North Carolina American Indians and Cultural Geography: A Lesson Plan

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Introduction

There is no single definition for cultural geography, but it includes the study of culture, culture area, cultural landscape, culture history, and cultural ecology. *Culture* is defined as the way of life of a group of people. It includes *cultural traits* or the learned ways of doing things, such as language, religion, politics, economics, and social mannerisms. Cultural geographers compare cultures of peoples from place to place.

Culture area refers to the spatial or territorial extent of a culture. It is also a *region.* Geographers use three types of spatial categories: points, such as cultural hearths and centers; lines or avenues of diffusion [dissemination]; and continuous or fragmented areas of occurrence of given culture types. *Cultural landscape* is the total changes human beings have made to the natural landscape and includes buildings, bridges, farms, and urban settings.

People make changes to the physical environment to enhance their standard of life. On the other hand, the physical environment will affect how the cultural landscape looks. For example, in rugged terrain, houses will be constructed on hillsides or in narrow valleys and roads will wind and curve around the hills. In level terrain, house sites are readily available, and the highways generally lack sharp curves.

Culture history shows that many places have been inhabited by many different cultures. This is referred to as sequent occupance. Study of culture history provides insight into the development of cultural traits, place names, distribution of previous cultures, and the level of development of prior cultures. Culture history provides insight into migration patterns and redistribution of the world's population. Terms such as acculturation, assimilation, frontiers, and colonies are associated with culture history.

Cultural ecology involves the processes that occurred during a sequence of events. For example, it might describe how a society evolved into an agricultural powerhouse, or lost its agricultural ability because of environmental degradation of soils.

The Lesson Plan

Introduction

This lesson plan is constructed to be used in eighth grade level social studies classes in North Carolina. It addresses the following Social Studies Objectives in the North Carolina Standard Course of Study (NC Public Schools, http://www.ncpublicschools.org/ curriculum/ socialstudies/scos/2003-04/050eightgrade):

1.02 Identify and describe American Indians who inhabited the regions that became Carolina and assess their impact on the colony.

1.07 Describe the roles and contributions of . . . American Indians , . . . to everyday life in colonial North Carolina.

8.01 Describe the . . . demographics [of American Indians] in North Caro-

lina and analyze their significance for North Carolina's society and economy.

Objective

The student will identify the American Indian tribes that lived in North Carolina during the Colonial Period as well as the Indians that live in the state in the twenty-first century. Some aspects of culture of the two time periods will also be presented.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to develop a lesson to explain the spatial aspects of American Indians in North Carolina and the changing demographics of the American Indian population in the state. In addition, the teacher should have knowledge of the available resources on the topics and construct visual aids to enhance the discussion, including maps showing tribal locations. Transparencies of graphs showing population change over time should also be incorporated into the lesson.

Frank Ainsley (2004), in the inaugural lesson plan published in this journal, devised the following approach, which I have adapted for this lesson:

Teaching activities consist of the following sections:

I. Getting Started (inquiry questions)
II. Setting the Stage (historical background)
III. Determining the Facts (readings, documents, charts)
IV. Visual Evidence (photographs and other graphic documents)
V. Locating the Site (maps)
VI. Putting it All Together (activities).

I. Getting Started

Most students are fascinated with American Indians and will quickly become involved in a discussion about the American Indians that lived the region that eventually came to be North Carolina at the time of European contact. The teacher should provide the information presented in this article to the students. Additional material is available about sixteenth century Carolina American Indians in books by Swanton 1946; South 1970; Perdue 1985; and Ross 1999.

Slides and transparencies of American Indians at work and play in the sixteenth century can be produced from published works, including some of those listed above. An especially valuable group of drawings is that of John White, made during his visits to coastal North Carolina in the mid 1580s. Although the original White drawings are in the British Museum, they have been reproduced in books published in the United States and one is included in this paper (Figure 1).

II. Setting the Stage

The peoples referred to as Indians, American Indians, or Native Americans, as some prefer to be

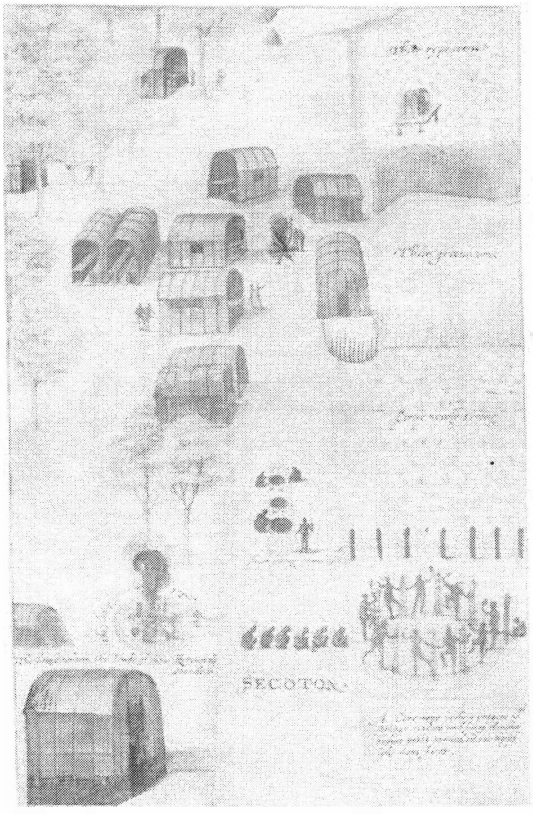

Figure 1. One example of John White drawing (1585) from the British Museum portraying layout of the Secoton Village and Native American dancing, cooking and farming. (Source: Ross).

called, have lived in what is now North Carolina for about 12,000 years. Although most American Indian scholars accept the theory that the ancestors of modern Indians came to the Americas by walking across the Bering Strait during the Ice Ages, other theories must also be taken into account. Geographer George Carter (1980) has suggested that *prehistoric peoples* from places other than Asia arrived thousands of years earlier than those American Indians that came by the Bering land bridge. He argues that at least some of these early migrants may have sailed by boat, having taken advantage of the many ocean currents that flow to the Americas from Asia, Africa and the Pacific regions. Thus, if this is the case, all American Indians in the Americas are probably not *genetically* or *culturally* related and we should be cautious about claiming that all American Indians throughout the Americas walked over the Bering *land bridge* then dispersed in many directions to inhabit two continents.

Geographical Background of North Carolina

North Carolina possesses a wide variety of physiographic regions, ranging from Tidewater at sea level to almost four dozen mountains higher than 6,000 feet above *mean sea level.* Between these two extremes lies a great expanse of mostly level to gently undulating Coastal Plain and rolling Piedmont. American Indians lived in all of these regions at the time of European contact.

