

Southern Indian Studies



Volume 39

1990

Southern Indian Studies

Published
by

The Archaeological Society of North Carolina
CB 3120, Alumni Building
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, NC 27599

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Southern Indian Studies is published once a year in October. Subscription is by membership in the Archaeological Society of North Carolina. Annual dues are \$10.00 for individual members, \$15.00 for families, \$25.00 for sustaining members, and \$25.00 for institutional subscribers. Members also receive two issues of the *Archaeological Society of North Carolina Newsletter*. Membership requests, dues, subscriptions, changes of address, and back issue orders should be directed to the Secretary/Editor.

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October 1990

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**SALVAGE ARCHAEOLOGY
AT THE HARDINS SITE, 31Gs29,
GASTON COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA**

**by
Bennie C. Keel**

Introduction

This report presents data and observations resulting from the salvage of an archaeological site destroyed in the course of construction of a bridge by the State Highway Commission. On March 25, 1966, the North Carolina State Highway Commission notified the Research Laboratories of Anthropology at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, that an Indian grave had been uncovered in the course of fill operations by earthmoving equipment at Hardins, Gaston County, North Carolina. The writer visited the site and learned that several artifacts associated with the burial were found and removed by one of the construction workers. A search in the borrow pit failed to reveal any additional information. Earth moving had been temporally suspended until engineers enlarged the area to be excavated. The writer arranged to be present when excavations were renewed. An additional burial and three features were encountered when borrow excavation operations resumed a few days later.

The site (Figure 1) is bordered by a small creek or branch on the north and to the east by the Carolina and Northwestern Railroad which runs along the foot of a line of hills dividing Hoyle Creek and the South Fork River (the major tributary of the Catawba). The South Fork River forms the western boundary of the site. The site was designated 31Gs29 in the North Carolina Archaeological Survey and named for the nearby community.

The soil matrix is Congaree fine sandy loam, deposited by the South Fork River over a gravel bed. The depth of the soil ranged from one foot along the eastern edge of the site to approximately

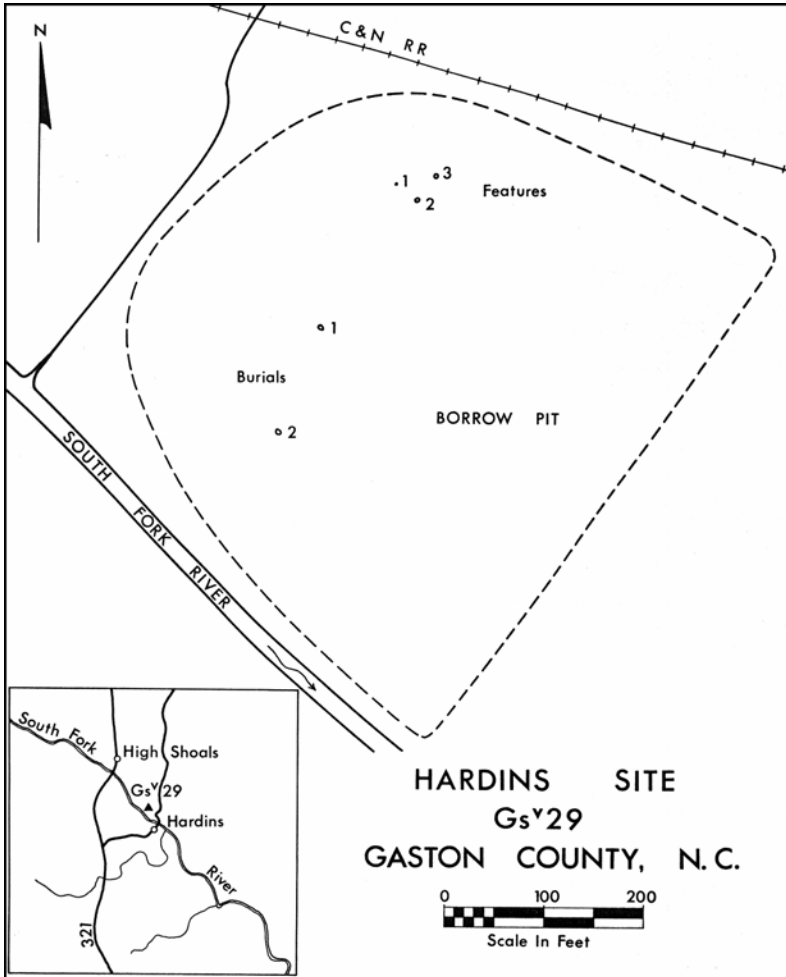


Figure 1. Map Locating the Hardins Site.

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five feet along the natural levee paralleling the South Fork River.

The burials and features were located in the northern portion of the borrow pit (Figure 1). The exact size of the site could not be determined due to extensive borrow excavation. Surface materials indicating Indian occupation were found along the edge of the woods bordering the borrow excavation and indicated that the major area of occupation was between the river and creek in what is the northern portion of the borrow pit. Archaeological evidence shows that the site was occupied twice for short periods of time. The first occupation occurred about 1500 B.C.; the final and more intensive settlement took place about A.D. 1650 by Catawba Indians.

Description of Burials and Features

The burials and features encountered at the site, and described below, date from the Catawba occupation of the site.

Burial 1

This burial was disturbed by earthmoving equipment. The burial was of a child of age three or four years. Accompanying the burial were two ceremonial axes, a celt, shell beads, a shell pendant, and a piece of mica. The shell bead, pendant, celt, and one of the axes were collected by Mr. Edwin Hoyle of the State Highway Commission and turned over to the writer for study. The remaining ceremonial axe was collected by one of the construction workers and was not examined by the writer. The piece of mica was not collected, but was described by Mr. Hoyle who supplied the above information regarding the initial discovery.

Burial 2

This burial was also discovered in the process of fill excavations and was removed by the author. This burial was of a second child aged five or six years. The disturbed remains indicate that the body was placed on its left side in a flexed position with the knees drawn up to the chest, the right arm placed over the right knee, and the left arm placed under the left knee. In the area between the chin and knees, a ceremonial axe and a polished stone

discoidal were placed as grave offerings.

The graves encountered at 31Gs29 both contained the remains of young children. Both corpses were evidently flexed and both contained grave goods. The grave goods will be further described below.

Three features were also encountered and investigated by the writer; undoubtedly others were destroyed during the earlier borrow excavations.

Feature 1

This circular, round-bottomed post hole contained the base of a *Savannah River Stemmed* projectile point made of quartzite. This post hole measured nine inches in diameter and was one foot deep. The *Savannah River Stemmed* point was an incidental inclusion. The feature probably dates from the middle seventeenth century.

Feature 2

This feature was a shallow, circular hearth measuring 33 inches in diameter and seven inches deep. It was located five feet south of Feature 1. This hearth contained burned deer bone, a fragment of daub, and nine potsherds which are tabulated in Table 1.

Feature 3

This cooking pit measured 24 inches by 40 inches and was eight inches deep. It was located ten feet east of Feature 2. It contained the largest amount of material found during the course of archaeological salvage. Identifiable food remains consisted of deer and turtle bones, mussel shells, and a walnut shell. Daub or house plaster and a mud dauber nest which had been built in a section of cane were recovered. Sixty sherds representing at least 10 different vessels were salvaged.

Description of Artifacts

A wide variety, though small number, of artifacts were recovered from the Hardins site. It is noteworthy that only the chipped stone artifacts can be classed as tools. The two projectile

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points and one blade are evidence of pre-ceramic Archaic period occupation of the site. The absence of the triangular arrow point characteristic of later aboriginal times indicates that the collection is not an adequate sample. The remaining artifacts left by the middle seventeenth century occupants, with the exception of the chipped stone hoe and tobacco pipe, are ceremonial, recreational, or ornamental items.

The description of artifacts follows.

Projectile Points

In addition to the fragmentary *Savannah River Stemmed* projectile point recovered from Feature 1, a second fragment of the same type made of silicified slate, was recovered from the surface collection.

Blade

A single, bifacially chipped blade or knife was recovered from the surface collection.

Hoe

The poll portion of a chipped stone hoe was found on the surface. This specimen is somewhat larger than typical.

Axes

Three spatulate-shaped, ceremonial axes were recovered from the two graves encountered during borrow excavation. One of these was found by Mr. Edwin Hoyle with the first burial (Figure 2a); the second was removed from the same grave by a construction worker and was unavailable for study. The first axe measures 13.2 cm in length, 11 cm in maximum width, and 1.7 cm in thickness. This specimen was unpolished except along the blade and probably was considered unfinished at the time it was placed in the child's grave. The second axe, recovered but not available for study, was reported as being well polished and slightly larger than the unfinished specimen. The third specimen was found with Burial 2. It measures 14.1 cm in length, 10.5 cm in width and has a maximum thickness of 2.1 cm (Figure 2b). It is well polished over its entirety. These ceremonial spatulate form axes are made

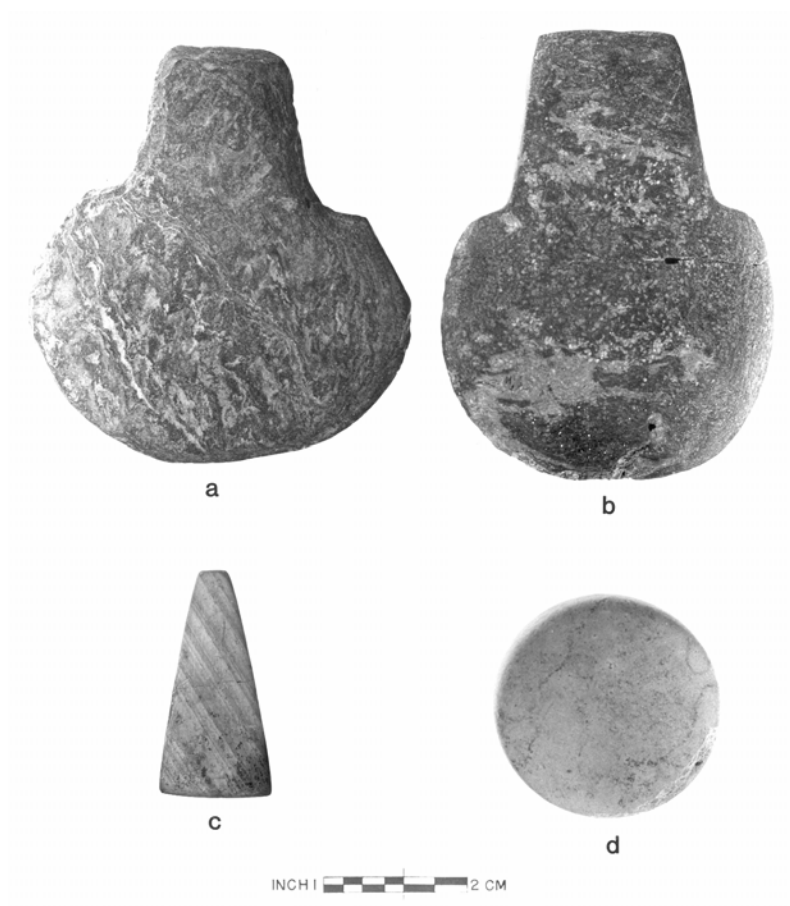


Figure 2. Ground Stone Artifacts from the Hardins Site.

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of hornblende gneiss. The nearest source for this material is Kings Mountain, North Carolina.

