# The Monyton Diaspora:
# A History of the Middle Ohio River Valley, 1640-1700

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# ABSTRACT

**The Monyton Diaspora:**
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During the seventeenth century a vibrant group of Native Americans, the Monytons, controlled southern West Virginia and northeastern Kentucky. The effects of contact with Europeans destabilized their societies as far inland as the Ohio Valley. This began the process which eventually pushed most Monytons from the region. The Five Nations Iroquois, pressured by social changes farther north, attacked the Monytons further drawing people out of the Ohio Valley. A growing southern Indian slave trade also contributed to the decay of Monyton dominance in the region. A central point in this thesis is that Monytons formed and reformed traditions to deal with social changes. They can be traced throughout their "diaspora" as they became incorporated into larger Indian groups. The Monyton Diaspora led to the creation of the Shawnee during the late seventeenth century. This thesis provides a redefinition of the history of southern West Virginia's Native American past.

# Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to mo beag peitseog. For almost as long as my wife and I have been together, this project has cluttered my mind (not to mention our house) with piles of research. Through it all, my wife has held me together, pushed me harder, and patiently listened to me banter endlessly about this project. Her editorial skills have been priceless. Without her this project would not have been possible. Thank you for sticking by me through some tight moments. This document is as much yours as mine.

**Acknowledgements**

The difficult is done at once, the impossible takes a little longer.
late 19th cent. military saying

*Vulgo enim dicitur: Iucundi acti labores.*
For it is commonly said: completed labours are pleasant.
Marcus Tullius Cicero

In addition to the help of my wife, I have been aided by so many people, to whom I am eternally indebted. Those close to me have provided willing ears, even when my project was immensely confusing. My parents, sister, and brother and various extended family provided the support which made this possible. My friends in Morgantown, and abroad, also supported me with encouragement and put me on the track which has led me to this accomplishment.

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# An Introduction to the Monyton Diaspora: Extirpated and Incorporated

Deep in the Appalachian Mountains, in what is now called West Virginia and Kentucky, the seventeenth century landscape was rich with old growth forests lining deeply cut river systems. The eastern portion of the Middle Ohio River Valley encompasses three river valleys: the Big Sandy, Guyandotte and Kanawha. (See Map I-1)[1] While Europeans had barely established settlements along the coastlines of the Americas, there were large settlements of Native Americans in this rugged landscape which had existed for at least 600 years. In the late seventeenth century, they suddenly disappeared from historical and archaeological records. Ohio archaeologist, Penelope Drooker, has recently questioned this disappearance. "It seems that archaeology takes us to the mid-seventeenth century in the central Ohio Valley, then leaves us dangling. Brief mentions of this region begin to appear in the historical record just after that time. Is it possible to connect the two records?"[2] A detailed examination of historical and archaeological evidence has produced some striking connections. The evidence also has led to a reevaluation of the most commonplace assumptions about Native Americans in West Virginia during the early contact period.

The Fort Ancient culture had been living in the Middle Ohio River Valley since the 1300s, but occupation of the area had been continuous for at least an additional thousand years by other Mississippian and Woodland cultural groups. By 1500, there were at least four major villages in the region, each with populations of 500 people or more.[3] The disappearance of these people from the Middle Ohio River Valley was initially instigated by the weakening effects of disease and sweeping social changes and then expedited by the removal of large numbers of villagers by Indian outsiders during the late seventeenth century.[4] Though many villagers were forcibly removed, many willingly left the Ohio Valley and formed new social groups. Lastly, the few who did remain in the region no longer lived in large villages or practiced horticulture thereby ceasing to be Monytons. By 1695, archaeological records appear to end for this cultural group, and historical accounts corroborate that the area was cleared of permanent large scale settlements which left only the remains of fields and a few scattered ghost-towns to be discovered later by Europeans.

## I. Disputed History

Until recently, West Virginia, especially the southern portion of the state, was seen as a *terra nullius*, a no man's land that was filled by Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to West Virginia historians, the southern part of the state was a common hunting ground for the tribes to the north, west, and south, including the Iroquois, Shawnee and Cherokee. The first mention of the hunting ground myth occurs in Wills DeHass' *History of the Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia* (1851). He suggests that, "When the whites first

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[1] Map I-1: by Author.