The climate of most of the state consists of mild winters and long, hot summers; conditions conducive to the growth of many species of trees and plants. Agricultural activities also thrive in such a climate, especially in the more fertile river *floodplains,* but productive farmland is found in all regions of the state. The sandy coastal plain with its transported soils to *alluvial* soils of mountain valleys and the mineral rich clays of the Piedmont have long been noted for their agricultural productivity. Thus, American Indians, for hundreds of years before the arrival of Europeans, had been raising a wide range of crops that flourished in the mild climatic conditions and fairly good soils of the state. American Indian *"old fields,"* highly prized for farm sites by the early white settlers, are relics of a time before European contact when the Indians cleared the forests to plant crops.

The cultural geography of the area to later become North Carolina also exhibited many contrasts. Prior to the European arrival, a great number of distinct American Indian groups lived in the state, with significant differences in languages, customs, and ways of living. In the Piedmont and parts of the coastal plain, Siouan-speaking tribes dominated. A group of Iroquoian-speakers, the Cherokee, lived in the mountains. On a broader scale, hundreds of languages were spoken by American Indians in what is now the United States and Canada at the time of the European invasion. The *language subfamilies* (subfamilies include languages with linguistic similarities) of North American Indians illustrate the diversity of Native languages and included the subfamilies of Algonquian, Athabaskan, Caddoan, Eskimo-Aleut, Iroquoian, Kiowa-Tanoan, Muskogean, Penutian, Salish, Siouan, and Uto-Aztecan. As mentioned previously, each subfamily includes languages that differ from those of other subfamilies. For example, Shawnee, an Algonquian language "is as different from the Athabaskan Navajo language as French is from Chinese" (Frazier 1996, 100).

Religion was highly structured among many of these peoples. Because of that, one of the most important buildings in the village was the temple. Unlike the other buildings, its walls and roof, or covering, differed in that thatched grass was used rather than bark or animal skins (Figure 2). Another difference in the temple was that it was square and usually built upon a mound. Other public buildings were built in which the leaders of the village would meet and discuss issues relevant to the settlement. These buildings were not elevated on a mound (Figure 2).

III. Facts and Evidence

European contact

Though hard to determine a definitive number, about 50,000 American Indians, dispersed among two dozen or so American Indian nations, lived in scattered areas across North Carolina at the time of European contact. Vin Steponaitis, a

specialist in ancient American Indian cultures in the South, has documented that population densities were not uniform in the region. The archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence, according to Steponaitis (personal communication 1999), "makes it abundantly clear that most of the Southeastern landscape (including what is now North Carolina) was unoccupied most of the time. In other words, there were small clumps of population separated by large areas of empty space that served as 'buffer zones', if you will". Mooney estimates that "in 1584, before European diseases dissipated the population, there were approximately 17,800 Indians upon the Carolina coastal plains" (Johnson 1972:10). However, Lawrence Lee, the noted historian, estimates that there were 30,000 Indian people living in the coastal plain at the time of European colonization (Lee 1963,67). Peter Wood (1989), a Duke University professor and nationally recognized authority on colonial populations, estimates that the population was "a minimum of 50,000 . . . .". This figure, as are all others, is subject to considerable debate.

Massive changes occurred in American Indian *cultures* as the many different tribes, clans, bands and groups were thrust into contact with totally alien cultures from across the Atlantic Ocean. The Europeans were arriving in the Carolinas in ever increasing numbers and with an almost insatiable demand for American Indian lands. As Europeans took the land they desired, the American Indians suffered loss of life as well as loss of land.

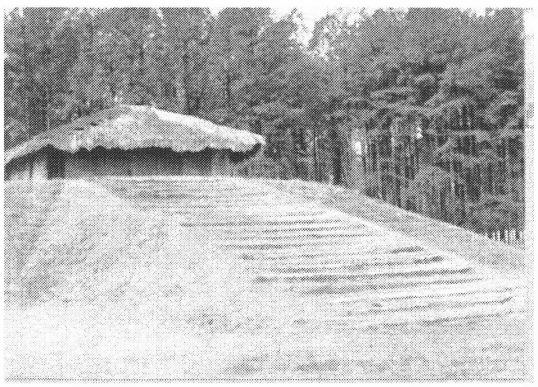

Figure 2. Reconstruction of American Indian temple at Town Creek, NC (Source: Ross).

Within a few years of contact the American Indians experienced a significant population decline. Many of the American Indians who escaped with their lives found that their numbers had declined to such an extent that they could no longer function as a tribal unit. Many tribes became totally *extinct* within a century of contact. To maintain their cultures, many of the survivors joined with other tribes, losing along the way their historical tribal identification. Others sought refuge from the Europeans in swamps and other isolated lands, sometimes sacrificing their American Indian identity and heritage. Consequently, the European desire for American Indian lands would eventually threaten the very survival of American Indian groups.

Some American Indians did survive, however, and some even prospered. A few members of individual tribes retained an oral tradition of their American Indian background, and as a result of this perseverance, several American Indian tribes with ties to those American Indian *nations* once thought vanquished have arisen as if from the ashes of the dead. As we enter the twenty-first century, more people labeled as American Indians live in North Carolina than did at the time of contact.

American Indians at time of European contact

The following vignettes of American Indians in North Carolina shortly after European contact are based largely on the work of Swanton (1946). With the exception of the Cherokee, all of the following tribes were either Coastal Plains or Piedmont American Indians. According to Swanton:

> . . . the tendency of the coast peoples was toward small units which only sporadically were gathered into larger bodies. . . . The Siouan tribes of the Piedmont country were also for the most part small, but a tendency is evident among these to form larger groups or confederations such as . . . the associations of tribes at Fort Christanna, and on the upper Pee Dee, while there is some reason to think that many of the southern Siouans

had broken away from the Catawba at an early period (1946, 19).

It is important to note that with the seemingly endless discussion and debate over a blood quantum in today's tribes, that Swanton (1946, 20) found "nearly all of the tribes were homogeneous internally in respect to language and culture, not so much so as regards race". At the time of the Revolutionary War, for example, the Catawaba had already absorbed many tribes, and it is likely that the bulk of the small coastal communities had merged with each other as a defensive measure as well as a means of survival of people with common cultures that differed from those of the newcomer Europeans.

Cape Fear

These American Indians were concentrated in current Brunswick County along the Cape Fear River. They were Siouan speaking American Indians and "may have been a part of the Waccamaw tribe, as no native name for them has been preserved, merely the name of a village, Necoes, and a chief, Wat Coosa." Swanton describes several attempts of European settlement in the vicinity of the Cape Fear villages, none of which were successful. A colony from New England arrived in 1661, but were driven off because they angered the American Indians by "seizing and sending away their children under the pretense of having them educated." Another group of European settlers, from Barbados this time, attempted to settle near them in 1663, but they were also repelled by the Cape Fears. A third white colony settled at the mouth of Oldtown Creek in 1665, but although the American Indians tolerated them, they too soon departed the region, leaving it once again to the American Indians.

