ka'sto'hagu, the term referring to his "Dwelling in Stone."¹⁰ Legend states that he had killed a number of people; that he was the "first Tutelo who came to the Six Nations;" and that he had formerly lived in a cave having a room perpendicular to the entry passage in which recess he lived for protection. The cave was so formed that only one invader at a time could enter and turn the corner. Intrenched in this cavern he had accounted for his enemies. The interesting tale of the old Cayuga is apparently a native version of a tradition recorded in 1733 by Byrd in reference to a cave that he found on an island in Roanoke River (Mecklenburg Co., Virginia) lying above Occaneechi Island, inhabited by the Tutelo before 1701: in which cave the last Tutelo king with only two men had defended himself against a large party of Iroquois and at last forced them to retire.¹¹ Tradition among the Iroquois at times dies hard!

The only sources now remaining open for the investigation of Tutelo

¹⁰ We learn (Chadwick, *People of the Long House*, p. 19, and Boyle, *Annual Archaeological Report of Ontario*, p. 55, quoted in article *Tutelo* by Mooney [*Handbook of American Indians*, Bulletin, Bureau Amer. Ethnology, 30, Pt. 2, p. 856]) that John Key, a Tutelo of the Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, one of the last to speak the language, bore the name Gostango, "Below the Rock." He is evidently the person referred to above.

¹¹ Byrd, *History of the Dividing Line*, etc., Vol. II, pp. 5-8; quoted by Mooney, 1894, p. 38.

customs lie in the traditions of the Cayuga, who were instrumental as sponsors for the adoption of the Tutelo into the League of the Iroquois, and the Onondaga and Seneca with whom the tribe has intermarried in the last century. These sources remain largely untested. The occasion in the winters 1931, '32 '33 for field research among the Six Nations placed an opportunity within reach to carry on questioning and recording of facts in Tutelo traditional history and custom handed down among the Iroquois of the Six Nation's Reserve on Grand River, Ontario. The results are incorporated into this paper. Among the seven families of recognized Tutelo descent among the Onondaga, Seneca, and Cayuga, there are still preserved certain ceremonies of distinct Tutelo origin which, while not conducted through the medium of Tutelo speech, are nevertheless chanted in Tutelo songs. The outlines of one of these ceremonies, the Re-dressing or Adoption Rite, have been recorded and explanations secured of the meanings of the separate ceremonial acts comprising it. Treatment of the Re-dressing ceremony, however, is omitted from this section of Tutelo notes covering the history of the tribe winnowed among the Tutelo descendants. The conduct of its rites, its songs, the equipment required, its symbols, its entire function, are Tutelo in origin and character. They attest the survival of Tutelo culture after the assimilation of the tribe into the body of the Iroquois. This fact is most interesting and significant. It means to the historian and to the ethnologist that Tutelo institutions still remain to be studied after Tutelo blood has been assimilated into the body of the larger Indian nations. I need not add that certain words of the language have been recorded in recent years on the Six Nation's Reserve by at least four investigators. A vocabulary taken down by myself in 1932 duplicates the effort and the results. The accompanying notes are selected as being appropriate to include under the title of this paper.¹²

The Cayuga claim to have befriended the Tutelo at the time of their first appearance in the north when the hand of the other tribes was turned against them. The tale to be given shortly, which was narrated by Deskaheh (Alexander J. General), one of the Cayuga chiefs, refers to their first contact with the Tutelo, presumably after the tribe had first left its seats in the Carolinas. The Cayuga designate the Tutelo as *todi'i'ho'nα* or by the shortened form *ti'i'ho'nα*. The Mohawk term applied to the Tutelo is *te'yotoni'ro'nα*. The following narration is given in the words of the informant.

¹² The task was made possible, as forming part of the plan for research in native religious rites and beliefs of tribes dwelling in eastern Canada, through several grants (Nos. 40, 93) allotted to me in 1932 and '33 by the Faculty Research Committee of the University of Pennsylvania, to which source I accordingly express acknowledgment.

HOW THE TUTELO WERE ADOPTED BY THE CAYUGA

The Tutelo came up from the south. They did not have any settlements and lived in the woods and caves like wild people. They were a very timid people and were afraid of other Indians. The Tutelo scouts who went out to look for the smoke from camp fires (settlements) would transform themselves into mice and travel under the leaves so that they would not be discovered by unfriendly Indians. When they wished to look over the country they would resume their natural form and climb to the tops of trees. The Tutelo scouts were at last seen by the Cayuga who, being a friendly and peaceful tribe, invited them to join their settlement. They accepted and mingled with the Cayuga and learned their language. The Tutelo scouts returned to their people and told them how they had been taken in by the Cayuga. They brought back the other Tutelo and their families to the Cayuga settlement. There they built a camp of logs. When sleeping at night they were arranged like spokes of a wheel, feet to the fire: the children first, then the women, and last, the men to guard the camp. One night the Tutelo overheard the Cayuga talking in council with the Seneca. They could not understand all that was being said, but it sounded to the Tutelo like a plan to eat them. They thought that the Cayuga and Seneca were saying, "The Tutelo are good to eat." It proved to be that the members of the council were talking over the proposed plan for the adoption of the Tutelo.¹³

A reference by Cammerhoff¹⁴ in 1755 alludes to the residence of a detached tribe, neither Iroquoian- nor Algonkian-speaking, on the east branch of the Susquehanna. The reference is deemed worthy of quoting in full as follows.

