Colonial Identifications for Native Americans in the Carolinas, 1540-1790

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ABSTRACT

In the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries the powers of Europe competed in an imperial struggle for control of the Americas. While exploring the Americas, Europeans encountered people whose descendents had lived in the Americas for ten thousand years. The ways in which European colonists identified Native Americans varied between time and place, and depended on the role Native Americans played in their colonial projects. The Spanish Crown colonized the Caribbean, Central and South America, and the Gulf Coast of the United States. The English colonized parts of the Caribbean and the eastern seaboard of North America. The two nations each ventured into a region that came to be known as the Carolinas, between the Chesapeake Bay in Virginia and the Florida Peninsula.

This thesis will argue that Spanish and English colonists in the Carolinas based their identifications for Native Americans on several factors. Their identifications for Native Americans reflected the usefulness of Native American polities to the Spanish and English in achieving their goals of colonization, their preconceptions about Native Americans they intended to colonize, and the nature of their relationships with Native American polities in the Carolinas.

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Special thanks, to my family and friends for putting up with me as I wrote this thing. Thanks Jennifer, Katherine, Dennis, Rob, Justin, Kevin, Grant, and Greg.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Dave and Judi Crane. Thank you for your love and support. I could not have done it without you.

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Prologue

Spanish and English colonists in the Carolinas based their identifications for Native Americans on several factors. Colonists' identifications for Native Americans reflected the usefulness of Native American polities to the Spanish and English in achieving their goals of colonization, their preconceptions about Native Americans they intended to colonize, and the nature of their relationships with Native American polities in the Carolinas.

The expedition of Hernando de Soto (1540-1542) introduced Europeans to the piedmont of and mountains of the Carolinas. These men identified Native American polities as "towns" and "provinces."[1] The conquistadors depended on Native Americans for food and information, and as guides, porters, and allies. The Spanish saw a recognizable political structure in Native American polities in the Carolinas, and compared them to the kingdoms of Iberia. The importance of Native American polities to the success of the expedition, as well as their similarity to European powers, led the conquistadors to identify Native American polities with familiar designations. The Spanish also viewed Native Americans as "savages."[2] Previous

[1] The Gentleman from Elvas, *True Relation Of The Hardships Suffered By Governor Hernando De Soto And Certain Portuguese Gentlemen During The Discovery Of The Province Of Florida. Now Newly Set Forth By A Gentleman From Elvas.* (1557) in James Alexander Robertson, trans. and ed., "The Account By A Gentleman From Elvas," in Lawrence A. Clayton. Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward C. Moore. *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando De Soto to North America in 1539-1543*. Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1980, 133.

[2] Luys Hernandez de Biedma, *Relation of the Island of Florida*. (1544) In James Alexander Robertson, trans. and ed., *"The Account By A Gentleman From Elvas,"* in Lawrence A. Clayton. Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward C. Moore. *The De Soto*

violent confrontations with Native Americans in Central and South America, fed such perceptions, while violent clashes with Native American polities once in the Carolinas confirmed them for some.

English privateers attempted to establish a base along the Carolina coast between 1584-1590. Members of four English expeditions to the Outer Banks identified Native American polities in a similar way to that of Spanish conquistadors fifty years prior. The privateers identified Native American polities as "towns" or "countries."[3] The English relied on Native Americans for food and exchange, and as guides and allies. The English too saw a similar political structure in Native American polities to those in Europe.

During the first English expedition to the Carolinas (1584), commanded by Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, relations between Native American polities and the English were congenial, and Native Americans were seen as "civilized."[4] Later expeditions commanded by Ralph Lane, Richard Grenvile, and John White, however, were composed of veterans of the English campaigns to colonize Ireland. These men, as they had done in Ireland, abused the local population and sullied relations with Native American polities. When Native Americans retaliated violently, many English also came to view Native Americans as "savages."[5]

Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando De Soto to North America in 1539-1543. Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1980, 229.

[3] Arthur Barlowe, *Captain Arthur Barlowe's Narrative of the First Voyage to the Coast of America*, in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation*. (1589) in Henry S. Burrage, D.D., Early English and French Voyages Chiefly From Hakluyt, 1534-1608, New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1959, 227-249.

[4] Barlowe, *Captain Arthur Barlowe's Narrative of the First Voyage to the Coast of America*, 227.

[5] Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations,* 248.

The English established permanent settlements in the Carolinas during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The colonists relied on Native American polities along the coast, as well as polities in the piedmont and mountains, as trading partners and allies. Those Native American polities that were useful to the English in achieving their goal of colonizing the Carolinas were identified as "nations."[6]

After the Tuscarora and Yamasee Wars (1711-1715), colonists' identifications for Native Americans changed. Native American polities that resisted the English along the coast were devastated. Thousands of Native Americans were either killed, sold into slavery, joined more powerful polities inland, or lived on the margins of colonial society. Once coastal polities were no longer seen as useful to the colonists, and Native Americans became increasingly valuable as individuals who could be enslaved, the English identified those Native Americans as either simply "Indians" or "Indian slaves."[7] To the English those Native Americans lost their identity. Native American polities inland, such as the Catawba and Cherokee, then became more valuable to the English as allies against the French during the French and Indian War, and against the British during the American Revolution. The usefulness to the colonists of Native American polities in the piedmont and mountains led the English to continue to identify these polities as nations.

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[6] Thomas Ashe, *Carolina, Or A Description Of The Present State Of That Country, By Thomas Ashe, 1682*; in Salley, ed. *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*. Charles Schribner's Son's: New York, 1911.

[7] North Carolina General Court, Chevin v. Reed. North Carolina State Archives. Colonial Court Records, CCR-192 Miscellaneous Paper, 1675-1775, File Named: Indians- 1697-1758 (Treaties, Petitions, Agreements, and Court Cases); North Carolina General Court, *Broughton v. Glover*. North Carolina State Archives. Colonial Court Records, CCR-192 Miscellaneous Paper, 1675-1775, File Named: Indians- 1697-1758 (Treaties, Petitions, Agreements, and Court Cases).

After the Americans gained their independence from Great Britain in the 1780s, American identifications for Native Americans reflected their goals for their newly formed nation. The Spanish, French, and British empires had been defeated, and Native Americans were no longer seen as valuable trade partners and allies. The first U.S. census taken in 1790 reflected the changing role of Native Americans within American society. The census takers classified Native Americans and free African Americans in the same category, as "All Other Free Persons." Native Americans not living in "settled" areas were not counted and were classified as "Indians not taxed."[8] In the nineteenth century the American government focused its attention on expanding its territory westward. Native Americans were then viewed as at odds with American expansionist aims. Thousands of Native Americans were forced onto reservations. African American slavery expanded and Americans, by the middle of the nineteenth century, viewed both Native and African Americans as distinct and inferior "races."[9]

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[8] *Return of the Whole Number of Persons Within the Several Districts of the United States, According to 'An Act providing for he enumeration of he Inhabitants of the United States; Passed March the first, seventeen hundred and ninety-one*., Washington City: William Duane, 1802. in Daniel J. Boorstin ed., *America in Two Centuries: An Inventory*. New York: Arno Press, 1976; Loretto Dennis Szucs and Matthew Wright, *Finding Answers In U.S. Census Records, Orem.* Utah: Ancestry Publishing, 2002, 24.

[9] *Abstract of The Twelth Census of the United States in Washington City*: William Duane, (1902) Daniel J. Boorstin ed., *America in Two Centuries: An Inventory*. New York: Arno Press, 1976; Theda Perdue, *"Mixed Blood" Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2003.

Introduction

Native Americans in the Carolinas Before and During the Arrival of Europeans, 10,000 B.P.- A.D. 1600

Before European arrival in the early sixteenth century, the Carolinas had been settled for 10,000 years. Those who made their home there did not leave written records, so the ways in which Native Americans in the Carolinas lived must be deciphered through archeological and anthropological methods. Most archaeologists specializing in the Carolinas divide the past in to five major cultural traditions. These periods from earliest to latest are, Paleo-Indian, Archaic, Woodland, Mississippian, and Historic. Native Americans in the Carolinas did not use these categories to divide their own history, but they do serve as a useful framework in which to conceptualize the past.[10]

Many archeologists argue that the first people to come to North America crossed into the Western Hemisphere across a land bridge that spanned the Bering Strait from northeast Asia. Others believe that these early immigrants "island-hopped" across the Pacific Ocean. The Paleo-Indian period, before 10,000 B.P., marks the first stage of human presence in the western

[10] H. Trawick Ward and R.P. Stephen Davis Jr., *Time Before History: The Archaeology of North Carolina*, Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999, 1-5; Marvin T. Smith, *The Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation During the Early Historic Period*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1987, 1-3; Carl Waldman, *Atlas of the North American Indian*. New York: Checkmark Books, 2000, 1-6.

hemisphere. Although there is considerable debate on the subject, most researchers in the field agree that by 12,000 B.P. most of the North American continent was populated. This is evidenced by fluted spear points found in now extinct Ice Age mammals. The first points were found at 'kill sites' such as Folsom and Clovis in the southeastern United States. Similar points were found in the Carolinas and along the east coast of North America.[11]

The earliest record of human presence in the Carolinas during the Paleo-Indian period was excavated at the Hardaway site in North Carolina. Researchers believed the artifacts to have been created around 9,000- 10,000 B.P. There is still much debate as to whether or not they originated during the Paleo-Indian period or the subsequent Archaic period.[12]

During the Archaic period, from roughly 10,000 b.p.- 3,000 b.p. the climate generally got warmer and the glacial sheets that covered massive portion of the continent retreated. The environment in which Archaic Native Americans lived looked quite similar to today's. They lived by hunting wild game, fishing, and gathering fruits and nuts. Native Americans in the Carolinas hunted white-tailed deer, black bear, and wild turkey. They fished and collected shellfish, and gathered a variety of plants such as acorns, walnuts, hickory nuts, seeds, berries, and greens. Native Americans during the Archaic period moved between several different campsites throughout the year because food sources varied depending on season and locale. Due

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[11] Ruth Y. Wetmore, *First On the Land: The North Carolina Indians*. Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1975, 3-9; Theda Perdue, *Native Carolinians: The Indians of North Carolina*. Raleigh: Division of Archives; Ward and Davis Jr., *Time Before History*, 1-7.

[12] Ward and Davis Jr., *Time Before History*, p. 2; Waldman, *Atlas of the North American Indian*, 1-4.

to their mobile lifestyle, they lived in small bands of several families, and up to groups of several bands.[13]

Archaic Carolinians used several kinds of tools. Many were made of durable materials such as stone and have survived to this day. Most were made from perishable materials such as animal skin and sinew, bone, plant fibers, and wood. Hunters used a weapon called an atlatl, or spear-thrower, to hunt their prey. It was an effective hunting tool and its variation in style and location helped archaeologists to chronicle archaic cultures. Native Americans did not develop the bow and arrow until the Woodland period.[14]

The Woodland period, from 3,000 B.P.- A.D. 1600, was marked by a gradual shift toward agriculture and larger and more permanent settlements. Native Americans during the Woodland period developed complex societies, created mortuary rituals, constructed earthen burial mounds, and traded across long distances with their neighbors. Native Americans in the Carolinas during the Woodland period engaged in all of these activities although their degree and frequency varied from the mountains to the coast.[15]

During the Early Woodland period, from 3,000 B.P.- A.D. 200, Native Americans in the Carolinas went through a period of rapid cultural change. They developed pottery and villages suitable to crop production. There is no direct evidence that Native Americans in the Carolinas

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[13] Wetmore, *First on the Land*, 9-11; Ward and Davis Jr., *Time Before History*, 42-75.

[14] Perdue, *Native Carolinians*, p. 6-7; Wetmore, *First On the Land,* p. 9-10; James Axtell, *The European and the Indian*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981, p. 6-10; William W. Fitzhugh, *Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contact on Native American Cultural Institutions A.D. 1000-1800*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985; Arrel Morgan Gibson, *The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present*. Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1980, 11-44; Bonnie G. McEwan, ed. *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000, 33-51.

[15] Ward and Davis Jr., *Time Before History*, 76-226.

during the Early Woodland period participated in any large scale farming, but there is evidence from surrounding areas that by this time plants such as squash, sunflower, sumpweed, maygrass, and chenopod were being grown in small garden plots. During the Middle Woodland period, from A.D. 200 – 800, gardening continued to flourish and those peoples in the mountains engaged in trade with Hopewell societies in the Ohio Valley and Swift Creek cultures in central Georgia. Towards the coast and into the Carolinas, distinctive cultures and traditions also developed.[16]

Agriculture spread rapidly throughout the Southeast during the Late Woodland period, which lasted from A.D. 800- 1600. For Native Americans in the Carolinas this was a period of cultural growth and demographic expansion. Corn became a staple for the first time, and around A.D. 1,200, beans were added to people's diets. The population increased rapidly and groups formed into distinct cultural areas. Conflict accompanied this growth and people erected stockades around villages to fend off attacks by outsiders. Groups raided their neighbors to drive them off favorable agricultural lands for stockpiled food, and possibly over cultural or ideological differences.[17]

Several complex societies developed throughout the Southeast during the Late Woodland period. Mississippian peoples, who lived along the flood plains of the Mississippi River, built villages occupied by hundreds of inhabitants, and created stratified societies with political, religious, and craft specialists. Mississippian cultures built huge mounds that served as economic, cultural, and religious centers. Many Native Americans in the Carolinas built mounds

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[16] Ward and Davis Jr., *Time Before History*, 78-95; Perdue, *Native Carolinians*, 8-12; Wetmore, *First On the Land,* 11-22.

[17] Perdue, *Native Carolinians*, 8-12; Ward and Davis Jr., *Time Before History*, 98- 134, 210-226.

and the population grew rapidly, but Mississippian cultures never reached the size they did in neighboring states such as Georgia and Tennessee. The only area in the Carolinas that possessed evidence of a Mississippian influence is where the Pee Dee culture developed around the area of present day Town Creek State Historic site in North Carolina.[18]

Mississippian people held important rituals in these pyramid-shaped mounds that were constructed to use as ceremonial centers. At the top of these mounds were temples. At the base in the surrounding area, grounds were cleared for ball games, rituals, and dances. Beyond the ceremonial centers were houses and agricultural land. The Cherokee of western North Carolina practiced mound building at the time of European arrival. The Cherokees adopted these Mississippian traditions from their neighbors over a period of several hundred years. This can be determined because there is little evidence of that area ever being invaded by Mississippian peoples.[19]

The piedmont of North Carolina, however, was invaded by Mississippians. These Mississippians were politically more cohesive than Native American polities in the piedmont. Mississippians organized themselves into large political units called "chiefdoms." These chiefdoms united villages under more powerful leadership than had existed for Woodland peoples. They were also more organized militarily and were able to overpower the more fragmented Woodland peoples of the North Carolina piedmont. Cofitechequi was one of the

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[18] Sydney Nathans, ed., *Natives and Newcomers: The Way We Lived in North Carolina before 1770*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983, 5-9; John F. Scarry, "The Late Prehistoric Southeast," in Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1994, 17-35; Perdue, *Native Carolinians*, 8-12; Ward and Davis Jr., *Time Before History*, 98- 134, 210-226; Chester B. Depratter, "The Chiefdom of Cofitachequi," in Hudson and Tesser, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries*, 197-227.

[19] Perdue, Native Carolinians, 11; Ward and Davis Jr., *Time Before History*, 157.

largest towns in this area and was one of the chiefdoms Hernando de Soto encountered during his expeditions throughout the Southeast in the 1540s.[20]

In the middle of the sixteenth century, a generation before Sir Walter Raleigh attempted to establish a colony on Roanoke Island in the 1580s, a Mississippian group invaded the upper Pee Dee River valley. These people were ancestors of the historic Creeks who live in Georgia, Alabama, and Oklahoma. They forced out the Siouan people of the piedmont who took refuge in nearby hills where they constructed palisaded villages to protect themselves from further attack. One of these villages still exists today around Town Creek Indian Mound near Mt. Gilead, North Carolina. After about a hundred years of occupation, the Mississippians returned south and the former Siouan inhabitants reoccupied their lands by the 1550s. These Siouan peoples and their descendents lived in the piedmont at the time of European arrival in the Carolinas.[21]

The lives of Native Americans in the Woodland Period, and the period after contact with Europeans were dominated by kinship. Most of an individual's relationships were with kinsmen or with in-laws. One's kin determined who were enemies and allies. Kinship also dictated responsibilities. One's kin could either have been blood kin, affinal kin, or fictive kin. Blood kin were all those individuals biologically related. Native Americans in the Carolinas lived in matrilineal societies, meaning they traced their ancestry through their mothers' line. One's mother and her brothers and sisters were the most important relatives. One's biological father and his family were affinal kin, meaning they were related by marriage. Kinship bonds were a

[20] Nathans, ed., *Natives and Newcomers*, 98-110.