[2] Drooker, "The Ohio Valley, 1550-1750: Patterns of Sociopolitical Coalescence and Dispersal." in Ethridge, Robbie, and Charles Hudson, (eds). *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*. (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 115-134, on 122. (Hereafter noted as Drooker, "The Ohio Valley.")

[3] James B. Griffin, "Culture Periods in Eastern United States Archaeology," in *Archaeology of Eastern United States*, ed. James B. Griffin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952) 352-364.

[4] Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Number Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983) (Hereafter noted as Dobyns, *Thinned*); Donald Edward Davis, *Where there are Mountains: An Environmental History of the Southern Appalachians* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000)(Hereafter noted as Davis, *Mountains*).

penetrated the beautiful valley of the Upper Ohio, they found it occupied by numerous and powerful tribes of hostile savages, who held it more as a common hunting ground than a place of permanent abode."[5] This statement very specifically refers to the Upper Ohio River, but was later broadened to also cover the regions to the south by Alexander Scott Whithers in *The Chronicles of Border Warfare* (1895). He more vaguely mentions that the Appalachian Mountains were "then [early historic period] only used as a hunting ground and as a highway for belligerent parties of different nations, in their military expeditions with each other."[6] The quote was intended to describe the valley between the Blue Ridge and Allegheny Mountains along the current border of West Virginia and Virginia. The area of this hunting ground has been stretched far from its original boundaries to encompass all of the Ohio River Valley. This myth is still being promulgated in history books in the twentieth century by eminent historians. Charles Ambler's *A History of Western Virginia, to 1861*, (1925); Otis Rice's *West Virginia: The State and Its People,* (1972); and John Alexander Williams' *Appalachia: A History*, (2002) all reiterate the belief that the Ohio Valley was a relatively unoccupied Indian hunting ground.[7] The irony of this misconception is that Whithers went on to discuss the Middle Ohio River Valley with amazing clarity: "Between the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio River, within the present limits of Virginia, there were some villages interspersed, inhabited by small numbers of Indians; the most of whom retired to the north west of that river, as the tide of emigration rolled toward it."[8] This more significant detail about southern West Virginia's Indians has been relatively ignored until recently.

The hunting myth misconception has persisted in historical literature because historical documents rarely mention the residents of the Middle Ohio Valley during the seventeenth century. This has been interpreted to mean that no one lived there, but as will be shown, that couldn't be farther from the truth. This time period has been the sole jurisdiction of archaeologists but as Penelope Drooker has suggested, an historical analysis is possible and overdue. By combining the details archaeologists have reconstructed using analytical tools of ethnohistory, a deeper insight into the history of these elusive Native Americans is possible. The Monyton inhabitants of southern West Virginia during the seventeenth century formed a vibrant society that weathered sixty years of dramatic social change. The history of these unknown people provides insight into the effects of colonization on distant Indians. At the same time, it provides a microcosm of the social conditions of Eastern Native Americans during the early contact period. By discussing the complex and dynamic social interactions occurring deep within the mountains during the seventeenth century, this thesis will contribute to a long overdue conversation about the role of southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky native people in colonial history.

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[5] Wills DeHass, *History of the Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia: An Account of the Various Expeditions in the West, Previous to 1795*. (Wheeling, WV: H. Hoblitzell, 1851), 33 (Hereafter noted as DeHass *Settlement*).

[6] Alexander Scott Whithers, *Chronicles of Border Warfare: or a History of Settlement by the Whites, of North-western Virginia, and the Indians Wars and Massacres in that section of the state with Reflections, anecdotes, &c* (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company, 1895) 44 (Hereafter notes as Whiters, *Border Warfare*).

[7] 20th century Hunting ground myth: Charles H. Ambler, *A History of Western Virginia, to 1861*. (Manuscript 1931), 10; Otis K. Rice, *West Virginia: The State and Its People*. (Parsons, WV: McClain Printing Co., 1972), 10; John Alexander Williams, *Appalachia: A History*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 7, 24-25.