Here they tell me [referring to Gohontoto] was in early times an Indian town, traces of which are still noticeable, e.g., corn pits, etc., inhabited by a distinct nation [neither Aquinoschioni, i.e., Iroquois, nor Delawares] who spoke a peculiar language and were called Tehotitachsae; against these the Five Nations warred and rooted them out. The Cayuga for a time held a number of them, but the nation and their language are now exterminated and extinct.

General John S. Clark,¹⁵ painstaking student of documents referring to former tribes in Pennsylvania, has devoted considerable attention to the identity of the tribes and villages referred to in the passage just quoted. In his correspondence with Professor A. L. Guss relative to the identity of the peoples in question we find that the latter's responses to General Clark are also of a character that throw light on the topic. They are as follows.

¹³ By the Indians on the Reserve who use English, the Tutelo are referred to as Tuteli.

¹⁴ J. C. Cammerhoff, *Diary of the Journey of Brother Cammerhoff and David Zeisberger to the Five Nations, 1750*. A special translation is quoted in *Handbook of American Indians, Part 2*, p. 977; also in *Selected Manuscripts of General John S. Clark*, p. 37. Tehotitachsae also mentioned on pp. 3, 7, 8, 38.

¹⁵ See Guss-Clark Correspondence in *Selected Manuscripts of General John S. Clark, op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

The three towns appearing on the Popple map of 1733 must have been those of the same people mentioned at the treaty of 1722 as OSTANGHAES which live upon the Susquehanna river and occupy Ostauwocken as one of their towns, very likely the remnant of the Tehotitachse who retreated via the West Branch where they halted for a time and built the Conestoga fort at the mouth of the Tiatacton and afterwards removed to the vicinity of Lake Erie. The name Tiatacton given by the Moravian missionary Spangenberg in 1745 is precisely the same as the Iroquois name for Pine Creek at the confluence of which was the fortified stronghold where the last stand was made by the Conestogas against the Iroquois, and from which they retired about 1675. Tehotitachse as given by Cammerhoff is another version of the same name.

Otstonwaken was no doubt the town lying on both sides of the mouth of the Loyal Sock (a creek flowing into the West Branch). Otstuaqy is only another form of the same name. I have been collecting sentences from books, and names from maps and send you my list. I have a notion that this name originally denoted a Huron-Iroquois nation that lived on the West Branch, called the people of the Demon's Caves because they lived in caves at one time, or more likely because they claimed that they originally came out of caves after the manner of their legends generally. These being exterminated by the Iroquois at an early day, the river and region still had the name clinging to them. And it is probable that a remnant of the old tribe lived at this place as did the Conestogas below the mountains, known as the ancient Susquehannocks or Minquas (See Col. Records, Oct. 11, 1722). This remnant like the Conestogas may have perished and therefore as you once wrote me was overlooked by historians. Otzinachse with terminal variations was applied to the West Branch of the Susquehanna—the same term without the prefix *or*, was applied to the river, also to Shamokin or the region of the mouth of the West Branch. All the names on my list with prefix *or* are forms having some relation to the name of the river, and were applied to a town on that river and denoted also the people of the region of the Demon's Caves or that originated from the Demon's Caves.¹⁶

Another correspondent of General Clark's, David Craft,¹⁷ wrote the following in reference to the towns mentioned in the above notes.

In 1745 Zeisberger made his first acquaintance with the County. . . . In 1750 he in company with a Cayuga chieftain paddled up the Susquehanna from Wyoming to Tioga . . . at Mehoopany was an Indian town called ONOCHSÆ (below Wyalusing), "opposite to which is a cave." . . . It was at that time nearly abandoned there being only two or three families living there. This was on the right bank of the river and about 60 miles below the State line as the river runs.

Next was Gahontoto, which the Cayuga said had been inhabited by a

¹⁶ A synonymy of twenty-nine equivalents for the term is given in the Clark manuscript, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁷ Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 7.

strange tribe of Indians, neither Iroquois nor Delawares, called by the Cayuga Tehotachsae, with whom the Cayuga made war, finally exterminating them. "This was before the Indians had seen rifles when they fought with bows and arrows." Craft places the date at about 1640. In reply to Craft's notes, Clark¹⁸ says, ". . . In your locality I identify Sionassi as another form of Onochsae carrying the idea of a cave. . . . Onondaga Creek in our state was called 'ZINACHSON' from a Demon's Cave."

Upon the occasion of referring these terms to Deskaheh, the Cayuga linguistic informant referred to previously, certain checks upon their interpretation were brought out. The inferences to be made from the etymologies worked over do not coincide in every particular with those offered by Clark and others. It seems apparent that added weight is given to the judgement that the mysterious tribe in question may have been a Siouan speaking unit, to wit, the Tutelo or their affiliates. The repeated reference to the unidentified tribe as "cave dwellers," as "wandering people" or "people without homes;" the concurrence of the proper name of the Tutelo in contemporary Cayuga with the proper names for the mysterious tribe and its villages appearing in the documents, point likewise to establishing identity with the Tutelo. The associations are constant. With this tentative conclusion I leave judgment to the critic.