[21] Nathans, ed., *Natives and Newcomers*, 105-120.

way in which Native Americans in the Carolinas held together their sense of membership in a chiefdom.[22]

So pervasive was kinship in Native Americans' lives that they used kinship relationships as a model for thinking about relationships with outsiders. Fictive kin were those individuals who through gift-giving or exchange could become a part of one's family or chiefdom. English and French traders were typically thought of as kin, because they exchanged gifts with the community and often married Native American wives. Unlike Europeans, Native Americans saw membership in their polity based on kinship ties, and not by color or ethnicity.[23]

Kinship bonds served as the glue that held together Native Americans in the Carolina's sense of a shared community identity. Community identity refers to the self-identification of a group or society with a common territory, traditions, and values.[24] Native American chiefdoms throughout the Carolinas each controlled their own territories. Native American tradition and values in the Carolinas centered on communal land ownership, self-government, and

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[22] David La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors: Southern Plains and Removed Indians in Indian Territory*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000, 32, 67-69, 214-215; Raymond J. DeMallie, "Kinship: The Foundation for Native American Society" in Russell Thornton, ed., *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1998, 39; Oakley, *The Indian Slave Trade in Coastal North Carolina*, 13; Ryan K. Anderson, "Lumbee Kinship, Community and the Success of the Red Banks Mutual Association" *American Indian Quarterly*, 23 (1999).

[23] John A. Grim, "Cultural Identity, Authenticity, and Community Survival: The Politics of Recognition in the Study of Native American Religions." In Lee Irwin, *Native American Spirituality: A Critical Reader*, 37-60. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2000; Marcell Maus, *The Gift: Form and Function of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. New York: Norton and Company, Inc., 1967; La Vere, *Contrary Neighbors*, 32, 67-69, 214-215; DeMallie, "Kinship: The Foundation for Native American Society," 39; Oakley, *The Indian Slave Trade in Coastal North Carolina*, 13.

[24] David Landy, "Tuscarora Tribalism and National Identity" Ethnohistory, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Summer, 1958), 250-284.

membership in a kinship network. Kinship bonds were maintained through a matrilineal system of marriage and through reciprocity among kin. Membership in a polity was seen as an extension of that kinship network.[25]

Contact with Europeans began for Native American in 1492 following the voyages of Christopher Columbus. Spanish exploration of the Americas began in earnest during the sixteenth century. After brutally subduing the Caribbean by the early sixteenth century, the Spanish conquistadors turned their search for wealth and power to the mainland. The Spanish penetrated into Mexico during the 1520s and the Peruvian Andes in the 1530s before turning to what is today the southeastern United States in the 1540s. Early Spanish explorations were focused along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts of Florida. When these missions failed to produce the treasures taken from the Aztec and Inca empires, they began to send expeditions inland into *La Florida* and the Carolinas.[26]

The first Europeans to meet Native Americans in the Carolinas in the 1540s were the members of Hernando de Soto's expedition. These Spanish conquistadors identified Native American polities as "towns" and "provinces." The men analogized the political structure of Native American polities to their kingdoms of Iberia. The conquistadors relied on friendly

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[25] George De Vos and Lola Romnucci-Ross, eds., *Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change*. Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1975; James A. Clifton, *Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers*. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, 1989; Joane Nagel, *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996; David Landy, "Tuscarora Tribalism and National Identity" Ethnohistory, Vol. 5, No. 3 (Summer, 1958), 250-284.

[26] Jerald T. Milanich and Susan, "Another World," in Jerald T. Milanich and Susan Milbrath, *First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean and the United States, 1492-1570*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1989, 1-27; Noble David Cook, *Born To Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492-1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 15-60.

Native American polities for food, guides, supplies, and allies against other polities opposed to their presence. To this end, to aid in their own survival, the Spanish needed to be familiar with the ways that Native Americans in the Carolinas organized themselves.

English privateers arrived on the Carolina coast in the 1580s. The privateers were looking for a base from which to raid Spanish and French shipping lanes. Like the Spanish before them, the privateers relied on Native Americans in the Carolinas for food, supplies, and as intelligence. The English, out of necessity, had to understand how Native Americans organized themselves, and the privateers looked to England for comparisons. They identified Native American polities as "towns" and "countries."

Nearly a century later, English colonists established settlements in the Carolinas during the 1670s. These colonies expanded throughout the eighteenth century and encroached further inland onto Native American land. The English looked to Native American polities as suppliers of deerskin and slaves, and as consumers of the myriad of English goods brought by the expanding Atlantic world economy, and as allies against Spanish and French colonists and their often Native American allies. English colonists tended to identify Native American polities as "nations" in a way similar to how they viewed the rival nations of Europe.

Chapter 1

Native American Identity in the Carolinas and the Atlantic World: Historiography and Contributions

In both the historiography of Native American identity in the Carolinas, and the broader historiography about identity formation in the Atlantic World, the ways in which colonists constructed identifications for Native Americans in the Carolinas during the colonial period has been neglected. This thesis will explain how Native Americans were classified in the Carolinas by the Spanish and the English during the colonial era. It will also demonstrate how colonists' identifications of Native Americans in the Carolinas resembled similar phenomenon in European colonies throughout the Atlantic World.

The historiography regarding how colonists and Americans categorized Native American polities in the Carolinas focuses almost exclusively on the post-colonial period. After the formation of the United States of America the new American government became interested in quantifying and classifying its citizens. In the first U.S. census taken in 1790, Native Americans were classified in the same category as free Blacks. Congress ordered the census takers to count the number of Native Americans not on reservations and classified them as "All Other Free Persons," the same category in which African Americans who were not enslaved were placed."[27]

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[27] *Return of the Whole Number of Persons Within the Several Districts of the United States, According to 'An Act providing for he enumeration of he Inhabitants of the United States;' Passed March the first, seventeen hundred and ninety-one*., Washington City: William Duane, 1802, Daniel J. Boorstin ed., *America in Two Centuries: An Inventory*. New York: Arno Press, 1976.

Historians of Native American identity in the Carolinas primarily studied the ways in which the American state and federal governments classified Native Americans after the formation of the United States of America. After the eighteenth century, American identifications for Native Americans came to reflect a belief that "Indians" were a distinct "race" of men. The institution of slavery caused White Americans to view African Americans as racially inferior to themselves.[28] After 1790, Native Americans were classified in the same category in which free African Americans were placed. By the middle of the nineteenth century, White Americans also came to view "Indians" as a separate and inferior race. By the turn of the nineteenth century the U.S. census officially created a category that placed "Indian" under a category for a person's "race."[29]

Historians studying the social construction of race and ethnicity in the Carolinas focused their attention on the process of creating a racial identity for Native Americans during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Historians such as Calvin Martin, Gene Weltfish, and James Merrell broke new ground in the field by pointing to Native Americans as the source of questions regarding "Indian Identity." These historians pointed out that Native Americans themselves created their own ethnicities, that reflected their historical experiences and the identifications ascribed to them by Whites. Other historians such as Theda Perdue, Patricia Barker Lerch, and

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[28] William S Penn, ed., *As We Are Now; Mixblood Essays on Race and Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997; Theda Perdue, *"Mixed Blood" Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2003.

[29] Abstract of The Twelth Census of the United States in Washington City: William Duane, (1902) Daniel J. Boorstin ed., *America in Two Centuries: An Inventory*. New York: Arno Press, 1976.

Jeremiah James Nowell studied the ways in which Whites constructed a belief about Native Americans as a separate "race" after the colonial period.[30]

This thesis will fill the gap in that literature and explain the ways in which colonists identified Native Americans in the Carolinas prior to a belief in their "racial" inferiority. Racial categories were used for both Native and African Americans to identify them as subhuman; as inherently and biologically distinct from Europeans. Americans developed a belief that Africans were natural laborers in order to justify slavery. In the nineteenth century, Americans expanded westward, and forced Native Americans onto reservations. Americans claimed that "Indians" were a separate race, and were biologically incapable of assimilating into mainstream American culture. Americans categorized Native Americans as a separate race in order to justify forcing them onto reservations and confiscating their land.[31]

Studies by historians such as Jack P. Green, Nicholas Canny, and Anthony Pagden studied identity formation in the Atlantic World, but their works largely neglected to include Native American identity in the Carolinas during the colonial period (1500-1800). Historians

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[30] Calvin Martin, "Ethnohistory: A Better Way to Write Indian History", *Western Historical Quarterly* 9 (1978); Gene Weltfish, "The Question of Ethnic Identity, An Ethnohistorical Approach", *Ethnohistory*, (6) 4 (1959); James A. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact Through the Era of Removal*. New York and London: W.W. Norton and Co., 1987; Theda Perdue, *"Mixed Blood" Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2003; Patricia Barker Lerch, "State Recognized Indians of North Carolina, Including a History of the Waccamaw Sioux." In J. Anthony Paredes ed., *Indians of the Southeastern United States in the Late 20th* Century. Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1992; Jeremiah James Nowell, Jr., Red, White, and Black: Race Formation and the Politics of American Indian Recognition in North Carolina. (P.h.D. Diss.: The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000).

[31] Karen I. Blu, *The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980; Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1998, 358-365.

such as Daniel K. Richter and Colin C. Calloway have in recent years added Native Americans in the Atlantic World to the larger discussion of identity formation in those areas touched by the waters of the Atlantic. Those historians that studied Native American identity in North American, however, focused on Native Americans living in New England, the mid-Atlantic States, and the deep South. The Carolinas were left out of this discussion. This thesis will add the construction of identities for Native Americans in the Carolinas to the larger discussion about how the indigenous peoples of the Americas were classified by European colonists prior to the nineteenth century. This study contends that colonists' identifications for Native Americans in the Carolinas during its colonial period (1540-1790), were caused by practical considerations about their mission in the Americas, and the colonists' relationship with Native Americans polities in the Carolinas.[32]

The process by which colonists formed identities for Native Americans in the Carolinas is quite unique. First, compared to other areas in the Americas colonized by Europeans, the English came relatively late to the Carolinas. They did not establish permanent settlements there until the 1670s. By this time, the English had already established many their beliefs about Native Americans. This may serve as an explanation for why English colonists' classifications for Native Americans in the Carolinas were different from the Spanish over a century prior. Next, English settlement in the Carolinas also remained relatively sparse. Native American polities in the Carolinas came into less contact with Europeans than did native polities in New

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[32] Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds, *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987; Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001; Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds For All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

England and South America. The Spanish and the English nonetheless encountered dozens of polities each with unique localized identities. The process of identity formation in the Carolinas, therefore speaks to the larger historiography of the social construction of ethnicity and race.[33]

Several generations of historians focused their scholarly attention on Native Americans in the Carolinas. It was not until the late 1970s and early 1980s that historians and anthropologists concentrated about how Native Americans in the Carolinas determined who they were and how Whites have defined "Indian identity."[34]

In the 1940s historians such as Chapman J. Milling, who wrote *Red Carolinians*, created tribal histories about the origins of modern day state and federally recognized Native American tribes in the Carolinas. They were based solely on European records and treated Native American culture as static. Milling assumed that Native American life and identities remained unchanged from the ancient past. Milling wrote about Native American dwellings, food, clothing, and religious customs, but treated archaic Native American culture in the same manner as Native Americans who had been living with Europeans for four hundred years. As was typical of histories about Native Americans in the 1940s, Milling used racist arguments as

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[33] Thomas C. Holt, "Explaining Racism in American History," in Anthony Molho and Gordon S. Wood, eds., *Imaged Histories: American Historians Interpret The Past*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998, 107-119; Kirsten Fischer, *Suspect Relations: Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002; Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York: Vintage Books, 1993; David J. Weber, "Bourbons and Barbaros: Center and Periphery in the Reshaping of Spanish Indian Policy," in Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy, *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*. New York and London: Routledge, 2002, 79-104.

[34] For the purposes of historiographical accuracy the terms "Indian" and "Native American" will be used interchangeably according to the terms used by the author being discussed. For the remainder of this thesis the peoples of the Americas will be referred to as Native Americans.

explanations of Native American culture and behavior. He used words like "stock" to describe Native American ancestors that implied a biological explanation for the development and nature of Native American culture.[35]

Historians such as Douglas L. Rights in the 1950s continued to write Native American history from a European perspective. His *The American Indian in North Carolina* (1957) remains a seminal work in the historiography of Native Americans in the Carolinas, but is more an anthology of the early literature. Rights focused mainly on the Cherokee and the formation of the Cherokee nation, but like so many historians of his day, treated all Native American culture in the Carolinas as unchanging. His work also perpetuated the myth of an "Indian race". Instead of treating all native peoples in the Carolinas as separate polities with overlapping but distinct histories, Rights saw all "Indians" as belonging to one red race.[36]

The study of Native Americans in the 1960s was transformed. The Civil Rights Movement increased the public, and academy's interest in minority ethnic groups. "The new social history" focused on history from the "bottom up."[37] Instead of history being directed by elites that controlled governmental and financial power, people of lesser economic and political status were seen as influential to the course of history. Studies focusing on Native American history increased as scholars became interested in ethnic minorities' contributions to the past. The war in Vietnam also increased the desire of scholars such as Ralph Linton, as well as writers

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[35] Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians*. Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1940.

[36] Douglas L. Rights, *The American Indian in North Carolina*. Winston-Salem, John F. Blair, Publisher, 1957.

[37] Anthony Molho and Gordon S. Wood, eds., *Imaged Histories: American Historians Interpret The Past*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

outside the academy such as Dee Brown, to critically evaluate the American government's relationship with indigenous cultures.[38]

The interest within the academy in Native American history coincided with an increased attraction between historians and anthropologists about each others' scholarship and methodologies. Scholars attempted to understand the Native American perspective, and to do so, both disciplines understood that cooperation was necessary. Calvin Martin, in his article for *Western Historical Quarterly*, "*Ethnohistory: A Better Way to Write Indian History*" claimed that although anthropologists had a deeper understanding of Native American cultures and economies, their analyses contained too much jargon, and dealt little with the broader context of Native American history.[39] Nancy Oestrich Lurie, an anthropologist claimed that historians were too focused on military affairs and depended too much on written documents that failed to include information about the Native American point of view.[40]

"Ethnohistory" merged the techniques of history and anthropology, and has been used by both historians and anthropologists since the 1950s. Gene Weltifish was one of the first scholars

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[38] Ralph Linton, ed., *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*. Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1963.; Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*. New York: Washington Square Press, 1970.

[39] Martin, "Ethnohistory" (1978).

[40] Nancy Oestrich Lurie, "The Voice of the American Indian: Report on the American Indian Chicago Conference", *Current Anthropology*, (2) 5 (1961). Other notable works included: John C. Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture, with Comparative Material from Other Western Tribes*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955; James Axtell, "Ethnohistory: An Historian's Viewpoint," in Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America.* New York: Oxford University Press (1981), Bruce G. Trigger, "Ethnohistory: Problems and Prospects. Ethnohistory, (29) 1 (1982), Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press (1984).

to understand the implications of ethnohistory to the study of Native American claims to a distinct ethnic identity. Weltfish recognized that to study the "ethno" in ethnohistory, scholars must recognize that Native American claims to a separate ethnic identity were rooted in their historic experience. Much of "Indian history" revolved around the creation of new societies, cultures, and consequently, ethnicities. His study of what constitutes a tribal identity centered on varying combinations of "territory, language, government, culture, and consciousness of kind."[41] To study Native American societies was not just to study life ways, but was to examine the process of creating ethnicity itself.

Adolph L. Dial and David K. Eliades were some of the first historians to incorporate this new understanding of ethnicity into a history of the Lumbees in North Carolina. Dial and Eliades wrote "Indian history" from the "inside."[42] Adolph L. Dial was a member of the Lumbee nation. They claimed that it was Native Americans who determined their own ethnic status. Eliades and Dial noted that during the colonial period, "Indian" identity was not determined by race, but was based on the cultural inferiority of native societies. The main focus of their study maintained that it was not until the nineteenth century that Native Americans were viewed as a separate race.[43]

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[41] Weltfish, "The Question of Ethnic Identity, An Ethnohistorical Approach" (1959). Also: Francis Jennings, "A Growing Partnership: Historians, Anthropologists, and American Indian History." *The History Teacher* 14 (1980): 87-104; Alexandra Harmon, "Wanted: More Histories of Indian Identity." In Philip J. Deloria and Neal Salisbury, *A Companion To American Indian History*, ed., Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

[42] Donald L. Fixico, "Ethics and Responsibilities in Writing American Indian History," in Albert L. Hurtado and Peter Iverson, eds., *Major Problems in American Indian History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001, 2-7.

[43] Adolph L. Dial and David K. Eliades, *The Only Land I Know: A History of the Lumbee Indians*. San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, 1975.