Celt (Figure 2c)

A small thin highly polished celt of Carolina banded slate was recovered by Mr. Hoyle from Burial 1. It measures 7.2 cm in length, 3.5 cm wide at the bit, 0.9 cm wide at the poll, and has a maximum thickness of 0.4 cm. This small well-made artifact must be considered as a ceremonial object due to its small size and fragility. It could not have been used as a utilitarian wood-working tool.

Stone Discoidal (Figure 2d)

This ground stone gaming disc, found with Burial 2, is made of a fine-grained white quartzite. It is well shaped and has a tolerance of 1 mm in its diameter of 7.0 cm. It is 2.5 cm thick. A large fragment was chipped from the edge of one side prior to its use as a grave offering.

Steatite Vessel Fragment

A single fragment of a steatite or soapstone vessel was recovered from the surface on the river side of the borrow pit. This is the common vessel used during the Late Archaic Savannah River Phase.

Beads

A single spherical bead made of mussel shell was recovered from Burial 1.

Pendant or Pin

The pointed end of a shell pendant or ear pin was found with Burial 1. The fragmentary nature of the artifact precludes its full identification.

Pipe

About one third of the stem portion of a clay pipe was recovered from the surface. This fragment represents the typical tobacco pipe made during the late prehistoric and historic periods

by Indians living in the piedmont and mountain sections of North Carolina. This particular specimen is decorated with a series of thin incised lines around the circumference of the stem.

Description of Ceramics

By the seventeenth century the indigenous ceramics of the North Carolina Piedmont had begun to exhibit certain traits which originated further to the south. The standard conical or sub-conical pot form with cord, fabric, or net impressed surface finish was replaced by a wider variety of forms and surface finishes. During this period a group of ceramics appear in the Catawba River basin that can be traced directly to those made by the historic Catawba Indians.

This pottery is well made, relatively thin, and hard (Figure 3). The paste is generally fine and tempering material tends to be fine sand although crushed quartz occasionally finds use as an aplastic. There is a fairly wide range of forms--open bowls, casuela bowls, collared jars, and pots with slightly constricted orifices. Rim forms are straight with rounded or flattened lips on bowls; however, flaring rims are commonly found on jars and pots. Rims may be thickened or folded on these forms. Embellishments include notching on the lip (Figure 3c) and punctations at the intersection of the rim fold and the vessel neck. Lips may be rounded or flattened. Surface finishing techniques include corncob marking, carved paddle stamping with check or complicated designs including curvilinear (Figure 3c-e) or rectilinear motifs (Figure 3f), cord marking, smoothing (Figure 4g), and highly executed burnishing (Figure 3a-b). Decorative techniques include punctations (Figure 3d), incision (Figure 3a-b), applied nodes or rosettes and occasionally painting (Figure 3h). Incised decoration consists of parallel lines dipping to form semi-circles, or rectangular motifs. Incised designs (Figure 3a-b) generally are restricted to burnished or plain surfaced vessels. Punctations are often placed between the upper incised line and the lip (Figure 3a) or along the shoulder of casuela bowls. Hollow reed punctations are frequently placed just below the rim of constricted mouth pots and jars (Figure 3d). A band of raised nodes

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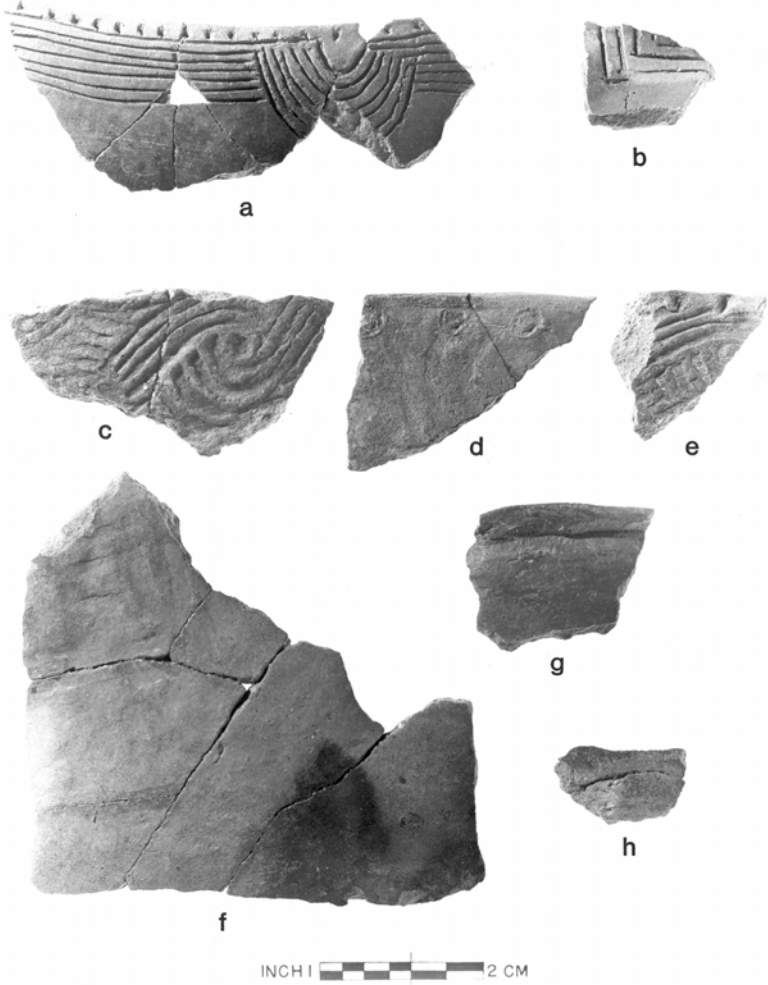


Figure 3. Ceramics from the Hardins Site.

occasionally occurs near the rims on bowls, jars, and pots.

The collection from 31Gs29 falls into the earlier part of emerging Catawba ceramics. Notably absent in this collection is the folded rim which apparently does not occur in the Piedmont until about A.D. 1700¹. Collections from 31Mk85 on the Catawba River in Mecklenburg County, in an early eighteenth century context, are characterized by folded rims. The absence of the folded rim may be due to the small size of the sample.

Table 1 presents the ceramics recovered from the surface in undisturbed margins of the borrow pit and from Features 1 and 2. A single steatite tempered simple stamped sherd was recovered in the surface collection. This type appears in the late prehistoric context in the Upper Yadkin River basin and is not to be confused with the Marcey Creek ceramic complex (Evans 1955) which appears in Virginia at a very early date.

Discussion and Conclusions

The Hardins site was the location of an Indian settlement or camp at two distinct periods separated by perhaps three thousand years. The *Savannah River Stemmed* points, the chipped stone blade, and steatite vessel fragment are evidence of the terminal period of pre-ceramic times in North Carolina. This level of cultural development with chronological implications is referred to as the Archaic Phase (Coe 1952) or more simply, "the Archaic." This phase is thought of as representing a period when the economics of life were based on non-specialized hunting of game and generalized gathering of vegetable foods. The Indians at this time raised no crops and built no permanent villages.

The succeeding period has been designated the Developmental

¹After twenty-five years, the chronological placement I "guesstimated" without the benefit of any radiocarbon dates needs to be revised. Ward (personal communication 1990) places 31Gs29 in the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century range while May (personal communication 1990) places it a century earlier (i.e., mid-fifteenth to early sixteenth century). Cross dating the spatulate ax with specimens from Toqua suggests a mid-fifteenth to early sixteenth century placement.

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Table 1. Ceramics from the Hardins site.

Surface Finish	Surface		Feature 2		Feature 3		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Burnished	6	9.52	-	-	15	25.00	21	15.91
Check Stamped	4	6.35	-	-	-	-	4	3.03
Complicated Stamped	27	42.86	6	66.67	32	53.34	65	49.24
Painted	-	-	-	-	2	3.33	2	1.52
Plain	14	22.22	-	-	8	13.33	22	16.67
Simple Stamped*	1	1.58	-	-	-	-	1	0.76
Unclassifiable	11	17.46	3	33.33	3	5.00	17	12.87
Total	63	99.99	9	100.00	60	100.00	132	100.00

*Steatite tempered. All others tempered with sand/grit.

Phase (Coe 1952:306) and is termed so in the sense that during this period the establishment of agriculture and sedentary village life occurred. The Climactic Phase (Coe 1952:308) follows and it is in this period that the highest level of cultural complexity, free of European influence, was reached by the indigenous people.

The final phase is the Historic Period. This period varies in calendar dates as much as a century and a half, from the late sixteenth century (i.e., the establishment of Fort Raleigh in 1585) in coastal North Carolina to the late seventeenth century for the Cherokee in the western mountains (the early Spanish explorations of the mid sixteenth century had little effect on the material culture of Native North Carolinians). Regardless of the date when our history engulfed the Carolina Indian, its effect was uniformly the same. Wars occurred, pestilence and epidemic appeared, values changed, tribal lands were lost, and material culture became more variable with the introduction of European trade goods. It is coincident that during the late Climactic Phase and early Historic Period influences were reaching the aboriginal Carolinians from their neighbors in the south. This influence can best be seen in the ceramic arts. It is during this segment of time that the second occupation of the Hardins site occurred. The ceramic traits and stone artifact forms noted above are ample evidence of southern influence.

The mode of complicated stamped surface finish and the motifs commonly used in the incised designs are limited to the areas west of the coastal plain of North Carolina as far north as southern Virginia. Central Georgia is apparently the center of origin of complicated stamping, although other areas in the Southeast played major roles in its development. The incised design motifs, while influenced by Mississippian cultures, apparently appear first in Georgia.

The distribution of the spatulate form of ceremonial axe, as presented by Webb and DeJarnette (1942:291), is not complete. They cite examples of it in Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Ohio, Virginia, South Carolina, Florida, and South America, but omit the finds made by the Smithsonian Institution in Caldwell County, North Carolina, as well as those in the northeastern United States. The spatulate form axes at 31Gs29 add new

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territory to the area of their occurrence. The finds cited by Webb and DeJarnette appear to be slightly earlier in time than those in North Carolina. It seems logical to assume that the spread of these artifacts into this area was from the west or south.

At least by the late part of the Climactic Phase distinct tribal groups had formed which would become well known in the historic documents. The last occupants of the Hardins site were members of the Catawba Nation. Evidence recovered from this site adds to our present knowledge of the evolution of Catawba culture.

The Hardins site data imply a small agricultural settlement during the middle of the seventeenth century. Ceramics are directly comparable to those found on historic Catawba sites and indicate that the tradition of Catawba pottery was already well developed at this time. The dead were interred in pits and with grave goods. This is true, at least, for children though there may be differences in mortuary customs for adults. Ceremonialism, it would seem, was well advanced with special paraphernalia.

Afterword

The preceding section of this article was written in the spring of 1966, just prior to initiating the first of several years of intensive field work in the South Appalachians by the Research Laboratories of Anthropology in its Cherokee Research Project. Earlier in the academic year of 1964-65, the writer conducted a few days' salvage work at 31Mk85, a site located just west of the Charlotte, North Carolina city limits on the east bank of the Catawba River. The collection contained folded rims and a fair sized assemblage of historic trade beads. Since no extensive work was done at either of these sites and the attention and priorities of the Research Labs turned westward, there seemed to be little reason to rush our discoveries at the Hardins site to press.

In May, 1990, I was approached by the editor regarding the my feelings concerning the publication of my Hardins site report after the passage of a quarter century since it was written. Initially, I was reluctant to see it in print after so long a time. At the urging of a number of my colleagues I have overcome this reluctance.