The Cape Fear American Indians were forced to move west of Charleston, South Carolina after the Yemassee War. A census taken in 1715, just prior to the Yemassee War, showed a population of 206. By 1808, "only one mixed-blood woman survived" (Swanton 1946: 103). Her name was Hannah Blute [Blate, or Blake] and her mother was called "Indian Sarah." (Taukchiray, personal communication, 1997).

Catawba

In 1701 the Catawba probably consisted of two separate bands, one called the Catawba and the other the Iswa, a Catawba word for "river." The Catawba was the largest of the Siouan tribes at the time of European contact, but afterwards their population dwindled quickly. In 1763 a reservation of about 10,000 acres (15 square miles) was established for them in South Carolina along the state boundary with North Carolina. In 1840, they signed a treaty with the State of South Carolina in which they ceded their lands to the state. Most members of the tribe then moved to Haywood County in North Carolina but returned to South Carolina less than two years later because North Carolina would not sell land to them for a reservation. Back in South Carolina, they established a small reservation of 800 acres. Some of the Catawba subsequently moved to Cherokee country and lived with the Cherokee. A few families have remained with the Cherokee tribe in North Carolina. According to the 1910 Census, six Catawba lived in North Carolina.

Cheraw (Saraw, Sara)

The Cheraw American re a Siouan tribe first contacted by the Spaniards in the northwestern corner of South Carolina. Several years later they had moved east of Asheville. Lederer placed them even further east, "perhaps on the Yadkin River, and in 1673 they are placed by Wood between the Cape Fear and Yadkin" (Swanton 1946: 110). About two decades later, in 1700, they had moved into southern Virginia and built two villages, Upper Saura Village and Lower Saura Village, on the Dan River. The Iroquois attacked in 1710 and forced them to surrender the Dan villages. They moved southeast and joined the Keyauwee. Eventually they settled in the Pee Dee River basin. As a result of conflict with South Carolina settlers, they were driven from their homes and eventually located near the Catawba. Swanton thinks that they "probably united with the Catawba and became wholly merged

with them though a part are undoubtedly represented among the Siouan [Lumbee] Indians of the Lumber River" (Swanton 1946, 110).

Cherokee

The first use of the term Cherokee in English narratives was made in 1674 in which Woodward states that the "Chorakae Indians lived on the head branches of the Savannah" River (Swanton 1946, 111). The Cherokee Tribe was the largest in the southeast at the time of European contact. Its homeland is in the southern Appalachians, in the present day states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Kentucky, Alabama, Virginia, and West Virginia, but the origin of the tribe is in the north, where other Iroquoian tribes lived.

Early Spanish explorers (De Soto narratives) referred to an American Indian town called Guasili, which was located near what is now Murphy, North Carolina. According to Swanton (1946, 110), this town "may be identified as perhaps occupied by real Cherokee Indians". After contact with Europeans some Cherokee went west, to Texas and Arkansas, but most remained in the southern Appalachians where the culture experienced major changes. A momentous transformation was that the Appalachian Cherokee established a government in 1820 that followed the organization of the government of the United States. The next year, 1821, Sequoya developed an alphabet for the Cherokee language that made possible written communication in the tribal language.

In the 1820s gold was discovered on Cherokee lands in Georgia. Whites demanded that the Cherokee cede the land to them and used violent methods to drive the Cherokee from their homes. Some Cherokees had moved west in 1829, following the earlier migrants, but after the Treaty of New Echota (December 1835), most of the Cherokee were forced to leave the east. By 1839 almost all of the American Indians had been "removed," forcibly, to the west. This removal is chronicled in history as the "Trail of Tears." The few hundred Cherokee that escaped the intensive search by armed troops hid in the rugged mountains. In 1842 the federal government agreed that it would not force them to leave. A reservation for these American Indians was established in western North Carolina, officially called the Qualla Boundary, and is now home to The Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians.

The Cherokee population in 1650 has been estimated at 22,000. By 1715 the number had declined to about 11,200. An estimate in 1729 fixed the population at about 20,000. According to Swanton (1946, 114), "A town by town census in 1808-9 gave a total population of 12,395 in the east. In 1819 it was estimated that the tribe numbered about 15,000, of whom one-third were already west of the Mississippi". A census in 1835, just prior to removal, listed a total of 16,542 Cherokee, with 3,644 in North Carolina. A census of the eastern Cherokee in 1884 counted 2,956 but "there was some demur among the American Indians as to the legitimacy of the claims of some of those classed as Cherokee" (Swanton 1946, 114). Censuses in 1895 and 1900 showed 1,479 and 1,376, respectively. Swanton postulates that the greatly reduced numbers were the result of a "purified roll," in which it is presumed that persons with much white ancestry and little American Indian ancestry were purged from the roll.

Chowanoc

The homeland of the Chowanoc was near the junction of the Meherrin and Nottaway Rivers. In 1584-85, when the English (Raleigh's colonists) made contact with them, they were the most powerful tribe in the region, with a population of several thousand. By 1701, however, the Chowanoc lived in a single village on Bennetts Creek and in 1713 they were given a small reservation on Bennetts and Catherines Creeks for their estimated 240 members. A 30-acre Chowanoc Reservation, named "Indian Town," was founded in 1782 for the Robbins family as heirs of the Chowanoc (Taukchiray 1997 and Gates County Deed Book 10). According to Swanton (1946), they were extinct by 1820. Taukchiray (1997), however, noted

that their population in Chowan County in 1954 consisted of two men and five women.

Coree (Coranine)

This small tribe lived on a peninsula south of the mouth of the Neuse River. Swanton (1946, 126) wrote that "It is probably the tribe intended by the CwarEnoc of Hariot's map, for Lawson calls them in one place Connamox". In the late sixteenth century, after European contact, most of the tribe was killed by Machapunga Indians. In 1715 the remnants of the Coree and the Machanpunga were jointly assigned land on Lake Mattamuskeet in Hyde County "where it is probable that they remained until they became extinct" (Swanton 1946:126).

Eno

In 1654 Governor Yardley called them the Haynoke, "a great nation by whom the northward advance of the Spaniards had been valiantly resisted" (Swanton 1946: 130). The Eno may have also been identical with the Weanoc or Wyanoke American Indians from the James River region of Virginia who moved south into North Carolina during the last decade of the seventeenth century. Swanton disagreed that the Eno and Wyanoke were the same tribe, suggesting that they were Siouan and had migrated from the south.