Karen I. Blu, also writing about the Lumbees, furthered the notion that behavior determined one's status as an "Indian," and that it was Lumbees themselves who defined what made one a Lumbee. Lumbees pointed to a shared history, place, schools, and community organizations as evidence of their Indianness. Being an Indian was a state of mind and previous qualifiers like blood quantum were insufficient determinants in assessing who was a member of the Lumbee nation.[44]

James H. Merrell in *The Indians' New World* further explored how ethnicity was created, and introduced the term "ethnogensis" to describe the creation of the Catawba nation. The Catawba nation formed in the seventeenth century amid crisis. Epidemic disease and colonists' encroachment onto their lands decimated Native Americans living in the Carolina piedmont. Native Americans from smaller and weaker nations relocated to the Catawba's territory on the North and South Carolina border to escape Europeans, to band together for mutual protection, and to maintain a viable society. Merrell's work explained how the Catawba nation maintained itself by upholding traditional aspects of Catawba culture. In *The Indians' New World*, Merrell documented the process by which an "Indian" identity was formed.[45]

The foremost historian studying how Whites classified Native Americans in the Carolinas, and how they were viewed themselves was Theda Perdue. In *Mixed Blood Indians*, Perdue outlined colonial classifications for Native Americans in the Carolinas, and concluded that membership in an "Indian nation" was based on behavior and culture, not biology. Perdue argued that colonists in the sixteenth century saw Native Americans as human beings with souls

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[44] Blu, *The Lumbee Problem,* 24-39.

[45] Merrell, *The Indians' New World*, 1989.

who were worthy of European civilization and conversion to Christianity. In the seventeenth century colonists saw Native Americans as heathens who were culturally inferior and outside of God's kingdom. The Enlightenment ideas of the eighteenth century taught colonists about the unity of mankind and the equal rights of man.[46]

It was not until the nineteenth century, and the entrenchment of African slavery, that a racial view of Native Americans developed. Perdue's analysis neglected to point out that colonists' identifications for Native Americans in the Carolinas were also dependent on their goals for their colonies, and their relationship with Native American polities. Not only were colonists' perceptions of Native Americans based on intellectual currents in Europe, but they also reflected the colonists' practical considerations for their colonial endeavors.

Histories of the Atlantic began in the late 1940s. After World War II and the formation of the Soviet Bloc, historians increased their attention on a geopolitical space that, as the Cold War loomed, seemed more relevant than ever. In Jacques Godechot's *Histoire de l'Atlantique*, Michael Kraus' *The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth Century Origins*, and R.R. Palmer's "Le probleme de l'Atlantique du XIIIeme au Xxeme siecle," these scholars attempted to explain the importance of the Atlantic Ocean to the foundations of "Western Civilization." Emerging organizations like NATO and the United Nations increased the academy, policy makers, and public's interest in the importance of the Atlantic World.[47]

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[46] Theda Perdue, *"Mixed Blood" Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2003.

[47] Jacques Godechot, *Histoire de l'Atlantique*. Paris: 1947; Michael Kraus, *The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth Century Origins*. New York: 1949; Jacques Godechot and R.R. Palmer, "Le probleme de l'Atlantique du XIIIeme au Xxeme siecle", in 10th International Congress of Historical Sciences, relazioni, 6 vols. Florence: 1955.

It was not until the 1980s, however, that Atlantic World history emerged as a recognizable field. Atlantic World historian David Armitage defined the criteria for Atlantic World history thusly,

> The Atlantic might seem to be one of the few historical categories that has an inbuilt geography, unlike the histories of nation-states with their shifting borders and imperfect overlaps between political allegiances and geographical borders. Atlantic history also seems to have a reasonably clear chronology, beginning with the first crossing by Columbus in 1492 and ending, with the age of revolutions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[48]

Atlanticists studied the lands that touched the Atlantic Ocean, as well as the ocean itself. They study the movement of goods, people, and ideas across the Atlantic Ocean from around 1500-1800. As a result of these mass movements, traditional European ethnicities changed and new identities were forged throughout the Atlantic World.[49]

Colonists themselves were not the only ones that gained new identities. Native Americans felt the brunt of European colonization. Colonists often forced an identity onto Native Americans that they may not otherwise have had. For example, the term "Indian" was used by the first voyages of Columbus to identify the inhabitants of the Caribbean. Columbus believed he was in Asia and consequently classified the people he encountered in the Americas as Indians. Africans were also ascribed new identities. Whereas in West Africa, from where most Africans that were brought to the Americas on the Middle Passage came, there were dozens

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[48] David Armitage, "Three Concepts of Atlantic History," in David Armitage and Michael Braddick, ed. *The British Atlantic World*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, 11-12.

[49] Patrick Griffin, *The People With No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689-1764*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001; J.H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New, 1492-1650*. Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 2000; Bernard Bailyn, *The People of British North America: An Introduction*. New York: Vintage Books, 1986.

of separate ethnicities. People were Yoruba, Somali, Akan, and Ashante. Once they were brought to places such as the Caribbean, Brazil, and the American South as slaves, they were given the identity of "Black."[50]

The Carolinas was largely absent from the literature pertaining to the construction of identities for Native Americans by European colonists in the Atlantic World. Several historians have studied the ways in which colonists classified Native Americans in North America during the colonial period, but few have studied the ways in which colonists in the Carolinas identified Native Americans.

Daniel K. Richter in *Facing East From Indian Country* argued that Native Americans in North America shaped the course of events in early American history. He contended that Native Americans were active partners in constructing relationships and identities between themselves and European colonists. Native Americans, for most of American colonial history controlled the eastern seaboard and largely dictated relations with colonists. He, like Theda Perdue, argued that colonial identifications for Native Americans in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries were based on the perceived inferiority and barbarity of Native American culture, and not their biology. Richter, however, focused most of his work on colonists' relationship with Native Americans in New England and the Mississippian cultures along the Mississippi River and Gulf Coast. The Carolinas, and colonists' perceptions of Native Americans there were not discussed. Richter also focused exclusively on English colonization. He neglected the role of Spanish colonists in shaping identifications for Native Americans.[51]

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[50] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

[51] Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country*, 2001.

Colin G. Calloway argued in *New Worlds For All* that Native Americans and colonists together created the environment in which they both lived, and the identities that were formed during the colonial period were caused by a complimentary relationship between colonists and Native Americans. *New Worlds For All* is classically Atlantic in scope. Calloway contended that as relations between colonists and Europeans deteriorated over the course of English colonization, separating themselves from Native Americans helped the colonists to form a distinctly "American" identity in the eighteenth century. "Indians" were identified as an "other," as something separate from themselves. By classifying Native Americans as distinct from Europeans, colonists defined what it meant to be an American. Calloway discussed two Native American polities in the Carolinas, the Catawba and the Cherokee, but did not discuss the process by which colonists identified them. The Catawba and Cherokee were discussed solely as examples of polities that survived the onslaught of English colonization, but not the ways that colonists classified Native Americans in the Carolinas.[52]

Several other scholars such as Inga Clendinnen, Bernard S. Cohn, and Patricia Seed have studied, a related subject, the process by which colonizers classified the colonized. Throughout the Atlantic world and the British Empire colonizers often created identities for the people they encountered. Practically, these identities reflected the colonists' preconceptions about those they intended to colonize, their goals for their colonies, and the daily realities that dictated relationships with the colonized.

Inga Clendinnen in *Ambivalent Conquest* examined how Spanish conquistadors and the Maya of the Yucatan Peninsula perceived one another. Central to Clendinnen's argument was a call for historians to accept a measure of ambiguity in studies that attempt to explain how Native

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[52] Calloway, *New Worlds For All*. 1997.

Americans and colonists thought about one another. To understand the thought processes and perceptions of people long-dead requires an intellectual leap of faith. "The attempt also requires from both reader and author a tolerance of ambiguities, and of inherently contestable judgments. But to offer interpretations without acknowledging their uncertain ground would be less than candid, while to state only what is certainly known would be to leave unexplored what matters most."[53]

In order to interpret how colonists in the Carolinas identified Native Americans, this thesis will also have to accept some level of ambiguity. Understanding the ways in which colonists felt about and perceived Native Americans hundreds of years ago is no easy task. The records were often scant, incomplete, and certainly show an ethnocentric bias towards Europeans. Nonetheless, in order to understand how colonists classified Native Americans, historians must accept inherent criticism about their sources, in order to understand the motives of Spanish conquistadors and English colonists in the Carolinas. These records are, however, the only way to understand the changing ways in which colonists classified Native Americans. To dismiss these records as useless would leave an important part of American intellectual history unstudied.

Patricia Seed argued in *Ceremonies of Possession* that the ceremonies performed by colonists throughout the Atlantic World reflected the goals for their colonies. The Spanish wanted to conquer large Native American empires, supplant themselves in control, and convert people they viewed as heathen "savages." Spanish conquistadors made solemn speeches and proud statements about their purposes before they launched brutal military attacks against Native American polities. The English by contrast, wanted to settle the land, establish colonies, and

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[53] Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996, ix.

provide a market for English goods. Instead of elaborate ceremonies, the English laid out fences and tried to make the New World seem like their native shires. [54]

Scholarship surrounding how colonists classified the colonized was not limited to the Atlantic World. Bernard S. Cohn analyzed the ways that British colonizers attempted to sift through the numerous ethnicities in India, and classified Indians into fixed categories that were creations of the British. Central to his argument was that local, regional, and global factors influenced the decisions British colonizers made in India, and these events affected the ways that the British classified its subjects in India.[55]

Colonists' identifications for Native Americans in the Carolinas also reflected local, regional, and global factors. Colonists' reliance on Native Americans for food and supplies, for trade, and as allies against competing European powers, meant that colonists in the Carolinas had to attempt to understand the ways in which Native Americans organized themselves. Preconceptions about Native Americans, and persistent violence once in the Carolinas caused colonists to view Native Americans as "savages."

This thesis will add the colonial period to the existing literature surrounding "Indian identity" in the Carolinas, and will place the Carolinas into the discussion of identity formation in the Atlantic World. It will show the ways in which colonists classified Native Americans in the Carolinas prior to the formation of the United States. After the eighteenth century, Americans classified Native Americans as a separate race. It will also place the process by which Spanish and English colonists identified Native Americans in the Carolinas in an Atlantic

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[54] Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

[55] Bernard S. Cohn, *India: The Social Anthropology of a Civilization*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971.

World context. Throughout the Atlantic World, colonizers based their identifications for Native Americans on their preconceptions about people they intended to colonize, the goals for their respective colonies, and their relationship with Native American polities. These identifications reflected the usefulness of Native American polities to the Spanish and English in completing their mission of colonizing the Carolinas. Native American polities were instrumental to the success of the Spanish conquistadors' *entrada* into the Carolinas in the 1540s, to the establishment of an English privateering base in the 1580s, and to English colonists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Chapter 2

Spanish Conquistadors in the Carolinas, 1539-1542

"Neither the One Town Nor the Other Should Dare Attack Him"[56]

Members of the expedition of Hernando de Soto, that traveled through what are now the Carolinas during the early 1540s, based their identifications for Native Americans they encountered on their goals for the expedition, their preconceptions about Native Americans, and their relationship with Native American polities. The conquistadors' plan was to subdue a wealthy native Empire in *La Florida*. In order to achieve this goal, the Spanish relied on Native Americans for food, as guides and porters, and as allies. Out of necessity, the Spanish attempted to recognize how Native Americans organized themselves. The Spanish conquistadors viewed these polities as "towns" and "provinces," comparable to the way they viewed the independent kingdoms of Iberia.

The relationship between Native Americans in the Carolinas and Spanish conquistadors was also often violent. The conquistadors saw war and brutality, as necessary and useful tactics to subdue people that they felt were inferior to themselves. Before arriving in the Carolinas,

[56] The Gentleman from Elvas, *True Relation Of The Hardships Suffered By Governor Hernando De Soto And Certain Portuguese Gentlemen During The Discovery Of The Province Of Florida. Now Newly Set Forth By A Gentleman From Elvas.* (1557) in James Alexander Robertson, trans. and ed., "The Account By A Gentleman From Elvas," in Lawrence A. Clayton. Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward C. Moore. *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando De Soto to North America in 1539-1543*. Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1980, 133.

SPANISH CONQUISTADORS IN THE CAROLINAS:

THE EXPEDITION OF HERNANDO DE SOTO

Spain had five decades of experience in colonizing the Caribbean, and Central and South America. Once in the Carolinas, the conquistadors skirmished frequently with Native American polities. The previous conquests by the Spanish in Central and South America, but also violence with Native American polities they encountered in the Carolinas, led Soto and his men to see Native Americans as weak and vulnerable. The conquistadors were militarily superior to lightly armed Native American polities, and this advantage caused them to view Native Americans as somehow "savage" or "primitive" compared to themselves.[57]

The conquistadors held seemingly opposing views of Native Americans simultaneously. One viewpoint took note of the political organization and complexity of Native American societies, while the other perspective saw Native Americans as primitive and savage. In order to continue their mission in the Carolinas, conquistadors out of necessity held both views of Native Americans. There the conquistadors' hoped to find a wealthy civilization comparable to the Aztec and Inca empires and bring them under Spanish control. The conquistadors, however, also relied on Native American polities for supplies and information. The importance of the assistance given to the conquistadors by Native American polities meant that it was in the

[57] This term is a matter of some controversy. The voluminous Spanish accounts of their conquests often referred to Native Americans as *Indios*. One such example is Fidalgo de Elvas, *Expedicion de Hernando de Soto*. Buenos Aries: Coleccion Austral, 1952. Christopher Columbus first referred to the Arawak and Taino on the Island of Hispaniola and Cuba as "*Indios*" in 1492. English translations of these texts usually supplanted the word "Indian" in its place. In many instances, however, *Indios* connotes more directly to the word "primitives" or "savages." Columbus used this term because he believed he had arrived in Asia, but also to indicate his belief that the people he met were inferior. For a discussion of the meaning of savagery, refer to Gordon M. Sayre, *Les Sauvages Americains*: Representations of Native Americans in French and English Colonial Literature. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997, xiv-xvii.

interest of the Spanish to attempt to recognize how Native Americans organized themselves in order to elicit their much-needed assistance.

At the same time that Soto an his men were taking note of the complexity of native societies, they held a belief that saw Native Americans as more primitive and savage than those of Europe. Spanish identifications for Native Americans in the Carolinas were, therefore, caused by the conquistadors' opportunism. Soto and his men viewed Native Americans in the Carolinas as savage, but needed to exploit complex Native American polities in order to carry out their mission in *La Florida*. The mission of colonizing the Americas began in 1492 after the voyages of Christopher Columbus to the Caribbean.

Following the four voyages of Christopher Columbus between 1492 and 1503, Spain quickly established colonies on the larger island of the Caribbean: Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and Cuba. From these ports Spain explored other islands in the Caribbean as well as the coasts of the southeastern United States and Central America throughout the early sixteenth century. For over a decade, however, settlement was limited to the islands, where the Spanish succeeded in building an economy based on sugar production and cattle ranching. These plantations and ranches were worked by Native American slaves as well as slaves imported from Africa.[58]

Spanish treatment of Native Americans in the Caribbean set a precedent for how conquistadors' viewed Native Americans in the future. The conquistadors felt superior to Native Americans in the Caribbean because the Tainos, Caribs, and Arawaks were militarily less

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[58] Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean, 1492-1969*. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1981, 13-46; S. Lyman Tyler, *Two Worlds: The Indian Encounter with the European, 1492-1509*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988.

sophisticated than the heavily armed Spanish. The Spanish decimated the local populations in the Caribbean, consciously by the sword, and unconsciously by the germ. The brutal nature of the Spanish conquest of the Americas gave rise to the "Black Legend." Other Europeans such as the Dutch, French, and English used the common belief that Spanish conquistadors were too cruel to ever convert the local population to Christianity as a justification for their own colonization and conversion efforts in the Americas.[59]

Spanish subjugation of Native Americans in the Caribbean was swift. Friar Bartoleme de Las Casas (1474-1566) wrote extensively about the cruel treatment of the conquistadors and the contempt with which they held the people of the Caribbean. In his *Historia de las Indias*, Las Casas described the cruelty inflicted upon several Arawak boys.

> The Christians met two twelve-year-old Indian boys one day, each carrying a parrot; they took the two and just for pleasure beheaded the boys. Another tyrant, angry at an Indian chief because he did not do what he ordered, hanged twelve of his vassals, and another one eighteen, all in one house. Another one shot arrows into an Indian following a public announcement that he was sentencing him because he was not quick enough in bringing him a letter that was sent him. There are infinite cases and deeds of this nature that our Christians have ministered to these peoples.[60]

Las Casas lamented that those claiming to uphold the cause of converting the local population to Christianity were sullying the efforts of sincere missionaries such as himself. Spanish violence against Native Americans, however, continued.[61]

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[59] Noble David Cook, *Born To Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492-1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

[60] Bartolme de Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 3 vols. (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1951), 2:206, in Cook, *Born to Die*, 2.

[61] Irving Rouse, *The Tainos: Rise and Decline of the People Who Greeted Columbus*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992, 138-164.