The explanation of the terms in Cayuga are as follows.¹⁹

Tehotitachsae-todi'dast, "stopped them"

tehoti'ta'se, "stopped them" (Mohawk)

Gahontoto-kawꞑ do'do, "tree, or post, standing up"

khaꞑdo'do, "small tree standing up"

Otzinachse-o'sana'se, "new name," or "new chief"

The explanation of the term Diad-aklu as being "lost" or "bewildered people," quoted by Clark from the Journal of Conrad Weiser, who passed through the village in 1737, was confirmed by Deskaheh, the Cayuga informant.²⁰

Further questioning of John Buck, the present Tutelo chief among the descendants of the tribe in the Six Nations, adds the following valuable facts to our knowledge of this interesting group.²¹

¹⁸ Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁹ Compiled by Miss G. Tantaquidgeon from the results of questioning Deskaheh in checking over data in her appendix to the Selected Manuscripts of General John S. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-43.

²⁰ Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

²¹ John Buck has also been consulted by Hewitt and memorialized by him as an informant in several of his reports (Explorations and Field Work of the Smithsonian Institution, 1926,

The Tutelo constituent still maintains the tribal name as an alien element adopted into the Six Nations. The event of adoption is dated 1753 by the records of the Six Nations Council. The political status of the tribe is that of a "prop," or "support between the logs" in the side wall of the Long House of the League of the Iroquois, as the native figure of speech phrases it. This status in the League entitles the adopted tribe to maintain a chief as its representative to sit in the League Council of forty-nine members. The Tutelo chief may speak and act in the Council only in reference to affairs of the Tutelo tribe, not having the privilege of participating in the parleys of the Five Nations in dealing with major affairs of the League. The status of the Tutelo corresponds to that of the Tuscarora and the Nanticoke as "younger brothers" and the Delawares as "nephews." The present chief of the tribe is John Buck, Ga'poga'tadyi' (for which there is no equivalent given in English because the title is a Tutelo term whose meaning has been forgotten). Buck is the descendant of a long line of leading Tutelo persons. He derives his descent in the tribe through his father, contrary to the usual Iroquois custom of tracing descent in the maternal line. He is a life chief holding the name-title as given, handed down from early times. His paternal grandmother was a Tutelo who was born among the Iroquois about 1802. Another Tutelo ancestor who died about sixty years ago was Ku'he, a name like the rest not being translatable. Buck also traces descent from the Tutelo war chief Kasta'-hagu, "Dwells in Stone," mentioned above. This was his paternal grandmother's uncle. Buck is accordingly the political and ceremonial representative or chief of the seven family groups, comprising about sixty individuals, who carry on the Tutelo identity in the League of the Iroquois at their reserve in Ontario.²²

Still another reference to the Tutelo under their oldest recorded name, Nahissan, comes to us, I believe, in the reference by Bland (1650) to a nation living

above the head of the James River unto the foot of the great mountains, on which River there lived many people upwards being the Occanacheans and the Nes-

p. 237; *ibid.*, 1929, p. 201). Hewitt refers to the migration legend of the Tutelo from North Carolina leading them to the Cayuga, and his notes are to be looked for with extreme interest.

²² The family heads and enumeration as given by him, which would be about as correct as it could be estimated now, are as follows: Peter Williams (four children); John Buck (thirteen children); Mrs Sanders (one child); Eliz. Fish (four children); Joe Cranbette (a large family of children); Elisha Williams (four children); Mrs Lucy (Williams) Fishcarrier (eight children). Other Tutelo descendants of mixed lineage might be listed among the Six Nations.

soniecks and that where some of the Occanacheans lived, there is an island within the River three days journey about.²³

This form of the name (Nessoneicks), which I take to be a synonym of Nahissan, with an Algonkian plural ending plus the English plural, appears to have been overlooked by previous authorities.

Another minor point. Under another form of the tribal name, Mohetan, a village of this affinity is indicated on Alvord and Bidgood's map (1673-4), visited by Needham and Arthur, a days journey from the Great Kanawha River, West Virginia.²⁴ At present we may admit that this reference means an earlier wider extension toward the west in the Alleghenies or a move toward the end of the 17th century in that direction, after which the village may have acquired a name derived from some other tongue.

The association of the Mannahoac with the Monacan brings up another aspect of the problem before us. Both peoples are described as occupants of the piedmont and mountain slopes of Virginia, and they have been regarded as related tribes, by all the authorities who speak about them since Hale and Mooney, both as concerns the characteristics of speech and culture. Since, therefore, we possess a vocabulary from only the one language of the Virginia area, namely Tutelo, it may be profitable to apply the lexical forms of Tutelo to the half dozen terms preserved by Captain Smith as place or tribal names of the Mannahoac confederacy. I would suggest accordingly that the term "Stegarakes," one of those given by Smith as a division of the Mannahoac people, is a derivation from Tutelo *histēk*, *stēk*, "island," in reference to the location of one of its villages. Also that Smith's Whonkenteads might be a corruption of Tutelo *wahtakai*, "Indian," and that Smith's terms Tauxanias, Shackaconias, Ontponeas might contain as terminations (-onea[s]) the Tutelo element *onī* (Hale, p. 34), "at the prairie." Without intending to assume a positive attitude concerning the interpretation of Mannahoac names written in Smith's manuscript three hundred years ago, by a stranger to the Indian tongue, explained through the medium of the small Tutelo vocabulary (spoken by a Siouan tribe about one hundred miles distant from them) of about one hundred fifty words recorded by Hale in 1870, the above suggestions will be accepted merely as such.

Occaneechi. The term Occaneechi (with its variants Akenatzy, Occanacheans, Patshenins) comes down to us as the tribal designation of an early people of the Virginia-Carolina frontier, dwelling (1670) on a large

²³ Bland, *The Discovery of New Brittain*, p. 16.