Lederer wrote that they lived near the headwaters of the Tar and Neuse Rivers in 1670. By 1701 Lawson found their village (Adshusheer) on the Eno River near Hillsborough, North Carolina. They eventually moved to South Carolina and most of the tribe joined with the Catawba. More recently, Taukchiray (1992) wrote that "several explorers, officials, traders, and others . . . did find a people in what is now upper North Carolina near the present Virginia line, from 1650-1712, known as the Cacore, Shakori, or Shoccorie." He further added that based on primary sources, these people had two branches, one known as the Sissipahaw, or Saxapahaw and the other as the Eno, Aeno, Haynoke, Eeno. From 1712 to 1743 they lived within the Catawba Nation and as late as 1743 "the group consisted of an enclave within Cheraw Town in the Catawba Nation, . . . still having its own government and its warriors still speaking their own language, which was never recorded"(Taukchiray, personal communcitation, 1992).

Hatteras

The Hatteras were an Algonquian people who in 1709 lived near Cape Hatteras. The Hatteras were a mixed race. According to Swanton (1946, 137) they "showed traces of white blood and claimed to have had some white ancestors. Therefore, they may have been identical with the Croatan American Indians with whom Raleigh's colonists are supposed to have taken refuge. Nothing further is heard regarding them". The Hatteras had but one village, called Sandbanks, and a population of about 90 persons in 1709. In 1788, Mary and Elizabeth Elks, "Indians," sold the site of the old American Indian town on Hatteras Banks to Nathan Midyett (Taukchiray 1997 and Currituck Deed Book 5). The census of 1850 identified one American Indian child named Elks as still living in the county.

Keyauwee

The Keyauwee lived near High Point in 1701. Lawson (1967) wrote that they lived in a palisaded village and that the males wore beards and mustaches. The chief of the tribe was a Congaree who had married the chieftainess of the Keyauwee. After 1701 they moved "toward the white settlements about Albemarle Sound" and in 1733 moved again, this time south to the Pee Dee River. There is evidence that they were absorbed into the Catawba and lost their identity as a tribe, "though some are probably perpetuated in the so called Croatans" (Swanton 1946, 145). The Croatans are today called Lumbee American Indians and live near the Lumber River in south-central North Carolina.

Machapunga

This tribe of about 125 persons lived in a single village called Mattamuskeet, located between the Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds, in 1701. With the Coree, they were given land on Lake Mattamuskeet in 1715. They eventually were absorbed into the

surrounding non-American Indian population but in 1792 seven resident members were identified: four women, two boys and a girl (Taukchiray, personal communication, 1997). The descendants "of this tribe were still living in the geographic center of the old 45 square mile Machapunga reservation, sold by the tribe in its entirety in 1761 and again in 1792" (Taukchiray, personal communication, 1997).

Meherrin

Europeans visited this tribe of about 200 persons in 1650, referring to them as the "Maharineck." Another spelling, in 1669, was given as "Menheyricks." After 1675 the Meherrin accepted some Susquehana American Indians into their tribe. The Meherrin appear to have abandoned their ancient homeland at the mouth of the Meherrin River because of attacks from Catawba American Indians. The Meherrin, southern Tuscarora, and southern Saponi moved near the Roanoke River in 1761. Swanton (1946, 149) is of the opinion that the Meherrin probably were assimilated into the Tuscarora Tribe. Taukchiray (personal communication, 1997) believes they continued on, numbering seven or eight men. He argues that "Mouzon's map of 1775 shows them not at their old reserve, but instead . . . on Potecasai Creek" in Hertford County.

Moratok

This was a tiny Algonquian tribe that lived in 1585-86 on the Roanoke River. It is now extinct.

Neusiok

The Neusiok, in 1584, lived on the south side of the Neuse River in what is now Craven and Carteret Counties. Their numbers declined after European contact and by 1700 they had but two villages. They probably joined with the Tuscarora Tribe at the time of the Tuscarora War (1711-1713). In 1709 the tribe had only 15 warriors and probably fewer than 75 total members.

Nottaway (Notowega, Nittaweega, or Nautaugue)

Nottaway, or a version thereof, is a name many times given to enemy tribes by Algonquian American Indians. The name was particularly applied to enemy tribes of Iroquoian stock. In the case of North Carolina American Indians, it was used to identify an Iroquoian tribe living on the Nottaway River in Virginia. Swanton wrote that they "first appear in the narratives of the Raleigh expeditions to North Carolina under another Algonquian name, Mangoac." A band of American Indians called the Notowega lived in South Carolina in the eighteenth century. In about 1754 they apparently merged with the Cherokee and the tribal identity is lost.

Occaneechi

The homeland of the Occaneechi was an island in the Roanoke River near Clarksville, Virginia. First European knowledge of this small tribe occurred in 1650, but Europeans did not visit them at this time. They were visited in 1670 by Lederer, who described them as middlemen in the trade of the region. A few years later, 1676, Saponi and Tutelo American Indians moved to the Roanoke River area and settled near the Occaneechi, as did the Conestoga. The Conestoga, though, were repelled because they attempted to take the homes of the Occaneechi. The Conestoga probably then moved in with the Meherrin. The Occaneechi were defeated in a battle by Nathaniel Bacon and moved to a village on the Eno River, near Hillsborough, North Carolina, in 1701. In 1714 they were taken to Fort Christanna in Virginia and later (about 1740) went north with the Tutelo, Manahoac and other tribes. By this time they were calling themselves Saponi. In 1709 the estimated combined population of the Occaneechi, Shakori, Saponi, Tutelo and Keyauwee was 750.

Pamlico

The Pamlico American Indians' earliest known home was near the mouth of the Pamlico River. The English made contact with them in 1584-85. Most of the tribe was killed by a smallpox epidemic in 1696. By 1710 they lived in one village with an

estimated population of 75 persons. In the Tuscarora War they were allies of the Tuscarora, but under terms of the treaty with the English, the Tuscarora agreed to exterminate the Pamlico. Those that survived were probably taken into the Tuscarora tribe as slaves. Swanton (1946, 170) notes that the Pamlico are the only "Algonquian people of North Carolina from whom a vocabulary has been preserved". In 1718, "it looks as if only seven or eight Pamlico were left alive, all fugitives, in their old country. No word on them since" (Taukchiray, personal communication, 1997).