The Spanish conquest, having won the main Caribbean Islands by the first decades of the sixteenth century, thrust towards the mainland in two main campaigns, one to Panama and a second to Mexico. The cruelty continued during Vasco Nunez de Balboa's conquest of Panama in 1513. Pedro Martir reported the cruelty inflicted upon the local population. "The Spaniards cut off the arm of one, the leg or hip of another, and from some their heads with one strike, like butchers cutting off beef and mutton from the market. Six hundred, including the cacique, were thus slain like brute beasts… Vasco ordered forty of them to be torn to pieces by dogs."[62]

Licentiate Cristobal de Pedraza reported the cruelty inflicted upon Native Americans in Central America in a report to a royal treasury official in 1531 about the Spanish conquests there a decade earlier. "In Aquatega [in present Nicaragua] 200 Indians were punished: one-third of them were put in a large hut and burned to death; another one-third were torn to pieces by dogs; eyes were plucked out, arms were cut off, and other cruelties were practiced on the remaining one-third of the Indians."[63] Conquistadors felt that violence against Native Americans was an acceptable part of colonization, and carried out brutal violence against Native Americans wherever they went. Conquistadors used violent tactics because it proved to be a successful method of bringing powerful empires under their control. The apparent weakness of Native American polities compared to the Spanish Empire caused conquistadors to view Native Americans as "savage" and inferior.

Violent conflicts between the Spanish and Native Americans did not subside, and after subduing the Caribbean and the coast of the Central American mainland by the early 1530s,

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[62] Raul Porras Barrenechea, ed., *Cartas del Peru (1524-1543)*. Lima: Sociedad de Bibliofilos Peruanos, 1959, 272 in Cook, *Born to Die*, 4.

[63] William L. Sherman, *Forced Native Labor in Sixteenth-Century Central America*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979, 45.

Spain turned its attention further inland. The impetus for Spain to explore and colonize the mainland came in 1519 when Hernan Cortes encountered the wealthy and populous Aztec empire. Not only did Cortes discover gold and jewels, which he could take by force, but he also found a large settled population who could be put to work on plantations and in mines. After the conquest of the Aztecs between 1519-1521, Cortes became enormously wealthy and was granted the title of marquis. Other conquistadors such as Fransisco Pizarro and Hernando de Soto learned of Hernan Cortez' successes and hoped to lead his own expedition to subdue a wealthy and powerful civilization.[64]

The Spanish in Mexico exhibited terrible cruelty against the Aztecs and their neighbors as they traveled west from their base at Vera Cruz on the Gulf of Mexico. The expedition departed in April of 1519 and first headed northwest along the coast. The conquistadors encountered several towns under the yoke of Aztec rule that were willing to supply the Cortes and his men with supplies, information, and warriors. Cortes' most powerful allies against the Aztecs came from the province of Tlaxcala less than a hundred miles from the stronghold of the Aztecs, the city of Tenochtitlan on Lake Texoco. With several thousand Tlaxcalan allies, Cortez and his men besieged the city on two separate occasions for several weeks at a time. What occurred was one of the saddest events in human history.[65]

The Spanish massacred and tortured thousand of Aztecs during and after besieging the city. Because the Aztecs were not Christian, the Spanish believed that atrocities were justified in order to continue the dual mission of colonizing the Americas and converting its people. The

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[64] Michael Wood, *Conquistadors*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000, 15-107.

[65] Michael E. Smith, *The Aztecs*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1996, 274-294; Bernal Diaz, *The Conquest of New Spain*. Translated with an introduction by J.M. Cohen, London: Penguin Books, 1963, 6-13.

Spanish conquistadors also learned early in their colonial project in the Americas, that violence was an effective means of subduing large Native American polities. Conquistadors developed a belief that due to the apparent weakness of Native Americans in the face of the Spanish conquest, that Native Americans were inferior and "savage" compared to themselves.

Bernal Diaz' account during the siege of Tenochtitlan in 1521, recounted the "towns" surrounding Lake Texcoco. Cortes hoped to convince them to ally with him against Tenochtitlan. Notice that when referring to the people of Tenochtitlan, he referred to them as "savages."

> The towns that made peace were Iztapalapa, Churubusco, Culuacan, Mixquic, and all those on the fresh-water lake. Cortes told them that we should not shift our camp till the Savages either sued for peace or were destroyed in the fighting, and ordered them to aid us in war with all the canoes they possessed, to come to build shelters for him, and to bring him food.[66]

News of Hernan Cortes' astounding conquest of the Aztec Tribute State reached the planners of the Pizarro expedition by 1522, and Pizarro was determined to emulate Cortes. If there was an empire to the south, he was determined to conquer it and plunder its riches. Hernando de Soto was recruited for the expedition in 1529, after a call for brave Spaniards looking for adventure and fortune by the expedition's planners Bartolome Ruiz and Francisco Pizarro. Hernando de Soto was a renowned equestrian and was charged with leading Pizarro's mounted vanguard.[67]

The thrust into Mexico, meanwhile, vanquished the Aztec empire by 1521, continued again through Central America, and later moved North to California. The drive into Panama

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[66] Diaz, The Conquest of New Spain, 375.

[67] Curt Lamar, "Hernando de Soto before Florida: A Narrative," in Patricia Galloway, ed., *The Hernando de Soto Expedition: History, Historiography, and "Discovery" in the Southeast*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997, 181.

expanded into other areas of Central America, culminating in the subjugation of the Inca Empire in 1532. The immensely profitable Peruvian conquest led to the explorations of Chile, Quito, and Popayan, and indirectly to the expeditions into *La Florida*.[68]

Soto's experiences against the Inca in Peru taught him that violence was a legitimate and ultimately successful way to bring "*Indios*" under their control. The riches plundered by Francisco Pizarro's expedition from 1527 to 1532 convinced Hernando de Soto that the vast unexplored region of *La Florida*, which includes what are now the Carolinas, must contain another rich and powerful empire comparable to that of the Aztecs and the Incas.[69]

In the decades before the Soto expedition in the early 1540s, Spanish conquistadors brutally subdued the Native Americans living in the Caribbean, and the powerful empires of the Aztecs in central Mexico and the Incas in Peru. The conquistadors used abhorrent tactics against the native populations, and this violence shaped the ways in which the Spanish viewed Native Americans in the Carolinas. De Soto himself was a veteran of Pizarro's campaign against the Inca, and was given the governorship of the Caribbean before embarking in 1539 into what the Spanish referred to as *La Florida*, now the Southeastern United States.[70] His experiences in prior expeditions of conquest, as well as his knowledge of other Spanish expeditions, colored his view of Native Americans in the Carolinas. The consistent violence between the conquistadors and Native American polities in the Carolinas, and the inability of native forces to repel their advance, reinforced the Spanish belief that Native Americans were savages.

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[68] Cecil Howard, *Pizarro and the Conquest of Peru*. New York: Harper and Row, 1968, 10-20.

[69] Ignacio Avellaneda, "Hernando de Soto and His Florida Fantasy," in Galloway, *The Hernando de Soto Expedition*, 207.

[70] Lamar, "Hernando de Soto before Florida," 186.

Hernando de Soto was able to support his social and political ambitions to conquer and rule a once powerful native empire with the spoils he had collected in Peru. Like other leaders who served under the Captains of the Spanish conquests that later attained great wealth, land, and title, Soto concluded that a better future awaited him directing his own conquests outside Peru rather than in continuing as a secondary figure under Francisco Pizarro. However, when he decided to lead his own venture, the prime areas of the Indies had already been assigned to others. For that reason, in 1536 he petitioned the Crown for either the conquest of an undefined Pacific coastal area north of Ecuador, or for the governorship of Guatemala. When both of these options failed, Soto had to content himself with his third choice, the conquest of *La Florida.*[71]

The royal grant gave Soto the exclusive right to conquer, pacify, and populate the huge Florida territory that extended from the Rio de las Palmas on the Gulf of Mexico to Terra Nova, or Newfoundland. He was empowered to establish cities and forts there, to distribute among the conquerors any booty obtained, as well as towns, farmlands, and Native American labor and tribute. He was also promised the salaried *adelantado*, governor, and captain-general of a territory bordering a shoreline of his choice that was to be about five hundred miles long. In addition, he was named governor of the island of Cuba.[72]

As Soto explored the land known as *La Florida* in 1539, and when he first arrived in what are now the Carolinas in 1540, he believed that subduing the "Indios" at any cost was an appropriate and acceptable method of expanding Spain's holdings in the *New World* and to expand his personal fame and wealth. The Soto *entrada* of about five hundred men marched through large Mississippian chiefdoms of the American Southeast from 1539 to 1543 and

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[71] Avellaneda, "Hernando de Soto and His Florida Fantasy," 207.

[72] Avellaneda, "Hernando de Soto and His Florida Fantasy," 208.

through the Carolina piedmont from 1540-1542. The expedition brought war, disease, and destruction to numerous Native American communities.[73]

Soto learned from the previous Spanish conquistadors in Central and South America, as well as the initial expeditions on to the North American mainland. Soto's plan for exploring the interior of *La Florida* followed a different pattern than previous conquistadors on the Gulf Coast. De Soto studied the expedition of Panfilo de Narvaez that explored the cape of Florida and the coastal regions along the Gulf of Mexico between 1528 and 1536. Narvaez' expedition was a disaster. It quickly ran low on food and was unprepared to repel the numerous attacks by local Native American warriors. In attempt to find food and salvage his expedition, Narvaez roamed the countryside looking for large fields of crops to plunder. This inefficient system of supply doomed the expedition, which finally limped its way to the Texas coast where it was rescued in 1536. Only three men survived.[74]

De Soto learned of Narvaez' fate after he returned from Spain after his participation in the conquest of the Inca Empire, and developed a more efficient method for traveling through the unknown countryside. Instead of looking for lands with abundant crops, de Soto traveled from the central town of each chiefdom to that of the next. Hernan Cortez used a similar method to travel across central Mexico on his way to the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan. After subduing a chiefdom's largest town, de Soto's men forced the local population to find food and supplies for the conquistadors. Once fully supplied, the expedition moved on to the next central town and

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[73] Cook, *Born To Die,* 12-14, 68-89.

[74] Paul E. Hoffman, "Narvaez and Cabeza de Vaca in Florida," in Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1994.

repeated the process. At every stop, Soto's men dished out their own brand of cruelty, and Native Americans resisted this encroachment by waging war on the invaders.[75]

In 1539 de Soto landed his men at Tampa Bay on the west coast of the Florida peninsula, and established his first camp at Ocita near the mouth of the Little Manatee River. The expedition moved northwest following the Withlacoochee River. The men spent a year in present Florida and spent the winter near Tallahassee before moving into the Georgia and the Carolinas.[76]

In the following spring the expedition moved north, following their pattern from large town to the next. They followed the Flint River across Georgia through the chiefdoms of Toa and Ocute in northwest Georgia. Thus far, the men were disappointed at what they had found, or more importantly, not found. They did not find vast riches as Cortez and Pizarro had. They did not find wealthy and advanced civilizations like the Aztec and Inca as they had hoped. Finally, in May, the men heard of a large and prosperous town [near present day Camden, South Carolina] ruled by a woman they deemed, "the lady of Cofitachequi."[77]

Making their way to Cofitachequi in May 1540, the expedition was low on supplies. The men were starving and desperate for provisions. Luys Hernandez de Biedma, one of the chroniclers that traveled with Soto through *La Florida*, noted the desperation felt by the

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[75] Charles Hudson, *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun*. Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1997, 29-57.

[76] Charles Hudson, Chester B. DePratter, Marvin T. Smith, "Hernando de Soto's Expedition Through the Southern United States," in Jerald T. Milanich and Susan Milbrath, *First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean and the United States, 1492-1570*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1989, 77-98.

[77] Hudson, DePratter, Smith, "Hernando de Soto's Expedition Through the Southern United States, 77-98.

expedition then hundreds of miles away from their bases in the Caribbean. "The Governor questioned them about that province that we were searching for, which was called Cofitachique, and they told us that it was not possible to go there; there was neither a road nor anything to eat on the road, and we would all die of hunger."[78] The conquistadors felt justified in killing and torturing Native Americans in order to elicit the information they desired. To the conquistadors Native Americans were 'savages,' and abusing them for food or information was not considered to be unchristian.

Violence was justified if it ferried the expedition further along in its mission to subdue a wealthy empire. "In the town was found a barbacoa full of parched maize meal and some maize which was given out by rationing. There four savages were captured, and no one of them would say anything else than that they did not know of any other village. The governor [Hernando de Soto] ordered one of them to be burned. Thereupon, another said that two days journey thence was a province called Cutifachiqui."[79] Here burning a man to death was justified in order to bring the expedition to the next major town.

Despite this brutality, the Spanish conquistadors relied on Native Americans as guides and porters, for food, and as allies. Without the assistance of Native Americans, the expedition would never have managed to travel as far as it did. The conquistadors needed to note how Native Americans organized themselves in order to continue their mission. The accounts of

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[78] Luys Hernandez de Biedma, *Relation of the Island of Florida*. (1544) In James Alexander Robertson, trans. and ed., *"The Account By A Gentleman From Elvas,"* in Lawrence A. Clayton. Vernon James Knight, Jr., and Edward C. Moore. *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando De Soto to North America in 1539-1543*. Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1980, 229.

[79] Elvas, *True Relation*, 19-221.

Soto's expedition are replete with examples of Spanish reliance on Native Americans as allies and for supplies.

As the conquistadors moved from town to town they attempted to make truces and invited each polity into an alliance with the Spanish. Those that accepted were required to supply the expedition and those that did not were attacked. De Soto offered the "lady of Cofitachequi" a truce during his approach to the chiefdom's central town. "On the way three savages were captured who declared that the chieftainess of that land had already heard of the Christians and was awaiting an offer of his friendship and the information that he was coming thither."[80] The people of Coftachequi had reason to fear the conquistadors. They were willing to use force if necessary to get the supplies they desperately needed. "We went onward to other Provinces, who were named Ocute and Cofaqui, and they gave us some of the foods they had and told us that if we wished to go to make war on the lady of Cofitachhique, they would give us all that we might want for the journey."[81]

As most armies of the sixteenth century, the conquistadors of the Soto expedition did not bring supplies sufficient to carry them through their entire expedition. As a result, Soto and his men relied on Native Americans for food. "Twenty savages came out to meet him each carrying his basket of mulberries which grow in abundance and goods from Cutifachiqui [Cofitachequi] thither and also on into other provinces, as well as walnuts and plums."[82] Without these handouts of food, the expedition would surely have failed. For example, while leaving Cofitachequi Soto and his men "in all the towns through which the governor [Hernando de Soto]

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[80] Elvas, *True Relation*, 82.

[81] De Biedma, *Relation of the Island of Florida*, 229.

[82] Elvas, *True Relation*, 87.

passed, the cacica [the lady of Cofitachequi] order the savages to come and carry the loads from one town to the other…, for all the savages did with great efficiency and diligence what she orders of them."[83] Everywhere the Spanish went, they found their way with the help of Native American guides and were given supplies to aid them in their expedition. The expedition received supplies they needed in Cofitachequi and moved west towards the "town" of Canasaqua in early June of 1540.

In the summer of 1540, the expedition left Canasaqua and approached Chiaha after a five-day journey west. The conquistadors were met with more assistance by local native polities. Here the expedition received food, supplies, porters, and the promise of more assistance in the future. "After the governor [Hernando de Soto] left Canasaqua, he marched five days through an uninhabited region. Two leagues before reach Chiaha, fifteen savages, bearing maize, whom the cacique sent, met him and told him in behalf of the cacique that the latter was awaiting him with twenty baracoas full, and [that] he with all the rest, including his person, land, and vassals, were all at his service."[84] Had the people of Chiaha not supplied the Spanish with supplies they would have been met with the full force of the conquistadors' cavalry, crossbows, and razor sharp Toledo steel swords. Biedma recounts "Having seen our determination, they gave us eight hundred savages to carry out food and clothes, and other savages to guide us."[85]

As previous Spanish conquistadors had done in the Caribbean, Mexico, and Peru, members of the Soto expedition viewed Native Americans in the Carolinas as "savage." This

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[83] Elvas, *True Relation*, 85-86.

[84] Elvas, *True Relation*, 88.

[85] De Biedma, *Relation of the Island of Florida*, 231.

conception was caused by the effectiveness of previous violence against Native Americans, but also by the ongoing conflicts with native polities in the Carolinas.

In spite of the fact that Soto and his men viewed Native Americans as “savages,” the expedition nevertheless relied on local polities for supplies, as guides and porters, and as allies against those polities hostile to the Spanish. Out of necessity, members of the Soto expedition attempted to recognize how Native Americans organized themselves. The Spanish viewed these native polities as “towns” and “provinces” in the same way that they viewed the politically independent provinces of the Iberian Peninsula. The conquistadors referred to native polities as either “towns,” in the case of smaller settlements such as Patofa and Aymay,[86] or as “provinces,” when referring to large chiefdoms such as Chalaque, Xualla, and Cofitachequi.