²⁴ Map by Lee Bidgood and C. W. Alvord in *The First Trans-Allegheny Explorations by the Virginians, 1650-1674*.

island in Roanoke River just below the confluence of the Staunton and the Dan Rivers, near the site of Clarksburg, Mecklenburg Co., Virginia.²⁵ It is undoubtedly, as Mooney has shown, the designation of a Siouan-speaking tribe affiliated with the Saponi and Tutelo. Yet we have no linguistic proof of such an affinity beyond the statement that their languages were similar, which is supported by testimony given to Hale by Nikonha, the Tutelo.²⁶ Nor is it possible to add anything to its meaning or history from Catawba sources. Its connections were, however, definitely with the northern (Saponi, Tutelo, or Nahissan) branch of the eastern Siouan tribes with whom they finally combined. Bland (1650) writes of the Occanacheans and Nessoneicks (which I have already noted is a synonym for Nahissan) as living together on a branch of the Roanoke.²⁷

As an advance step in the attempt to explain the tribal names in this area of puzzling terms, I would make bold to suggest a possible explanation of the word Occaneechi, using Tutelo sources for the purpose, since we have accepted the conclusion offered by Hale and by Mooney that Saponi, Tutelo, and Occaneechi were related and reciprocally intelligible tongues. Reverting to the Tutelo vocabulary recorded by Hale we encounter the term yuhkañ, "man," among five other synonyms listed.²⁸ I suggest, accordingly, that Occaneechi, and its related forms, are derivations from this form (occan = yuhkañ) with a terminal modifier; whence Occaneechi, Occanachee (ans), Akenatzy, denote an equivalent of "people." This possibility leads even farther. In the early form Monacan, denoting, in the 17th century, the Saponi, Tutelo, and probably the Occaneechi assembled, we may have a corruption of Tutelo amāñi, amai, "land," prefixed to the term yuhkañ, whence tentatively develops amāñ(i) (y)uhkañ or Monacan, "people of the land."²⁹ The sense of this meaning, as being logically applicable to native tribes in America and elsewhere in reference to themselves, is too obvious to be seriously disputed by the ethnologist.

Cheraw, Sara. Of the tribal groups of the Carolinas supposed to be of eastern Siouan classification, the name of the Cheraw, or Sara, has engaged much attention. From the earliest mention of the region (DeSoto, 1540) to

²⁵ Lederer; see article *Occaneechi* by Mooney, Handbook of American Indians, Part 2, p. 103.

²⁶ Hale, p. 10.

²⁷ Bland, p. 16.

²⁸ Hale, p. 41.

²⁹ The Catawba equivalent is ma, or man, or mono, "land, ground, earth." Mooney inclines toward a similar explanation of this element (Mooney, 1894, p. 26), giving also Strachey's (1722) attempt to explain it as derived from Powhatan monohacan or monowhauk, "sword," and Heckewelder's from Delaware "spade" or "digging instrument."

the close of the Indian period of independence there (1838), the name Cheraw has persisted in recognizable form attached to the same general tract of country, namely North and South Carolina east of the Swannanoa Mountains of the Blue Ridge to the Pedee River, following the strip of country along the boundary line between these two states. Cheraw, with its variants Sara, Suala, Xualla, is a name to conjure with in the reconstruction of early Siouan ethnology of the Carolinas. First let me observe, however, that to the recent generations of the Catawba no tribe is remembered under any form of the name, except through its connection with the hypothetical synonym *i'swə're*, "river," to be dealt with shortly. So from Catawba sources our information remains purely a matter of linguistic speculation. Gatschet, nevertheless,³⁰ did suggest an interpretation of the term Sara as "a place of tall grass or weeds." My own opinion would be that the above has value only as a guess, somewhat warped through a supposed connection with the term *səra'k*, "grass, weed." Even without taking into account our ignorance of the original accented syllable in Sara, and disregarding the differences in the first vowels, the term lacks the elements denoting locality *mə*, *mo'nə* "land," "place," or the locative *mə*, "in," "at," when the meaning given by Gatschet is implied. The name Sara (Cheraw) is worthy of being reexamined for what it may contribute to our meagre knowledge of the region.

Mooney has assembled the synonyms of Sara from available early sources. These forms resolve themselves into modified spellings of Cheraw, Chauala, Xuala (Shua'la), Suala, and most frequently Sara.³¹ Among others should be mentioned the name applied to the tribe by the Cherokee, namely Suwali (plural Ani Suwali) according to Mooney's information, to which he adds the note that the name is still familiar to the Cherokee and that it is embraced in the designation for Swannanoa Gap crossing the Blue Ridge east of Asheville, which in Cherokee is "Suwali-nuⁿ'ahi, or Suwali trail, that being the pass through which ran the trail from the Cherokee to the Suwali." This is positive and acceptable evidence in corroboration of the name of the tribe as being a variant of Suali, Suala or Saura. Mooney attempts to do more with this interesting appellation.³²

The term is manifestly not a Cherokee term, but like the Cherokee name for the Catawba (Ani ta'gwa, plural) is a Cherokee attempt to pronounce the word (Ka)ta'pa, and derived from the name used by the

³⁰ Referred to by Mooney, 1894, p. 56.

³¹ Mooney, 1894, p. 56.

³² Mooney, 1894, p. 57.

people themselves. Hence we may look for the explanation of Suala, Suara among the glossaries of the Southeastern Siouan tongues.