During the last few years a tremendous resurgence of interest in the early European exploration and conquest of the Southeast has occurred. This is in part due to the upcoming quincennial celebration of the European discovery of the New World. Throughout the South, the de Soto expedition of 1539-1543 is a major topic of interest. Although specifics of the route of the expedition as determined by U.S. De Soto Commission (Swanton 1939) were questioned by a number of investigators through the years, no concentrated effort devoted to refining the entire route appeared in print until the mid-1980s (Hudson, Smith, and DePratter 1984; DePratter, Hudson, and Smith 1985).

Charles Hudson and his colleagues at the University of Georgia defined a route that varies significantly from the Swanton reconstruction. The former route is referred to in the recent literature as the "Georgians" route in contrast to the "Commission" or "Swanton" route. To be sure, there are problems with the "Georgians" route; however, the criticisms are for portions of the route rather than the route as a whole.

One major difference between the "Commission" route and the route proposed by Hudson and his associates is that the former has the expedition moving out of Georgia on a northwestern track paralleling the south bank of the Savannah River. Following this route, the Spaniards would have crossed into the mountains in the vicinity of the headwaters of the Hiwassee River; from there they would have travelled down the Hiwassee to the Tennessee River and into Alabama. The "Georgians" route has de Soto moving much farther north into central South Carolina in the vicinity of Columbia where de Soto would have turned northwestward, moving along the Wateree and Catawba River drainages. Accordingly, the Spaniards would have entered the Blue Ridge province near Marion, North Carolina. From there, they would have travelled down the Swannanoa and French Broad drainages, entering the Tennessee Valley at Bussell Island (from Chiaha on Zimmerman's Island to Coste on Bussell Island). Obviously the route proposed by Hudson and his associates would place them in the vicinity of 31MK85 and the Hardins site.

Among the critics of the "Georgians" route are Keith Little and Caleb Curren (1990) who agree for the most part with the

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Swanton route, except they would move the route slightly farther south to the confluence of the Coosa and Tombigbee rivers. Unfortunately, the rivalry concerning the competing routes has moved from scholarly debate to *ad hominem* attacks in some quarters. Although this makes interesting reading and conversation, it does little to clarify our understanding.

Returning to the Hardins site, it is recalled that three spatulate-shaped, stone ceremonial axes or spuds were recovered there. Curren and Little have placed much faith in the chronological position of this artifact type, especially the perforated variety. They state "Not only is this type of axe indicative of late Mississippian occupations, but perforated spatulate axes have consistently been recovered from sites yielding sixteenth century European artifacts" (Little and Curren 1990:185).

I am not ready to accept the implied meaning that the presence of the perforated spatulate ax is *a priori* evidence for a sixteenth century occupation. Webb and DeJarnette (1942: 234-235) provide a trait list for what they term Koger's Island Complex No. 2 that includes the perforated spatulate ax and notched stone disks or pallets along with such traits as embossed copper pendants and a series of shell tempered pottery forms that are identical to forms recovered from the Toqua site in southeast Tennessee (Polhemus 1987) and dated to AD 1450-1500 (Chapman, personal communication 1990). It is clear that perforated spatulate axes occur much earlier in time than the mid-sixteenth century. Other examples of similar associations occur across the area. These artifacts, as well as others that epitomize the Southern Death Cult (Southeastern Ceremonial Complex) artifact complex, occur earlier in time than Little and Curren would prefer. What this means is that the sole reliance of this form of artifact as conclusive (or even probable) proof of sixteenth century provenience is contrary to archeological fact. Before connecting the de Soto expedition to sites which have produced such axes, it is reasonable to demand the presence of European materials of the appropriate period. This caution is needed lest others attempt to make unwarranted historical connections.

This perfunctory discussion of perforated, spatulate-shaped, polished stone axes should be ample to forestall the identification

of sites that de Soto visited on or near the Catawba River. In a few words, present temporal evidence indicates that 31GS29 was probably abandoned by A.D. 1500 and 31Mk85 was probably not occupied until the early seventeenth century. While it is premature to reject the Georgian hypothesis that de Soto ascended the Catawba River, there exists not one clear and indisputable shred of acceptable archaeological evidence recovered to date that this was the case. I fully support the ongoing investigations by Janet Levy, Alan May, and David Moore (1989) that are designed to test the Georgian hypothesis. It is through such efforts that we will eventually determine the validity of the Georgian scheme.

Acknowledgments

The writer would like to acknowledge the excellent cooperation of the State Highway Commission and especially Mr. Edwin Hoyle of the Bridge Construction Division, who originally reported the site, for his interest and considerable aid in carrying out the salvage project. It has been rewarding to learn through discussions with Dr. Alan May of the Schiele Museum and Dr. H. Trawick Ward of the University of North Carolina that the views about Catawba valley archeology expressed in this paper are reasonably consistent with current understanding. Dr. Jefferson Chapman found answers regarding dating Phase H mound construction at Toqua. I am obliged to them for their patience with my questions.

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THE BULL IN THE NORTH CAROLINA BUFFALO

**by
H. Trawick Ward**

Introduction

Drive down almost any road in North Carolina and it won't take long before you cross a "Buffalo Creek" or see a sign directing you to "Buffalo Lick," "Buffalo Springs," or some other namesake of the noble mammoths who once roamed the countryside. Ask the locals why their community is named "Buffalo Rut," and they will tell you that buffalo were once as numerous in North Carolina as the white-tailed deer or the wild turkey. When pressed for evidence to support their claims, most believers will assure you that their information comes from the impeccable authority of a great-great uncle or great-grandfather whose father told him he had personally witnessed the large herds or seen their well-worn trails back in the "good ole days" before blacktops and fences.

Those of us who are by nature skeptical and sometimes question such authorities are usually told that there wouldn't be all the buffalo placenames, if they had not been plentiful before the early White settlers scared them away. The skeptic might argue that the opposite is equally plausible--the reason there are so many buffalo placenames is because the animals were extremely rare or nonexistent in North Carolina before and after the first settlers arrived. If one of these pioneers did actually see something that looked like a buffalo, he never forgot it, told his family and friends about it repeatedly, and memorialized the occasion by naming a nearby stream, church, or crossroads after the animal.

The skeptic also might argue that if so many buffalo roamed the North Carolina range, why weren't they hunted by the Indians, and why haven't archaeologists found their remains? This is a difficult question that has stretched the imaginations of believers

over the years, inspiring some truly ingenious explanations. The more mundane reason given for archaeologists not recovering buffalo bones is that the animals were dressed in the field, and only the meat was returned to the camps or villages normally excavated. Some have suggested that the Indians considered these huge, magnificent creatures to be sacred and held them in awe and reverence rather than perceiving them as a food source like deer and lesser creatures.

My favorite theory explaining why North Carolina Indians, and other groups east of the Mississippi, didn't hunt buffalo revolves around the beasts' road-building talents. According to some experts--although the point is debated--buffalo possess uncanny skills for charting routes along lines of least topographic resistance. And given the large size of the herds, they created wide, open paths through the wilderness. Obviously, buffalo were not killed because they were good highway engineers, and the Indians needed them to maintain this elaborate network of roads which they also used to great advantage.

Of course, the skeptic can easily punch holes in all these explanations, but this is not my purpose here. Rather, I propose to review the historical and archaeological evidence for the presence of buffalo in North Carolina and reach some more direct conclusions. These conclusions probably won't satisfy either the skeptic or the believer, but the exercise itself might generate some thought and at least update the archaeological record on the matter of the North Carolina buffalo.

Habits and Habitats

Actually the title of this article, as well as the numerous placenames, is in error. It should read "The Bull in the North Carolina *Bison*" because the "buffalo" is not a buffalo at all but rather a true bison (Roe 1970). However, because "buffalo" rolls off the lips with soft melodious tones, it is by far the best choice in naming creeks, churches, and crossroads. (Although "Bison Baptist" does have a certain ring to it.)

At any rate, two modern subspecies are recognized: *Bison bison bison*, the prairie buffalo, and *Bison bison Athabascae*, the

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woodlands buffalo. The ancestors of these animals arrived on the North American continent probably during the Mindel glacial phase of the Pleistocene, some 800,000 years ago (Dary 1989:5). This ancestral species subsequently differentiated into two forms: *Bison antiquus*, the smaller of the two and *Bison latifrons*. *Bison antiquus* occupied the open areas of the southwestern U.S. and Mexico, while *Bison latifrons* inhabited the wooded environment to the north. *Bison latifrons* became extinct during the late Wisconsin glacial phase, but *Bison antiquus* thrived into the Holocene and was hunted by Paleoindians. This form evolved into the modern subspecies mentioned above (McDonald 1981).

During the nineteenth century, there was considerable argument among naturalists and zoologists over the number of varieties and subspecies of American buffalo. These disagreements spilled over into their behavior and range. For example, some nineteenth-century naturalists considered the buffalo to be extremely smart, while others characterized him as incredibly stupid.

The buffalo of the past was an animal of rather low order of intelligence, and his dullness of intellect was one of the important factors in his phenomenally swift extermination. He was provokingly slow in comprehending the existence and nature of the dangers that threatened his life, and, like the stupid brute that he was, would very often stand quietly and see two or three score, or even a hundred of his relatives and companions shot down before his eyes, with no other feeling than one of stupid wonder and curiosity (Hornaday quoted in Roe 1970:125).

As previously mentioned, some of the early naturalists were amazed at the buffalos' ability to plan their paths with the precision of a highway engineer; others, however, believed the animals were totally lacking in any navigation skills. Some believed huge herds roamed the eastern seaboard while others claimed only a few stragglers ever crossed the Mississippi River (Roe 1970). I think much of this confusion resulted from the fact that most of the accounts of buffalo in their natural habitat came from adventurers and explorers whose descriptions were often fueled more by a fertile imagination than by the tenets of scientific observation. It was only after the large wild herds were

virtually extinct that they began to catch the attention of the scientists.

The tragic story of the extinction of the Plains buffalo deserves mention here, if only superficially. Herds of mind-boggling size roamed the prairie and plains of the western United States for tens of thousands of years only to be wiped out by White buffalo hunters during the span of a single decade. For their skins, for their tongues--a culinary delicacy back east--and just for sport, millions of buffalo were wantonly killed between 1870 and 1880.

First the easternmost herds of the Kansas and Nebraska prairies were decimated, then the southern herds of Oklahoma and Texas, and finally the northern herds of the great plains of Montana and the Dakotas. Weapons developed during the Civil War, the large-bore repeating rifles that had proved so effective in killing Union and Confederate soldiers, were refined and turned on the Indian and the buffalo with even greater success, driving both to the brink of extinction. This sad period in our history and the tragic plight of the buffalo and his Indian benefactors have been well documented, but what of the history of the buffalo in the East and in North Carolina?

Historical Evidence for the Buffalo East of the Mississippi River

Today it is generally accepted that, although never as numerous as on the Plains, bison were present east of the Mississippi River in states such as Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania. There is no historical evidence that they were ever in the Gulf Coast states of Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida. Some suggest that their southern range did not extend below the Tennessee River, although others argue that buffalo followed the Appalachians down into Georgia and may have wandered as far as the Atlantic coast (Roe 1970:240).

A few accounts place buffalo in the neighboring states of Tennessee, Virginia, and South Carolina, but the historical evidence is spotty and in most cases suspect (Roe 1970:237). However, even accepting the more dubious accounts of buffalo sightings east of the Mississippi River, experts agree that they did

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not arrive in appreciable numbers until after 1700 and had virtually disappeared by 1820 (Dary 1989:18).

