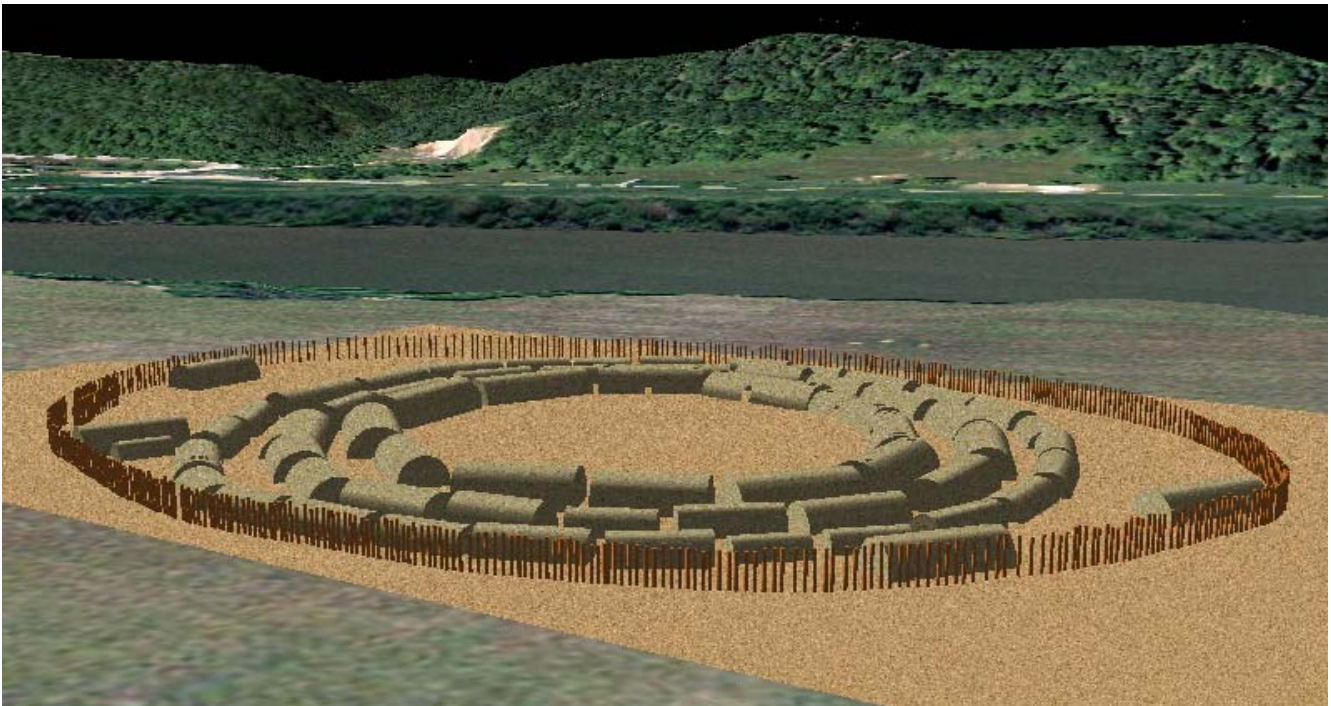


“To abandon so beautiful a Dwelling”:
Indian Connections to the Middle Ohio River Valley, 1640-1754

Dissertation Prospectus

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Reconstruction of Buffalo Village (46PU31)
by author using Google Sketch-Up and Google Earth

I. Statement of Problem

The Native American history of the Middle Ohio River Valley remains unwritten, especially in the formative years before widespread European settlement. Siouan-speaking people that lived in the Ohio valley, in particular the Little Kanawha, Kanawha, Guyandotte, and Big Sandy river valleys, left widespread archaeological and linguistic evidence of their existence within the region. Despite this, the region appeared notably depopulated as Algonquian and Iroquoian speaking groups began reoccupying during the mid-eighteenth century. What happened within the region that caused such dramatic population shifts? I will examine the social and environmental reasons for and implications of the seventeenth-century depopulation and eighteenth-century reoccupation of the middle Ohio River valley. To accomplish this goal, I will examine the relationships and connections between surrounding regions and the Middle Ohio River Valley and its peoples. This will examine:

- What relationships did the people of the Middle Ohio River Valley have with the surrounding regions? How were these relationships changed by increasing interaction with Europeans?
- Why did the Siouan-speaking inhabitants of the Middle Ohio River Valley leave? Where did they go and why?
- How were refugee Ohio Siouan peoples incorporated into their new homes? What were the processes of Native American identity-formation and ethnogenesis of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century?
- What were the effects of this removal on the Middle Ohio River Valley environment?
- How did this removal affect the population movements of the early eighteenth century?
- How does this change the interpretation of the cultural politics leading to the Seven Years War?
- How can GIS technology be used and what are the issues of representation of Historical and archaeological materials? How can we test the strength of affiliations between a village and surrounding regions?

Ohio Siouans shared an egalitarian farming society centered in semi-permanent summer villages. For centuries, they had been coping with changing social conditions using established traditions and flourishing in the Middle Ohio River Valley. During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Europeans began to intrude farther into the interior of North America. These intrusions sent shockwaves through Indian societies like ripples in water. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were at least eight village sites in the research area: Clover, Buffalo, Marmet, Logan, Slone, Mayo, Mann, and Barker's Bottom. These village sites have evidence of long-term settlement of horticultural societies. Darla Spencer of Cultural Resource Analysts, Inc. has established that the pottery of many of these Middle Ohio Valley sites was significantly similar to the Siouan materials of Southwestern Virginia piedmont sites.¹

Ohio Siouans left the region in response to a variety of push and pull factors including disease-induced depopulation, enslavement in the Southeast Indian slave trade, captive adoption among the Iroquois, and European trade connections. The largest body of Siouans moved southward to join their strongest trading partners. This led to increased contact with Europeans and non-Siouan speaking peoples. The removal of the Siouans from the Ohio Valley signaled the end of a thousand years of Siouan control.² The evacuation of the Ohio Valley cleared the way for the Delaware and Shawnee westward migration just before the Seven Years' War.³ Despite low populations in the region during the early eighteenth century, the Middle Ohio River Valley was heavily and systematically utilized not just a hunting-ground for distant peoples. The Ohio Siouans struggled in the seventeenth century to control the Middle Ohio Valley as an important crossroads of trade, politics and spiritual power.⁴ Iroquois and Algonquians traveled and lived for long periods within the sheltered river-valleys subsisting within the overgrown garden landscape left by the Ohio Siouans. By establishing why the

¹ Darla Spencer, "Evidence For Siouan-Speaking Groups In Southern West Virginia," Unpublished Manuscript, 2008.