A monograph on the Cheraw was written by Alexander Gregg (1867) who indulged in some fallacious speculations on affinities of the tribe, but who discussed and quoted some documents that provide us with information on its history.³³ He quoted the South Carolina Gazette, July 7, 1739, as stating that eleven leading men of the Cheraw and Catawba had been to Charleston to settle a question arising from the murder of a white family in the borders of Virginia, saying that the Indians had put five of the ringleaders to death. In 1744 (Journal of the Council of South Carolina, Vol. 2, p. 133) another entry is quoted in reference to some Pedee Indians who informed the Governor of the murder of seven Catawba by Natchez Indians. These references only show the existence of the Cheraw as a people during that period, and point out the possibility of learning more of them from a careful study of the files of the Gazette. Gregg also describes the characteristics of a Cheraw burial mound in the upper Marlborough district. There is also evidence of the amalgamation of the Cheraw and the Congaree with the Catawba by 1746³⁴ which corroborates the testimony of Adair for the same period. The Cheraw were then contemplating a withdrawal from the Catawba. That the two continued living together is shown by a statement referring in 1759 (South Carolina Gazette, June 2, 1759) to "45 Cheraws incorporated with the Catawbas," and to the smallpox carrying away about one half of the Catawba, Cheraw, and Wateree.

Eno. The name Eno in several cognate forms also occurs as a tribal designation in the region designated by Mooney about 150 miles to the northeast of the Catawba territory, on the headwaters of Tar and Neuse Rivers. Enoree River still bears their name. Mooney³⁵ traces their subsequent history down to their incorporation with the Catawba, among whom they retained their distinct name and dialect as late as 1743, according to Adair.³⁶

Here is likewise a name to experiment with. At this late day no tribal group is known bearing such a title, but the term has a definite meaning in the Catawba language: *i'nare*, "to dislike," whence, "mean," "contemptible," from which *yei'nare*, "people disliked," may serve as a

³³ Gregg, pp. 9, 19, 25. He attempts, for instance, to derive the term Cheraw from Chera-kee (Cherokee).

³⁴ Gregg, p. 11, quoting Journal of Council of South Carolina, No. 2, pp. 413-14.

³⁵ Mooney, 1894, pp. 62-64.

³⁶ Adair, p. 224.

proper name to denote a people whose place in the esteem of the Catawba would be that of a despised nation. Strangely, through the links of testimony preserved for us regarding a population so little known in the documents of the age, we learn from Lederer (1672) that the Eno were of "mean stature and courage, covetous and thievish, industrious to earn a penny and therefore hire themselves out to their neighbors who employ them as carryers or porters."³⁷

The identity of these Indians is not certain, as Mooney shows. Even the fact that the name has a definite meaning in the Catawba language does not decide the question of its eastern Siouan affinity, although Mooney tentatively assigns it to this group. The occurrence, indeed, of the plural of the name in Algonkian form—Yardley (1654), Heynokes; Lederer (1672), Oenock³⁸—now has to be taken into consideration, although here again an attempt to consider it an Algonkian division on such grounds would be as forced as to class them with the Siouan people for reasons noted above. It should be recalled that Lederer had with him an Indian interpreter from the Virginia Algonkian-speaking peoples and it would have been natural for such a one to give a foreign tribe a plural termination in his own tongue, as frequently occurs in the employment of tribal names.

The possibilities arising out of these sources of information lead in two directions. One is that the Eno or Wino (plural form with varied spellings: Weanoc, Wenoak, Weynokes, Wainoake, Haynokes, Oenock) were an Algonkian-speaking group that drifted away from the Powhatan confederacy about 1650 and wandered slowly southwest, finally became absorbed a little over a century later in the Catawba Nation. The other leads us to consider them to have been an eastern Siouan people of the Virginia area that entered at some time into the Kingdom of Powhatan, and later separated from it, joining its linguistic kin, the Sugeree (Shoccoree), as the disturbances of the colonial period broke upon them, both to lose themselves ultimately among the Catawba.

That Algonkian-speaking groups did join the Catawba Nation has already been shown on the evidence of Adair.³⁹ And on the other hand that Siouan-speaking groups were associated with the Powhatan peoples as neighbors is shown by Beverley and by Bland in their remarks upon

³⁷ Lederer, p. 15.

³⁸ Wi'na'k', wi'no, "bearing in abundance," hence sassafras, "tree that bears well" (Delaware), wi'no wa'kiŋ, "bearing land," and wi'no wa^ake^eyok, "people of the bearing land," are acceptable Algonkian equivalents.

³⁹ Adair, pp. 224-25. The Chowan of the coast of North Carolina are referred to.

the location of the Occaneechee and Shoccoree (Sugeree). Thus the final decision of Eno linguistic identity is left open, even though the step has been made toward identifying the Eno of 1743 with the Weanock of 1607 in Virginia.