In 1932, the Rev. Douglas Rights, the father of North Carolina archaeology, wrote an article aptly entitled "The Buffalo in North Carolina" in which he reviewed the evidence available at the time for the presence of buffalo in the state. Rights believed, like most people, that herds of bison must have wandered across North Carolina, particularly the Piedmont, simply because of the many buffalo placenames. He noted that there are "Buffalo Creeks" in Caldwell, Cleveland, Cabarrus, Forsyth, Guilford, and Johnston counties (Rights 1932:244). He could have added Lee and probably others. There were also at least two "Buffalo Churches," one in Moore and one in Guilford County. In addition to these formal memorials, Rights mentioned others that don't show up on maps but are passed on within local communities as the locations of buffalo wallows, crossings, and trails.

However, the main thrust of Rights' argument, as well as most authorities who try to reconstruct the range of the eastern buffalo, was the recorded sightings of the bison by early European explorers. To look for the buffalo in North Carolina, I will re-plow some of the documentary ground turned by the Rev. Rights, as well as others.

The first generally accepted account of the American buffalo is that of the Spanish historian, De Solis, who chronicled the Cortez expedition to Montezuma's capital, Tenochtitlán, in 1519. Here Montezuma kept a collection of exotic animals in captivity, including an American buffalo (Dary 1989:7).

The first explorer to actually see herds of buffalo in their natural habitat was Cabeza de Vaca. After being shipwrecked somewhere along the Gulf coast, Cabeza wandered in the wilderness for eight years, sometimes with fellow survivors, sometimes alone, until he finally reached an outpost of his countrymen in Mexico. Cabeza probably encountered the buffalo somewhere along their southern range in northern Texas (Roe 1970:208). He called them "oxen" and described how they were used by the Indians with whom he sometimes lived.

However, early explorers through North Carolina and the heart of the southeastern United States, including de Soto, Pardo,

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Ayllón, and Ponce de Leon, failed to report a single buffalo sighting. As mentioned earlier, in the Gulf states of Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida, no historical records report the buffalo's presence.

To the north in Illinois, Ohio, Kentucky, and West Virginia, there is no doubt that herds of buffalo were present. The historic records indicate that buffalo congregated around springs and salt licks such as Kentucky's Blue Licks, which may have covered as much as 50 acres and attracted not only buffalo but also large numbers of elk and deer. It was reported that springs such as this had wide roads leading to them created by large animal herds craving to lick the salt-laden earth (Roe 1970:234).

Numerous and famous accounts also abound of buffalo herds in Pennsylvania (Dary 1989:14). In fact, it has been suggested that the Pennsylvania buffalo constituted a separate subspecies, *Bison bison pennsylvanicus* (Roe 1970:252). So there is little doubt that some buffalo, of some variety, were present in most of the neighboring states of North Carolina. But what about the historical evidence for North Carolina buffalo?

In a word, it is scant. Only one eyewitness account exists--and not a terribly credible one at that. But first the hearsay evidence. Perhaps the most famous and certainly the most literate early Carolina traveler was John Lawson. Lawson, who made his trek through the Piedmont and Coastal Plain of North Carolina during the winter of 1701, seems to have been much taken with the buffalo, as were most of the early Europeans in the New World. In his description of the "Beasts of Carolina," the buffalo heads the list. Because it has bearing on some of the later accounts, a somewhat lengthy quote from Lawson is presented below:

The *Buffelo* is a wild Beast of *America*, which has a Bunch on his Back, as the Cattle of *St. Laurence* are said to have. He seldom appears amongst the English Inhabitants, his chief Haunt being in the Land of *Messiasippi*, which is, for the most part, a plain Country; yet I have known some kill'd on the Hilly Part of *Cape-Fair-River*, they passing the Ledges of vast Mountains from the said *Messiasippi*, before they can come near us. I have eaten of their Meat, but do not think it so good as our Beef; yet the younger Calves are cry'd up for excellent Food, as very likely they may be. It is conjectured, that these *Buffelos*, mixt in Breed with our tame Cattle, would much better

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the Breed for Largeness and Milk, which seems very probable. Of the wild Bull's Skin, Buff is made. The *Indians* cut the Skins into Quarters for the Ease of their Transportation and make Beds to lie on. They spin the Hair into Garters, Girdles, Sashes, and the like, it being long and curled, and often of a chesnut or red Colour. These Monsters are found to weigh (as I am informed by a Traveller of Credit) from 1600 to 2400 Weight (Lefler 1967:120-121).

The only other mention Lawson makes of the North Carolina buffalo occurs in his description of the Tutelo, whom he describes as "tall, likely Men" because they possess an abundant supply of "Buffelos, Elks, and Bears, with other sort of Deer" (Lefler 1967:54).

Most (Rights 1934; Roe 1970) agree that Lawson never laid eyes on a buffalo. He obviously did not during his "Journey of a Thousand Miles" through North and South Carolina. I would further suggest that Lawson's "Traveller of Credit" is actually one of the earlier published Spanish documents or the earliest printed English description of the buffalo found in Hakluyt's *Voyages* published in 1589.

Certainly the next description of buffalo in North Carolina, that of John Brickell in his *Natural History of North Carolina* published in 1737, is nothing but a thinly disguised regurgitation of Lawson's account.

This Monster of the Woods seldom appears amongst the *European* Inhabitants, it's chiefest haunts being in the *Savannas* near the Mountains, or Heads of the great Rivers. Their flesh is very course, and nothing compared with our Beef, but their Calves are said to be excellent good Meat. . . . And it is conjectur'd that these *Buffelo's* being mix'd, and breeding with our tame Cattle, would much improve the Species for largeness and Milk; for the Monster (as I have been inform'd) weigh from 1600 to 2400 pounds Weight (Brickell quoted in Rights 1932:248).

The only person who actually claims to have seen wild buffalo in North Carolina is William Byrd II, while exploring the lands along the North Carolina-Virginia border. Byrd details an incident during which a young bull was killed in both accounts of his "Dividing Line Survey" and reports killing another young buffalo bull in the account of his journey to the "Land of Eden." The dividing line survey took place in 1728, while the journey to

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Eden was made some five years later. Byrd describes two additional sightings of solitary animals, as well as three accounts of seeing tracks and other "tokens" left by buffalo (Wright 1966).

Although Byrd's accounts of buffalo sightings are detailed and persistent, there are some suspicious similarities between his descriptions and those of Lawson and Brickell whose manuscripts would have been available to Byrd. They would, of course, also have been available to the various editors of Byrd's original manuscripts prior to their publication in 1841 after his death. It is also interesting to note that Byrd's description of the buffalo is much embellished in the later "non-secret" version of the dividing line survey which he prepared for publication. Here he not only describes the feast he and his companions enjoyed where the "frying pan had no rest all night" but goes on to discuss the potential uses of the buffalo by the colonists. As did Lawson and Brickel, Byrd suggests domesticating buffalo by cross-breeding them with English cattle in order to exploit the "ocean of milk" they could produce (Wright 1966:301).

I do not mean to cast dispersions on William Byrd's good character, but it must be remembered that Byrd, as well as Lawson and other writers of the time, did not view plagiarism in the same negative light that it is viewed today. It should also be mentioned that these early writers had ulterior motives for their often glowing descriptions of the natural bounty of the regions they explored. In Byrd's case, he was much interested in attracting Swiss pioneers to settle his "Land of Eden." And finally, it should be remembered that William Byrd vividly described alligators that swallowed rocks to add to their weight, thus enabling them to pull cows under water and drown them. Byrd also described Indians who rode sturgeon bareback, and squirrels that floated across rivers on pieces of bark using their tails for sails (Adams 1967:xvi).

Nonetheless, even a skeptic like myself must believe that William Byrd of Westover probably saw and perhaps killed at least one lone buffalo somewhere in the vicinity of northern Person or Caswell County. So much for the historical evidence for the buffalo in North Carolina. Now let us turn to the cold, hard scientific reality of the archaeological record.

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The Archaeological Evidence for Buffalo in North Carolina

In 1932, the Rev. Rights stated that "there is not a bone, horn or other bit of concrete evidence thus far recovered. Possibly the future will disclose some such testimony, but at present it is entirely lacking" (Rights 1932:244). Today archaeological evidence is not entirely lacking, but neither is it overwhelming or conclusive.

In 1978, Floyd Painter reported that Allen Owen, a music professor at Old Dominion University, had recovered three premolar teeth belonging to a young bison from the Currituck site in northeastern North Carolina. The teeth were identified by George Frison, a noted Plains archaeologist with considerable experience with bison remains. The Currituck site also produced a radiocarbon date of 2610 B.P. The association between the teeth and the date is less than clear. In the abstract of the report, Painter states that "Charcoal from this pit [the one containing the teeth] yielded a date of 2610 B.P."; however, two paragraphs later he states that "A charcoal sample from the same depth but in another portion of the midden, was C-14 dated by the University of Georgia at 2610 B.P., and we assume that the bison teeth are of the same general age" (Painter 1978:28).

I am not terribly concerned about the relationship between the teeth and the radiocarbon date, but I am leery of anyone--even an authority such as George Frison--being able to differentiate young bison teeth from old cow teeth. In fact, a well-known zooarchaeologist says that buffalo teeth "cannot be distinguished from those of domestic cows or cattle (*Bos taurus*)" (Olsen 1971:26). To characterize the Currituck teeth as "immature" adds further doubt to their true identify, and lacking any excavation records to substantiate the archaeological context of the teeth, the Currituck buffalo must be accepted with a grain, if not a shaker, of salt.

The only other buffalo bones from an archaeological context in North Carolina that I am aware of were found during the Research Laboratories of Anthropology's excavation of the large

mound at the Garden Creek site in Haywood County. Two cervical vertebrae and the distal end of a left femur were recovered from sealed, undisturbed deposits. A large, shallow pit intruding into the subsoil contained one of the vertebrae, while the other was recovered from Level 3 of the mound. The femur fragment was found in Mound Level 6. The excavation context and physical condition of these specimens leave no doubt that they date to the late prehistoric Pisgah phase (Dickens 1976).

In 1967 these specimens as well as several other large bone elements from the Garden Creek mound were sent to Miles Gilbert at the University of Kansas for identification. In addition to the buffalo bones, Gilbert also identified seven elk elements, including a cervical vertebra. Initially I was suspicious and confident that the bison bones also might be elk, especially since one of the bison vertebrae was from a subadult. My skepticism quickly vanished, however, after looking at the bones. Although I am not an expert on the identification of faunal remains, I can tell big from HUGH! And that's what the *immature* bison cervical vertebra is compared with the mature elk cervical vertebra. Unless there was an elk on steroids, the Garden Creek mound has produced the only convincing archaeological evidence of buffalo in North Carolina. My apologies to Miles Gilbert.

Conclusions

After this brief review of the historic documents and the archaeological record, what are we to conclude concerning the presence of buffalo in North Carolina and their utilization by Native Americans? My first conclusion is that their numbers were never many, and the various placenames rest more on myth than fact. The buffalo that did cross the Mississippi did so late. Most authorities today believe the major eastern herds arrived around the turn of the eighteenth century and were gone by the beginning of the nineteenth century (Roe 1970:229). In North Carolina, as well as many other states east of the Mississippi, this is the same time period during which Native American populations underwent major disruptions caused by disease, warfare, and dislocation due to colonial expansion. It was hardly the time to develop major

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new subsistence strategies required to successfully exploit the newly arrived buffalo herds.

The Garden Creek bones attest to the fact that at least one bison may have been killed by North Carolina Indians. And it is not surprising that this evidence comes from the western end of the state. As mentioned earlier, there is ample evidence that large numbers of buffalo occupied Kentucky, West Virginia, and Ohio. That a few stragglers should follow the Appalachians down into North Carolina is to be expected. And it should be remembered that extensive and numerous excavations in the North Carolina mountains have unearthed only these three bison bones, while the remains of thousands of deer and other smaller mammals have been recovered.