² Western Siouan groups indicate the Ohio Valley was their place of origin. Interview with Robert Rankin, October 2009.

³ Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 2003; Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 2001.

⁴ Wills DeHass, *History of the Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia*, 1851.

Siouans evacuated and what happened to them, this work will develop the story of a little known region and its people during the transition from the seventeenth to eighteenth century.

II. Summary of Scholarship

The history of American Indians in the Ohio Valley is both deeper and more complicated than the current historiography of the region explains. Much of the history of the region has been written from limited or fictional narratives written in the nineteenth century and these in turn have been perpetuated by modern authors with little critical analysis. The current historiography does not deal with the Ohio Valley until Europeans began arriving in the mid-eighteenth century. According to authors, such as Jane Merritt, Eric Hinderacker, and Fred Anderson, the eastern portion of the Ohio Valley was an unoccupied common hunting ground for the Iroquois and the Cherokee. Wills De Hass has oft been credited for this statement though his brief account only referred to the Shenandoah Valley during the early eighteenth century.⁵ Though the Ohio valley may have been unoccupied briefly during early eighteenth century, it would be wrong to assume that this condition stretched indefinitely deep back in time. The landscape, from a European perspective, appeared to be a pristine and untamed wilderness. This also has been carried into the current historiography. These two perspectives work together to paint a bleak misrepresentation of the precontact Ohio Valley.

The difficulty of discussing the historiography of the Middle Ohio River Valley is that the region lingers in a major academic blind-spot. Most research is focused on the Upper Ohio, as in the work of Michael McConnell and Jane Merritt, or on the Southeast, as in the work of Alan Gallay and Charles Hudson. Neither of these sets of literature deal with the Middle Ohio River Valley except in passing mention of trade or hunting connections to the region. Historically, the surrounding regions have always been more populated and thus produced a richer documentary history. The few early travels into the Kanawha River valley, from Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam to Christopher Gist, have

⁵ Wills DeHass, *History of the Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia*, 33.

not yet been integrated into a single research project. By connecting the loose-ends of these regional histories, the seemingly minor adventures of Gabriel Arthur and John Lederer become increasingly important and illuminating.

Upper Ohio historiography is quite comprehensive during the eighteenth century, but even this literature has problems explaining the “changes and conflicts that had cleared the upper Ohio Valley of its first native peoples.” In *At the Crossroads*, Jane Merritt only mentions the “arrival” of the Iroquois, Delaware and Shawnee in the Upper Ohio without mentioning that it had been occupied by other peoples. Michael McConnell recognizes “the resettlement of the Ohio Country” as “a creative response to the pressure of colonial settlement and imperial conflict” but ignores the larger implications of this movement. For him the Delaware arrived “not as invaders but as pioneering newcomers who inaugurated a new phase in a rich and turbulent regional history.”⁶ Fred Anderson in discussing the Seven Years’ War is even less concerned with the implications of the Ohio as a new home for the Algonquian and Iroquoian intruders. The problem with the interpretation of the Ohio conflagration of the Seven Years’ War, at least in regards to Native American occupation of the territory, stems from the history of how the territory became reoccupied. If the Siouan people had only recently evacuated, and the Iroquois claimed conquest rights, and the Cherokee claimed traditional hunting rights, then the meaning of Delaware and Shawnee occupation of the region has to be reevaluated.⁷

Much like the developing forgotten centuries literature, this dissertation is designed to foster a growing Eastern Siouans historiography. Ohio Siouans join the Tutelo, Saponi, Occaneechi, and possibly the Monacans as part of the Eastern Siouan peoples.⁸ The field began with the early twentieth century ethnographic work of James Mooney and John Swanton who proposed the controversial

⁶ Michael McConnell, *A Country Between*, 9.

⁷ Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 2003; Michael McConnell, *A Country Between*, 1992; Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 2001.

⁸ Little ethnographic material (no linguistic references) remains of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Monacans in order to verify the classification, but modern Monacan oral traditions and archaeological materials seem to support their Siouan heritage. Interview with Robert Rankin, October 2009.

presence of such an eastern collection of Siouan speakers.⁹ This was followed by the interest of linguists Horatio Hale, Franck Speck, and Wallace Chafe.¹⁰ Southeastern archaeologist, Joffre Lanning Coe, further supported the Eastern Siouan historiography in *The Formative Cultures of the Carolina Piedmont*. The primary historical treatment is James Merrell's *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and their neighbors from European contact through the era of removal*. This work suggests that: "After 1700, many of them [upcountry Siouans] drew upon their cultural affinities and their common plight, migrated to the Catawba River valley, and became part of the Catawba Nation, thereby reuniting fragments of the ancient Siouan migration."¹¹ This dissertation will directly contribute to this discussion by evaluating the models laid out by Merrell and others through study of the Ohio Siouans.

Unlike the historiography, archaeological research has taken more interest in the Middle Ohio River Valley. Most of the synthesis of the region, though, has concerned the western side of the Ohio river, consisting of the current state of Ohio. Penelope Drooker and Gwynn Henderson, in their research on Fort Ancient sites, have incorporated some material from West Virginia.¹² This though is nearly twenty years old and needs to be re-evaluated. Archaeologists of the 1960s and 1970s discussed the Kanawha Valley extensively especially concerning the identification of prehistoric peoples. James Griffin proposed that the Ohio peoples were Algonquian-speaking ancestors of the Shawnee, while John Swanton suggested that they were Siouan speaking peoples more closely related to their eastern neighbors, the Tutelo and Saponi.¹³ Recent archaeological and linguistic research has largely overturned the belief that southern West Virginian sites were occupied by Algonquian-speaking Shawnee. This leads to even bigger questions about the decline of Siouan control of the region.

The academic blind-spot of the Middle Ohio River Valley is both geographic and temporal.

⁹ James Mooney, *The Siouan Tribes of the East*, 1894; John Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 1946.

¹⁰ Horatio Hale, *The Tutelo language*, 1883; Franck Speck, *Catawba texts*, 1934; and Wallace Chafe, *The Caddoan, Iroquoian and Siouan languages*, 1976.

¹¹ James H. Merrell, *The Indians New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal*, 1989: 10.

¹² Penelope Ballard Drooker, *The View from Madisonville*, 1997; and A. Gwynn Henderson and Emanuel Breitburg, *Fort Ancient cultural dynamics in the Middle Ohio Valley*, 1992.

¹³ John Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, 1946.

The seventeenth century in the Southeast is identified by Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser as a “forgotten century” between the contact with the Spanish and the arrival of English.¹⁴ This is equally applicable for my research area. The Middle Ohio River Valley has been ignored by historians and many archaeologists in order to study more active regions. Therefore, this is as much a story about the region’s connections to surrounding geographies and people as it is a story about the Middle Ohio River Valley and its people. Understanding the collapse of Siouan control of this pivotal region is key to explaining Native American interactions across Eastern North America during the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century.