The name identity of the Eno, however, needs to be reviewed from another angle, one which might bring the tribe into association with the Powhatan Algonkian of the Virginia tidewater. On the Captain John Smith map of 1608 a village, noted as a principal town with 500 inhabitants, and marked at the bend of the James River, north shore, opposite the mouth of Appomatox River, was called Weanoc, and again he writes Weanocks with 100 men.⁴⁰ Records show that this unit, due evidently to attacks of the Iroquois, later moved across to the south side of the James. The village spelled Woaneck is marked on N. Visscher's map⁴¹ as being on the south side of the James opposite the old location. To the ethnologist this means the beginning of a shift in location, a phenomenon so characteristic of the populations of the eastern states and especially in the Carolinas that we can infer as much from it in this particular case as we do in others where a single tribe seeking to better its fortunes moved back and forth over an area embracing territory covered within the boundaries of several states.⁴² This move brought the tribe closer to the territory occupied by the Tuscarora south of the upper Roanoke, and placed them in direct association with the Nottaway and Meherrin on their respective rivers. It represented a shift of home less than forty miles from Appomatox River at the location where they were first mentioned by Smith. Under the name Wainoake Indians they are several times referred to by Bland (1650)⁴³ in various connections with the Nottaway and Meherrin references to doings of the explorers and Indians on the frontier of the Tuscarora. And Lawson (1709) notes a Nottaway village by name Winoak, indicating the later association of the group with the Carolina Iroquoians at that time.⁴⁴ And in 1654 Yeardley, spelling the name Haynokes, speaks of them as a "great nation" near the Tuscarora, and links their name with the Cacoires.⁴⁵ Lederer (1672) also met the Oenock near the headwaters of the Neuse

⁴⁰ Smith, *A True Relation [of Virginia]* (Tyler edition, 1930), pp. 34, 84.

⁴¹ See bibliography below.

⁴² Beverley (1722) stated that their former settlement on the James was then extinct, and that in 1727 they were living on upper Nottaway River and upon a tributary stream they called Wyanoke Creek near the North Carolina frontier (*Handbook of the American Indians Part 2*, p. 926).

⁴³ Bland, pp. 9-10, 18.

⁴⁴ Lawson, p. 383.

⁴⁵ Hawks, Vol. 2, p. 19.

River in his journey across North Carolina, and his location places them also adjacent to the Tuscarora.

This location again is roughly not more than 150 miles southwest from where we first learn of their domain in Virginia. And finally their merging with the Catawba in the next century meant a subsequent shift of residence of only 100 miles farther in the same direction.

The earlier dating for the name as denoting a Siouan band of the Carolinas is in accordance with the opinion of Swanton, to whose judgment I concede the point as a more reasonable tentative solution of the dilemma. He regards the Eno to have probably been a Siouan people associated with the Shoccoree and Sissapahaw, forced northward from South Carolina by the Spaniards in the 16th century, and perhaps also by the Yuchi.

Sugeree. Only a few miles north of the old Catawba village of the 18th century were the people known as Sugeree, a small group inhabiting the valley of the stream which bore their name, Sugar Creek. In this proper name we have a good Catawba title, *yęsi'gri'hәre*, "people stingy" or "spoiled," or "of the river whose-water-can-not-be-drunk." The Sugeree were finally incorporated into the Catawba Nation, yet some of the families evidently lingered on in residence on this creek until the establishment of the present Catawba reservation. For we learn that Mrs Owl herself was born off the reservation on the banks of Sugar Creek. The Sugeree Indians were in all probability a local subdivision of the Catawba proper; at least becoming such by the middle of the 18th century.

Shoccoree is another tribal name to be considered as attached to the region northeast of the Catawba, in central North Carolina. Mooney has comprehensively reviewed their known history.⁴⁶ Yet the question of its relationship to the tribal name Sugeree has remained undiscussed. Mooney is silent on the point. We may therefore consider it here. In the first place the terms Shoccoree and Sugeree themselves are similar enough to suggest at a glance a common source of derivation.

The location of the Shoccoree, as it was assigned them by Mooney, seems to my mind to be not far enough to the north and east, for the reason that two early authors, Bland (1650) and Yeardley (1654) both refer to these people as being in touch with the Eno, who I have pointed out might possibly have been a Virginia people (Weanoc) residing at an early period (1612) on the shores of the James below the present site of Richmond. Bland speaks of Nottaway and Shockoores "old fields" in the

⁴⁶ Mooney, 1894, pp. 62-64.

vicinity of Nottaway River, between this and a branch of the Chowan, and again of Nottaway and Shockoores old fields or clearings adjacent to the "Wainoake" country in a general location similar to the above notice.⁴⁷ Yeardley's mention of the Cacores (Shoccorees) indicates them as being at war with the Tuscarora, which is not definite as to location, but can be considered to imply a region as far east as the Nottaway River drainage area.⁴⁸

The mention of these localities warrants, I believe, their habitat being indicated as somewhat nearer the Virginia line than Mooney shows it, judging the matter conservatively, and perhaps across it if one dare go further.⁴⁹

By 1672 Lederer found them living south of the Occaneechi about the heads of Tar and Neuse Rivers, which would mean that they had begun a southward movement, like the Eno. Inasmuch as the Shoccoree with the Eno were finally incorporated with the Catawba by 1743, as were also the people designated as Sugeree, the question is raised as to whether or not the two names may have denoted two branches of the same people. And furthermore, while neither of them is known to the Catawba of today as a tribal title, they are both explainable by Catawba informants when urged for etymological analyses.

Flat Heads (Waxhaw). Among other tribal names known in Catawba tradition as applying to their neighbors we encounter $y\epsilon$ $hisk\grave{a}'pet\epsilon$ "h\grave{a}re, "People Head Flat." These Indians, the Flat Heads—as the Catawba themselves were so often called in colonial times—are thought by our informants to have had flattened foreheads and to have lived $isw\grave{a}$ "sigri'tak, which means either "across the salt-water," or "across Sugeree, or spoiled, River." Other connections of their identity are now lost. Sally Brown could make but one more comment: "There were many of them around here, they said, when there were a lot of different Indians mixed in with the Catawba." The story would seem to be a memory of the Waxhaw, described by Lawson (1701) as having flattened heads, who as we know were neighbors of the Catawba within their own ethnic horizon and finally became incorporated with them.