Saponi

The name Saponi is probably a contraction of Monasukapanough, a tribe that lived near the site of Charlottesville, Virginia. They moved from there to Campbell County, Virginia and eventually to the Yadkin River basin near Salisbury, North Carolina. Lawson found them there in 1701. The Tutelo traveled with the Saponi during this time. The joined with the Occaneechi and created a new settlement called Sapona Town, a few miles east of the Roanoke River and about 15 miles west of Windsor, Bertie County, North Carolina. They were taken to Fort Christanna in 1714. Some of the Saponi and Tutelo moved north in 1740 and were formally taken into or adopted by the Cayuga in 1753. But all of the Saponi did not go north. A small group of Saponi had settled in Granville County, North Carolina by 1755. Swanton (1946, 178) extends the possibility that some of them "are perhaps still represented by a body of "Croatan Indians" in Person County". The several hundred descendants of this band are now referred to as the Sappony Indians of Person County. In 1997 they were officially recognized as an Indian tribe by North Carolina.

Shakori

The home of the Shakori was most likely in South Carolina. In 1521 a member of this tribe was taken to Spain by a Spanish expedition. By 1650 the Shakori had moved north into North Carolina and "Schockoores" old fields were reported to be located between the Nottaway and Meherrin Rivers. The Shakori were neighbors of the Eno, and Lawson (1967) found Eno and Shakori living in one village called Adshusheer, on the Eno River about 14 miles east of the Occaneechi village, near the site of Durham. The Shakori have been identified with the Sissipahaw, which indicates that they probably were two bands or groups of the same people. The Eno became the dominant group and Shakori tribal name disappeared. Both the Eno and Shakori probably blended into the Catawba. One Tuscarora described the Shakori, or as he called them "Cacores," as dwarf-like but brave warriors and said that the Tuscaroras had never defeated the Shakori in battle.

Sissipahaw (Haw)

Apparently the first report of this tribe was in 1567 (Juan Pardo's expedition) when it was referred to as Sauxpa or Sauapa, living near the Santee River in South Carolina. The homeland and major settlement was probably near Saxapahaw on Haw River, North Carolina. They were closely related to the Shakori and after 1715 presumably joined with the Keyauwee, Shakori, Eno and Cheraw, and some eventually joined with the Catawba. Swanton (1946, 186) states that "others are no doubt represented among the Indians of Lumber River". Although no population data are available for the Sissipahaw, the Haw Old Fields area was noted as the largest body of fertile land in the region.

Sugeree

This small tribe lived in many settlements on or near Sugar Creek (Mecklenburg County, NC and York County, SC) in 1701. They were part of the Catawba Nation and were also perhaps a branch of the Shakori. No population data exist for this tribe.

Tuscarora

The name Tuscarora is applied to a tribe or confederation of tribes that European explorers encountered on the Roanoke, Neuse, Tar, and Pamlico Rivers in North Carolina. In 1650 they were mentioned as "Tuscarood" and cited as a powerful tribe with great interests in trading and commerce. After the Tuscarora War of 1711-13 and the defeat of

the American Indians, most of the Tuscaroras moved to New York. The Tuscaroras who had not fought the whites in the Tuscarora War remained in North Carolina until 1802, when they too moved north to rejoin their tribe. In 1709 their population was estimated to include about 1,200 warriors. Extrapolation of this number suggests a population of at least 3,500.

Waccamaw

In 1670 the Waccamaw were found along the Waccamaw River in North Carolina and Pee Dee River in South Carolina. They lived near and were probably related to the Winyaw and Pedee tribes. The Cherokee and their allies, the Natchez, reported in 1755 that they had killed some Pedee and Waccamaw American Indians who were in white settlements. Some of the Waccamaws' descendants probably joined the Catawba, but "it is more likely that they are to be found among the Lumber River Indians whose homes are a little farther north" (Swanton 1946, 203). In 1715, the census reported the existence of six Waccamaw villages and a population of 610. In 1720 the population was estimated at 350. In that same year, 60 Waccamaw were killed or captured. Those few that were not killed presumably were shipped to the West Indies as slaves. These may be the same as the Woccon.

Waxhaw

When the English moved into Union and Mecklenburg Counties, NC, they found a small tribe called the Waxhaw. Lederer calls them Wiusacky, and "they may have been the Weesock of Gabriel Arthur, reputed to be held as a subject caste by the Yuchi" (Swanton 1946, 206). The Waxhaw occupied at least two villages in 1710. The tribe was attacked by the Catawba in 1715 and most of them were killed. The survivors joined the Cheraw and they and the Cheraw probably later merged with the Catawba. Some of the Waxhaw are most likely "represented among the Lumber River Indians" (Swanton 1946, 206).

Weapemeoc

The Weapemeoc, a small tribe or tribal confederation that included the Yeopim, Pasquotank, Poteskeet and Perquiman Tribes, lived north of Albemarle Sound in northeastern North Carolina in 1584. The population in 1600 has been estimated at 800 persons.

Woccon

Nothing is known of this tribe before the eighteenth century unless they were a branch of the Waccamaw. According to Lawson, two Woccon villages (Yupwauremau and Tooptatmeer) were located on the lower Neuse River near the present location of Goldsboro in 1709 and were inhabited by 120 warriors. Mooney estimated their population to be about 600 in 1600. It is thought that they merged into either the Tuscarora after the 1711-13 war or with the Catawba. According to Swanton (1946, 208), "it is the only one belonging to the Catawba group of Siouans besides the Catawba itself, of which a vocabulary has been preserved".

Post-European contact and modern period

Based upon official government census documents, of all the states in the Union, North Carolina has witnessed the largest increase in Native American population during the past 100 years. The U.S. Census of 1890 listed only 1,516 American Indians in the state and furthermore, according to the data, most were Cherokee American Indians in western North Carolina. It is important to note that, however, the United States did not enumerate American Indians as a separate population category until the Census of 1870. Prior to that time, American Indians were counted as "*free colored.*" The 1890 Census reported a few individual American Indians (no distinct tribal affiliation) throughout other parts of the state.

The 2000 U. S. Census of Population listed about 99,600 American Indians as residents of North Carolina, twice the number living here when the first Europeans reached these shores. The majority of those belong to the Lumbee Tribe, a tribal name that did not even exist officially until the

middle of the twentieth century. The Eastern Band of Cherokees, the largest tribe in the southeast at the time of European contact, is the second largest Native American group in the state. American Indians are found in every county in the state, but most live in the Coastal Plain section of rural southeastern North Carolina. Only six states had larger numbers of American Indians in 2000: Oklahoma, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Alaska, and Washington.

American Indian population will continue to increase in North Carolina as almost forgotten American Indian cultural traditions are reestablished. A few additional groups will be recognized as Indians because it appears that today, more so than in the past, society in general tends to be more receptive to accepting them as American Indians. American Indians most certainly have not yet won all the legal battles of recognition, but they are winning some.

Since 1986 three state-recognized American Indian tribes have been added to the roster in North Carolina: the Meherrins, Sappony Indians of Person County, and the Occaneechi-Saponi Band. All are small tribes. The Sapony and Occaneechi are concentrated in the northern Piedmont while the Meherrin are in the northeastern part of the state. The tribes have significant associations, past and present, with American Indians across the border in Virginia.