Eastern North America was in cultural and demographic upheaval during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Groups were forced to move from their traditional homelands and join up with other small refugee bands into larger political units. Many of these are now recognized as tribes. This process of coalescence requires a detailed examination of the previous positions and interactions of the cultures involved. The Ohio Siouans were closely allied with groups in the South and joined their villages as refugees during the late seventeenth century. The genesis of new cultural identities and alliances was a process of the internal and intergroup relationships between American Indians, not merely a product of European interference.¹⁵

Europeans, though, did change many things for Ohio Siouans even as early as 1600. The introduction of new trade materials and new diseases dramatically affected the Ohio Indians even without direct contact with Europeans. The combined effort of historians and archaeologists like Richard Aquila, Michael McConnell, Charles Hudson and Penelope Drooker have shown how new materials were incorporated into pre-existing cultural networks and traditions in surprisingly culturally specific ways.¹⁶ The process of dealing with disease appears to be equally as dynamic though

¹⁴ Charles Hudson, Carmen Tesser, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South*, 1994.

¹⁵ Alan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 2002; Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads*, 2003.

¹⁶ Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, eds., *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, 2002; Richard Aquila, *The Iroquois Restoration*, 1997; Michael N. McConnell, *A Country Between*, 1992.

admittedly demographically devastating. The discussion of the role that Ohio Siouans played in this new cultural landscape will be juxtaposed with the implications of their removal from the Ohio Valley. Their absence had many dramatic effects on the cultural, economic and environmental landscapes within the middle Ohio Valley and the surrounding regions. Half a century after Siouan speaking people left, Algonquian and Iroquoian peoples laid claim to the Ohio Valley. These claims became the conflagration point for the North American theater of the Seven Years' War.

III. Significance of Research

Filling in this academic blind-spot is important itself, but this research is powerful in its ability to bridge the divide between many academic debates in history, archaeology, linguistics and geography. This will be the first broad synthesis of the ethnographic and archaeological materials of the Middle Ohio River Valley and the Ohio Siouans. The history of the region, though has larger historical implications. This region sat in a prime location connecting the north-south trade-war paths as well as connecting eastern seaboard to the Lower Ohio and Mississippi. These regional histories have largely developed as historical islands that could be connected by the understanding of the Middle Ohio River Valley and its peoples. Even the archaeological literature has had difficulties in explaining the role of the region in long-distance connections. This dissertation would connect Helen Rountree's *Powhatan Foreign Relations 1500-1722* to Ronald Mason's *Great Lakes Archaeology*, and connect William Engelbrecht's *Iroquoia* to Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson's *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*.

This project will bridge the divide between the divergent topics of the "Forgotten Centuries" and the vast Seven Years' War historiography. The forgotten centuries is a fast growing topic in the historiography typified by Charles Hudson and Carmen Tesser's *The Forgotten Centuries*, Thomas Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge's *Light on the Path*, and Cameron Wesson and Mark Rees' *Between*

contacts and colonies.¹⁷ These works rely heavily on an ethnohistorical mixture of archaeology and history. Fred Anderson's *Crucible of War*, Eric Hinderaker's *Elusive Empire* and Jane Merritt's *At the Crossroads* use more traditional historical methods to discuss the Seven Years' War. Though powerful in their new viewpoints and analyses, they are built on a weak understanding of the processes that prompted the movement of new Native Americans into the Ohio Valley during the early eighteenth century. The story of human movement from and to the Middle Ohio River Valley will illuminate the gaps and weaknesses within the interpretation of Native Americans involvement within the Ohio valley before the Seven Years' War. In many ways, the occupation and claims on the Middle Ohio River Valley were made by newcomers, whether Indian or white, would again attempt to change the face of the countryside socially, politically, and environmentally. There had been a major relaxation in hunting burdens in the Middle Ohio and hence had become an even more profitable landscape. Without the removal of the Monytons and other villages, the region may not have been desirable enough to prompt Indians to attempt reoccupation, especially without the cultural adaptations to know how to survive in the volatile river valleys. In fact, the Middle Ohio may have remained only sparsely occupied due to this lack of adaptation till the end of the eighteenth century.

IV. Multidisciplinary Methodology

The fields of archaeology, linguistics and digital historical geography have covered many topics of great interest to ethnohistorians of the Ohio Valley. Combining the analyses of each field is necessary to overcome the limitations which have daunted researchers in the past. I have organized the following four fields in descending order of importance to the analysis. The daunting task for multidisciplinary research is the integration of each field to create a coherent narrative. As this is a

¹⁷ Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, 1994; Thomas J. Pluckhahn and Robbie Ethridge, eds. *Light on the Path: The anthropology and history of the southeastern Indians*, 2006; Cameron Wesson and Mark Rees, *Between contacts and colonies: Archaeological perspectives on the protohistoric Southeast*, 2002.

work primarily of history, the majority of discussion will be produced through traditional historical documentary analysis. Archaeology here supports limited historical documentation and identifies cultural changes within the region. Linguistics will be used to identify, establish cultural affiliations and track the peoples of the Middle Ohio Valley. The GIS will be a preliminary framework for organizing and analyzing environmental, archaeological and historical materials and will be used to produce maps and other forms of representation.¹⁸ Imperative for this and any multidisciplinary research is to be aware of the current debates and methodological concerns in each field. To this end, I have surveyed current theoretical literature within each field and sought guidance from seasoned practitioners.

There are a few notes on the references contained within this dissertation. Native Americans and American Indians are used interchangeably, though rarely, to indicate generalized interactions between the original inhabitants of North America and the arriving Europeans. In most cases, more specific terms are used to refer to language groups (Siouans, Algonquians, English, or Spanish), cultural groups (Tutelo, Seneca) or even village names (Monyton) when appropriate. The project region has limited terms of indigenous self-identification, only Monyton survives. This term is really only appropriate for the particular village visited by Gabriel Arthur as each village was politically autonomous. Therefore, I generically refer to the people of the eastern portion of the Middle Ohio River Valley as Ohio Siouans.

A. Historical

Primary sources are scarce for direct contact with the Ohio Valley during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Creating a picture of what was happening behind the mountains is possible by piecing together the various and scattered references made in the surrounding regions. Some work has been done with French documents such as the Jesuit records, such as Louis Hennepin, and Baron

¹⁸ The types of dynamic representations could include animations, 3D computer models, or even virtual worlds.