For example, after leaving Cufitachequi the expedition passed through several leagues of uninhabited countryside and what seemed to be large abandoned fields. “They said that the sea was two days’ journey away. About the town within the compass of a league and a half league were large uninhabited towns, which looked as though no people had inhabited them for some time. The Indians said that two years ago there had been a plague in that land and they had moved to other towns.”[87] Historians, such as Michael T. Smith have taken similar passages,

[86] Elvas, *True Relation*, “the governor set out for the town which was called Aymay, to which the Christians gave the name of the town of Socorro [i.e. Relief], 80.

[87] Elvas, *True Relation*, 83; The Gentleman from Elvas was mistaken about the relative location of Cofitachequi and the sea. The actual distance is over a hundred and fifty miles.

which describe numerous uninhabited towns and fields, as evidence of the affect of infectious diseases upon Native Americans throughout the American Southeast.[88]

When describing large chiefdoms that exerted control over smaller surrounding settlements, chroniclers described these polities as "provinces." For example after leaving Cofitachequi, the expedition, "in seven days, reached a province, by name Chalaque, the poorest land in maize seen in Florida."[89] After quickly leaving this deserted and desolate region, the expedition headed for the nearest chiefdom. "It took five days to go from this province [Chalaque] to another one called Xualla," which was about "one hundred and thirty leagues, eighty of which were without inhabitants."[90]

The conquistadors of the Soto expedition identified these places as "towns" and "provinces" because they resembled the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. Iberia in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century was occupied by five independent kingdoms: Portugal, Aragon, Granada, Navarre, and Castille. These kingdoms were heavily populated and were dominated by urban centers for trading. Portugal and Aragon were each home to over a million people. Grenada had some 500,000 people and Navarre had around 200,000. Castille dominated the region with around 4.5 million inhabitants. Each kingdom was spotted by large urban centers that were the centers of government and trade. Seville, Granada, Toledo, and Lisbon had

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[88] Marvin T. Smith, *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation During the Early Historic Period*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1987, 58-60.

[89] Elvas, *True Relation*, 86.

[90] Elvas, *True Relation*, 86.

populations in excess of thirty thousand, but other towns such as Burgos, Medina del Campo, Barcelona, and Oporto were also active trading centers.[91]

The paramount chiefdom of the Carolinas, Cofitatachequi near Camden, South Carolina, seemed familiar to the Spaniards when they arrived there in 1540. They perceived social inequality in these societies, and they tended to regard the chiefs as *senores*, or lords, in something of the way they regarded the elite in their own society.[92]

Colonial identifications for Native Americans in the Carolinas changed depending on their relationship with Native American polities. Hernando de Soto's expedition through the Carolinas in the 1540s relied on Native Americans to navigate through the countryside and as allies against native polities opposed to their presence. The Spanish attempted to recognize how Native Americans organized themselves out of necessity. The conquistadors identified these polities in a familiar way, as "towns" and "provinces." The conquistadors' relationship with Native Americans was also filled with violence. The Spanish used brutal tactics against Native Americans because it furthered their goals of subduing powerful native empires.

The Spanish never found a wealthy Native American empire in the Carolinas. The conquistadors traveled through dozens of polities, each with its own leaders, territories, and allegiances. Even the largest "chiefdoms" such as Cofitachequi, Chalaque, and Ocute, were no larger than a few thousand people and did not possess the same level of wealth as the vast empires of the Aztecs and Inca. The Spanish never established permanent settlements in the

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[91] Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson, *Colonial Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. 25-31.

[92] Alex W. Barker and Timothy R. Pauketat. "Social Inequality and the Native Elites of Souheastern North America" in Alex W. Barker and Timothy R. Pauketat eds. *Lords of the Southeast: Social Inequality and the Native Elites of Southeastern North America.* Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association, 3 1992.

Carolinas, but maintained a presence in Florida into the eighteenth century. During that time, the Spanish viewed the Carolinas as a frontier zone, which served as a buffer between themselves and the English, who arrived on the Carolina coast in 1584.[93]

[93] Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Number Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973, 14-19; William W. Fitzhugh, *Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contact on Native American Cultural Institutions A.D. 1000-1800*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985, 39-44, 55-56.

Chapter 3

English Privateers in the Carolinas, 1584-1590

"In Their Behaviour Mannerly and Civil As Any of Europe"[94]

English privateers that landed on the Carolinas coast in the 1580s based their identifications for Native Americans on the goals of their respective voyages and their relationship with native polities. England had long sought a privateering base in the region to raid Spanish shipping out of the Caribbean and Central America. In order to achieve this goal, the English relied on Native American polities for food, exchange, and as guides and allies. The success of the four initial English voyages to the Carolinas depended on the assistance of Native Americans. Just as the Spanish had done fifty years prior, the English attempted to recognize how Native Americans organized themselves out of necessity. The English identified Native American polities as "towns" or "countries" similarly to the way they viewed polities in Europe.

During the initial voyage of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe in 1584, there was relatively little violence between the English and Native Americans, and the groups exchanged goods, food, and mutual curiosity. Due to these amiable relations, the early English privateers viewed Native Americans as civilized, and likened native culture to a golden age of humanity in

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[94] Arthur Barlowe, *Captain Arthur Barlowe's Narrative of the First Voyage to the Coast of America*, in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation*. (1589) in Henry S. Burrage, D.D., Early English and French Voyages Chiefly From Hakluyt, 1534-1608, New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1959, 227.

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the distant past. Later voyages from 1585-1589, commanded by Ralph Lane and Richard Grenville, sullied relations with Native American polities on the Carolina coast.[95]

Lane and Grenvile were veterans of England's campaigns to colonize Ireland, which like England's push into North America, sought to bring people they regarded as barbarians under the yoke of English control. When the two men arrived in the Carolinas, they assumed command of the base and bullied the local people. The English placed high demands on Native American polities for food, goods, and land. Native Americans resisted this encroachment by raiding English settlements. They were designed to intimidate the English and obtain their manufactured goods. Lane and Grenville's experiences in Ireland taught them to deal with people they believed to be less civilized or "savage," with violence.[96]

The English in the Carolinas were faced with a similar dilemma to Spanish conquistadors in the 1540s. Reliance on Native Americans for food, trade, guides, and allies forced the privateers to note the complexity of Native American societies and to recognize how these polities were organized. The initial English voyages saw small "countries" and "towns" in the Carolinas, similarly to political organization in England. After the arrival of the Lane and Grenville expedition, however, the privateers also regarded Native Americans as savages. This view of Native Americans as barbarian stemmed from their experience colonizing the Irish, whom the English regarded as inferior to themselves. Violent resistance by Native American

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[95] Karen Ordhall Kupperman, "Presentment of Civility: English Reading of American Self-Presentation in the Early Years of Colonization" *William and Mary Quarterly*, Volume 54 Issue 1 (January 1997), 193-228.

[96] Karen Ordhal Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*. Savage: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers, 1984, 12-44.

polities in the Carolinas also reinforced the privateer's belief in the savagery of Native Americans.[97]

The first English contact with Native Americans in the Carolinas occurred in the Outer Banks region of the North Carolina coast. The privateers' and colonists' initial views of the Native American inhabitants were for the most part positive. Native American culture was not seen as primitive or heathen. In fact, most explorers found Native Americans hospitable and as civilized as those in Europe. The chronicler of this expedition, Arthur Barlowe, noted the varied customs, languages, political structures, allegiances, and religions of the polities on the Carolina coast. This was done largely in order to provide justification for those in England that Native Americans were capable of accepting English civilization and conversion to Christianity.[98]

England's first expedition to the Carolinas was designed to find suitable sites to establish English bases and later colonies in the Americas. These voyages were to engage the native population and to Christianize those people they encountered. The financier of the first English expedition to the Carolinas was Sir Walter Raleigh. His patent, obtained on Marh 25, 1584, demonstrated the nature of the endeavor in which the English hoped to accomplish. He was empowered to "discover, search, finde out and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people."[99] England found in the Carolinas what they had been looking for years. Here

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[97] Kupperman, Roanoke, 12-44.

[98] Anthony Pagden, *The Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France c. 1500-1800*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995, 21-31; Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 16-41.

[99] Barlowe, Barlowe's Narrative, 228.

was a site for a privateering base in North America that would serve as a suitable platform for raiding and disrupting Spanish shipping, and Native Americans who seemed civilized enough to understand and accept Christianity. Due to the fact, however, that they were not Christians, the privateers felt justified in imposing their will upon them.[100]

Raleigh outfitted two vessels for the preliminary expedition, commanded by Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe. The "discourse" written by Arthur Barlowe was written at the request of Sir Walter Raleigh and was meant to inform Raleigh on the suitability of the Carolina coast as a privateering base. Barlowe's discourse also reflects the English's initial view of Native Americans on the Carolina coast. He described them "in their behaviour mannerly and civil as any of Europe."[101] Barlowe did not view the Native Americans as barbarous or savage and instead noted how civil and ordered Native Americans' societies were.

On July 2, 1584, Amadas' vessels found shoal waters off the North Carolina coast. The groups sailed along the coast for three days gathering food and noting the beauty and fertility of the countryside. Already the Englishmen likened the North American continent to the environment of Europe. "The woodes are not such as you finde in Bohemia, Moscovia, or Hereynia,…, but the highest and reddest Cedars of the world."[102] The Englishmen on this first expedition compared both the land and people of this new world to the people of Europe and found both to their liking.

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[100] Karen Ordhal Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*. Savage: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers, 1984, 28-44.

[101] Barlowe, *Barlowe's Narrative*, 230.

[102] Barlowe, *Barlowe's Narrative*, 229.

On the third day a small boat with three people rowed to the shore several hundred yards away from where the English had anchored. Amadas, Barlowe, and several crewmen went ashore and brought one of the men back on board their vessel. They gave the man "a shirt, a hat and some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meat, which he liked very well: and after having viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his own boat again."[103] After receiving these gifts, the man proceeded to fish just offshore, "and in less then a half an hour, he had laden his boat as deep, as it could swim, with which he came again to the point of the land, and there he divided his fish into two parts, pointing one part to the ship, and the other to the pinenesse."[104] This incident demonstrated the importance of reciprocity to Algonquian societies. Reciprocity was a way in which Native Americans held together kinship bonds. Those kinship ties served to hold together a Native American's sense of belonging to a particular polity. This man that first contact the English belonged to the polity of Wingandacoa.[105]

The English had given the man valuable goods and in return the man repaid their generosity with fish. This mutual gift giving between the English and several Native American polities continued for the remainder of the first expedition. As a result, English classifications for Native Americans reflected the gratitude and esteem held for the Carolina Algonquians. The day after the English received the fish, the king Wingina's brother Granganimeo arrived accompanied by several other men. Again the two groups exchanged goods. For weeks

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[103] Barlowe, *Barlowe's Narrative*, 230.

[104] Barlowe, *Barlowe's Narrative*, 230.

[105] Charles Hudson, *The Southeastern Indians*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1976, 184-193; Marcell Maus, *The Gift: Form and Function of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. New York: Norton and Company, Inc., 1967; Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 51-53.

following Wingina sent "us every day a brass or two of fat Bucks, Conies, Hares, Fish the best of the world. He sent us divers kinds of fruits, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourds, Pease, and diverse roots, and fruits very excellent good, and of their Countrey corn."[106] The English, supplied with victuals of all kinds, had no reason to view Native American as savage or inferior. Their dependence on Native Americans for food and supplies, and their desire not to duplicate the "Black Legend," encouraged the English to note the varied polities on the Carolina coast.

When trade flourished and as long as Wingina of Wingandacoa and surrounding polities supplied the colonists with food and supplies, English classifications and descriptions of Native Americans reflected a belief in their civility. Barlowe wrote, "We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age," and "for a more kind and loving people there can not be found in the world, as fair as we have hitherto had trial."[107] The English on the first expedition did not view Native Americans as savages or inferior to themselves.

In fact, they saw Native American societies as quite similar to English civilization. "The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers and children reverenced."[108] Elizabethan Englishmen saw a similar hierarchical society to their own, governed by individuals that acquired their title from birth. The Carolina Algonquins that met the English along the Carolina coast in the late sixteenth century lived a mainly settled life in modest villages of about two hundred people. They were not nomadic, but often spent parts of the spring and summer in the Outer Banks in

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[106] Barlowe, *Barlowe's Narrative*, 234.

[107] Barlowe, *Barlowe's Narrative*, 236-237.

[108] Barlowe, *Barlowe's Narrative*, 231.

order to fish the wetlands and collect shellfish. They were primarily agriculturalists who subsisted from a diet of corn, beans, squash, and pumpkins.[109]

Politicallly, chiefs called "*werowances"* presided over between one and eighteen towns. Most were in charge of between six and eight towns. English observers noted the great esteem with which these men were held. Native American societies were stratified, and were based upon family relationships. Algonquian society, however, was not dictatorial. Chiefs did not have absolute authority over those they ruled. Decisions were made by a process of consensus building through open discussion with the groups involved. Chiefs were expected to act in accordance with the will of the group. Elites in Carolina Algonquian society were also expected to share their property by giving gifts to members of the group. Reciprocity, mutual gift giving, governed social relationships and their system of justice. Restitution was to be paid for damages and all members of a clan were seen as accountable for an offense. Reciprocity also helped to cement kinship ties, which brought membership in a particular polity.[110]

English colonists that arrived in the Carolinas in the 1580s recognized the distinctions that Native Americans made themselves between different groups. Native Americans in the Carolinas organized themselves into dozens of polities such as the Ruskarawaok, Powhatan, Maffawomecks, Mangoags, Chawons, Windandacoa, and Hatorask.[111] The English called these groups "towns" or "countries" in a similar fashion to different regions in England. English

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[109] Kupperman, *Roanoke*. 47-48.

[110] Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 50- 52.

[111] Carta Particolare della Virginia Vecchia e Nuoua: La Longueu comi da isola di Pico di Asores D' America Carta III, reprinted in: David Stick, *Indian Words and Place Names in Coastal North Carolina 400 Years Ago*. Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1987; John D. Neville, *The Amadas and Barlowe Expedition*. Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1987.

colonists saw that Native Americans were organized into distinct "towns" despite a belief that the people they intended to colonize were savage and uncivilized. They recognized dozens of small polities such as the Croatan, Pasquenoke, Secotan, Roanoac, and Hatorasck along the Carolina coast.[112]

After the second English voyage to the Carolina in 1585, English colonists' attitudes towards Native Americans changed to a belief that Native Americans were savages. In spite of their belief that Native Americans were savages that could to be colonized, the privateer's reliance on Native American polities influenced them to take note of how Native Americans organized themselves. Native Americans in the Carolinas were important trade partners, military allies, and often enemies of the English colonists. In order to establish a successful privateering base in the Carolinas, the English needed to negotiate with Native American polities.

Relations between Native Americans and the English deteriorated after the arrival of the second Roanoke expedition in 1585 commanded by Ralph Lane and Richard Grenvile, and English identifications for Native Americans came to reflect a belief that Native Americans were savage. Ralph Lane became the Governor of the new colony after being released by the Queen from his duty in the campaigns to colonize and settle Ireland. Lane's experience in Ireland and the European continent told him that English authority must be imposed on a colonized people, and that any disrespect towards the Crown was to be met with massive retaliation.[113]

For most Elizabethan colonists of the sixteenth century, treachery and exploiting weakness were seen as expected components of life and human relations. The English explorers on the second expedition to Roanoke Island in 1585 expected to have an unpleasant and

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[112] Carta Particolare della Virginia Vecchia e Nuoua.
[113] Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 30.

contested relationship with natives because of their experience in their campaigns to take control of Ireland.[114] The Native Americans they met, however, seemed contrary to the preconceptions they held about people they intended to colonize. Members of the Grenvile and Lane expedition saw the native inhabitants as savage, but they remained almost wholly dependent on them for food and supplies. It was this constant demand for food by the English that first strained relations between them selves and Native Americans in the Carolinas.

For example, during an expedition led by Sir Richard Grenvile inland to look for potential gold deposits in July of 1585, Grenvile and his men burnt the cornfields of Aquascogoc because one of its inhabitants stole an English cup. Grenvile sent Philip Amadas to retrieve the cup and when "not receiving it according to his promise, we burnt, and spoiled their corn, and Town, all the people being fled."[115]

To Grenvile, ignoring the theft was a sign of weakness that invited the Indians to resist English colonization. By the second expedition of 1585 the goals and expectations of the colony had shifted. The second expedition was peopled by veterans of the Irish campaigns and other European conflicts. They intended to bring whoever stood in their way under control in order to take possession of the Carolina coast. These men abused the Native American population and permanently sullied relations between the English and the Carolina Algonquians.[116]

In order to complete their mission in the Carolinas, however, the English still needed to have to negotiate with individual Native American polities. Sir Richard Grenvile noted the varied polities of the coastal Algonquians, and referred to them as "towns." "The Townes about

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[114] Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 35-39; Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds, *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World, 1500-1800*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.

[115] Barlowe, *Barlowe's Narrative,* 245.