[8] Whiters, *Border Warfare*, 45.

## II. Towards A Monyton Diaspora: A Methodology.

The social framework which will be used to explain the removal of the Monytons from the Ohio Valley is the Diaspora. Diaspora here refers to "any people or ethnic population forced or induced to leave their traditional ethnic homelands being dispersed throughout other parts of the world."[9] The dispersal of Africans during the slave trade is one of the best examples of a diaspora. Migration was a response to the depredations of neighboring Indians, disease and many other external and internal tensions. It is important to note that the Monyton Diaspora required both voluntary and forced migration. Much has been made of Iroquoian depredations in the context of southern West Virginia and northeastern Kentucky.[10] While the attacks of Iroquoians in this region were disruptive, this was only a part of a much larger series of cultural fluctuations which can be traced back at least to the 15th century. In spite of this long heritage of cultural disturbances, the advent of Europeans, with their trade goods, diseases, and hunger for natural resources, became the catalyst for further instabilities among Native American groups.

There were three closely linked factors in the disappearance of archaeologically and historically visible settlements from the Middle Ohio River Valley. First, cultural instabilities were exacerbated by the introduction of European trade goods and diseases. This not only changed Fort Ancient cultural practices but also dramatically affected their population base. Second, Indians from the north and south sent war parties into the region for various reasons. This lowered the population in Fort Ancient territory through casualties and captive adoption. Third, population movements, often in response to the previous two factors, pushed people out of the Ohio Valley in general. These survivors of European and Native pressures found themselves being absorbed into other tribal groups, such as the Creeks and Iroquois. Survivors also moved closer to trading posts and accepted a larger role in the fur and slave trade to maintain access to European goods.

The exodus appears to have begun in the mid 17th century, possibly starting as a minor trickle in the 1640s and 1650s, but then reaching its height in the 1690s. At the turn of the 18th century, this region was cleared of all large villages. Though large population centers were cleared, the lands of southern West Virginia and northeastern Kentucky remained loosely occupied after the removal of these agriculturalists. Evidence being collected from remote ridge-top sites across southern West Virginia and northeastern Kentucky suggests that the ridge-tops were being used even after the dispersal of the villages. Some people remained in the Central Ohio Valley living in small family groups staying only short periods in each camp. Even after all the social and physical pressures were placed upon the Fort Ancient Villages, some people remained. "The social environment of the protohistoric Shawnee population appears to have attained stability, and not until pressure was exerted on the tribe by the Iroquois from the north and then early white contact from the east, did later Shawnee develop the tribal mobility for which they are known."[11]

## III. Identification of Seventeenth Century Indians

The terminology of this document has been carefully selected for the purposes of clarity and specificity. When referring to the indigenous people of North American, the terms Indians, native people, and Native Americans have been used interchangeably. This thesis uses general

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[9] "Diaspora" http://www.thefreedictionary.com/ Diaspora+studies (Nov. 30, 2004).

[10] For a detailed critique of the Iroquoian "Empire", Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984) (Hereafter noted as Jennings, *Ambiguous*).

[11] Louise M. Robbins and George K. Neumann, *The Prehistoric People of the Fort Ancient Culture of the Central Ohio Valley*. Anthropological Papers, no. 47. (Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1972), 109 (Hereafter notes an Robbins and Neumann, *Prehistoric People*).

information about Native Americans during the seventeenth century as a guide for the behaviors of the residents of the Ohio Valley. This follows the Alan Gallay's methodology: "My method is contextual… I reconstruct contexts by repeatedly enlarging the geographic and human scope in which events occurred."[12] Whenever possible I have steered away from Indian generalizations and opted for local names, but this has posed a minor difficulty. In the seventeenth century, Native Americans had not yet formed the large political "tribes" known during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Therefore, tribal names used in historical literature for later periods are inappropriate for the seventeenth century. The pitfalls of using eighteenth century terms are two-fold. First, this further supports the belief that the early Ohio Valley residents were removed entirely. No recognizable "tribal" groups were in the region when settlers came, so it was assumed that the land was unoccupied. Second, the subtleties of Indian language were poorly understood by contemporary Europeans. Historical literature is full of vague references to Indian names.