Lahontan but a majority of the primary sources will be from the English.¹⁹ Along with the accounts of the Batts and Fallam expedition, and the letter of Abraham Wood about Gabriel Arthur's experiences, I will look through James Lawson, re-evaluate John Lederer and various other English accounts from the Southeast.²⁰ The primary sources grow in number and coverage the closer to the 1750s, including the accounts of Christopher Gist and even George Washington. Previously, I focused on the Northeast connection to the Iroquois. This dissertation will reevaluate the New York and Maryland colonial documents in light of the dominance of the Ohio Siouans and their much stronger socio-economic ties to southeastern cultural groups.²¹ This research will also rely on material from the eighteenth century that refers to the refugees among the southeastern groups like the Creek, Cherokee and Catawba. By casting a broad net geographically, ethnographically and temporally, I will be able to develop a stronger understanding of the story of the Middle Ohio River Valley.

There are three locations that will provide the majority of primary resources for archival research: West Virginia Division of Culture and History and Archives in Charleston; The Filson Historical Society in Louisville, Kentucky; and the Library of Virginia and Virginia Historical Society in Richmond. Many sources, such as primary documents from Virginia, North and South Carolina and Tennessee, can be obtained without travel from the West Virginia Collection, electronically or through Interlibrary loan.

B. Archaeology

There is a vast and somewhat untidy collection of materials from the Middle Ohio valley that has been excavated and analyzed by archaeologists since the late nineteenth century. I will focus my attention on reports, monographs and site materials with the most extensive excavation and research.

¹⁹ Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 1896-1901; Louis Hennepin, *Description de la Louisiane...*, 1683; Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce Lahontan, *Nouveaux voyages de M. le baron de Lahontan...*, 1703.

²⁰ Alan V. Briceland, *Westward from Virginia*, 1987; Robert Fallam, "Explorations beyond the Mountains." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser. 15, 1907; Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674*, 1912; John Lederer, *The discoveries of John Lederer*, 1958; John Lawson, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, 1967).

²¹ Isaac Emrick, "The Monyton Diaspora: A History of the Middle Ohio River Valley, 1640-1700" (master's thesis, West Virginia University, 2005).

Though most of my research will be done through the West Virginia State Historic Preservation Office (WV SHPO), I will contact the SHPOs in Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Kentucky, North and South Carolina, and Tennessee to seek access to data in both hardcopy and digital formats. All of these agencies have digital databases of archaeological materials and many have extensive materials already formatted in a GIS. This will provide a region-wide data set for testing the significance of trade between Ohio peoples and other peoples. I will restrict my search of the site files to sites that have been well excavated and date during the late woodland (AD 1000-AD 1400), protohistoric (AD 1400-AD 1700) and historic (AD 1700-AD 1760) periods. As a regional history, this project will examine the social complexity of the people within the region. Though the eastern portion is closely related to the traditions exhibited among Fort Ancient villages, the Woodside, Orchard Phases and other localized patterns will be examined for possible connections (trade, religious and village patterns).²² Each village was a politically autonomous unit but seasonally disbanded into smaller family groups. To develop a better understanding of the lifeways of the Ohio Siouans, I will use the anthropological literature concerning horticultural ecology to develop a model of their interactions with the Middle Ohio River Valley. Anthropological and archaeological literatures on horticultural cultural adaptations will assist in finding ethnographically-based parameters for modeling this case study and mitigating many of the holes in the archaeological data set.²³ This data will be maintained within a GIS database and will be used to model landscape-usage and regional trade connections. These methods will be explained in more detail below.²⁴

As I process site reports, materials that could be used for photographic examples will be

²² Robert C. Dunnell, Lee H. Hanson, and Donald L. Hardesty, "The Woodside Component of the Slone Site, Pike County, Kentucky." *Southeastern Archaeological Conference*, Bulletin n. 14. Morgantown, 1971. Darla S. Hoffman, "A Preliminary Analysis of Data from the Protohistoric Orchard Site (46Ms61) to Place it in the Cultural Temporal Sequence of Fort Ancient in the Upper Ohio Valley." Paper presented at the 66th Annual Meeting of the Society of American Archaeology, New Orleans, 2000.

²³ Delcourt and Delcourt, *Prehistoric Native Americans and Ecological Change: Human Ecosystems in Eastern North America since the Pleistocene*, 2004; Mark Q. Sutton and E. N. Anderson, *Introduction to Cultural Ecology*, 2004.

²⁴ There are some exceptions to this: rock shelters, petroglyphs, and small undated campsites. David G. Anderson and Steven D. Smith, *Archaeology, History, and Predictive Modeling: Research at Fort Polk, 1972-2002* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003).

identified. Many of these materials are kept at the Grave Creek Mound Complex in Moundsville, West Virginia. There will be issues with differences of formatting and holes in the data that will have to be dealt with on a case-by-case basis.

C. Linguistics

One of the distinguishing features of this project is the utilization of linguistic data as a pivotal part of the identification and tracking of the people of the Ohio valley. This supports John Swanton's much criticized position that Siouan speakers were the primary groups of the Ohio prior to the eighteenth century.²⁵ The linguistic analysis of the word Monyton, from the Gabriel Arthur account of 1674, has shown that it structurally and phonetically matches what is known from the nearby Tutelo. Robert Rankin, a Siouan linguist, has developed a systematic analysis of Eastern Siouan languages and begun the work of tracing their connection to Western Siouan speakers. Initially, I presumed that Catawba, another Siouan language group, was closely related but it appears to have broken off from the main line of Siouan long before they left the Ohio valley.²⁶ They were mutually unintelligible but much closer than Iroquoian or Algonquian. The implications of this will be explored through both linguistic and historical research.

This work will draw heavily on the current debates in historical linguistics, not philology. There is not the body of indigenous writing to construct meaning out of that is found in places like Mexico. Frank Speck, Horatio Hale and more modern linguists like Ives Goddard and Robert Rankin provide the raw and processed linguistic materials that will answer two main questions: 1. Who were the people of the Middle Ohio Valley? 2. What linguistic evidence did they leave that will assist in tracing their removal from their homeland?²⁷ Town and personal names found in areas noted for refugees in the Southeast may indicate a Siouan influence being incorporated into Muskogean and

²⁵ John R. Swanton, "Siouan Tribes and the Ohio Valley" *American Anthropologist* 45 (1943): 49-66.

²⁶ Robert L. Rankin, "On some Ohio Valley Siouan and Illinois Algonquian words for 'eight'." *IJAL* 51 (1985): 544-47; and "Siouan Tribal Contacts and Dispersions Evidenced in the Terminology for Maize and Other Cultigens," 2006, 563-575.