What is surprising is the antiquity of the Garden Creek bones. If these specimens date to the Pisgah phase (A.D. 1250-1450), they pre-date the arrival of most of the eastern buffalo. Given the small number of bones and the fact that they were found within the context of a ceremonial mound, they may represent exotic trade items whose meaning and use had nothing to do with subsistence. Certainly it does not seem likely that neck bones would have been brought back to the village, if the animal was butchered at the kill-site.

The occurrence of these three bones makes for interesting speculation but does not in any way gainsay the argument that the North Carolina buffalo exists primarily in legend and myth, and the few stragglers that may have wandered into the state were, for the most part, late arrivals and of no consequence to the native inhabitants. In this writer's humble opinion, there is considerably more bull than bison in the North Carolina buffalo.

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**THE TRAVELS OF JAMES NEEDHAM AND GABRIEL
ARTHUR THROUGH VIRGINIA, NORTH CAROLINA,
AND BEYOND, 1673-1674**

**Edited by
R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr.**

Preface

The following article is a reprint, along with an edited version, of the account of James Needham's and Gabriel Arthur's journeys in 1673 and 1674 through the piedmont and mountains of North Carolina to establish trading contacts with the Cherokee. Their account was contained in a letter dated August 22, 1674 from Abraham Wood of Virginia to John Richards in London, and was accompanied by a short memorandum by John Locke concerning Virginia agriculture and the letter's author. These documents were transcribed by Agnes C. Laut from the originals located in the *Shaftesbury Papers* of the Public Record Office of London and were first published in *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674*, by Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, The Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland, 1912, pp 209-226.

Along with *The Discoveries of John Lederer*, published in 1672, the Needham and Arthur narrative provides rare documentation of Indian life and cultural dynamics on the Piedmont during the seventeenth century. The account of Arthur's travels with the Cherokee (called Tomahitans) to Spanish settlements along the Atlantic coast and into the Ohio Valley also provides a glimpse of Indian life and cultural geography beyond the mountains, and an indication of the extent of native travel, communications, and warfare within the Southeast. From an historical perspective, the narrative is particularly significant to the study of the late seventeenth century fur trade along the Atlantic seaboard and provides one of only a few detailed descriptions of the many attempts to extend the Virginia trade to the more populous yet remote tribes of the interior Southeast.

Given the narrative's significance and the rarity of the Alvord and Bidgood volume, it has been reprinted here (with footnotes and page numbers from the 1912 volume) along with an edited version in order to make it available to both the scholar and casual reader. A summary and interpretation of the Needham and Arthur account can be found in Douglas Rights' *The American Indian in North Carolina*, John F. Blair, Winston-Salem, NC, 1957. An alternative interpretation is presented in *A Study of Late Prehistoric, Protohistoric, and Historic Indians of the Carolina and Virginia Piedmont: Structure, Process, and Ecology*, by Jack H. Wilson, Jr, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1983.

The Journeys of Needham and Arthur

Edited by
Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood

A Memorandum * by John Locke¹⁷⁹

Virginia corne was worth in September, 74 150 ll. tobacco per barell the barell contains 5 bushels and the tobacco counted worth about 15s.

The cheapest time to buy corne is Oct. Nov. and Dec: which is newly after harvest and he thinks new corne then may be worth 100 ll. tobacco per barell i.e. 10s.

The Indian corne requires most labour in planting and tillage as 5 to 1 compar'd with wheat, and is of a coarser tast, but nourishes labourers better, and bring a far greater increase commonly 50 for one Dry seasons aster sowing are naught for the Indian corne good for wheat wherefor they commonly sowe both, soe that when one misses the other hits.

They have 2 sorts of wheat, winter wheat which they sowe in September and summer wheat which they sowe in March both ripe in June or July.

The Indian corne they gather in the beginning of Octob: [210]
Major Generall Wood liveth in the south west part of Virginia,

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about 60 miles from ye mountains upon Apomatock river, which falls into James river and ye chanell of it lies from James river south.

MR. RICHARDS.¹⁸⁰

Endorsed: Virginia, Husbandry.

Letter¹⁸¹ of Abraham Wood to John Richards
August 22, 1674

To my Honoured Frend, Mr. Richards in London, present.

That I have been att ye charge to the value of two hundered pounds starling in ye discovery of ye south or west sea Declaro: and what my indevors were in two yeares you was made sencible of by ye handes of Thomas Batt and Robert Fallam in part: att my owne charge ye effects of this present yeare I am now to give you an account of in as much brevitie as I can. About ye 10th of Aprill: 1673: I sent out two English men and eight Indians, with accommidation for three [211] moneths, but by misfortune and unwillingness of ye Indians before the mountaines, that any should discover beyond them my people returned effecting little, to be short, on ye 17th of May: 1673 I sent them out againe, with ye like number of Indians and four horses. about ye 25th of June they mett with ye Tomahitans as they were journeying from ye mountains to ye Occhonechees. The Tomahitans told my men that if an English man would stay with them they would some of them com to my plantation with a letter which a eleven of them did accordingly, and about fourty of them promised to stay with my men att Occhonechee untill ye eleven returned: ye effect of ye letter was they resolved by Gods Blessing to goe through with ye Tomahitans. ye eleven resolve to stay at my house three dayes to rest themselves. I hastend away another English man and a horse to Occhonechee to give them intelligence; but by the extremity of raine they could not bee expeditious, so that through ye instigation of ye Occhonechees, and through ye doubt they had, as I suppose, of ye miscarrge of their men att my plantations, being soe possess by the other Indians, ye Tomahitans went away, and my two men with them, and as since I understand ye eleven over

tooke them, before they came to ye mountains, with my letter, which rejoiced ye two English men and one Appomattecke Indian for noe more durst to go a long with them; they jornied nine days from Occhonechee to Sitteree: west and by south, past nine rivers and creeks which all end in this side ye mountains and emty them selves into ye east sea. Sitteree being the last towne of inhabitance and not any path further untill they came within two days journey of ye Toma- [212] hitans; they travell from thence up the mountaines upon ye sun setting all ye way, and in foure dayes gett to ye toppe, sometimes leading their horses sometimes rideing. Ye ridge upon ye topp is not above two hundred paces over; ye decent better then on this side. in halfe a day they came to ye foot, and then levell ground all ye way, many slashes upon ye heads of small runns. The slashes are full of very great canes and ye water runnes to ye north west. They pass five rivers and about two hundred paces over ye fifth being ye middle most halfe a mile broad all sandy bottoms, with pebble stones, all foardable and all empties themselves north west, when they travell upon ye plaines, from ye mountaines they goe downe, for severall dayes they see straged hills on their right hand, as they judge two days journey from them, by this time they have lost all their horses but one; not so much by ye badness of the way as by hard travell. not having time to feed. when they lost sight of those hilles they see a fogg or smoke like a cloud from whence raine falls for severall days on their right hand as they travell still towards the sun setting great store of game, all along as turkes deere, ellkes, beare, wolfe and other vermin very tame, at ye end of fifteen dayes from Sitteree they arive at ye Tomahitans river, being ye 6th river from ye mountains. this river att ye Tomahitans town seemes to run more westerly than ye other five. This river they past in cannoos ye town being seated in ye other side about foure hundred paces broad above ye town, within sight, ye horse they had left waded only a small channell swam, as they were very kindly entertained by them, even to addoration in their cerrimonies of courtesies and a stake was [213] sett up in ye middle of ye towne to fasten ye horse to, and abundance of corne and all manner of pulse with fish, flesh and beares oyle for ye horse to feed upon and a scaffold sett up before day for my two

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men and Appomattocke Indian that their people might stand and gaze at them and not offend them by their throng. This town is seated on the river side, having the clefts of the river on the one side being very high for its defence, the other three sides trees of two foot over, pitched on end, twelve foot high, and on the tops scaffolds placed with parapits to defend the walls and offend their enemies which men stand on to fight, many nations of Indians inhabit down the river, which runs west upon the salt which they are at war with and to that end keep one hundred and fifty canoes under the command of their forte. the least of them will carry twenty men, and made sharp at both ends like a wherry for swiftness, this forte is four square; 300: paces over and the houses set in streets, many horns like bulls horns lie upon their dunghills, store of fish they have, one sort they have like unto stocke - fish cured after that manner. Eight dayes jorney down this river lives a white people which have long beards and whiskers and wear clothing, and on some of the other rivers lives a hairy people, not many yeares since the Tomahittans sent twenty men laden with beaver to the white people, they killed ten of them and put the other ten in irons, two of which ten escaped and one of them came with one of my men to my plantation as you will understand after a small time of rest one of my men returns with his horse, the Appomattock Indian and 12 Toma- [214] hittans, eight men and four women, one of those eight is hee which hath been a prisoner with the white people, my other man remains with them until the next returne to learn the language. the 10th of September my man with his horse and the twelve Indians arrived at my house praise be to God, the Tomahittans have about sixty gunnes, not such locks as ours be, the steeles are long and channelled where the flints strike, the prisoner relates that the white people have a bell which is six foot over which they ring morning and evening and at that time a great number of people congregate together and talkes he knowes not what. they have many blacks among them. oysters and many other shell-fish, many swine and cattle. Their building is brick, the Tomahittans have amongst them many brass potts and kettles from three gallons to thirty. they have two mulatto women all the white and black people they take they put to death since

theire twenty men were barbarously handled. After nine dayes rest, my man with ye horse he brought home and ye twelve Tomahittans began theire jorny ye 20th of September intending, God blessing him, at ye spring of ye next yeare to returne with his companion att which time God spareing me life I hope to give you and some other friends better satisfaction. all this I presented to ye Grand Assembly of Virginia, but not soe much as one word in answer or any encouragement or assistance given.

The good suckses of ye last jorney by my men performed gave mee great hopes of a good suckses in ye latter for I never heard from nor any thing after I employed Mr. James Needham¹⁸² past from Aeno an [215] Indian towne two dayes jorny beyond Occhoneeche in safty but now begins ye tragicall scene of bad hap. upon ye 27th of January following I received a flying report by some Indians that my men were killd by ye Tomahitans pasing over theire river as they were returning, now dayly came variable reports of theire miscarige. All Indians spake darkly to hide ye trueth from being discoverd for feare ye guilt of ye mourder would be layd upon them selves. I sent an other man out to inquire what might bee found out of truth in ye buisness, but before his return upon ye 25th of February came one Henry Hatcher an English man, to my house which had been att Occhonechee a tradeing with them Indians, and tells me that my man I last sent out was stopt there by ye Occhonechees from goeing any further untill Hattcher parswaded them to let my man pass, which they did accordingly, this Hatcher further tould me that Mr. James Needham was certainly killd att his goeing out, but by whome he knew not, but as ye Occhonechees said by the Tomahittans that went with him, but said Hatcher I saw ye Occhonechees Indian knowne by ye name of John, a fatt thick bluff faced fellow, have Mr. James Needhams pistolls and gunn in his hande, as the Indian him selfe tould Hatcher.