The people living in the eastern portion of the Middle Ohio River Valley were not a single political entity throughout the seventeenth century. This poses a functional problem as to what to call these people. The first recorded direct contact between Europeans and this group of Indians occurred in 1673 when the Batts and Fallam expedition came to the headwaters of the New and Kanawha Rivers. On the return route, while at the Tutelo village in the Virginia piedmont, the *Monytons* met with the expedition. The expedition had "[been] from the mountains half way to the place they now live at."[13] Abraham Wood corroborates this in his account of Gabriel Arthur's journey. The people that Arthur met on the Kanawha River were also referred to as *Monytons*. Many other terms may have been used for people living in this region during the seventeenth century, including Chaouanons (Shawnee), Mosopelea, and Honniasontkeronons. These terms do not have as strong and direct a correlation to the people of the research area as *Monyton*. They also may also have been names given by other peoples. Following archaeologists James Griffin, Penelope Drooker, A. Gwynn Henderson, and Emanuel Breitburg, it seems likely that the Monytons were an Algonquian speaking people, though other historians and archaeologists have argued that the Monytons were actually Siouan or even southern Iroquoians. V. Kinietz and E W. Voegelin mention a group of Algonquian people called the "Mōnetoos," this term closely resemblance to the word "Monyton" but is not conclusive. [14] On the northern side of the Ohio River were the enemies of the Monytons. (See Map I-2)[15] These people were only referred to as the "salt-maker" Indians. This description from the Batts and Fallam Journals in 1671 corresponds to a group of Ohio Indians, the Ouabache, that Robert Cavelier de La Salle met in the 1680s. (See Map I-3)[16] An offshoot of this group in the eighteenth century moved to

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[12] Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 160-1717*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), xi, (Hereafter noted as Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*).

[13] Clarence W. Alvord, and Lee Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674*, (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clarke Co., 1912), 193 (Hereafter noted as Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*).

[14] Monytons: Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 87-88, 221-224; James B. Griffin, *The Fort Ancient aspect*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1943), 31-34, (Hereafter noted as Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*); 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), 10 (Hereafter noted as Drooker, *Madisonville*); Handbook of North American Indians Vol. 15 Northeast. Pub. 1978, Smithsonian Institute, 587, 590; V. Kinietz and E W. Voegelin, "Shawanese Traditions: C. C. Trowbridge's Account," *University of Michigan, Museum of Anthropology, Occasional Contributions, 9*, 1939, 59-65, on 65, (Hereafter noted as Kinietz and Voegelin, "Shawanese Traditions").

[15] Map I-2: by author.

[16] Map I-3: by author.

central Ohio to the present location of the Wabash River which is named after them. Little is known of the group, but they were connected loosely with the Monytons and other would-be Shawnee in the Ohio River valley. Ouabache and Monyton are the terms I will use in referring to the northern and southern residents of the Middle Ohio River Valley respectively. During later discussions the broad term Shawnee will be used to mean both of these groups.

The term Shawnee requires some explanation. As James Griffith suggests, "It now seems reasonably clear on ethnohistorical, linguistic, and archaeological grounds that at least part of the Fort Ancient archaeological culture was Shawnee."[17] During the seventeenth century the term had another much looser meaning. The variations of Shawnee (*Chiouanons*, *Sawano*, *Shawanese*, *Showonoes*) translated roughly to mean "southerners" in Algonquian.[18] It was not until the Monyton Diaspora was well underway that "Shawnee" became the accepted name of the eighteenth century tribe. The name had been placed on them by Indians who had closer ties to Europeans as a way to distinguish the people living southwards of the Great Lakes. That this later became the tribal name suggests that it may have been adopted for purposes of dealing with English traders.[19]

Two more Indian groups require a brief explanation of their names. Along the Upper Ohio Valley, in southwestern Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia, lived a powerful group of people that were connected to the Monytons to the south. This is another elusive group because by the arrival of Europeans in the Appalachian Mountains, they had already been forced to move. Massawomeck is the name adopted by archaeologists William Johnson and Penelope Drooker for the Monongahela culture.[20] There is a strong connection between the Massawomecks and the Susuqeuhannock farther east. The Dutch recorded the Black Minqua

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[17] James B. Griffin, Culture Periods in Eastern United States Archaeology, in *Archaeology of Eastern United States*, ed. James B. Griffin, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 352-364, on 364.