²⁷ Frank G. Speck, "Siouan Tribes of the Carolinas as Known from Catawba, Tutelo, and Documentary Sources," 1935, 201-225; Horatio Hale, *The Tutelo language*, 1883; Ives Goddard, "The Indigenous Languages of the Southeast," 2005, 1-60; Robert Rankin, "On some Ohio Valley Siouan and Illinois Algonquian words for 'eight'." *IJAL* 51 (1985): 544-47.

Catawban villages. One last, minor, question will also be asked of the linguistic data concerning the issue of cultural identity. What did incorporation in their new homes mean for the identity of refugee Ohio Siouans? This complex question can only begin to be answered in a project of this scope.

D. GIS

The growth of Digital Humanities research has provided a way to materialize the potential of a truly integrated interdisciplinary approach outlined above. Geographic Information Systems (GIS) is one of the most important technologies in the digital tool box, though its use must be carefully considered as it is a time-consuming and expensive tool to use correctly. Richard White has introduced GIS with optimistic skepticism: “There is great potential here. Whether we will achieve it or simply spend what for historians is an awful lot of money remains to be seen.”²⁸ Would this dissertation be an appropriate and effective use of the technology? I propose a cautious evaluation of this by identifying and dealing with some of the major issues of incorporation of geospatial technologies within a broad multi-disciplinary project like this one. The time and effort of incorporating GIS technologies will be preliminary efforts to prepare for future research and publication of this work.

White poses two main problems for historians in utilizing geospatial technologies. The first is a lack of “techniques to analyze the historical construction of space and its representations.”²⁹ The computer requires discreet representations of the inputted data and historical information is notably ambiguous especially when parsing text into a database.³⁰ The second problem stems from the different ways that each discipline represents their research. It is a waste of the explanatory power of the GIS to just make flat maps and stick them in static text as historians have done for hundreds of years. In fact, historians need to find dynamic ways to present our research, such as animations and 3D representations. The difficult task of dealing with these larger issues, necessarily, will largely remain

²⁸ Richard White, “Foreword” In *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS are Changing Historical Scholarship*, edited by Anne Kelly Knowles (Redlands, CA: ESRI, 2008), ix-xii.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Changing text into map-able objects requires selective processing, ignoring some details and emphasizing others. This is not inherently bad, but requires acknowledgement and analysis of the bias it poses later on in a project’s analysis.

behind the scenes of the final dissertation.

Archaeologists, like Sarah Surface-Evans and Carla Parslow, have increasingly used this technology much more heavily than historians and I will look to their applications as a foundation for future development.³¹ As a test of this technology I propose the modeling of exotic trade materials. Exotic trade materials are measurable and discrete items within a site that have specific traceable attributes and can be analyzed statistically and spatially. In some cases these materials appear to have been transferred in raw form and others as finished products. This can tell a great deal about the intergroup trade networks and political relationships. The amount of exotic materials within each site will indicate the strength of trade with different regions. By comparing the data from various villages, internal variation can be established and can be further compared with historical materials to look for patterns that can support statements about the connections of Ohio Siouans during the late seventeenth-century.

The data that I will be using is outlined in Table 1. A preliminary database structure is provided as Table 2. The GIS will be used, albeit moderately, to manage a wide variety of data while providing analytical tools only found within a traditional GIS. I will seek funding as appropriate for supporting the initial stages of this project from organizations focused on multidisciplinary research and digital humanities projects. This is hardly a novel use of the technology but my contribution will be a systematic and multidisciplinary utilization of GIS for writing Native American cultural history.

V. Tentative Chapter Outline

Prologue: The Middle Ohio Valley Landscape, 1600

This will establish the environmental and topographical outline of the region. The discussion will cover the natural resources and why this was such an important area. The chapter will also include

³¹ Sarah Surface-Evans, "Hunter-Gatherer Cultural Landscapes: A Case Study for a GIS-Based reconstruction of the Shell Mound Archaic in the Falls of the Ohio Region of Indiana and Kentucky." Dissertation, Michigan State University, 2009; Carla A. Parslow, *Social Interaction in the Prehistoric Natufian: Generating an interactive agency model using GIS*, 2009.

a vignette of daily life in a selected Ohio Siouan village, probably the Man or Buffalo site. This will present ethnographic detail about the region's villages and discuss variation in cultural patterns. An additional concern of this chapter will be establishing the Siouan cultural identification of sites within the region.

Chapter 1: Placing the Ohio Siouans in Context, 1500-1600

Beyond the Middle Ohio Valley were a multitude of people with whom the Ohio Siouans had developed patterns of interaction. This chapter will briefly identify how the Siouans navigated the constantly shifting intergroup networks of the sixteenth century. These patterns were revitalized and adapted during the seventeenth century to continue coping with social change. Their connections to the Southeastern Cult Complex will provide a foundation for the discussion of the interwoven political, religious and economic motivations of the Ohio Siouans.³² This will outline the issues of warfare and cultural change leading up to and during the seventeenth century, showing the Ohio Siouans as culturally dynamic villages.

Chapter 2: Contact and Impact in the Ohio, 1540-1640

The earliest interactions with the Spanish, English, French, and Dutch were far removed from the Ohio Valley, but the effects of those contacts are evident in the archaeological record. These accounts also identify connections between Indians in the surrounding regions and Ohio Siouans. The primary historical information comes from accounts of de Soto's and Pardo's explorations of the Southeast. Charles Hudson's work on these expeditions and the materials they introduced provide a good database for the Southeast. In the East and Northeast, the English also introduced a wide range of materials that can be traced from primary trade records.³³ The French also pumped the trade networks with new materials. The effects of disease transmission will also be discussed.

³² Adam King, ed., *Southeastern Ceremonial Complex: Chronology, Content, Contest*, 2007.

³³ Charles Hudson, *Knights of Spain, Warriors of the Sun; Hernando de Soto and the South's Ancient Chiefdoms* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997); and *The Juan Pardo Expeditions* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

Chapter 3: Economics and Political Jockeying within the Ohio Valley, 1600-1660

Ohio Siouans, like most other native peoples of North America, had their own motivations and goals in the trade networks, but their interactions with other native peoples began to change. This chapter will discuss the changes in the Middle Ohio valley, especially the increasing interest of northern Iroquois warriors in the lands of the Monongahela, a major trading partner of the Ohio Siouans. This chapter will use the references from the surrounding regions about connections to the Ohio Valley corroborated by the archaeological materials.

Chapter 4: The Impact of Direct European Contact, 1640-1680

The English and French finally reached the Ohio Valley by the 1670s. This will be an in-depth discussion of the problems and meanings of the Lederer expedition of 1669-1670, Batts and Fallam expedition in 1671, and Needham and Arthur expedition in 1674. Additional support will be taken from French documents of Henri de Tonti and Louis Hennepin. The direct consequences of these contacts will include direct trade connections, tensions with neighboring groups, and an increased threat of disease. Unlike the direct contacts of Robert Fallam and Gabriel Arthur, the strength of Lederer, Tonti, and Hennepin is direct contact with other Siouan groups that refer to their interactions in the broader region.