This Indian John by his Indian name is calld Hasecoll, now you are to note that this Indian John was one that went with Mr. James Needham and my man Gabriell Arthur att ye first to ye Tomahitans and returned with Mr. James Needham to my house where he ye said John received a reward to his content and a greed with me to goe a gaine with him. and indeavour his

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protexion to ye Tomahittans and to return [216] with Mr. James Needham and my man to my house ye next spring and to that end receved halfe his pay in hand. Ye rest hee was to receve at his returne. My poore man Gabriell Artheur all this while ecaptivated all this time in a strange land, where never English man before had set foote, in all likelihood either slaine, or att least never likely to returne to see ye face of an English man, but by ye great providence and protection of God allmighty still survives which just God will not suffer just and honest indevors to fall quite to ye ground. Mauger ye deivill and all his adherents, Well, shall now give a relation, what my man hath discovered in all ye time that Mr. James Needham left him att ye Tomahitans to ye 18th of June 74. which was ye daye Gabriell arived att my house in safety with a Spanish Indian boy only, with difficulty and hasard and how Mr. James Needham came to his end by ye hands of the barbarious roge Indian John that had undertaken his protection and safety and as briefe as I can give a touch upon ye heads of ye materiaall matter my mans memory could retain, for he cannot write ye greater pity, for should I insert all ye particulars it would swell to too great a vollume and perhaps seeme too tedeous to ye courteous and charitable Reader soe I begg pardon for ignorant erors, and shall againe come to Mr. Needhams, where wee left him. from Aeno hee journied to Sarrah, with his companions ye Tomahitons and John ye Occhoenechee accompanied with more of his country men which was to see ye tragady acted as I suppose, it happened as they past Sarrah river an Indian lett his pack slip into ye water whether on pur- [217] pose or by chance I canot judge, upon this some words past betwine Needham and ye Indian. Ochenechee Indian John tooke up Mr. Needham very short in words and soe continued scoulding all day untill they had past ye Yattken towne and soe over Yattken river, not far from ye river Mr. Needham alighted it not being far from the foot of ye mountaines, and there tooke up their quarters. Still Indian John continued his wailing and threatening Mr. Needham tooke up a hatchet which lay by him, haveing his sword by him threw ye hatchet on ye ground by Indian John and said what John are you minded to kill me. Indian John imediately catched up a gunn, which hee him selfe had carried to kill meat for them to eate

and shot Mr. Needham neare ye burr of ye eare and killd him not withstanding all ye Tomahittans started up to rescue Needham but Indian John was to quick for them, soe died this heroyick English man whose fame shall never die if my penn were able to eternize it which had adventured where never any English man had dared to atempt before and with him died one hundered forty-foure pounds starling of my adventure with him. I wish I could have saved his life with ten times ye vallue. Now his companions ye Tomahittans all fell a weeping and cried what shall-wee doe now you have killd ye English man wee shall be cut of by ye English. Indian John drew out his knife stept acrossse ye corpes of Mr. Needham, ript open his body, drew out his hart, held it up in his hand and turned and looked to ye eastward, toward ye English plantations and said hee vallued not all ye English. Ye Tomahittans repleyed, how dare you doe this, [218] wee are all afraid of ye English. Indian John repleyed he was paid for what he had done and had received his rewarde and then laid a command upon ye Tomahittans that they should dispatch and kill ye English man which Needham had left att ye Tomahittans and immediately opened the packs tooke what goods he pleased, soe much as Needham's horse could carry and soe returned backe.

Now wee returne to my man Gabriell Arther. Ye Tomahittans hasten home as fast as they can to tell ye newes ye King or chife man not being att home, some of ye Tomahittans which were great lovers of ye Occheneechees went to put Indian Johns command in speedy execution and tied Gabriell Arther to a stake and laid heaps of combustibile canes a bout him to burne him, but before ye fire was put too ye King came into ye towne with a gunn upon his shoulder and heareing of ye uprore for some was with it and some a gainst it. ye King ran with great speed to ye place, and said who is that that is going to put fire to ye English man. a Weesock borne started up with a fire brand in his hand said that am I. Ye King forthwith cockt his gunn and shot ye wesock dead, and ran to Gabriell and with his knife cutt ye thongs that tide him and had him goe to his house and said lett me see who dares touch him and all ye wesocks children they take are brought up with them as ye Ianesaryes are a mongst ye Turkes. this King came to my house upon ye 21st of June as you will heare in ye following discouerse.

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Now after ye tumult was over they make preparation for to manage ye warr for that is ye course of [219] their liveing to forage robb and spoyle other nations and the king commands Gabriell Arther to goe along with a party that went to robb ye Spanyarrd, promising him that in ye next spring hee him selfe would carry him home to his master. Gabriell must now bee obedient to their commands. in ye deplorable condition hee was in was put in armes, gun, tomahauke, and targett and soe marched a way with ye company, beeing about fifty. they travelled eight days west and by south as he guest and came to a town of negroes, spatious and great, but all wooden buildings Heare they could not take any thing without being spied. The next day they marched along by ye side of a great carte path, and about five or six miles as he judgeth came within sight of the Spanish town, walld about with brick and all brick buildings within. There he saw ye steeple where in hung ye bell which Mr. Needham gives relation of and harde it ring in ye eveing. heare they dirst not stay but drew of and ye next morning layd an ambush in a convenient place neare ye cart path before mentioned and there lay allmost seven dayes to steale for their sustenance. Ye 7th day a Spaniard in a gentille habitt, accoutered with gunn, sword and pistoll. one of ye Tomahittans espieing him att a distance crept up to ye path side and shot him to death. In his pockett were two pices of gold and a small gold chain. which ye Tomahittans gave to Gabriell, but hee unfourtunately lost it in his venturing as you shall heare by ye sequell. Here they hasted to ye negro town where they had ye advantage to meett with a lone negro. After him runs one of the Tomahittans with a dart in [220] his hand, made with a pice of ye blaide of Needhams sworde, and threw it after ye negro, struck him thrugh betwene his shoulders soe hee fell downe dead. They tooke from him some toys. which hung in his eares, and bracelets about his neck and soe returned as expeditiously as they could to their owne homes.

They rested but a short time before another party was commanded out a gaine and Gabrielle Arther was comanded out a gaine, and this was to Porte Royall, Here he refused to goe saying those were English men and he would not fight a gainst his own

nation, he had rather be killd. The King tould him they intended noe hurt to ye English men, for he had promised Needham att his first coming to him that he would never doe violence a gainst any English more but theire buisness was to cut off a town of Indians which lived neare ye English, I but said Gabriell what if any English be att that towne, a trading, ye King sware by ye fire which they adore as their god they would not hurt them soe they marched a way over ye mountains and came upon ye head of Portt Royall river in six days. There they made perriaugers of bark and soe past down ye streame with much swiftnes, next coming to a convenient place of landing they went on shore and marched to ye eastward of ye south, one whole day and part of ye night. At length they brought him to ye sight of an English house, and Gabriell with some of the Indians crept up to ye house side and lisening what they said, they being talkeing with in ye house, Gabriell hard one say, pox take such a master that will not alow a servant a bit of meat to eate upon Christmas day, by [221] that meanes Gabriell knew what time of ye yeare it was, soe they drew of secretly and hasten to ye Indian town, which was not above six miles thence. about breake of day stole upon ye towne. Ye first house Gabriell came too there was an English man. Hee hard him say Lord have mercy upon mee. Gabriell said to him runn for thy life. Said hee which way shall I run. Gabriell repleyed, which way thou wilt they will not meddle with thee. Soe hee rann and ye Tomahittans opend and let him pas cleare there they got ye English mans snapsack with beades, knives and other petty truck in it. They made a very great slaughter upon the Indians and a bout sun riseing they hard many great guns fired off amongst the English. Then they hastened a way with what speed they could and in less then fourteene dayes arived att ye Tomahittns with their plunder.

Now ye king must goe to give ye monetons a visit which were his frends, mony signifying water and ton great in their language Gabriell must goe along with him They gett forth with sixty men and travelled tenn days due north and then arived at ye monyton towne situated upon a very great river att which place ye tide ebbs and flowes. Gabriell swom in ye river severall times, being fresh water, this is a great towne and a great umber of Indians belong

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unto it, and in ye same river Mr. Batt and Fallam were upon the head of it as you read in one of my first journalls. This river runes north west and out of ye westerly side of it goeth another very great river about a days journey lower where the inhabitation are an innumerable company of Indians, as the monytons [222] told my man which is twenty dayes journey from one end to ye other of ye inhabitation, and all these are at warr with the Tomahittans. when they had taken theire leave of ye monytons they marched three days out of thire way to give a clap to some of that great nation, where they fell on with great courage and were as curagiously repulsd by theire enimise.

And heere Gabriell received shott with two arrows, one of them in his thigh, which stopt his runing and soe was taken prisoner, for Indian vallour consists most in theire heeles for he that can run best is accounted ye best man. These Indians thought this Gabriell to be noe Tomahittan by ye length of his haire, for ye Tomahittans keepe theire haire close cut to ye end an enimie may not take an advantage to lay hold of them by it. They tooke Gabriell and scowered his skin with water and ashes, and when they perceived his skin to be white they made very much of him and admire att his knife gunn and hatchett they tooke with him. They gave those thing to him a gaine. He made signes to them the gun was ye Tomahittans which he had a disire to take with him, but ye knife and hatchet he gave to ye king. they not knowing ye use of gunns, the king receved it with great shewes of thankfulness for they had not any manner of iron instrument that hee saw amongst them whilst he was there they brought in a fat beavor which they had newly killd and went to swrynge [*sic*] it. Gabriell made signes to them that those skins were good amongst the white people toward the sun rising they would know by signes how many such skins they would take for such a knife. He told [223] them foure and eight for such a hattchett and made signes that if they would lett him return, he would bring many things amongst them. they seemed to rejoyce att it and carried him to a path that carried to ye Tomahittans gave him Rokahamony for his journey and soe they departed, to be short. when he came to ye Tomahittans ye king had one short voyage more before hee could bring in Gabriell and that was downe ye

river, they live upon in perriougers to kill hoggs, beares and sturgion which they did incontinent by five dayes and nights. They went down ye river and came to ye mouth of ye salts where they could not see land but the water not above three foot deepe hard sand.¹⁸³ By this meanes wee know this is not ye river ye Spanyards live upon as Mr. Needham did thinke. Here they killd many swine, sturgin and beavers and barbicued them, soe returned and were fifteen dayes running up a gainst ye streame but noe mountainous land to bee seene but all levell.

After they had made an end of costing of it about ye 10th day of May 1674, ye king with eighteen more of his people laden with goods begin there journey to come to Forte Henry att ye falls of Appomattock river in Charles City County in Virginia, they were not disturbed in all there travels untill they came to Sarah, w[h]ere ye Occhenechees weare as I tould you before to waite Gabrills coming. There were but foure Occohenechees Indians there soe that they durst [224] not adventure to attempt any violent accion by day. Heare they say they saw the small truck lying under foot that Indian John had scattered and thrown about when he had killd Mr. Needham. when it grew prity late in ye night ye Occhenee began to worke thire plot and made an alaram by an hubbub crying out the towne was besett with in numarable company of strange Indians this puts the towne people into a sodane fright many being betweene sleepeing and wakeing, away rune ye Tomahittans and leave all behind them, and a mongst ye rest was Gabrills two peices of gold and chaine in an Indian bagge away slipe Gabriell and ye Spanish Indian boy which he brought with him and hide themselves in ye bushes.