[18] Rev. John Heckwelder, "History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations who inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring states." Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, Historical and Literary Committee, *American Philosophical Society, Transactions*, v. 1: 3-348, 1876. William C. Reichel, (Historical Society for Penn., *Memoirs*, XII [Philadelphia, 1876]) Heckwelder, facsimile reprint Bowie Md. 1990, 85. (Hereafter noted as Heckwelder, "History, Manners, and Customs"). "They are so called by other Indian nations, from their being a southern people. *Shawaneu* in the Lenape language, means south."

[19] Shawnee: Richard G. Morgan, Outline of Cultures in the Ohio Region, in *Archaeology of Eastern United States*, ed. James B. Griffin, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 83-98, on 95, (Hereafter noted as Morgan, *Archaeology of Eastern United States*); James B. Griffin, Culture Periods in Eastern United States Archaeology, in *Archaeology of Eastern United States*, ed. James B. Griffin, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 352-364, on 364; Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 12-27 (Mosopelea-siouxan); A. Gwynn Henderson, David Pollack, and Christopher A. Turnbow, Chronology and Cultural Patterns, in *Fort Ancient cultural dynamics in the Middle Ohio Valley*, A. Gwynn Henderson and Emanuel Breitburg, (Madison: Prehistory Press, 1992), 253-279, on 276-277, (hereafter noted as Henderson, Pollack and Turnbow, "Chronology"); David Pollack and A. Gwynn Henderson, Toward a model of Fort Ancient Society, in *Fort Ancient cultural dynamics in the Middle Ohio Valley*, A. Gwynn Henderson and Emanuel Breitburg, (Madison: Prehistory Press, 1992), 281-294, on 291-292 (hereafter noted as Pollack and Henderson, "Model"); Charles A. Hanna, Chapter IV: The Shawnees, *The Wilderness Trail*. Vol. 1, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 119-125, Vol. 2, 102, (Mosopelea) (Hereafter noted as Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*); Sigfus Olafson, Gabriel Arthur and the Fort Ancient People, *West Virginia Archaeologist* 12(1960), 32-41, (Hereafter noted as Olafson, "Gabriel Arthur"); Kinietz and Voegelin, "Shawanese Traditions," 59-65; .

Definition of Shawnee: Drooker, "The Ohio Valley," 122, 126; http://www.ontalink.com/native_americans/shawnee.html.

Ontoagannha: Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1:120.

[20] William C. Johnson, "The Protohistoric Monongahela and the Case for an Iroquois Connection." in *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A. D. 1400-1700*, eds. David S. Brose, C. Wesley Cowin and Robert Mainfort, Jr., (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 67-82, on 67 (Hereafter noted as Johnson, "Monongahela"); Drooker, *Madisonville,* 54.

(Massawomecks) who were related to the White Minquas (Susquehannocks). They were called the Black Minqua because they wore black badges on their breasts which correlate to the coal pendants found in many Monongahela-Massawomeck sites.[21] The other close allies of the Monytons, the Tomahittans, were far to the south in the Cumberland and Tennessee valleys during the seventeenth century. This name come directly out of the account of Gabriel Arthur in 1674 and has been established as a proto-Cherokee group.[22]

IV. The Monyton Diaspora, 1640-1700

In 1640, Monytons were an egalitarian farming society as they had been for hundreds of years. 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. Traditional trade materials were supplanted by more desirable European goods meanwhile disease and social changes worked to destabilize Monyton villages. As the established intertribal network crumbled, the Monytons were increasingly threatened by outside Indian groups. Warfare had always been important, but with new weapons and dwindling populations, Indian groups were falling back on their traditions to cope. One way to strengthen a village was through stealing villagers from other groups. This later would turn into a downward spiral which further destabilized Monyton villages and forcing them to voluntarily leave the Ohio Valley. This spread the Monytons all the way from New York to South Carolina by the end of the century. Slavery proved the most destructive force for the Monytons in the late seventeenth century, first as victims then as slave raiders themselves. This cast a small group of Monytons as far as the Caribbean island plantations. Finally scattered and then reformed into new social groups, such as the Shawnee, the Monytons ceased to exist by 1695. Hidden in their former mountains were small bands of Monytons families clinging quietly to the ancestral lands which they could no longer defend. The Ohio claims of the Monytons were strong enough that only 40 years passed before the indigent Shawnee again occupied the region.