Chapter 5: Siouans, Slaves and Deer hides in the Southeast, 1660-1700

Using the reconstructions developed by the GIS and historical documentation, this chapter will give evidence for their exodus out of the Middle Ohio Valley. The scattered accounts of refugees among the southeastern Muskogean, Cherokee and Catawba will be evaluated based on the previous work showing the amount of exotic cultural material. There will be a short discussion of the mourning war complex of the Iroquois during the late seventeenth century. The Iroquois were known to roam far into the Southeast going through the Middle Ohio Valley. This chapter will also deal with the particular issues and experiences that Ohio Siouans faced in the process of incorporating into the cultural and economic landscape of the Southeast. The problems of the slave trade will be discussed as

a constant threat.³⁴

Chapter 6: The Impact of Accepting Refugees in the Southeast, 1660-1700

More broadly, the chapter will explain the effects of the incorporation of a large number of refugee (and captive) Siouan speakers. The rise of “tribal” organization during the early the eighteenth century was directly connected to the flexible cultural affiliations and personal identities of refugee peoples like the Monytons. The travel accounts of John Lawson during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are examples of later documents that will be mined for ethnographic details about the impact of refugees in the Southeast.

Chapter 7: The Middle Ohio Valley Landscape, 1700-1730

The Siouan occupation of the Middle Ohio Valley was drawing to a close by 1695, but Ohio Siouans did not entirely abandon region. Archaeological research of highland sites suggests the possibility of continued small-scale occupation of the region. This will be discussed and balanced with the larger political “hegemony” claimed by the Iroquois of the region by right of conquest. In particular, I will examine the hunting ground myth so prevalent in the historiography. The region was a sparsely occupied territory but was frequently hunted and fought over by the Cherokee and Iroquois and their satellite groups. This required a sophisticated level ecological interaction ignored by the hunting ground mythology.

Chapter 8: Easterners in an Untidy Garden, 1720-1750

Viewing the Middle Ohio Valley as an untended landscape, this chapter will reevaluate environmental conditions as Iroquois, Delaware and Shawnee peoples entered it in the mid-eighteenth century. This will also look at their landscape utilization and how it differed from the Siouans. There was little European interest in the region until the 1740s with the travels of Christopher Gist. Even as the Shawnee and Delaware began settling to the North, the Middle Ohio Valley remained sparsely occupied. Though relatively abandoned and untended, the clearings, fields and former villages

³⁴ Alan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade*, 2002.

remained accessible and important for game animals. The removal of people allowed populations of game animals to increase and increased the value of the lands for all surrounding peoples. This led to conflicts over land claims by the mid-eighteenth century.

Conclusions: Tanaghrisson, Siouans and the Seven Years' War

In 1754, Tanaghrisson brought the story of the Siouans full circle with the act of scalping Ensign Joseph Coulon de Jumonville. He was born a Catawba, captured by Seneca, and subsequently adopted into Iroquoian society.³⁵ Ironically, he became the Iroquois representative with the Logstown Delaware at the forks of the Ohio River. This chapter will bring the story of the Middle Ohio and its dispossessed Siouans back together in Tanaghrisson. The story ends where so many begin at Jumonville Glen at the beginning of the Seven Years's War.

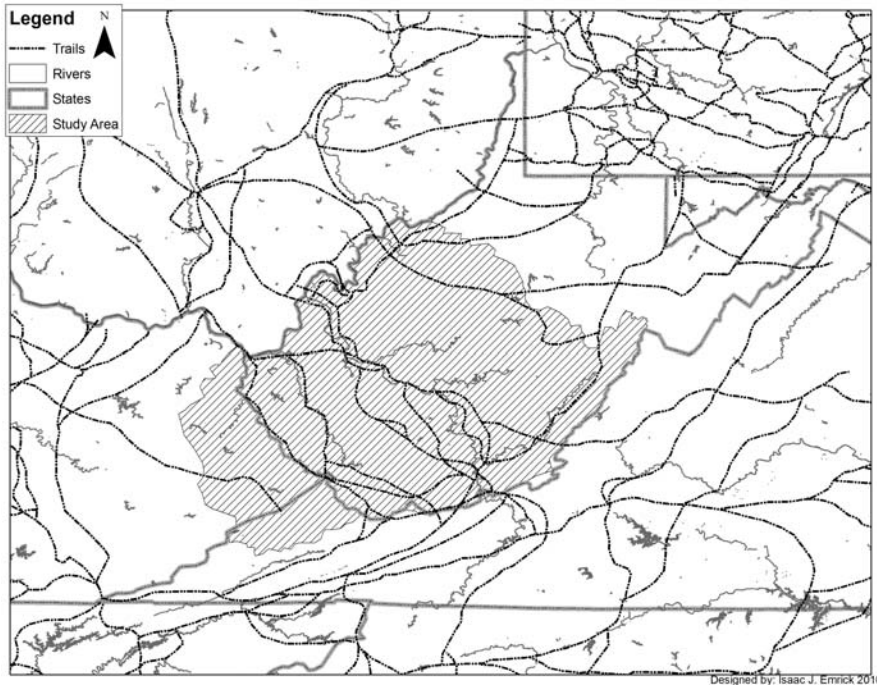
Appendices:

These will include an extensive GIS discussion, Archaeological methodology and discussion, Linguistic tables, and Tables: Disease, Iroquois Raids, etc. Each will have short discussions of the materials presented to supplement their use in the dissertation.