After ye Tomahittans were gon ye foure Occhenechees for there came no more to disturb them, made diligent search for Gabriell. Ye moone shining bright Gabriell saw them, but he lying under covert of ye bushes could not be seene by that Indians. In ye morning ye Occhenechees haveing mist of thire acme passed home and Gabriell came into ye town againe and foure of ye Tomahittans packs hires foure Sarrah Indians to carry them to Aeno. Here he mett with my man I had sent out soe long ago before to inquire for news despratly sick of ye flux, here hee could not gett any to goe forth with his packs for feare of ye

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Occhenechees, soe he left them and adventured himselfe with ye Spanish Indian boy. ye next day came before night in sight of ye Occhenechees towne undiscovered and there hid himselfe untill it was darke and then waded over into ye iland where ye [225] Occhenechees are seated, strongly fortified by nature and that makes them soe insolent for they are but a handfull of people, besides what vagabonds repaire to them it beeing a receptackle for rogues. Gabriell escapes cleaurely through them and soe wades out on this side and runs for it all night. Their food was huckleburies, which ye woods were full of att that time and on ye 18th June with ye boy arived att my house, praise be to God for it. now wee come again to ye king of ye Tomahittans. With his two sonns and one more who tooke thire packs with them and comes along by Toteró under ye foot of ye mountains, untill they mett with James river and there made a cannoe of barke and came downe the river to the Manikins. from thence to Powetan by land, and across the neck and on ye 20th of July at night arived att my house and gives certaine relation how Mr. James Needham came by his death. This king I received with much joy and kind entertainment and much joy there was betweene Gabriell and ye king, that once more they were met again. I gave the king a good reward for his high favor in preserveing my mans life. Hee staid with me a few dayes promising to bee with mee againe att ye fall of ye leafe with a party that would not be fritted by ye way and doubt not but hee will come if hee bee not intercepted by selfe ended traders for they have strove what they could to block up ye designe from ye beginning, which were here too tedious to relate. Thus endes ye tragedy I hope yett to live to write cominically of ye buisness. If I could have ye countenance of some [226] person of honour in England to curb and bridle ye obstructers here for here is no incouragement att all to be had for him that is Sir Your humble servant

AB WOOD.

From Forte Henry, August the 22th, 1674.

Endorsed in Locke's hand: Carolina Discoverys crosse the mountains by Major Generall Wood 1674

Endnotes

*Shaftesbury Papers, section 9, bundle 48, no. 83.

¹⁷⁹This memorandum is printed in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies*, 1669-1674, no. 1428. The original has been carefully compared with Locke's handwriting and it is undoubtedly genuine.

¹⁸⁰John Richards, Wood's friend and the recipient of his letter, describing the explorations of 1673/4, was appointed by the Lords Proprietors of Carolina as their "Treasurer, and Agent in matters relating to their joint carrying on of that Plantation," in room of the late Peter Jones, December 4, 1674. *Colonial Papers, Amer. and W.I.*, 1669-1674, no. 1402. He is several times mentioned in the series just cited [nos.901, 1138, 1139] as the bearer of letters to Lord Arlington from Colonel Codrington in Barbadoes, first on July 27, 1672. He was in Virginia on August 4, 1673 [*ibid.*, no. 1124]. A letter of October 23, 1673 [*ibid.*, no. 1153] shows him to have been a correspondent of John Locke.

¹⁸¹From public Record Office of London, *Shaftesbury Papers*, section ix, bundle 48, no. 94. It is endorsed: "Supposed to be the Carolina colonies first journey to Mississippi." Here printed for the first time; from a transcript made in London by Miss Agnes C. Laut but collated for this volume in London. The critical discussion of this important document will be found almost exclusively in the Introduction rather than in footnotes. The names of Indians mentioned were written as a guide in the margin by John Locke. These have been omitted.

¹⁸²For what has been found regarding Needham, see page 79 [in *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674*, by Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, editors, Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland, 1912].

¹⁸³Arthur seems to be in error somewhere. Either the party went to the Chattahoochee or Alabama River and descended it to the Gulf, or what is more likely, they simply paddled down the Tennessee to some broad, sandy shoal, and Arthur's imagination and anxiety to reach the South Sea did the rest.

Letter of Abraham Wood to John Richards
August 22, 1674
(edited version)

To my Honoured Friend, Mr. Richards in London, present.

That I have been at your charge to the value of two hundred pounds sterling in the discovery of the south or west sea Declaro; and what my endeavors were in two years you were made sensible of by the hands of Thomas Batt and Robert Fallam in part. At my own charge the effects of this present year, I am now to give you an account of in as much brevity as I can.

About the 10th of April, 1673, I sent out two Englishmen and eight Indians with accommodations for three months, but by misfortune and unwillingness of the Indians before the mountains that any should discover beyond them, my people returned affecting little, to be short. On the 17th of May, 1673, I sent them out again, with a like number of Indians and four horses. About the 25th of June they met with the Tomahittans as they were journeying from the mountains to the Occhonechees. The Tomahittans told my men that, if an Englishman would stay with them, they would some of them come to my plantation with a letter which eleven of them did accordingly, and about forty of them promised to stay with my men at Occhonechee until the eleven returned. The effect of the letter was they resolved by God's Blessing to go through with the Tomahittans. The eleven resolved to stay at my house three days to rest themselves. I hastened away another Englishman and a horse to Occhonechee to give them intelligence; but by the extremity of rain they could not be expeditious, so that through the instigation of the Occhonechees, and through the doubt they had, as I suppose, of the miscarriage of their men at my plantations, being so possessed by the other Indians, the Tomahittans went away, and my two men with them. And as since I understand the eleven overtook them, before they came to the mountains, with my letter, which rejoiced the two Englishmen and one Appomattock Indian for no more durst [*sic*] to go along with them.

They journeyed nine days from Occhonechee to Sitteree, west and by south, past nine rivers and creeks which all end in this side

the mountains and empty themselves into the east sea. Sitteree being the last town of inhabitation and not any path further until they came within two days' journey of the Tomahittans. They travel from thence up the mountains upon the sun setting all the way, and in four days get to the top, sometimes leading their horses sometimes riding. The ridge upon the top is not above two hundred paces over; the descent better than on this side. In half a day they came to the foot, and then level ground all the way, many slashes upon the heads of small runs. The slashes are full of very great canes and the water runs to the northwest. They pass five rivers and about two hundred paces over the fifth being the middle most half a mile broad all sandy bottoms, with pebble stones, all fordable and all empty themselves northwest, when they travel upon the plains, from the mountains they go down, for several days they see straggy hills on their right hand, as they judge two days journey from them. By this time they have lost all their horses but one, not so much by the badness of the way as by hard travel, not having time to feed. When they lost sight of those hills they see a fog or smoke like a cloud from whence rain falls for several days on their right hand as they travel still towards the sun setting great store of game, all along as turkeys, deer, elk, bear, wolf, and other vermin very tame. At the end of fifteen days from Sitteree they arrive at the Tomahittan's river, being the sixth river from the mountains. This river at the Tomahittan's town seems to run more westerly than the other five. This river they passed in canoes the town being seated in the other side about four hundred paces broad above the town, within sight, the horse they had left waded only a small channel swam, as they were very kindly entertained by them, even to adoration in their ceremonies of courtesies and a stake was set up in the middle of the town to fasten the horse to, and abundance of corn and all manner of pulse with fish, flesh, and bear's oil for the horse to feed upon and a scaffold set up before day for my two men and Appomattock Indian that their people might stand and gaze at them and not offend them by their throng.

This town is seated on the river side, having the cliffs of the river on the one side being very high for its defence, the other three sides trees of two foot over, pitched on end, twelve feet high,

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and on the tops scaffolds placed with parapets to defend the walls and offend their enemies which men stand on to fight. Many nations of Indians inhabit down this river, which runs west upon the salts which they are at war with and to that end keep one hundred and fifty canoes under the command of their fort. The least of them will carry twenty men, and made sharp at both ends like a wherry for swiftness. This fort is four square, 300 paces over, and the houses set in streets. Many horns like bulls' horns lay upon their dunghills. Store of fish they have, one sort they have like unto stockfish cured after that manner.

Eight days' journey down this river lives a white people who have long beards and whiskers and wear clothing, and on some of the other rivers live a hairy people. Not many years since the Tomahittans sent twenty men laden with beaver to the white people. They killed ten of them and put the other ten in irons, two of which ten escaped and one of them came with one of my men to my plantation as you will understand.

After a small time of rest one of my men returns with his horse, the Appomattock Indian and 12 Tomahittans, eight men and four women. One of those eight is he which hath been a prisoner with the white people. My other man remains with them until the next return to learn the language. The 10th of September my man with his horse and the twelve Indians arrived at my house, praise be to God. The Tomahittans have about sixty guns. Not such locks as ours be, the steels are long and channelled where the flints strike. The prisoner relates that the white people have a bell which is six foot over which they ring morning and evening, and at that time a great number of people congregate together and talk he knows not what. They have many blacks among them, oysters and many other shellfish, many swine, and cattle. Their building is brick. The Tomahittans have among them many brass pots and kettles from three gallons to thirty. They have two mullato women. All the white and black people they take they put to death since their twenty men were barbarously handled.

After nine days rest, my man with the horse he brought home and the twelve Tomahittans began their journey the 20th of September intending, God blessing him, at the spring of the next year to return with his companion at which time, God sparing my

life, I hope to give you and some other friends better satisfaction. All this I presented to the Grand Assembly of Virginia, but not so much as one word in answer or any encouragement or assistance given.

The good successes of the last journey by my men performed gave me great hopes of a good success in the latter for I never heard from nor anything after I employed Mr. James Needham past from Aeno, an Indian town two days' journey beyond Occhonechee, in safety. But now begins the tragic scene of mishap. Upon the 27th of January following, I received a flying report by some Indians that my men were killed by the Tomahittans passing over their river as they were returning. Now daily came variable reports of their miscarriage. All Indians spoke darkly to hide the truth from being discovered for fear the guilt of the murder would be layed upon themselves. I sent another man out to inquire what might be found out of truth in the business, but before his return upon the 25th of February came one Henry Hatcher, an Englishman, to my house who had been at Occhonechee trading with those Indians, and tells me that my man I last sent out was stopped there by the Occhonechees from going any further until Hatcher persuaded them to let my man pass, which they did accordingly. This Hatcher further told me that Mr. James Needham was certainly killed at his going out, but by whom he knew not, but as the Occhonechees said by the Tomahittans that went with him, but said Hatcher I saw the Occhonechee Indian known by the name of John, a fat thick bluff faced fellow, have Mr. James Needham's pistols and gun in his hand, as the Indian himself told Hatcher.

This Indian John by his Indian name is called Hasecoll. Now you are to note that this Indian John was one that went with Mr. James Needham and my man Gabriel Arthur at the first to the Tomahittans and returned with Mr. James Needham to my house where he the said John received a reward to his content and agreed with me to go again with him. And endeavor his protection to the Tomahittans and to return with Mr. James Needham and my man to my house the next spring and to that end received half his pay in hand. The rest he was to receive at his return. My poor man Gabriel Arthur all this while captivated all this time in a strange

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land, where never Englishman before had set foot, in all likelihood either slain, or at least never likely to return to see the face of an Englishman, but by the great providence and protection of God almighty still survives which just God will not suffer just and honest endeavors to fall quite to the ground. Maugre the devil and all his adherents.

Well, shall now give a relation, what my man hath discovered in all the time that Mr. James Needham left him at the Tomahittans to the 18th of June 74, which was the day Gabriel arrived at my house in safety with a Spanish Indian boy only, with difficulty and hazard. And how Mr. James Needham came to his end by the hands of the barbarous rogue Indian John that had undertaken his protection and safety. And as brief as I can, give a touch upon the heads of the material matter my man's memory could retain, for he cannot write the greater pity, for should I insert all the particulars it would swell to too great a volume and perhaps seem too tedious to the courteous and charitable Reader, so I beg pardon for ignorant errors, and shall again come to Mr. Needham, where we left him.