[116] Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 35-39.

the waters side situated by the way are these following: Passaquenoke The womans towne, Chepaneoc, Weapomeiok, Muscamunge, and Metackwem: all these being under the jurisdiction of the king of Weaomeiok, called Okisco." The language used by these initial English voyages in the 1580s was similar to that of the Spanish a generation earlier. The Spanish saw that Native Americans were organized into what they saw as towns, and the English also used this terminology.[117]

Members of the Amadas and Barlowe expedition recognized that the "towns" and "countries" in which Native Americans were organized, were controlled by their own kings. The Barlowe expedition visited "a towne called Pomeiock, a towne called Chawanook, and the Lord of that towne and countrey is called Pooneo: this Pooneo is not subject to the king of Winganacoa, but is a free Lord: beyond this country is there another king, whom they call Mentanon, and these three kings are in league with each other."[118]

Barlowe described Native American polities as countries with kings that ruled similarly to those in Europe. "Towards the Southwest… is situate a towne called Sequotan, which is the Southernmost towne of Winganacoa. Adjoining this countrey aforesaid called Secotan beginneth a countrey called Pomooik, belonging to another king whom they call Piamacum, and this king is in league with the next king adjoining towards the setting of the sun, and the countrey Newsiok: these kings have mortal war with Wingina king of Wingandacoa."[119] By comparing Native American polities to the powers of Europe, the English came to understand the complexities of

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[117] Barlowe, *Barlowe's Narrative,* 248-249.

[118] Barlowe, *Barlowe's Narrative*, 237.

[119] Barlowe, *Barlowe's Narrative*, 238-239.

Native American allegiances, political organization, and territories. If the English were to survive, they had to understand how Native Americans organized themselves.

English attitudes and identifications for the Native Americans in the Carolinas changed drastically from the Amadas and Barlowe expedition to the Lane and Grenville expedition due to the English abuses of the native population, and the often-violent reaction by Native American warriors.

The privateers seemed to grapple with a dichotomy. They were confronted on the one hand by sophisticated polities and rulers that resembled those in England. On the other hand, their preconceptions about those they intended to colonize told the English that Native Americans were savage. The language in many early sources on Native Americans reflected this dichotomy. "There is a Towne which we called the blinde Towne, but the Savages called it Ohanoak. The King of the sayd Province is called Mentanonon, a man impotent in his limbs, but otherwise for a Savage, a very grave and wise man."[120]

The English privateers depended on Native Americans in the Carolinas for food, as trade partners, and as allies. The English distinguished between the numerous polities on the Carolina coast, such as the Weopomeok, Mandoages, Croatans, and Hatorasks in order to trade and ally with them. Yet due to hostilities between the English and Native Americans, the English saw them as savages.

Future voyages to the Carolina coast also viewed Native Americans as uncivilized. John White, the Governor of the new colony (1587-1590) and leader of the third expedition returned to the area in 1587 to find the infamous "Lost Colony." The colony was presumably wiped out by hostile warriors, and all that remained were the letters "CRO" carved in a tree. Many took

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[120] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations,* 248-249.

that to mean that the local Croatans had fell upon the settlement and either killed or captured the entire colony.[121]

When White and his men arrived on the Carolina coast, relations with the local "towns" and "countries" were hostile. White, also a veteran of campaigns against the Irish and on the European continent, sought to make alliances with these people that he viewed as savages in order to preserve the settlement. He discussed peace talks with "the people of Secotan, Aquascogoc, and Pomeiok, willing them of Croatan to see if they would accept friendship, and renew our old acquaintances."[122] White knew that in order for his colony to survive he needed allies. White recognized the distinction between individual polities because they could prove to be valuable military allies and trading partners.

Just as the Soto expedition had done fifty years prior, the English privateers that attempted to establish a colony on the Carolina coast between 1584 and 1590 based their understanding of Native Americans on their own plans, their preconceptions about people they intended to colonize, their experience in creating plantations, and their evolving relationships with Native American polities. The initial voyage of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe intended to scout the area, and determine whether or not the Outer Banks could be a suitable place to establish a base of operations. These men were mapmakers and philosophers, not battle hardened soldiers. Their relationship with Native American polities was congenial. The English relied on regular hand-outs of food, as well as trade with Native Americans in order to keep the men alive. Members of the expedition noted that Native Americans in the Carolinas were

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[121] Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 122-140; Karen I. Blu, *The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

[122] Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations,* 290.

organized into what they called "towns." There was also relatively little violence between them. Consequently, the men also saw Native Americans as civilized.

The following voyages of Ralph Lane, Richard Grenvile, and John White (1585-1590) intended to colonize and settle the Carolina coast in a way similar to their conquest of Ireland, and expeditions of warfare in Europe. In order to achieve this goal, the privateers needed the assistance of those that would give it. The English continued to depend on Native Americans for food, trade, and as military allies. The colonists also increasingly regarded those they intended to colonize as inferior. Their experiences in the Americas and Europe, as well as their knowledge of Spanish successes in Latin America, taught them that in order to subdue a native population, they must use overwhelming force. These men regarded Native Americans as savages because they seemed vulnerable in the face of superior European military technology. Native Americans retaliated against the English presence and this violence reinforced the colonists' belief that Native Americans were barbarous and savage.

After the failed attempts to establish a privateering base in the sixteenth century, the English did not return to the Carolinas until the 1620s. Exploration was limited and settlements were few and far between. After the founding of Jamestown, Virginia in 1670, colonization of the Carolinas began in earnest. Settlements were started first along the coast. After continued exploration into the piedmont and mountains, the English settled westward by the eighteenth century.

Chapter 4

English Colonists in the Carolinas, 1620-1790

"They Are Divided Into Many Divisions or Nations"[123]

English colonists who settled in the Carolinas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries based their identifications for Native Americans on their goals for their new colonies, and their relationship with Native American polities. Classifications for Native Americans changed depending on the usefulness of Native Americans polities to the Crown's colonial project in North America. Native American were crucial to the success of the colony, and the English needed to be familiar with how Native Americans organized themselves in order to successfully colonies the Carolinas. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, colonists identified those polities that were important trade partners, allies, and enemies as "nations."

After the Tuscarora (1711-1714) and Yamasee Wars (1714- 1715), the balance of power in the Carolinas shifted. English forces defeated coastal Native American polities, and those polities became marginalized within colonial society. Thousands of Native Americans were either killed, left homeless, or sold into slavery.[124] Native Americans along the coast whose

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[123] Thomas Ashe, *Carolina, Or A Description Of The Present State Of That Country, By Thomas Ashe, 1682*; in Salley, ed. *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*. Charles Schribner's Son's: New York, 1911.
[124] James A. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact Through the Era of Removal*. New York and London: W.W. Norton and Co., 1987, 66-88; E. Lawrence Lee, *Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763*. Raleigh: The Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963, 66-89.

polities fragmented or who were enslaved were either given the generic identification of "Indian" or were referred to simply as "Indian slaves." Native Americans inland then became more useful to the English, and retained their colonial identification as nations.

England abandoned its privateering bases on the Outer Banks in the early seventeenth century. They returned to the Carolinas in the 1620s and did not creat permanent settlements on the coast until the 1670s.[125] Their goals for colonizing the Carolinas changed from their initial prospects in the 1580s. They were no longer simply looking for a base. The English Crown's new colonial project was for the English were to create fully functioning permanent settlements. Colonists were to farm the land with the help of slave labor, and maintain a base of operations from which they could attack French and Spanish colonies.[126]

In order to achieve the massive undertaking of establishing and maintaining permanent colonies in North America, English colonists relied on Native Americans. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the colonists in the Carolinas depended on trade with Native Americans to keep the colony afloat. Native Americans provided the English with deerskins for the booming markets in Europe, and with Native American captives, who were sold as slaves within

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[125] Karen Ordhal Kupperman, *Roanoke: The Abandoned Colony*. Savage: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers, 1984, 76-81; Patricia Barker Lerch, "State Recognized Indians of North Carolina, Including a History of the Waccamaw Sioux." In J. Anthony Paredes ed., *Indians of the Southeastern United States in the Late 20th* Century. Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1992.

[126] Peter H. Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: an Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790." In Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, ed., *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989, 44-70; Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995; Jack M. Sosin, *The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763-1783*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967, 104-142.

the colonies and to the Caribbean. The English also relied on Native Americans as consumers of the multitude of goods that the colonists produced themselves, as well as trade goods from throughout the Atlantic World.[127]

During the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Native Americans were at the center of England's colonial project in the Carolinas. Most importantly to the colonists, Native Americans were producers and consumers of trade goods. The trade in skins and slaves kept the Carolina's economy functioning for the first half century of its existence. The deerskin and slave trades remained of paramount importance to the colony into the middle of the eighteenth century before stocks diminished.[128]

Native Americans were also valuable allies that could provide intelligence and serve as border guards along the frontiers. The Cherokee in western North Carolina for example, allied with the English colonists and created a buffer zone against the French who were establishing their own colonies along the Mississippi River.[129]

The importance of Native Americans to the colonies as trade partners, allies, and enemies meant that it was in the colonists' interests to be familiar with Native American political structures in order to successfully negotiate trade deals and strategic allegiances, and to wage

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[127] John Donald Duncan, "Indian Slavery." In Bruce A. Glasrud and Alan M. Smith. *Race Relations in British North America, 1607-178*3. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1982, 22-31; Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003, 1-50.

[128] Nairne, Thomas, "Selling a New World." In Jack Green, *Selling a New World*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989, 12-37; Peter H. Wood, "Indian Servitude in the Southeast." In Raymond D. Fogelson, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians: Southeast*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1995, 89-121.

[129] Sosin, *The Revolutionary Frontier*, 5-6, 75, 90, 106, 108124-125, 130-133; Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society*, Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1979.

effective war against hostile Native American polities and their European imperial allies.[130] English colonists in the Carolinas during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw similarities between Native American polities in the Carolinas and the nations of Europe. As a result of the recognizable political structure of Native American polities, the importance of Native Americans as trade partners and allies, and the danger posed by Native American enemies, the English identified Native American polities as "nations."[131]

English colonies in the Carolinas depended on Native Americans to supply them with deerskins. In addition, colonists needed the allegiances of what they viewed as powerful Native American "nations" in order to prevent their settlements from being overrun by Native American polities opposed to their presence. Native American polities traded for English goods and in exchange gave the colonists food and skins. The trade with Native Americans allowed the English colonial enterprise in the Carolinas to succeed. The English believed that Native Americans were savage and inferior, but often the Native Americans' military capabilities and economic dominance in the region required the English to negotiate with individual Native American polities.[132]

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[130] James Axtell, *The European and the Indian*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1981, 3-22; Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds For All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America*. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997.

[131] William W. Fitzhugh, *Cultures in Contact: The Impact of European Contact on Native American Cultural Institutions A.D. 1000-1800*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985, 101-112; Mary W. Helms, "Political Lords and Political Ideology in Southeastern Chiefdoms: Comments and Observations" in Alex W. Barker and Timothy R. Pauketat eds. *Lords of the Southeast: Social Inequality and the Native Elites of Southeastern North America*. Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association, 3 1992; Anthony Pagden, *The Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France c. 1500-1800*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

The English and Native Americans in the Carolinas, despite conflict over land, traded with one another quite often. Trade goods, like communicable diseases, often reached Native Americans well ahead of English traders. Although the English had no sustained contact with Native Americans in the piedmont and mountains of Carolina before 1670, colonists traded with Native Americans along the coast from the 1620s. In spite of the lack of direct relations with the colonists, English goods nonetheless reached Native Americans further inland.[133]

Native Americans traded among one another over considerable distances. Trade networks were linked by urban centers of trade, which allowed exotic materials to be exchanged between different polities. These materials were often used to convey an individual's status and authority. Exotic trade goods included copper, marine shells, quarts, mica, galena, and pyrite. During the period after the founding of Virginia in 1607 but before the founding of Carolina in the 1680s, these well-established exchange practices enabled polities in the piedmont such as the Tutelos, Occaneechees, Tuscaroras, and Catawbas to bring English goods to people as far inland as the Cherokees in the mountains, and the Creeks, Alabamas, and Choctaws along the Mississippi River.[134]

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[132] Joel W. Martin, "Southeastern Indians and the English Trade in Skins and Slaves," in Hudson and Tesser, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries*, p. 304-309; Ronald Wright, *Stolen Continents: The "New World" Through Indians Eyes*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1992.

[133] James A. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact Through the Era of Removal*. New York and London: W.W. Norton and Co., 1987, 27-30; Noble David Cook, *Born To Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492-1650*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 159-162; Marvin T. Smith, *The Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation During the Early Historic Period*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1987.

[134] Alex W. Barker, "Powhatan's Pursestrings: On the Meaning of Surplus in a Seventeenth Century Algonkian Chiefdom" in Alex W. Barker and Timothy R. Pauketat eds. *Lords of the Southeast: Social Inequality and the Native Elites of Southeastern North*

Successful trade required the services of many Native American middlemen. These individuals contacted groups inland, acted as interpreters for the English, and helped traders navigate the countryside. Native Americans polities along the coast, by the end of the seventeenth century, were drastically reduced in size by the spread of diseases and the warfare that accompanied colonization. This meant that English traders had to travel farther into the interior to find suitable trading partners. After the founding of Carolina, English traders established trade with groups as far away as the Cherokee in the mountains, as well as several polities in the piedmont. As the English penetrated further into the interior with the help of their Native American guides, they took note of the "nations" that lived in the piedmont and mountain regions of Carolina.[135]

Deerskin dominated commerce between Native Americans in the Carolinas and English settlers. This exchange altered bonds and alliances between native polities, and between the English and Native Americans. Traders commonly traded exclusively with groups that allied themselves with the English, and those polities that had access to English trade goods began to dominate those groups that did not have access to English weaponry.[136] In the 1630s, Henry Fleet and William Claiborne bartered furs with Native Americans along the coast, such as the

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America. Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association, 3 1992; Merrell, The Indians' New World, 18-45; Ruth Y. Wetmore, First On the Land: The North Carolina Indians. Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1975, 30-43, 51-53, 68-69.

[135] Martin, "Southeastern Indians and the English Trade in Skins and Slaves," in Hudson and Tesser, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries*, p. 306-310; Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001, p. 67-68.

[136] Michael P. Morris, *The Bringing of Wonder: Trade and the Indians of the Southeast, 1700-1783*, 8-10; Calloway, *New Worlds For All*, 31-34.

Patawomekes, Accomacs, and Accohannocs, who had served as Virginia's allies in the Second Powhatan War between 1622-1632.[137] The connection between commerce and politics remained strong throughout the course of the deerskin trade, and influenced how colonists identified Native American polities. Both partners sought to turn the trade to their own advantage against rival Native American polities and competing European powers. Those polities that traded, were enemies of, and allied with the English were identified as "nations.'[138]

Deerskin and finished goods were not the only trade goods exchanged between Native Americans and colonists. Native Americans in the Carolinas by the seventeenth century were involved in the Atlantic slave trade both as suppliers of slaves and as slaves themselves.[139] Well before Europeans arrived, Native Americans held captives of war as servants. The vanquished survivors lived as marginal members of the victor's society; some were abused, some adopted and some killed.[140] After the English introduced chattel slavery, however, Native Americans

[137] Peter H. Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: an Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790." In Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, ed., *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

[138] Helen C. Rountree and E. Randolph Turner, "On the Fringe of the Southeast," in Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries*, 368-369; Martin, "Southeastern Indians and the English Trade in Skins and Slaves," in Hudson and Tesser, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries*, 307-308.

[139] Martin, "Southeastern Indians and the English Trade in Skins and Slaves," in Hudson and Tesser, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries*, p. 304-321;

[140] Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: an Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790." 188.

found a heretofore-unknown use for their prisoners. War captives were sold for great profit to tobacco planters in Virginia and Carolina, as well as to sugar producers in Barbados.[141]

For Native American allies of the English, it often appeared quicker and more profitable to raid enemy villages for captives in exchange for manufactured goods than by hunting deer. A child captured in a slave raid could bring in more than her weight in deerskins. An adult was worth as much as the leather produced by two years of hunting. Native American hunters were often paid in hard currency, but also accepted English manufactured goods, such as firearms, metal tools, and cloth instead. English traders armed their Native American allies and they did not hesitate to raid their enemies, kill the men, and sell the women and children into slavery. By the latter half of the seventeenth century, slavery was big business in Virginia and the Carolinas, and an integral part of the English colonial economy.[142]

The deerskin trade, however, remained paramount over the trade in captives and it provided Carolina with a badly needed export commodity. In reports by colonial officials, "buck and doe skins" were considered as important as the colony's other products: rice, beef, pitch, and tar. Native Americans were crucial to the success of English colonies in the Carolinas. As a

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[141] Richter, *Facing East From Indian Country*, 162-163; Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society*, Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1979, 3-18; Gerald M. Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories: Race, Ethnicity, and Indian Identity in the Southern United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 190-191; Merrell, *The Indians' New World*, 36-38.