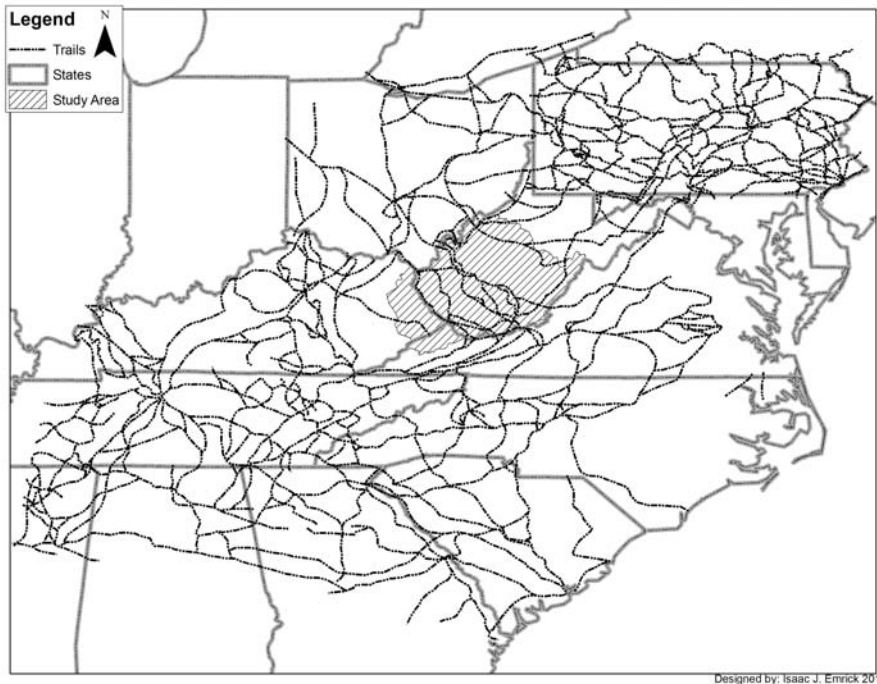
³⁵ Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 12; Tanaghrisson known as a "Flathead" Catawba [G.-J. Chaussegros de Léry], "Journal de Joseph-Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry, lieutenant des troupes, 1754–1755," APQ Rapport, 1927–28, 355–429.

VI. Appendix

Map 1: The Middle Ohio River Valley³⁶

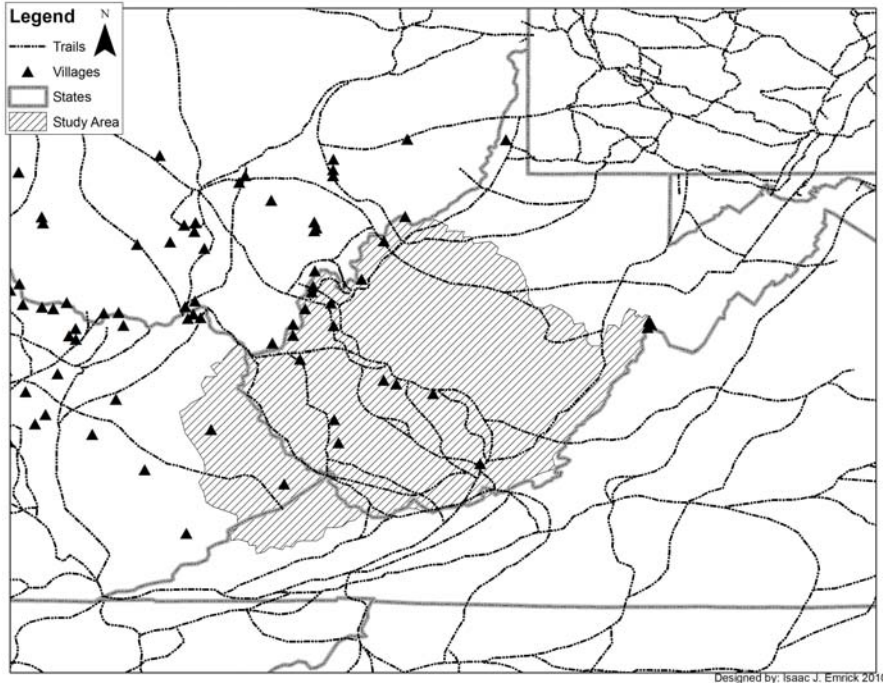
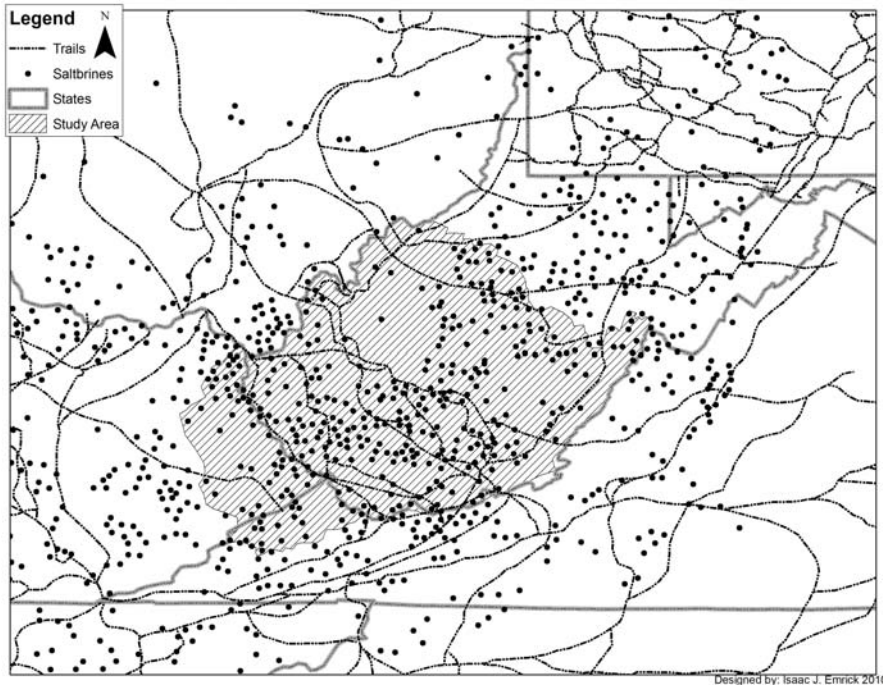


Map 2: Trails of the Mid-Atlantic and Southeast (Preliminary)³⁷



³⁶ Prepared by author from base data combined from ESRI, USGS, Tiger Files through the assistance of WV GIS Tech center at <http://wvgis.wvu.edu/>.

³⁷ Adapted by author from William E. Myer, "Indian trails of the Southeast," *42nd Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to Secretary of Smithsonian Institution. 1924-1925* (1928), 735. William C. Mills. *Archeological Atlas of Ohio* (Columbus, Ohio. Published for the Society by Fred J. Heer, 1914). Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), 252-253. Otis K. Rice, *The Allegheny Frontier: West Virginia beginnings, 1730-1830* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970). Frank S. Riddel, *The Historical Atlas of West Virginia* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 1999).

Map 3: Villages of the Middle Ohio Valley, 1600-1695 (Preliminary)³⁸Map 4: Surface Salt Brines (Preliminary)³⁹

³⁸ Penelope Ballard Drooker, *The View from Madisonville: Protohistoric Fort Ancient Interaction Patterns* (Ann Arbor: Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No. 31, 1997), 42.

³⁹ John A. Jakle, "Salt on the Ohio Valley Frontier, 1770-1820." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 59, no. 4 (Dec. 1969): 687-709.