The approximately 100,000 people identified as American Indians include some mixed-race and mixed-tribal groups that are not recognized as American Indians by the state or federal governments. Most federally recognized American Indian groups also refuse to recognize them. Nevertheless the mixed-race people are attempting to establish their Indian *legacy* and gain acceptance as American Indians. Many of their supporters argue that race, or bloodline, is not important because these groups are culturally distinct, and American Indian. Yet paradoxically, few people among these exhibit *cultural traits* commonly attributed specifically to American Indians. To explain this apparent lack of American Indian cultures, it is common for the groups to argue that their American Indian culture has been assimilated into the dominant European culture. Then, in what could be a contradiction to the proposal that "race is not important," they claim justification for their existence, and recognition as American Indians, on the tradition and/or official record, that somewhere in the past American Indians became a part of their bloodlines. For example, most of the groups can identify at least one person living more than one hundred years ago who was American Indian and from whom they are descended. However, even among the federally recognized American Indians, the amount of Indian blood varies from very little to *full-blooded Indian* (a person with no non-American Indian ancestors). There are probably fewer than 500 full-blooded American Indians in the state, most of whom are Cherokee living in the Snowbird community in western North Carolina.

Nevertheless, American Indian culture, at least the early twenty-first century version, is a vibrant force in North Carolina. Numerous American Indians in the state, recognized and non-recognized alike, "participate in Indian 'pow-wows' and other cultural events that enhance their Indian heritage and support the claims that they are a separate people, different, perhaps just symbolically, but still distinctly different, from others with whom they share the land" (Moore and Ross 1996: 129).

To protect their American Indian heritage, the Carolina, and other American Indians in the eastern United States, borrow American Indian traits and traditions. For example, most of the groups incorporate cultural traits from American Indians in all parts of the United States into their cultural activities. Thus it is not uncommon to see Plains or Southwestern American Indian dances being performed by Carolina American Indians dressed in the costume of the tribe that developed the dance. The racial and tribal *amalgamations* of these groups have left very little of the original tribal traditions of pre-colonial Carolina American Indians. It should be emphasized that North Carolina's American Indians are generally not attempting to reconstruct American Indian cultures that have long been extinguished in the state, but they are incorporating the American Indian traits that suit the specific

and particular needs of their societies. They are creating distinctive American Indian cultures that are *pan-American Indian* rather than based on a specific tribe. In this regard, they are paralleling other cultures worldwide that are constantly modifying their cultures in order to survive in an ever-changing world.

American Indians in North Carolina are much better off economically than the reservation American Indians west of the Mississippi. The Cherokee, however, as federally recognized American Indians, benefit from many federal programs that add to their average per capita income, most of which is generated in the non-American Indian economic environment and in the Cherokee tourist industry. The Cherokee are also cashing in on gambling activities, now legal on the reservation. The Lumbee have discovered *capitalism*, and many of the *entrepreneurs* among them are doing very well. Their success encourages other American Indian groups. The smaller, state recognized tribes in North Carolina fare better than their black neighbors, but not as well as whites. The standard of living among the American Indians is in general aided by the close proximity to non-American Indian economic activities and the American Indians' willingness to interact and work among non-American Indians.

Economically the American Indians will make many gains, which could conceivably affect in a negative way their sense of "community." By this I mean that if the economy is good, and if the next generation of American Indians is not as economically deprived as those in times past, some of the incentives and motives to pursue American Indian heritages may diminish. In other words, the good life and its material rewards could dampen the desire and commitment to live life as a Native American. If that occurs, the end result will be fewer American Indian groups and tribes seeking recognition during the next few decades. The American Indian groups now existing in the state, however, will continue to function as American Indians.

The Dichotomy Between Coastal Plain and Highlands

One interesting geographic pattern is that most of the American Indian tribes and groups that have been recognized, or are seeking recognition, are located on the Coastal Plain. Notable exceptions are the Cherokee, of course, and the two Piedmont tribes, the Sappony Indians of Person County and the Occaneechi. In addition to the Coastal Plain tribes of Coharie, Lumbee, Meherrin, and Waccamaw Siouan, and many members of the Haliwa-Saponi, several other groups claiming to be American Indians reside on the Coastal Plain.

That most of the groups presently seeking recognition as American Indians are Coastal Plains residents raises the question "Why so many on the

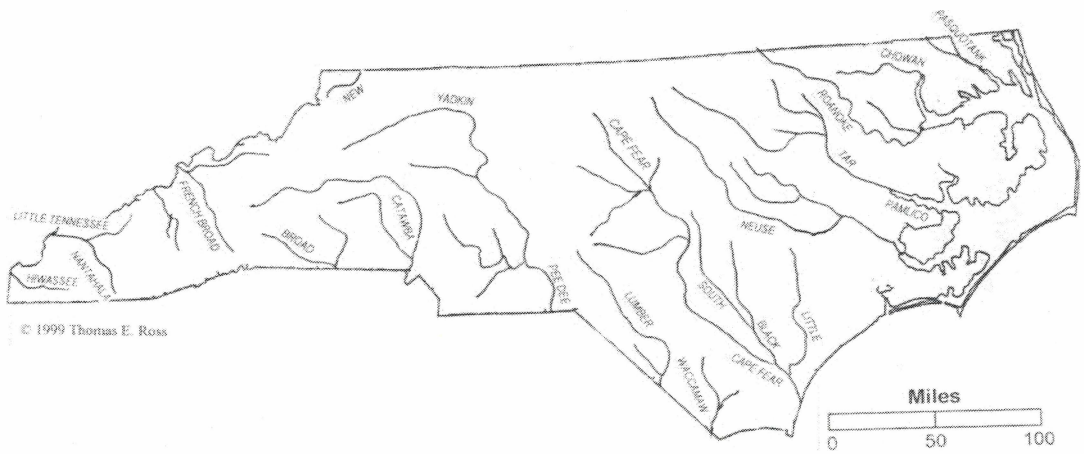

Figure 3. Outline map of North Carolina rivers (Source: Ross).

Coastal Plain?" The argument by the Coastal Plain American Indians about "isolation" being a major contributing factor to their survival appears to be just as applicable to mountainous regions. It is clear that the mountains and foothills provide numerous isolated areas, as do isolated coastal swamps where a tribal group could gather and survive. The one instance of a non-recognized group in the highlands is the Southern Metis, who apparently have no intention of seeking recognition. But they have no history of living as a separate culture; they are simply a collection of people from many different backgrounds with some American Indian ancestry, most of whom have probably identified as "white" most of their lives.