From Aeno he journeyed to Sarrah, with his companions the Tomahittans and John the Occhonechee accompanied with more of his countrymen which was to see the tragedy acted as I suppose, it happened as they passed Sarrah river. An Indian let his pack slip into the water. Whether on purpose or by chance I cannot judge. Upon this some words passed between Needham and the Indian. Occhonechee Indian John took up Mr. Needham very short in words and so continued scolding all day until they had passed the Yattken town and so over Yattken river. Not far from the river Mr. Needham alighted it not being far from the foot of the mountains, and there took up their quarters. Still, Indian John continued his wailing and threatening. Mr. Needham took up a hatchet which lay by him, having his sword by him threw the hatchet on the ground by Indian John and said what John are you minded to kill me. Indian John immediately caught up a gun, which he himself had carried to kill meat for them to eat, and shot Mr. Needham near the burr of the ear and killed him. Notwithstanding, all the Tomahittans started up to rescue Needham but Indian John was too quick for them.

So died this heroic Englishman whose fame shall never die if my pen were able to eternalize it which had adventured where never any Englishman had dared to attempt before and with him died one hundred forty-four pounds sterling of my adventure with him. I wish I could have saved his life with ten times the value. Now his companions the Tomahittans all fell a weeping and cried what shall we do now you have killed the Englishman. We shall be cut off by the English. Indian John drew out his knife, stepped across the corpse of Mr. Needham, ripped open his body, drew out his heart, held it up in his hand, and turned and looked to the eastward, toward the English plantations and said he valued not all the English. The Tomahittans replied, how dare you do this, we are all afraid of the English. Indian John replied he was paid for what he had done and had received his reward, and then laid a command upon the Tomahittans that they should dispatch and kill the Englishman which Needham had left at the Tomahittans, and immediately opened the packs, took what goods he pleased, so much as Needham's horse could carry, and so returned back.

Now we return to my man Gabriel Arthur. The Tomahittans hastened home as fast as they can to tell the news. The King or chief man not being at home, some of the Tomahittans who were great lovers of the Occhonechees went to put Indian John's command in speedy execution and tied Gabriel Arthur to a stake and laid heaps of combustible canes about him to burn him. But before the fire was put to, the King came into the town with a gun upon his shoulder and hearing of the uproar for some were with it and some against it. The King ran with great speed to the place, and said who is that that is going to put fire to the Englishman. A Weesock born started up with a firebrand in his hand and said that am I. The King forthwith cocked his gun and shot the Weesock dead, and ran to Gabriel and with his knife cut the thongs that tied him and had him go to his house and said let me see who dares touch him and all the Weesocks children they take are brought up with them as the Ianesaryes are amongst the Turks. This King came to my house upon the 21st of June, as you will hear in the following discourse.

Now after the tumult was over they made preparation for to manage the war, for that is the course of their living to forage, rob,

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and spoil other nations. And the king commands Gabriel Arthur to go along with a party that went to rob the Spaniards, promising him that in the next spring he himself would carry him home to his master. Gabriel must now be obedient to their commands. In the deplorable condition he was in was put in arms, gun, tomahawk, and target, and so marched away with the company, being about fifty.

They travelled eight days west and by south as he guessed and came to a town of Negroes, spacious and great, but all wooden buildings. Here, they could not take anything without being seen. The next day they marched along by the side of a great cart path, and about five or six miles as he judged came within sight of the Spanish town, walled about with brick and all brick buildings within. There he saw the steeple wherein hung the bell which Mr. Needham gives relation of and heard it ring in the evening. Here they did not stay but drew off and the next morning layed an ambush in a convenient place near the cart path before mentioned and there lay almost seven days to steal for their sustenance. The 7th day a Spaniard in a genteel habit, accoutered with gun, sword, and pistol. One of the Tomahittans, spying him at a distance, crept up to the path side and shot him to death. In his pocket were two pieces of gold and a small gold chain, which the Tomahittans gave to Gabriel, but he unfortunately lost it in his venturing as you shall hear by the sequel. Here they hastened to the Negro town where they had the advantage to meet with a lone Negro. After him ran one of the Tomahittans with a dart in his hand, made with a piece of the blade of Needham's sword, and threw it after the Negro, struck him through between his shoulders so he fell down dead. They took from him some toys, which hung in his ears, and bracelets about his neck, and so returned as expeditiously as they could to their own homes.

They rested but a short time before another party was commanded out again and Gabriel Arthur was commanded out again, and this was to Port Royal. Here he refused to go, saying those were Englishmen and he would not fight against his own nation. He had rather be killed. The King told him they intended no harm to the Englishmen, for he had promised Needham at his first coming to him that he would never do violence against any

English more but their business was to cut off a town of Indians which lived near the English. I but said Gabriel, what if any English be at that town, a trading? The King swore by the fire which they adore as their god they would not hurt them. So they marched away over the mountains and came upon the head of Port Royal river in six days. There they made perriaugers [*sic*] of bark and so passed down the stream with much swiftness. Next, coming to a convenient place of landing, they went on shore and marched to the eastward of the south, one whole day and part of the night. At length, they brought him to the sight of an English house, and Gabriel with some of the Indians crept up to the house side and listening what they said, they being talking within the house, Gabriel heard one say, pox take such a master that will not allow a servant a bit of meat to eat upon Christmas day. By that means Gabriel knew what time of the year it was, so they drew off secretly and hastened to the Indian town, which was not above six miles thence.

About break of day stole upon the town. The first house Gabriel came to there was an Englishman. He heard him say Lord have mercy upon me. Gabriel said to him run for your life. Said he, which way shall I run? Gabriel replied, which way thou wilt they will not meddle with you. So he ran and the Tomahittans opened and let him pass clear. There they got the Englishman's knapsack with beads, knives, and other petty truck in it. They made a very great slaughter upon the Indians and about sunrise they heard many great guns fired off amongst the English. Then they hastened away with what speed they could and in less than fourteen days arrived at the Tomahittans with their plunder.

Now the king must go to give the Monetons a visit which were his friends, "mony" signifying water and "ton" great in their language. Gabriel must go along with him. They set forth with sixty men and travelled ten days due north and then arrived at the Moneton town situated upon a very great river, at which place the tide ebbs and flows. Gabriel swam in the river several times, being fresh water. This is a great town and a great number of Indians belong to it, and in the same river Mr. Batt and Fallam were upon the head of it as you read in one of my first journals. This river

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runs northwest and out of the westerly side of it goes another very great river about a day's journey lower where the inhabitants are an innumerable company of Indians, as the Monetons told my man, which is twenty day's journey from one end to the other of the inhabitation, and all these are at war with the Tomahittans. When they had taken their leave of the Monetons, they marched three days out of their way to give a clap to some of that great nation, where they fell on with great courage and were as courageously repulsed by their enemy.

And here Gabriel was shot with two arrows, one of them in his thigh, which stopped his running, and so was taken prisoner, for Indian valor consists most in their heels for he that can run best is accounted the best man. These Indians thought this Gabriel to be no Tomahittan by the length of his hair, for the Tomahittans keep their hair close cut to the end so an enemy may not take an advantage to lay hold of them by it. They took Gabriel and scoured his skin with water and ashes, and when they perceived his skin to be white they made very much of him and admired his knife, gun, and hatchet they took with him. They gave those things to him again. He made signs to them the gun was the Tomahittans' which he had a desire to take with him, but the knife and hatchet he gave to the king. They not knowing the use of guns, the king received it with great shows of thankfulness for they had not any manner of iron instrument that he saw amongst them. While he was there they brought in a fat beaver which they had newly killed and went to swrynge [*sic*] it. Gabriel made signs to them that those skins were good amongst the white people toward the rising sun. They would know by signs how many such skins they would take for such a knife. He told them four and eight for such a hatchet and made signs that if they would let him return, he would bring many things amongst them. They seemed to rejoice at it and carried him to a path that carried to the Tomahittans. They gave him Rockahomony for his journey and so they departed, to be short.

When he came to the Tomahittans, the king had one short voyage more before he could bring in Gabriel and that was down the river they live upon, in perriaugers [*sic*], to kill hogs, bears, and sturgeon which they did incontinent by five days and nights.

They went down the river and came to the mouth of the salts where they could not see land but the water was not above three feet deep hard sand. By this means we know this is not the river the Spaniards live upon as Mr. Needham thought. Here they killed many swine, sturgeon, and beavers and barbecued them, so returned, and were fifteen days running up against the stream but no mountainous land to be seen but all level.

After they had made an end of costing of it about the 10th day of May 1674, the king with eighteen more of his people laden with goods began their journey to come to Fort Henry at the falls of Appomattock river in Charles City County in Virginia. They were not disturbed in all their travels until they came to Sarrah, where the Occhonechees were as I told you before to wait Gabriel's coming. There were but four Occhonechee Indians there so that they did not adventure to attempt any violent action by day. Here they say they saw the small truck lying under foot that Indian John had scattered and thrown about when he had killed Mr. Needham. When it grew pretty late in the night the Occhonechees began to work their plot and made an alarm by a hubbub, crying out the town was beset with innumerable company of strange Indians. This put the town people into a sudden fright, many being between sleeping and waking. Away run the Tomahittans and leave all behind them, and amongst the rest was Gabriel's two pieces of gold and chain in an Indian bag. Away slipped Gabriel and the Spanish Indian boy which he brought with him and hid themselves in the bushes.

After the Tomahittans were gone the four Occhonechees, for there came no more to disturb them, made diligent search for Gabriel. The moon shining bright Gabriel saw them, but he lying under cover of the bushes could not be seen by those Indians. In the morning the Occhonechees, having missed of their acme, passed home and Gabriel came into the town again and four of the Tomahittan's packs hired four Sarrah Indians to carry them to Aeno. Here he met with my man I had sent out so long ago before to inquire for news desparately sick of the flux. Here he could not get any to go forth with his packs for fear of the Occhonechees, so he left them and adventured himself with the Spanish Indian boy. The next day came before night in sight of

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the Occhonechee town undiscovered and there hid himself until it was dark, and then waded over onto the island where the Occhonechees are seated, strongly fortified by nature and that makes them so insolent for they are but a handful of people, besides what vagabonds repair to them it being a receptacle for rogues. Gabriel escaped clearly through them and so waded out on this side and ran for it all night. Their food was huckleberries, which the woods were full of at that time and on the 18th of June with the boy arrived at my house, praise be to God for it.

Now we come again to the king of the Tomahittans. With his two sons and one more who took their packs with them and came along by Toteru under the foot of the mountains, until they met with James river and there made a canoe of bark and came down the river to the Manikins. From thence to Powetan by land, and across the neck and on the 20th of July at night arrived at my house and gave certain relation how Mr. James Needham came by his death. This king I received with much joy and kind entertainment, and much joy there was between Gabriel and the king, that once more they were met again. I gave the king a good reward for his high favor in preserving my man's life. He stayed with me a few days, promising to be with me again at the fall of the leaf with a party that would not be frightened by the way, and doubt not but he will come if he be not intercepted by self ended traders for they have strove what they could to block up the design from the beginning. Which were here too tedious to relate.

Thus ends the tragedy. I hope yet to live to write comminically [*sic*] of the business. If I could have the countenance of some person of honour in England to curb and bridle the obstructers here for there is no encouragement at all to be had for him that is Sir Your humble servant.

AB WOOD

From Fort Henry, August the 22nd, 1674.

Endorsed in Locke's hand: Carolina Discoveries across the mountains by Major General Wood 1674.