Table 1: Layer Properties for GIS database (Preliminary)

Genre	Name	Representation	Database
Archaeological	flint cache locations	Point	Resource Site
Archaeological	site locations	Point	Arch Site
Archaeological	signs of warfare	Point	Arch Site – Arch Features
Archaeological	sources of material	Point	Arch Site – Resource Site
Archaeological	petroglyph locations	Point	Arch Site
Archaeological	European materials	Point	Arch Site – Arch Features – Res Site
Archaeological	plant remains	Point	Arch Site – Arch Features
Archaeological	animal remains	Point	Arch Site – Arch Features
Archaeological	trails	Line	Trails – Nodes
Environmental	salt brine locations	Point	Resource Site
Environmental	hydrology	Line-Polygon	Hydrology
Environmental	topography	DEM	DEM
Historic	event locations	Point	Hist Site
Historic	paths in hist. docs	Line	Hist Site – Hist Movements
Historic	population figures	Point	Hist Site or Arch Site
Historic	Forts	Point	Arch Site

Table 2: Database Structure (Preliminary)

<u>Archaeology Sites (Point)</u>	<u>Archaeology Features (Data)</u>	<u>Resource Site (Point)</u>	
UID	UID	UID	-----
Site #-----	Site #	Resource Type	
Site Name	Resource UID -----	Name	
Site Type	Feature ID	Notes	
Component	Artefact #		
Period	Artefact Name		
Date – Begin	Origin Text	<u>Hist. Site (Point)</u>	<u>Hist. Movements (Line)</u>
Date – End	C14 Date	UID	UID
Excavations	Feature Type	Event Name -----	---Event - Begin
County	Origin Culture	Date – Begin	---Event – End
State	Period	Date – End	Movement Name
Geology	Exotic Material	X – Location	Part Name
Culture – Major	Process	Y – Location	Date – Begin
Culture – Minor	Material Type	Event Type	Date - End
Watershed	Sign of Warfare	References	References
X – Location			
Y – Location			
Z – Elevation			
References			
<u>Trails (Line)</u>	<u>Nodes (Points)</u>	<u>Water Travel (Line) (from Hydrology polygons)</u>	
UID	UID -----	UID	
Trail Name	Name	Body Name	
Portions ID	X – Location	Portion ID	
Watershed	Y – Location	Node – Begin	
Node – Begin ----		Node - End	
Node – End-----		End Status (portage, continued, trail)	
References		Flow Direction	

Diagram 1: Examples of Gorgets⁴⁰

Diagram 1-4: Examples of Citico Shell Gorgets

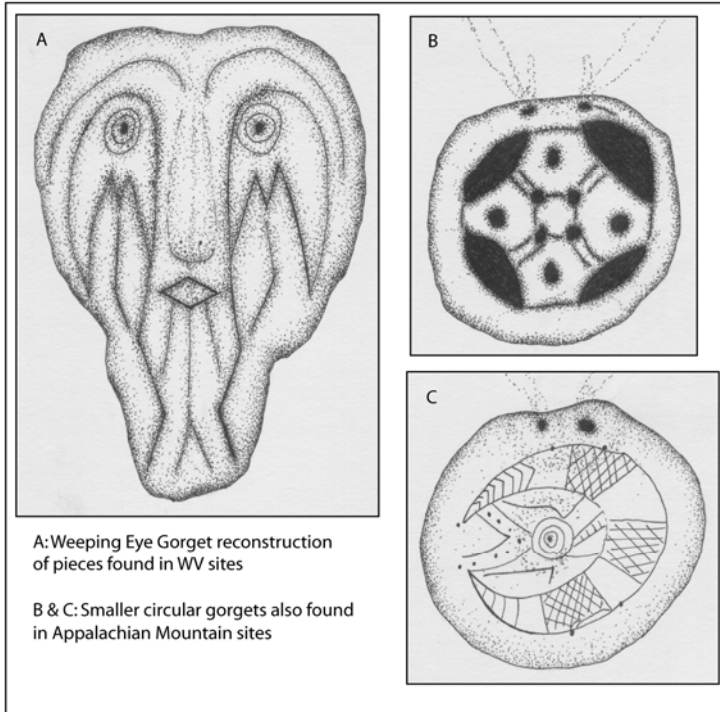
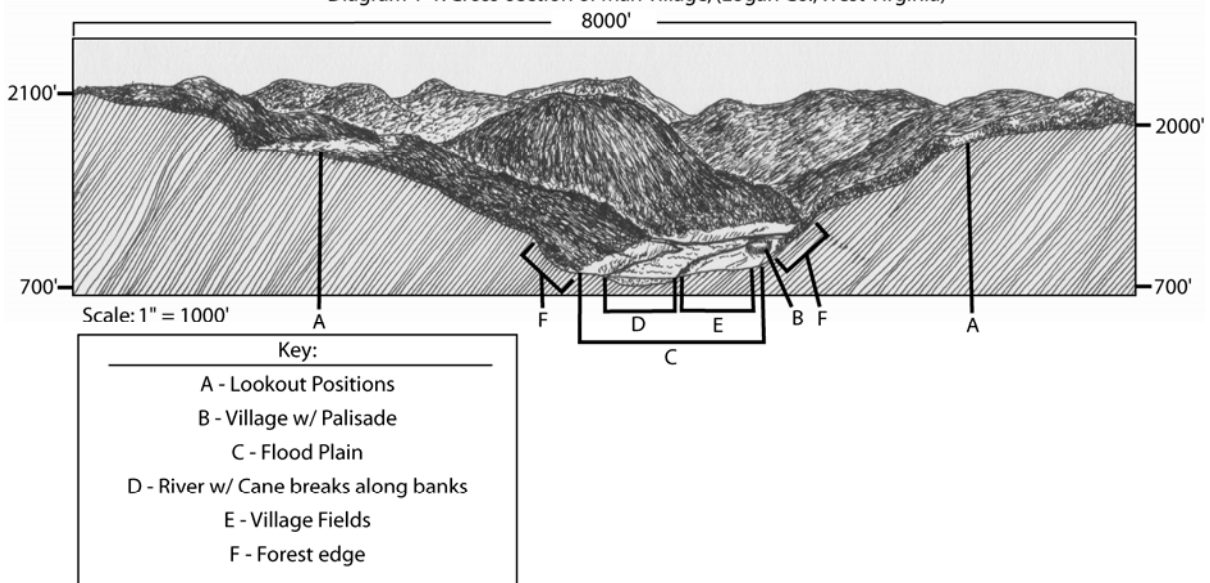


Diagram 2: Cross-section of Man village⁴¹

Diagram 1-1: Cross-section of Man village, (Logan Co., West Virginia)



⁴⁰ Isaac Emrick, "The Monyton Diaspora: A History of the Middle Ohio River Valley, 1640-1700" (master's thesis, West Virginia University, 2005).

⁴¹ Ibid.

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