The association in literature between the Waxhaw and Sugeree, which began in Lawson's time, has evidently continued down to the present, as

⁴⁷ Bland, p. 18.

⁴⁸ Hawks, p. 19.

⁴⁹ Bushnell (*Indian Villages East of the Mississippi*, pl. 7) reproduces a map of 1663, showing a Shoccoe Creek upon the site of the city of Richmond, Virginia, and a village of Powite Indians. The creek name is reminiscent of the Shoccoree Indians.

the preceding discussion of names shows. Their Siouan speech affinity with the Catawba proper established by Mooney in 1894 can hardly be doubted. Furthermore the nearness of the two creeks bearing their names (Sugar Creek and Waxhaw Creek) contiguous to the Catawba River, all within a geographical compass of some twenty-five miles, makes it reasonable to consider them even as village units of the old Catawba Nation in its wider sense.

Waxhaw is not a clear term in the Catawba language. The name is not known to the informants. Distorting the form of the term we might relate it to *wąks'*, "opossum," even *wą'sa*, "cane," but these correspondences do not carry conviction. When we come to the term Sugeree the case, as we shall see, is different, since it has a meaning in Catawba that appears more plausible.

Miscellaneous Tribes and Names. Some few of the Carolina tribal designations—those that apply to the immediate environs of the known Catawba habitat—have assignable meanings in the language, and these are of great service in defining the ethnogeography of northern South Carolina. Those having a positive meaning and direct application to the country and its physical characteristics are the following, though they are not known to the Catawba as names of tribes.

Congaree, the name of a large river flowing southeast, and west of the Catawba, and also the proper name of a supposedly Siouan tribe located until 1715 on the river of the same name below where Columbia, S.C., now is. Congaree is evidently a corruption of Catawba *i'swą'* *kəŋ'həre*, "(river) deep."⁵⁰ In 1746 the Congaree and Santee were met by the Governor of South Carolina at a Congaree village where he named the King and a few headmen of the Santee: namely Yanabe Yalangway, the King, the old leader, Captain Taylor, Nafreebee and some others.⁵¹ These curious names are all that we possess in the language. They are certainly unlike Catawba forms.

Santee, likewise a river and tribe name below the Congaree district, is beyond question derived from *i'swą'ti*, "the river," or "river is there." In 1715 the Santee had two villages, which together with the Congaree, who had one village, numbered 125 souls. Gatschet derives this term from Catawba *sa'nta*, *sq'ta*, "to run."⁵²

Sewee is another tribal name affixed to the region about the mouth

⁵⁰ Mooney (1897-98, pp. 508, 381) thought the Cherokee proper name *Ani'-Gill'* to be a possible reference to the Congaree.

⁵¹ Gregg, p. 11; quoting *Journal of Council of South Carolina*, No. 11, pp. 413-14.

⁵² Gatschet, *Onomatology of the Catawba River Basin*.

of Santee River. In Catawba can be made out the form $y\epsilon$ səwi'həre, "playing people," though the meaning is founded solely on its etymological reconstruction. Si'wi' also denotes a flower or blossom. Gatschet thought the term connected with Catawba sāwe' "island."⁵³

The Catawba River, before it enters the Santee, is for some distance known as the Wateree. Here in early times was located a people known to the colonists as Wateree, but no longer remembered in the traditions of the Catawba. The river name, however, has an assignable meaning in the language, namely (i'swə') watəra'həre, "(river) banks washed away." The name is indeed an appropriate one.⁵⁴ Were we to secure the full proper name of the people of such a river in the Catawba language, it would be $y\epsilon$ i'swə' watəra'həre, as from waterə', "to float on the water,"⁵⁵ "people (of the) river of banks washed away." Gatschet gave its derivation.

Pedee is likewise the name of a river of eastern South Carolina, and of an extinct tribe located upon its shores and classified with eastern Siouan speaking peoples by Mooney. While neither river nor tribe are known to the present Catawba, the name may be turned into a meaning in their dialect. By manipulation Pedee comes to sound like pi'ri, "something good," or pi'həre, "smart," "expert," "capable," whence $y\epsilon$ pi'həre, "people clever." We have some mention of the tribe as living on Uche Island in 1748, and owning slaves, under a King named Billy.⁵⁶

Etiwaw is accepted by Mooney as the name of one of the small tribes of the Cusabo group, last mentioned in 1751.⁵⁷ Gatschet's attempt to translate the name as "pine-tree" from the Catawba itawa is no more valid than the other equivalents in Catawba for the unknown tribal names of the Carolinas.

Several Muskogean names can be construed into meanings in Catawba without these, however, being in any way responsible for their origin. Among these is Kusa, one of the synonyms for the Creeks. $Y\epsilon$ kusa'həre, "man standing, or staying, there," and Yemasee, the name of the exterminated tribe that lived on the lower Savannah, equivalent to Catawba $y\epsilon$ musi', "old man," or "old people." Yet it should be noted that neither the Creeks nor the Yemasee have been known even by name to the later Catawba informants.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ For instance Monongahela River (Penna.) is Delaware (Okla.) man'a'ŋgehəle, "caving banks."