Some scholars have argued that racial mixing between American Indians, blacks and whites in the Coastal Plain was responsible for many of the groups that now claim American Indian heritage (Beale 1957, 1972; Griessman 1972; Johnson 1972; and Price 1953). Such mixing most certainly did occur in many parts of the state, but in the mountains most of the racial mixing involved American Indians and whites. Some of those offspring have chosen the "white" world while others have selected the American Indian. That the descendants with both American Indian and white blood did not choose to create a separate tribe can be explained by their options of calling themselves American Indian or white, which historically have been more economically and socially advantageous than being identified as black, which in many instances was the only option available to the Coastal Plains American Indians.

The cultural climate of the past was one in which blacks and people with black ancestry, however minuscule the black ancestry might have been, were the victims of racial prejudice. This discrimination based upon racial background could have influenced those persons with some American Indian ancestry to band together in a group as a means to overcome the institutionalized discrimination against blacks. As time passed, the group moved further away from identification with their black and white ancestors, while keeping alive the tradition of their American Indian heritage. Although along the way they lost most, if not all, aspects of American Indian culture and most groups had become assimilated into the Euro-American culture system to the point that although they might self-identify as American Indians, they were in reality a sub-set of the dominant Euro-American culture.

American Indian culture, however, is being reworked by these American Indians who are molding a new, modern culture that is a blend of traditional American Indian ways, from many different

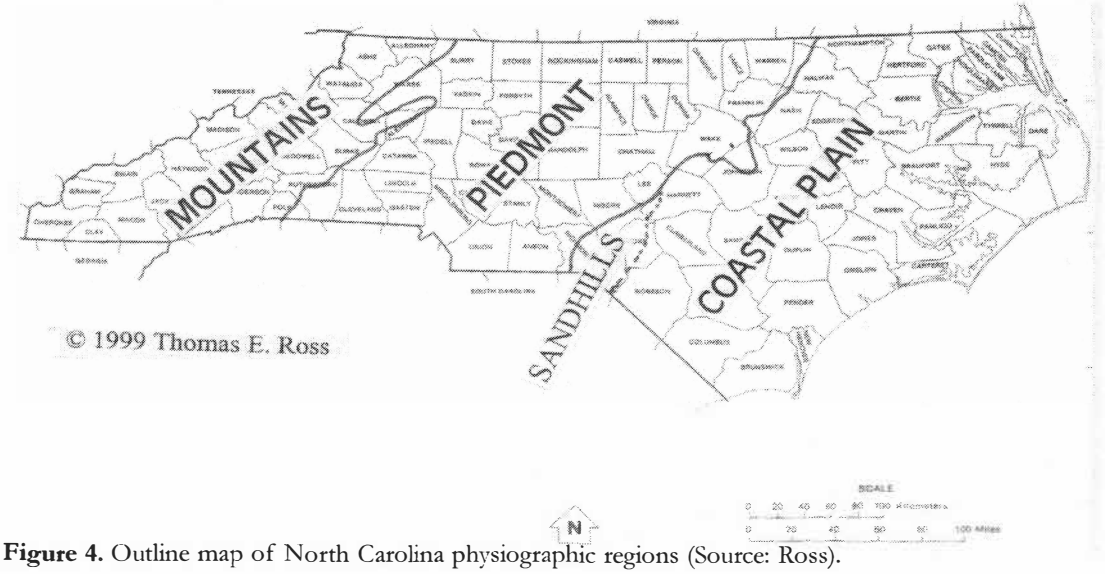

Figure 4. Outline map of North Carolina physiographic regions (Source: Ross).

tribes throughout the United States, and the highly technological world in which they must live. Although a non-American Indian might refer to it as a new creation with little connection to the American Indians that lived on the Coastal Plains of North Carolina five hundred years ago, this culture is definitely American Indian.

In conclusion, regardless of the reason, the fact is that most of the American Indians, recognized and non-recognized, in North Carolina are found on the Coastal Plain. Furthermore, there is little or no reason to expect any change in this pattern. In fact, it is likely that a few more Coastal Plains groups will apply for state recognition within the next decade while only one or two groups in the Piedmont will do so. The recognition issue, at both state and federal levels, will continue to dominate American Indian politics during the next few decades. Most of those already recognized by the state will try to gain federal recognition. A few more unrecognized groups will probably emerge, most of whom will be splinter groups of larger tribes persons in isolated areas reclaiming an American Indian heritage long dormant. These too may also eventually seek recognition from state and federal agencies.

IV. ACTIVITIES

1. To begin the lesson, I would make a transparency or graph of the first column of Table 1, with the names of colonial American Indian tribes, and ask students the following questions:
   a. How many of these tribes have you heard of before?
   b. Use the third column to explain where they were located within the state?
   c. Use the fourth column to determine their current status.
2. Task 1 can be followed with a graphic that uses some of the drawings of White and others. Ask students:
   a. What is distinctive about their dress?
   b. What materials do they use to make their tools?
   c. Were you aware of how American Indian villages and towns were arranged?
3. Use the rivers outline map (Figure 3) to show where the American Indian tribes mentioned in the preceding text were located. [Label each tribe's approximate location; label the rivers]
4. Were rivers important in the various tribe's location decisions? If you think they were, explain why.

Figure 5. Outline map of North Carolina county boundaries (Source: Ross).

Table 1. American Indians in North Carolina during the Colonial Period.

Tribe	Population	Location	Status
Cape Fear	not available	South-central NC to eastern SC	Extinct
Catawba	4600 in 1682	One band in western SC; another in central SC	Live on reservation in York County, SC
Cheraw	1000 in 1600 510 in 1715	Northwest SC to western NC to central NC to central SC	Most likely merged with Catawba, but some could have moved into Robeson and surrounding counties in NC
Cherokee	8,000 in 1600	Western NC & SC	Live on reservation in western NC (Swain, Graham, Jackson Co.]
Chowanoc	240 in 1713	Chowan River northcentral NC	Extinct
Coree	75 in 1709	Neuse River NC	Extinct
Eno	750 in 1600	Tar & Neuse Rivers in NC to Hillsboro, NC to SC	Merged with Catawba
Hatteras	89 in 1709	Cape Hatteras, NC	Extinct
Keyauwee	500 in 1600	High Point, NC to Albemarle Sound to Pee Dee River, SC	Merged with Catawba
Machapunga	260 in 1709	Pee Dee R., SC to Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds	Extinct
Meherrin	not available	Roanoke River, NC	Merged w/Tuscarora ?
Moratok	not available	Roanoke River, NC	Extinct
Neusiok	not available	Neuse R. Craven/Carteret, NC	Merged w/Tuscarora ?
Nottoway	300 in 1715	Western North Carolina	Merged with Cherokee ?
Occaneechi	750 in 1709	Orange County, NC	Removed to northern US, ca 1740
Pamlico	75 in 1709	Pamlico R. coastal NC	Enslaved & merged into Tuscarora
Saponi	750 in 1709	Yadkin R., Salisbury, NC	Migrated north, one band stayed in Granville County, NC
Shakori	not available	SC to Nottoway R, NC to Eno R., near Durham, NC	Merged with Eno, then finally blended with Catawba
Sissipahaw	not available	Santee River, SC to Haw River, NC	Merged with Catawba, some may have moved to Lumber River, NC
Sugeree	not available	Mecklenburg County, NC and York, SC	Merged with Catawba
Tuscarora	1,200 warriors in 1709	Roanoke, Neuse, Tar and Pamlico rivers, NC	Migrated to New York and other northern states
Waccamaw	610 in 1715	Waccamaw River, NC and Lower Pee Dee, SC	Merged with Catawba, some may have moved to Lumber River, NC
Waxhaw	not available	Western SC (North Augusta) to Lancaster, SC to Mecklenburg and Union counties, NC	Merged with Cheraw, later with Catawba, some may have moved to Lumber River, NC
Weapeneocs	800 in 1600 40 in 1701	Northeast NC	Extinct
Woccon	600 in 1600	Goldsboro, NC	Some merged with Tuscarora, some with Catawba