[142] J. Leitch Wright, Jr. *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South*. New York: The Free Press, 1981, 221; Verner W. Crane, *Southern Frontier*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1928, 23; Martin, "Indians and the English Trade in Skins and Slaves," in Hudson and Tesser, *The Forgotten Centuries*, 308-309.

result, colonists needed to understand how Native Americans organized themselves in order to successfully continue the trade in skins.[143]

Native Americans in the Carolinas supplied the English with skins, but they were also consumers of the myriad of goods to be purchased in the transatlantic economy.[144] Native Americans could purchase practical goods such as metal tools and utensils, baubles like glass beads or toys, or implements of destruction like firearms and alcohol. Native Americans, like all those involved in global trade, enjoyed their access to exotic wears and they were not inclined to give it up.[145] Regardless, their reliance on English goods for things they had previously acquired themselves left Native Americans susceptible to corruption and exploitation by colonial traders, merchants, and officials.[146] The English produced the goods and controlled the market, and this meant they could manipulate the trade in order to advance their own colonial aims. Trade, like war, provided the English in the Carolinas with the means to secure and increase the fruits of colonial conquest. Indeed, in the colonial Carolinas, trade and war were inseparable.[147] Trade with the English was the best way to gain an advantage over, or at least maintain parity with, traditional enemies and to gain the favor of the English.[148] By involving thousands of Native

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[143] Nathaniel Johnson. "Report of the Governor and Council, 1708." In H. Roy Merens, ed., *The Colonial South Carolina Scene: Contemporary Views, 1697-1774*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1977.

[144] Morris, *The Bringing of Wonder*, 12-19.

[145] Wright, *Stolen Continents*, 10-67.

[146] Merrell, *The Indians' New World*, 89-95; Merrit, *At the Crossroads*, 19-45.

[147] Wilbur R. Jacobs, "Unsavory Sidelights on the Colonial Fur Trade." New York History. 2 (April, 1953) 135-148.

[148] Lawrence E. Lee, *Indians Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763*. Raleigh: Carolina Charter Tercenary Commission, 1963, 23-25; John Hill Wheeler, ed., *Historical Sketches*

American consumers in Carolina's commerce, the trade enabled merchants, in places such as Charleston, Wilmington, and New Bern, to import far more goods than English subjects alone could have consumed, thus strengthening mercantile and shipping interests and cementing relationships with Native American polities.[149]

Robert Sandford in 1666 helped the coastal deerskin trade flourish and maintained trade relationships with several polities along the North and South Carolina coast. In March 1670, Sandford visited the Sewee Indians, and both groups knew just what the other had to offer. "As we drew up to ye shore A good number of Indians … ran up to ye middle in mire and water to carry us a shore where when we came they gave us ye stroaking Compliment of ye country and brought deer skins some raw some dressed to trade with us for which we gave them knives beads and tobacco and glad they were of ye Market."[150]

Throughout the last decades of the seventeenth century and the first several decades of the eighteenth centuries, the deerskin trade seemed safe and it made economic sense to Native American hunters. Thanks to abundance of game, piedmont hunters had little reason to worry about depleting the deer population. The supply of deer seemed inexhaustible. As European newcomers placed a premium on deerskins, Native Americans in the Carolinas readily and

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of North Carolina from 1585-1851. Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1964, 46; Merrell, *The Indians' New World*, 33-36.

[149] Bruce A. Glasrud and Alan M. Smith eds., *Race Relations in British North America, 1607-1783*, Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1982, 13-33; Alan Gallay. *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002, 119-124.

[150] Langdon Cheves, ed., *The Shaftesbury Papers and Other Records Relating to Carolina and the First Settlement on the Ashley River Prior to the Year 1676*. Charleston: Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society 5 (1897), 1-523.

successfully intensified their hunting of deer.[151] In exchange for skins, furs, tallow, oils, honey, horses, and slaves, Native Americans obtained a wide variety of goods. Among the most important necessities were the "powder, bullets, and shot" that men used to hunt deer and defend themselves.[152] Native Americans polities appreciated the willingness of the English to sell munitions. Dependence on the English for shot caused many Native American polities to ally with the English against the Spanish and French during the eighteenth century.[153]

In 1708 Nathaniel Johnson, a colonial official, remarked on the importance of Native Americans in purchasing English goods. He noted they "are great hunters and warriors and consume great quantity of English goods."[154] Using the profits gained in the deerskin trade, many colonists invested heavily in plantation slavery and increased the production of staple crops such as rice.[155]

In addition to their role as trade partners and consumers, the English colonists relied on Native Americans as allies. Native polities first provided valuable men, material, and intelligence against hostile Native Americans polities allied with the Spanish in the late seventeenth century. The English continued to depend on Native Americans to aid them in their

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[151] Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 41-44.

[152] N. Johnson, *Report of the Governor and Council*, 36.

[153] Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 22-47; Sydney Nathans, ed., *Natives and Newcomers: The Way We Lived in North Carolina before 1770.* Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1983, 11-15.

[154] N. Johnson, *Report of the Governor and Council*, p. 33.

[155] Rhyss Isaac, *The Transformation of Virgina, 1740-1790*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982, 33, 42, 320-321, 336; Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974, 37-42.

imperial fight against France during the French and Indian War (1756-1763), and finally against the British during the American Revolution (1776-1789).[156]

The English depended on Native Americans as military allies and partners in the deerskin and slave trade. This reliance on Native Americans meant the English needed to be familiar with the ways in which Native Americans organized themselves politically. What they saw were dozens of "nations," like those in Europe, with whom they could individually trade and make allegiances.

Consider this excerpt from a pamphlet written by Thomas Ashe, an English merchant and diplomat, in April of 1682. Ashe wrote the pamphlet to advertise the possibility of settling near Charleston and cultivating silk in the area. He was charged by the Lord's Proprietors to report on the climate, soil, flora, fauna, and "Natives of the Country." Ashe understood the importance of Native Americans to the success of the colonies so he made sure to pay particular attention to how the "Indians" organized themselves politically. What he saw were "nations" with whom English colonists could negotiate in a similar way they would with nations in Europe.

> They are divided into many Divisions or Nations, Governed by Reguli, or Petty Princes, which our English call Cacicoes. Their Diet is of Fish, Flesh, Fowl, with Indian Maize or Corn; their Drink Water, yet Lovers of the Spirits of Wine and Sugar. They have hitherto lived in good Correspondence and Amity with the English, who by their just and equitable Carriage have extremely wined and obliged them; Justice being exactly and impartially administered, prevents Jealousies, and maintains between them a good Understanding, that the Neighboring Indians are very kind and serviceable, doing our Nation such Civilities and good Turns as lies in their Power.[157]

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[156] Robert Leckie, *"A Few Acres of Snow:" The Sage of the French and Indian Wars*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1999, 70, 102-103.

[157] Ashe, *Carolina*, 156-157.

Ashe reported that Native Americans divided themselves into nations, and recognized the importance of equitable justice in keeping the peace between neighboring nations. Phrases such as "Amity with the English" and "doing our Nation such Civilities" also indicated that Native Americans nations were seen as independent. Traders, merchants, and colonial officials took great pains to understand how Native Americans organized themselves because their success in the Carolinas depended on their cooperation.[158]

Native polities were trade partners, but they were also potential enemies. John Lawson, the famed explorer, founder of New Bern, and first casualty of the Tuscarora War (1711) recognized the multitude of Native American "nations" in the Carolinas. It was in the interest of the colonists to attempt to understand how Native Americans organized themselves in order to carry out their goal of colonizing the Carolinas.

> And since I hinted at a Regulation of the Savages, and to propose a way to convert them to Christianity, I will first particularize the several Nations to Indians that are our Neighbours, and then proceed to what I promis'd.
>
> **Tuskeruro** Indians are fifteen Towns, viz. Haruta, Waqui, contah-nah, Anna Ooka, Conaugh-Kare Harooka, Una Nahuhan, Kentanuska, Chananeets, Kenta, Eno, Naur-hegh-ne, Oonossoora, Tosneoc, Nonawharitse, Nursoorooka; Fighting men 1200. **Waccon**. Towns 2, Yupwauremau, Tooptatmeer, Fighting men 120. **Machapunga**, town 1 Maramiskeet, Fighting Men 30. **Bear River**, Town 1, raudauqua-quank, Fighting Men 50. **Chuwon Indians**, Town 1 Bennets Creek, Fighting Men 15. **Paspatank Indians** Town 1, Paspatank River, Fighting Men 10. **Poteskeit**, Town, North river, Fighting Men 30. **Nottaway Indian**, Town 1, **Winoack Creek**, Fighting men 30. **hatteras** Town 1, San Banks, fighting Men 16. **Connamox Indians**, Town 2, **Coranine**, Raruta, Fighting Men 25, **Neus Indians**, Towns 2, **Chattooka**, Rouconk, Fighting Men 15. **Pampticough Indians**, town 1, island, Fighting Men 15. **Jaupim Indians**, 6 people, These five Nations of the **Totero's, Sapona's Keiauwee's, aconechhos, and Schoccories**, are lately come amonst us and may contain in all, about 750 Men, Women and Children. Total 4780.[159]

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[158] Alden T. Vaughn, "From White Man to Redskin: Changing Anglo-American Perceptions of the American Indian" *American Historical Review*, 87 (1982), 119-131; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 34-44.

[159] Lefler, *A New Voyage to Carolina by John Lawson*, 242-243. The bold type in this quote is used to represent bold print in the original manuscript.

Lawson was intimately familiar with the strengths and locations of "Indian nations" because these groups were trading partners, allies, and enemies of the English. The familiar nature of Native American political organization allowed the colonists to negotiate trade deals and make valuable allegiances.[160]

Lawson understood the importance of Native American polities to the success of the colony, and yet viewed Native Americans as "savages."

> Now, there appears to be one thousand six hundred and twelve Fighting Men, of our Neighboring Indians; and probably, there are three Fifths of Women and Children, not including Old Men, which amounts to four thousand and thirty Savages, besides the five Nations lately come. Now, as I before hinted, we will see what grounds there are to make these People serviceable to us, and better themselves thereby.[161]

In the first few months of his expedition through the Carolinas in 1701, John Lawson made his way out of the piedmont and towards the coast. Along the way he inquired about the origins of the "nations" living in the area.

> And it seem very probable, that these People might come from some Eastern Country; for when you ask them whence their Fore-Fathers came, that first inhabited the Country, they will point to the Westward and say, *Where the Sun sleeps, our Forefathers came thence*, which, at that distance may be reckoned amongst the Eastern Parts of the World. And to this day, they are shifting wandering People; for I know some Indian Nations, that have chang'd their Settlements, many hundred Miles; sometimes no less than a thousand, as is proved by the Savanna Indians, who formerly lived on the Banks of the Mississippi, and removed thence to the Head of one of the Rivers of South-Carolina; since which, (for some dislike) most of them are removed to live in the Quarters of the Iroguois and Sinnagars [Seneca]."[162]

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[160] Karen Ordhall Kupperman, "Presentment of Civility: English Reading of American Self-Presentation in the Early Years of Colonization" *William and Mary Quarterly*, Volume 54 Issue 1 (January 1997), 193-228; Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 30-44.

[161] Lefler, *A New Voyage to Carolina by John Lawson*, 256.

[162] Lefler, *A New Voyage to Carolina by John Lawson*, 173-174.

Lawson was recounting a story told to him by an unknown Native American man living in the region. According to Lawson, the man explained that his nation moved to their present location from the "some Eastern Country." The man was probably a Savanna, a Siouan people that moved to the Carolinas from the banks of the Mississippi River. Lawson and his contemporaries saw a recognizable political structure in the "Indian nations" in the Carolinas to the emerging nation-states of Europe. English colonists understood that in order for Native Americans to be useful to the Crown's mission in North America, they must recognize, negotiate, and trade with distinct Native American nations.[163]

Lawson was so familiar with the internal politics of Native American polities that he was able to describe the marriage practices of Native Americans along the coast. His words illustrated how a marriage helped cement good relations with neighboring polities. Marriage and kinship ties were a way that Native American polities remained in tact. If the English were to effectively trade, ally, and war with Native Americans they needed to understand how these "nations" operated.

> Some one of the Nation (which has the best Gift of expressing their Designs) is appointed by their King, and War-Captains, to make these Songs.
>
> Others are made for Feast of another Nature; as, when several Towns, or sometimes, different Nations have made Peace with one another; then the song suits both Nations, and relates how the bad Spirit made them go to War, and destroy one another, but it shall never be so again; but that their Sons and Daughters shall marry together, and the two Nations love one another, and become as one People."[164]

The success of the colonies depended on their allegiances with Native American "nations" and in keeping friendly polities as trading partners.[165]

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[163] Kupperman, *Roanoke*, 4-11; Kupperman, "Presentment of Civility," 196-199.

[164] Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina by John Lawson*, 177.

In addition to their role as allies, Native Americans and their European allies posed a threat to the colonies. As chattel slavery expanded in Virginia and the Carolinas, the English took more and more Native American land. Colonists and their Native American allies raided weaker polities to take war captives to sell into slavery, either on local plantations or to sugar plantations in Barbados.[166] Native Americans clashed with colonists throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century over encroachment onto their land and slave raids.[167]

Terrible atrocities were committed on both sides throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The almost constant violence between the ever-encroaching colonists and Native American polities in the Carolinas reinforced the English belief in the savagery of people they found inferior to themselves. The perceived inferiority of Native Americans by the English colonists, in their minds, justified enslaving Native Americans. At the heart of the conflict between Native Americans as colonists were the justifications for slavery.[168]

English colonists provided varied explanations for the practice and continuation of Native American slavery. From the sixteenth century, English colonists viewed Native Americans as savage pagans who required conversion to Christianity and the adoption of European culture. Providing justification for Native American slavery was also meant to quell fears in England of a

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[165] David Landy, "Tuscarora Tribalism and National Identity" *Ethnohistory* 5 (1958), 263-264; William E. Unrau, *Mixed-Bloods and Tribal Dissolution: Charles Curtis and the Quest for Indian Identity*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989, 9-14; Maus Marcell, *The Gift: Form and Function of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. New York: Norton and Company, Inc., 1967.

[166] Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean, 1492-1969.* New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1981, 13-46.

[167] Fenn and Wood, *Natives and Newcomers*, p. 24-25; Merrell, *The Indians' New World*, 36- 40; Wetmore, *First On The Land*, 32-34.

[168] Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 15, 19-21, 44-46.

widespread Native American revolt that would jeopardize England's bourgeoning empire in the new world. Native American slavery was portrayed as humane and for the purposes of converting them to the Christian faith. The reality was quite different and thousands of Native Americans suffered and died in fields and factories.[169]

According to the English, many of whom believed Native Americans to be savages, God's will justified the subjugation of Native American nations. Since Native Americans rejected the Christian God, they were considered to be outside moral law, and their enslavement was not a sin.[170] Colonists also saw the massive loss of Native American life due to infectious diseases as proof of God's plan to hand over control of the new world to Europeans. "The hand of God" was working in the Carolinas and his will further provided justification for the widespread enslavement of Native Americans.[171]

English colonists justified Native American slavery by arguing that it saved the individual's life. Native Americans in the Carolinas often tortured and killed war captives. By enslaving these prisoners, the English claimed they were saving them from a horrible death. What they ignored was that the increased warfare brought on by English encroachment onto Native American land, and exploiting divisions between Native American polities, meant there were more war captives than there had ever been before the arrival of Europeans.[172]

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[169] John Norris, "Profitable Advice for Rich and Poor" in Jack Green, *Selling a New World*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

[170] Christopher Arris Oakley, *The Indian Slave Trade in Coastal North Carolina and Virginia* (Maters Thesis: The University of North Carolina at Wilmington, 1996), 66.

[171] Alexander S. Salley Jr., ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina 1650-1708*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911, 285.

[172] Wright, Only Land, p. 189; Hudson, Southeastern Indians, 438; Jennings, Invasion, 6, 43-44.

Settlers argued that enslavement helped to civilize and Christianize Native Americans, first referred to by the Spanish as the "Holy Cause." Native Americans lived on the plantation in which they were enslaved and missionaries frequently made trips to preach to the captive audience. They believed that by living among the English, enslaved Native Americans would see the superiority of European culture, live like Englishmen, and convert to Christianity. Consider this quote from the writing of Colonel William Byrd. "If a Moor may be washed white in 3 years Generations, Surely and Indian might have been blancht in two."[173]

Colonists like Byrd believed that by living among the English and taking English wives, Native Americans could be purged of their "Indianness" and turned into Englishmen.[174] Colonists also portrayed Native American slavery as very humane. Some claimed enslavement was justified because some masters taught their slaves how to read the bible and could then be converted to Christianity. Despite these claims, very few slave owners actually taught their slaves how to read.[175]

The English constantly pursued profits through the deerskin and slave trades, and gained greater control over the Carolinas. In pursuing these goals, colonists did not hesitate to encourage rivalries and conflicts between Native American polities. The Goose Creek men, planters who traded deerskins with the Coweta of South Carolina, laid the groundwork for many wars. They armed the Savannahs against the Westoes in 1680; Yamasees against the peoples of

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[173] William Byrd, *The Writings of Colonel William Byrd*. John Spencer Bassett, ed., New York: Burt Franklin, 1970, 8; John Archdale Papers (Raleigh: State Archives of North Carolina).