⁵⁵ Gatschet, Onamatology of the Catawba River Basin.

⁵⁶ Gregg, pp. 13, 18 (quoting South Carolina Gazette, Aug. 30-Sept. 6, 1748).

⁵⁷ Mooney, 1894, p. 84.

While investigation of the language was going on the entire list of tribal and place names of the supposedly Siouan area of the Carolinas was examined with all four speakers of Catawba, with the results as given above. Except for the river names in the country adjacent to the Catawba,

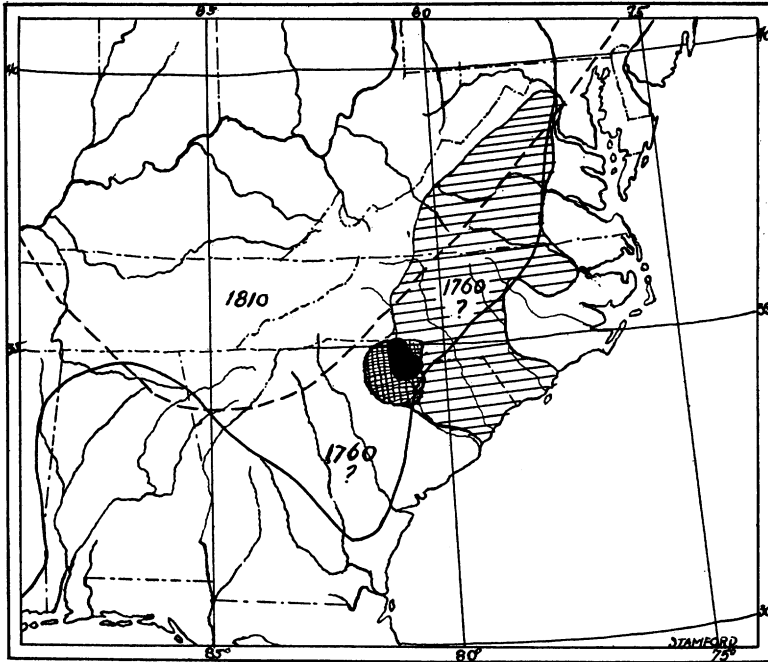


FIG. 1. Distribution of Catawba and related Siouan tribes, and certain life forms in the Southeast functioning in Catawba culture. Hatched area: Distribution of southeastern Siouan tribes (after Mooney, 1893); Cross-hatched area: Former territory of Catawba from historic tradition and documentary sources, 17th century; Solid area: Habitat of the tribe subsequent to the Revolution, 1780; Broken line: Southern distribution of wapiti (elk) in 1500 (after Thompson-Seton); Solid line: Southern distribution of bison in former times (after Hornaday).

the results show the futility of hoping for light, through a study of the Catawba language, on the history and affinities of the dozen or so mysterious tribes whose titles only remain on the colonial records.⁵⁸ We are per-

⁵⁸ A chance possibly still remains to shed light on some of these through the Tuscarora, which it is hoped will be attempted soon.

mitted, however, to clinch the point made by Mooney concerning the close affinity with Catawba of the populations known as Waxhaw, Congaree, Wateree, Santee, Sugeree, and Cheraw or Sara. And this is indeed something accomplished. I have, therefore, included the territory ascribed to these tribes by Mooney within the area occupied by the so-called Catawba of the eighteenth century on the revised ethnic map accompanying this study (fig. 1).

I have already referred to several of Gatschet's attempts at explanation of tribal and river designations corresponding to the terms just given. He says, "all these local appellations, probably many more, are terms from the Catawba language."⁵⁹ As far as the Catawba etymologies are concerned there can be no objections to the statement, but I must point out that the equivalents he offers for the geographical terms are no more than analytical renderings, derived from linguistic material, not from current traditional memories of the tribes in question among the Catawba informants. It is barely possible that Billy George, who was living at the time of Gatschet's visit to the Catawba, knew more than the present informants do; but I cannot believe that even the conditions of knowledge at that time among these Indians would have justified the acceptance of the meanings given as the actual sources of origin of the long extinct tribal eponyms: "Sewee" from *sāwe'*, "island," and "Kayaways" (Kiawah) from *ka'ia*, "a species of turtle."⁶⁰

For several other names, whose identity will remain a puzzle for some time to come, there is at present little to be said. So with Keyauwee, Yadkin, Sissipahaw, and Woccon no treatment can be offered from Catawba sources that would enlighten the obscurity which surrounds their relationship with other Siouan tribes of the Southeast. Only by forced etymology can these names be fitted into the Catawba lexicon. Swanton has already pointed out the probable affinity of Woccon with Catawba.

A still untested source of information remains among the Quapaw, or Arkansas⁶¹ as they were also styled. This group dwelt in the 18th century in the region connected with some phases of early Catawba history and its survivors should be expected to remember something of the Catawba name and contacts.

⁵⁹ Gatschet, *Onomatology of the Catawba River Basin*, p. 53.

⁶⁰ Catawba *kaya'* denotes the box turtle (*Cistudo Carolina*).

⁶¹ Among the Delawares (Oklahoma), for instance, the Quapaw are called *Oka'χpa*, which among them is a term of derogation. The Quapaw are by them thought to have been a poor wandering people, whence the appellation *akq'ceoxkanixke'ti't*, "Brush-house dwellers" (*akq'ce*, "brush").

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