Source: Swanton, J. R. 1946. *Indians of the southeastern United States.* pp. 90-213. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Table 2. American Indians in North Carolina: 2000

Indians in North Carolina, 2000			
County	Total Population	American Indians	
		Number	Pct.
Alamance	130,800	462	0.35
Alexander	33,603	50	0.15
Alleghany	10,677	28	0.26
Anson	25,275	113	0.45
Ashe	24,384	79	0.32
Avery	17,167	58	0.34
Beaufort	44,958	74	0.16
Bertie	19,773	87	0.44
Bladen	32,278	657	2.04
Brunswick	73,143	494	0.68
Buncombe	206,330	803	0.39
Burke	89,148	270	0.30
Cabarrus	131,063	443	0.34
Caldwell	77,415	162	0.21
Camden	6,886	29	0.42
Carteret	59,383	258	0.43
Caswell	23,501	45	0.19
Catawba	141,685	365	0.26
Chatham	49,329	201	0.41
Cherokee	24,298	396	1.63
Chowan	14,526	43	0.30
Clay	8,775	29	0.33
Cleveland	96,287	145	0.15
Columbus	54,749	1,706	3.12
Craven	91,436	388	0.42
Cumberland	302,963	4,691	1.55
Currituck	18,190	83	0.46
Dare	29,967	83	0.28
Davidson	147,246	545	0.37
Davie	34,835	79	0.23
Duplin	49,063	113	0.23
Durham	223,314	660	0.30
Edgecombe	55.606	109	0.20
Forsyth	306,067	923	0.30
Franklin	47,260	208	0.44
Gaston	190,365	525	0.28
Gates	10,516	44	0.42
Graham	7,993	547	6.84
Granville	48,498	222	0.46
Greene	18,974	57	0.30
Guilford	421,048	1,944	0.46
Halifax	57,370	1,801	3.14
Harnett	91,025	794	0.87
Haywood	54,033	266	0.49
Henderson	89,173	245	0.27
Hertford	22,601	269	1.19
Hoke	33,646	3,852	11.45
Hyde	5,826	18	0.31
Iredell	122,660	328	0.27
Jackson	33,121	3,379	10.20
Johnson	121,965	494	0.41
Jones	10,381	37	0.36
Lee	49,040	206	0.42
Lenoir	59,648	106	0.18
Lincoln	63,780	172	0.27
McDowell	42,151	122	0.29
Macon	29,811	84	0.28
Madison	19,635	53	0.27
Martin	25,593	74	0.29
Mecklenburg	695,454	2,439	0.35
Mitchell	15,687	70	0.45
Montgomery	26,822	108	0.40
Moore	74,769	506	0.68
Nash	87,420	397	0.45
New Hanover	160,307	627	0.39
Northampton	22,086	71	0.32
Onslow	150,355	1,108	0.74
Orange	118,227	457	0.39
Pamlico	12,934	68	0.53
Pasquotank	34,897	130	0.37
Pender	41,082	201	0.49
Perquimans	11,368	20	0.18
Person	35,623	218	0.61
Pitt	133,798	357	0.27
Polk	18,324	34	0.19
Randolph	130,454	582	0.45
Richmond	46,564	770	1.65

Table 2 (continued). American Indians in North Carolina: 2000

Robeson	123,339	46,896	38.02
Rockingham	91,928	250	0.27
Rowan	130,340	433	0.33
Rutherford	62,899	125	0.20
Sampson	60,161	1,086	1.81
Scotland	35,998	3,197	8.88
Stanly	58,100	144	0.25
Stokes	44,711	109	0.24
Surry	71,219	165	0.23
Swain	12,968	3,765	29.03
Transylvania	29,334	83	0.28
Tyrrell	4,149	8	0.19
Union	123,677	475	0.38
Vance	42,954	85	0.20
Wake	627,846	2,152	0.34
Warren	19,972	957	4.79
Washington	13,723	7	0.05
Watauga	42,695	108	0.25
Wayne	113,329	412	0.36
Wilkes	65,632	95	0.14
Wilson	73,814	199	0.27
Yadkin	36,348	59	0.16
Yancey	17,774	60	0.34
STATE	**8,049,313**	**99,551**	**1.24**

5. Based upon what you have mapped for Task 3, do you think there was, or could have been, interaction between any of the tribes? If so, which ones and why did they interact?
6. Draw the general migration route of the following tribes: Cheraw, Eno, Keyauwee, Machapunga, Shakori, Sissipahaw, and Tuscarora. Use a separate symbol–solid line, broken line, double-line, etc. for each tribe. (See material provided in the Table 1)
7. Which Piedmont/Coastal Plain river basin contained the most American Indians at time of contact? Offer some explanations why so many American Indians chose to live here.
8. Use physiographic regions of NC map to locate the American Indian tribes living in the Mountains, Piedmont, Coastal Plain.
9. American Indians spoke many different languages when Europeans arrived here. Identify two or three tribes whose language was included in the following language subfamilies:
   a. Iroquoian
   b. Siouan
   c. Algonquian

Use Table 2 to respond to the following:

10. Construct a map (Figure 5) showing the ten counties in the state where American Indians make up more than two (2) percent of the total county population in 2000 (Table 2) and make a list of counties with 10 percent or more of total population listed as American Indians.
11. Use data provided in the 2000 population data table (Table 2) to construct a map of Native American distribution in North Carolina. Create five categories and symbols to show distribution patterns.

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