[174] James A. Clifton, *Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers*. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, 1989, ix-xiv.

[175] Thomas Nairne, "Selling a New World." In Green, *Selling a New World*, 1989, 14-33.

Spanish Guale and Timucua from 1680-90;[176] Yamasees and Creeks against Apalacheese from 1702-4; Creeks against Chator in 1706; and Yamasees and Creeks against Tuscaroras in 1711-12.[177] Through these and subsequent wars, South Carolina wrecked Spain's missions system in Florida, deepened divisions between Native American polities throughout the Southeast, squelched anti-colonial revolts, and acquired thousands of Native American slaves.[178]

Dozens of Native American polities were pitched against one another, but the Apalachees felt the worst of these attacks. They were loyal allies of the Spanish and had been accepted Christianity for over a generation. The Apalachees, unlike their neighbors, also did not have access to English manufactured goods and firearms. They became prime targets of Carolina officials eager to extinguish Spanish influence in the Southeast and obtain Native American slaves for English plantations. In 1704, Colonel James Moore led a force of fifty English soldiers and one thousand warriors (drawn from Yamasees, Apalachicolas, and Creeks) on a ruthless slaving raid. The invaders leveled fourteen mission villages, killed hundreds of Apalachees, and forced a thousand men, women, and children into bondage.[179]

It was brutal raids such as these that prompted numerous Native American polities to fight back and rebel against colonial intrusion. The terrible violence of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century deepened colonists' sentiment that Native Americans, regardless of their

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[176] Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 119-129; Lee, *Indian Wars in North Carolina*, 14-46.

[177] Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 125-130.

[178] Lee, *Indian Wars in North Carolina,* 14-46; Fenn and Wood, *Natives and Newcomers*, 43-51; Merrell, *The Indians' New World*, 66-68, 75-58, 80, 88, 95, 102-103, 144-145.

[179] John H. Hann, "The Apalachee of the Historic Era," in Hudson and Tesser, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries*, 345-349.

nation, were savages that needed to be placed under the yoke of colonial control. There was so much violence in Carolina that colonial officials began to fear that their policy of promoting conflicts among Native Americans might backfire and evoke a widespread rebellion. As early as 1705, Governor Moore was warned by the Cherokees to desist from the "trade of Indians or slavemaking" and return to "the trade for skins and furs."[180]

However, Moore and Carolina did not heed the warning, and in 1711, the Tuscarora grew so "Dissatisifed with the Traders" that they determined to "fall on the Settlement."[181] Native Americans raided dozens of English towns throughout the Carolinas, razed many to the ground and killed hundreds of colonists.[182] North and South Carolina organized a large force to put down the uprising. Native Americans initially were able to repel the colonial attackers. By 1714, however, the English had turned the tide of the war. That same year the Yamasee and their Creek allies followed suit and "fell" on the English settlements. The militias were again used to crush Native American resistance on the coast.[183]

After these bloody uprising, which historians have named the Tuscarora and Yamasee Wars, the usefulness of many Native American polities to the colony changed, and so did colonists' identifications for Native Americans. Native American polities on the coast were devastated by the war. Their members were either sold into slavery or pushed to the margins of

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[180] Nathaniel Johnson, "Documents of 1705," *Report of the Governor and Council*, 904.

[181] William L. McDowell Jr., ed., *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, September 20, 1710- August 29.1718*. Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1955, 65.

[182] Lee, *Indian Wars in North Carolina*, 20-26; Hann, The Apalachee of the Historic Era, 354.

[183] Christopher Arris Oakley, *The Indian Slave Trade in Coastal North Carolina and Virginia* (Maters' Thesis: The University of North Carolina at Wilmington, 1996), 71-85.

colonial society.[184] Native Americans that were not deemed useful to the English colonial project, in the minds of the colonists, lost their identity as part of a "nation." Native Americans inland, however, were still seen as vital allies and trade partners, and colonists continued to view those polities as "nations."

After the Tuscarora and Yamasee Wars, thousands of Native Americans along the coast headed inland to join the Catawba in the piedmont or the Cherokee in the mountains. More powerful Native American polities inland then became more important to the English as trading partners, potential enemies, and allies.[185]

For example, colonists depended on the Cherokee as allies during the French and Indian War, and the Catawba against the British during the American Revolution. Most native polities, however, allied with the French during the French and Indian War, and those that allied with the British during the American Revolution did so largely because of the Proclamation Line of 1763. The line was a division stretching the length of the Appalachian Mountains. The proclamation stated that European settlement was not to extend west of that line.[186] Powerful Native American polities in the piedmont and the mountains became vital to the English mission of colonizing the Carolinas and waging war on the French. In relation to this importance, colonists continued to view Native Americans inland as "nations."[187]

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[184] Theda Perdue, *Native Carolinians: The Indians of North Carolina*. Raleigh: Division of Archives and History, 1985, 24-31.

[185] Merrell, *The Indians' New World*, 60-77.

[186] Leckie, *"A Few Acres of Snow,"* 19, 29-35, 177-179.

[187] Eric Hinderaker and Peter Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003, 132, 133, 150.

The reality of that recognition can be found in the treatment of the Cherokee and the Catawba. In an address to the general assembly on the eve of war with the French Empire and their Native American allies, the English colonists wanted to make certain that the Cherokees and Catawba would serve the English cause.

> Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Assembly 19 oct 1756
> Mr. Dinwiddie the Lieut. Governor of Virginia Having Acquainted me, That He was sending Commissioners to Treat with the Cherokees and Catawbas, and to Confirm the alliances with them, and that it would be of service to His Majesty and the Colonies that commissioners should be sent this Province to Join them, and to Make and Confirm Our Alliance with them.[188]

The North Carolina General Assembly wanted to retain the services of powerful Native American polities inland that could serve as allies against the French along Carolina's frontier. Carolinians throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century viewed Native American polities in the piedmont and mountains as "nations" because they helped the English carry out their colonial project in North America.

Colonists' identifications for Native Americans uprooted by the Tuscarora and Yamasee Wars in the coastal Carolinas were quite different. Native American polities on the coast disintegrated. Some managed to join larger polities such as the Catawba, but many more were sold into slavery. After the war, the English no longer viewed coastal Native Americans as "nations." These once powerful polities could not serve as allies or trading partners to the English, and their usefulness to the colony decreased.[189] From the time of the Tuscarora and Yamasee Wars, Native Americans who were enslaved, or were no longer a part of an organized polity, lost their colonial identification as members of a "nation." The English identified the

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[188] North Carolina State Archives, General Assembly Session Records. 1709 – January 1760, Box #1. September- October, 1756.

[189] Merrell, *The Indians' New World*, 66-88.

remaining Native Americans on the coast as simply "Indians" or if they were enslaved as "Indian slaves."

In a colonial court in 1711 Nathaniel Chevin brought suit against William Reed for an unpaid debt of 29 pounds. The court reached a verdict that the sale of "Indians" by Mr. Reed would satisfy the debt he owed to Mr. Chevin. Note in the following transcript that the "Indians" are said to belong to the town of Bare River, and yet when described as being available for sale, they become simply "Indian slaves."

> : holden at ye house of Capt: John Hecklefield in Little River on ye 20th of march Anno: 1711 in [?] in [?] Consideration [?] Certain Indian captives belongen to ye Town of Bare River should be Exposed to Sale: to such persons as Should bid Highest for them and that ye: money: thereby arising upon ye Sale of ye Said Indians Should be paid into ye hands of ye said: Plaintiff: on or before ye: tenth of march then next Ensuing, at which. Time & place ye aforesaid [?] for and in Consideration of ye five of ye aforesaid: Indians Slaves upon: himself Did assume and then and there Did faithfully promise.[190]

In court cases throughout the coastal Carolinas, Native Americans who were enslaved were not distinguished as members of specific nations, but as "Indian slaves."

For example, in the case of Broughton V. Glover in 1736, we see an example of how enslaved Native Americans, in the minds of the English, lost national identity. Andrew Broughton sued John Glover for ownership of an "Indian Slave called Cyrus aged about thirty Seven years by trade a Carpenter of the price of One hundred pounds proclamation money."[191]

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[190] North Carolina General Court, Chevin v. Reed. North Carolina State Archives. Colonial Court Records, CCR-192 Miscellaneous Paper, 1675-1775, File Named: Indians- 1697-1758 (Treaties, Petitions, Agreements, and Court Cases).

[191] North Carolina General Court, *Broughton v. Glover*. North Carolina State Archives. Colonial Court Records, CCR-192 Miscellaneous Paper, 1675-1775, File Named: Indians- 1697-1758 (Treaties, Petitions, Agreements, and Court Cases).

The court's decision never indicated Cyrus' nationality. Cyrus was referred to as a "slave," an "Indian," or an "Indian slave." The dispute took place in Bertie County on North Carolina's northeastern coast. Cyrus could have been a member of many polities in the area such as the Tuscarora,[192] Paspitank,[193] Machapunga,[194] Chowan,[195] Weapomeoc, Moratok, or Secotan.[196] Because he was a slave, however, and not a member of a powerful "nation," Cyrus was identified simply as an "Indian slave."

> Being the Slave and property of the said Andrew and being so possessed he the said Andrew afterwards that is to say on the aforesaid tenth day of June in the year aforesaid and in the province of South Carolina aforesaid out of his hands and possession the aforesaid Indian Slave called Cyrus did casually loose which said Indian slave so lost afterwards that is to say on or about the tenth day of September in the year aforesaid in the Precinct of Bertie in the aforesaid province of North Carolina into the hands and possession of the aforesaid John Glover by finding same and notwithstanding he the said John well knew the said Indian Slave Cyrus to be the property and slave of the said Andrew and that of right he then belongs to him yet he the said John continuing and intending him the Said Andrew of the said Indian Slave to [torn] and the said Indian Slave to him ye said.[197]

English colonists in the Carolinas settled first along the coast in the early seventeenth century. They established a prosperous economy there by the end of that century, fueled by the deerskin and slave trades. Powerful Native American polities there, such as the Secotan,

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[192] Lefler, *A New Voyage to Carolina by John Lawson*, 207, 220.

[193] Lefler, *A New Voyage to Carolina by John Lawson*, 200.

[194] Lefler, *A New Voyage to Carolina by John Lawson*, 209.

[195] Carta Particolare della Virginia Vecchia e Nuoua: La Longueu comi da isola di Pico di Asores D' America Carta III, reprinted in: Stick, *Indians Words and Place names*.

[196] Perdue, *Native Carolinians*, 26.

[197] North Carolina General Court, *Broughton v. Glover*. North Carolina State Archives. Colonial Court Records, CCR-192 Miscellaneous Paper, 1675-1775, File Named: Indians- 1697-1758 (Treaties, Petitions, Agreements, and Court Cases).

Hatorask, Weapomeoc, and Mandoage served as valuable trade partners and allies throughout the seventeenth and the first decade of the eighteenth century. The English depended on Native Americans to supply them with deerskins and slaves, and as allies against hostile Native American polities and their Spanish and French allies. In connection with the importance of these coastal polities to the success of the Crown's mission in the Carolinas, the colonists identified these polities as "nations."

The Tuscarora and Yamasee Wars shifted the balance of power in the Carolinas. Coastal Native American polities were fragmented and scattered. Thousands either joined Native American polities inland, such as the Catawba or Cherokee, or were sold into slavery. These polities lost their usefulness to the English. Native Americans who once belonged to these powerful polities or were enslaved, were identified by the English as simply "Indians" or "Indian slaves." Native American polities in the piedmont and the mountains then became more useful to the English, as trade partners, but more importantly as military allies against the French during the French and Indian War and against the British during the American War for independence. After the Tuscarora and Yamasee Wars Native American polities inland continued to be identified by the English as "nations." Those polities on the coast that no longer served a purpose to the colony, to the English colonists, lost their identity.

English identifications for Native Americans in the Carolinas changed depending on the usefulness of Native American polities to the colonists' goals. After the American Revolution, the ways in which Americans came to classify Native Americans also changed. Because Native Americans were not considered to be useful allies or trade partners, they were officially placed into a new category. In the first United States Census taken in 1790, Native Americans were

identified as “All Other Free People,” the same designation given to African Americans who were not slaves.

Epilogue

The 1790 Census: "All Other Free People"[198]

After the American Revolution, the goals of the newly formed federal government changed from those during the colonial era. The Spanish empire had been driven into southern Florida, the French no longer posed a threat to the frontiers, and the British were defeated. Native American "nations" that had previously served as allies against competing colonial powers were no longer viewed as useful. The American government's new ambitions were to enumerate its citizens and expand westward.[199]

Native Americans were then seen as at odds with the government's plan. Whereas powerful Native American polities had once been allies of the colonists, they now seemed like obstacles to American expansion. The Census of 1790 reflected the changing place of Native Americans within early American society. The census takers classified Native Americans and

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[198] *Return of the Whole Number of Persons Within the Several Districts of the United States, According to 'An Act providing for he enumeration of he Inhabitants of the United States; Passed March the first, seventeen hundred and ninety-one*., Washington City: William Duane, 1802. in Daniel J. Boorstin ed., *America in Two Centuries: An Inventory*. New York: Arno Press, 1976.

[199] Reginald Horsman, "The Indian Policy of an 'Empire of Liberty'," in Frederick E. Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Native Americans and the Early Republic*. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1999, 37-61; Francis Paul Prucha, *The Indian in American History*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971, 20-38, 67-92; Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492.* Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987, 42-133; Ralph K. Andrist, *The Long Death: The Last Days of the Plains Indians*. New York: Collier Books, 1964.

free African Americans in the same category, as "All Other Free Persons." Native Americans not living in "settled" areas were not counted and were classified as "Indians not taxed."[200]

During the push west in the nineteenth century, the institution of slavery expanded. Millions of African Americans were held in bondage. Individuals with African ancestry could be legally enslaved. They were identified as "black," "colored," and "negro." Americans developed a belief in "races" as a result of this system of slavery based on the tone of one's skin.[201]

Because Native Americans were classified in the same category as African Americans, they too were designated as a separate race.[202] "Indian" was officially designated as a racial category at the turn of the nineteenth century. The 1890 census created a category for "civilized Indians."[203] This grouping was designated for Native Americans living on federal and state run reservations. The census did not count Native Americans who were not on reservations or those who were not officially designated as "Indian tribes," such as the Siouan Indians of Robeson

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[200] *Return of the Whole Number of Persons Within the Several Districts of the United States*, 1802; Loretto Dennis Szucs and Matthew Wright, *Finding Answers In U.S. Census Records, Orem.* Utah: Ancestry Publishing, 2002, 24.

[201] Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1998,358-365; John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*. New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 2000, 495-496; Wood, "The Changing Population of the Colonial South: an Overview by Race and Region, 1685-1790." In Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, ed., *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

[202] Theda Perdue, *"Mixed Blood" Indians: Racial Construction in the Early South*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2003; Jeremiah James Nowell, Jr., *Red, White, and Black: Race Formation and the Politics of American Indian Recognition in North Carolina*. (P.h.D. Diss.: The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000).

[203] *Abstract of The Eleventh Census: 1890*, 33.

County or the Haliwa-Saponi.[204] The U.S. Census of 1900 was the first census to contain the word "race," and to designate "Indian" as a racial category.[205] A belief in Native Americans as a distinct race of men persisted throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[206]

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[204] *Abstract of The Eleventh Census: 1890*, 33; Patricia Barker Lerch, "State Recognized Indians of North Carolina, Including a History of the Waccamaw Sioux." In J. Anthony Paredes ed., *Indians of the Southeastern United States in the Late 20th* Century. Tuscaloosa and London: The University of Alabama Press, 1992.

[205] Abstract of The Twelth Census: 1900, U.S. Census Office, in Daniel J. Boorstin ed., *America in Two Centuries: An Inventory*. New York: Arno Press, 1976, p. 43.

[206] William S Penn, ed., *As We Are Now; Mixblood Essays on Race and Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997; Gerald M. Sider, *Lumbee Indian Histories: Race, Ethnicity, and Indian Identity in the Southern United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993; William E. Unrau, *Mixed-Bloods and Tribal Dissolution: Charles Curtis and the Quest for Indian Identity*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989; Circe Sturm, *Blood Politics: Race Culture, and Identity in the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

THE CENSUS OF 1790: "ALL OTHER FREE PERSONS"

Names of heads of families	Free white males 16 and upward	Free white males under 16	Free white females	All other free persons	Slaves

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Biographical Sketch

David Crane was born in Syracuse, New York in 1979. He grew up as a military child, living across the globe and ended up in Fayetteville, North Carolina for High School. He went to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill for two years and transferred to the University of North Carolina Wilmington where he graduated in 2002. He then reenrolled at UNCW, where he received his Masters' Degree in American History in 2006. David plans to teach in community colleges before enrolling in a doctoral program.