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[21] Massawomecks: Johnson, “Monongahela,” 67, 80-83; Penelope B. Drooker and C. Wesley Cowan, Transformation of the Fort Ancient Cultures of the Central Ohio Valley, , in *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A. D. 1400-1700*, eds. David S., Brose, C. Wesley Cowin and Robert Mainfort, Jr. (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 83-106, on 103 (Hereafter noted as Drooker and Cowan, “Transformation”); Drooker, *Madisonville,* 54; Charles Hudson, Introduction, in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, eds. Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), xi-xxxix, on xxvii (Hereafter noted as Hudson, “Introduction”); Helen C. Roundtree, “Trouble Coming Southward: Emanations through and from Virginia, 1607-1675,” in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, eds. Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 65-78, on 74 (Hereafter noted as Roudntree, “Trouble Coming Southward”); Handbook of North American Indians Vol. 15 Northeast. Pub. 1978, Smithsonian Institute, 587, 590; Whiters, *Border Warfare*, 44; DeHass *Settlement*, 32-34; B.L. Sams and Conway Whittle, *The Conquest of Virginia: The Forest Primeval*, (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1916), 403 (Hereafter noted as Sams and Whittle, *Conquest*).

[22] Tomahittans: Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 209-227; Olafson, “Gabriel Arthur,” 32-41; Marvin T. Smith, *Archaeology of Aboriginal Culture Change in the Interior Southeast: Depopulation during the Early Historic Period*, (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1987), 20, 130 (Hereafter noted as Smith, *Archaeology*).

# Chapter 1:
# The Central Ohio River Valley: A Seventeenth Century Vignette

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"We understand the Mohetan [Monytons] Indians did here formerly live.
It cannot be long since for we found corn stalks in the ground." [1]

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As summer grew warmer along the Kanawha, Guyandotte, and Big Sandy Rivers in the year 1640, the world was bright and productive for the residents of the many villages nestled in their steep valleys. The flooding of the winter and spring had recently subsided leaving renewed deposits on top of their already fertile floodplain fields that would provide a large part of their diet that year. Hunters had a relatively easy time finding innumerable deer, bear, elk and turkey nearby. Palisades provided security for the people who lived in these valleys in the event of raids from enemy native people. The terrain was defense enough from encroaching Europeans who were still far across the mountains to the east. It was a paradise for these farmers and hunters, but European contact with coastal Indians had already produced gradual changes within their society. Far from being a quiet backwater, since at least the fifteenth century the Ohio Valley had been a dynamic environment for the Monetons. The dynamics of early seventeenth century Moneton society provide the necessary background to clarify the ramifications of developing social changes.

## I. Fort Ancient Society

By the seventeenth century, the Fort Ancient people had been well established in the middle Ohio River Valley for 700 years.[2] In the 1400s, there was a consolidation of the small-scale and widespread Fort Ancient settlements into fewer but much larger, more socially diverse villages.[3] Reliance on corn and other crops increased in Fort Ancient society, as it had among most of eastern native groups.[4] The Fort Ancient people experienced increased contact not only with their closest neighbors but also with more distant peoples, such as the Iroquois and related

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[1] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 191.

[2] Length of Fort Ancient settlement in the Ohio River valley: Drooker, *Madisonville*, 48; Olaf H. Prufer, and Orrin C. Shane, III, *Blain Village and the Fort Ancient Tradition in Ohio*, (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1970), 246 (Hereafter noted as Prufer and Shane, *Blain Village*).

[3] House-size increased from 6-8 person dwellings to much larger 12-16 person houses. This increase has been attributed to an inclusion of a larger number of extended family into the same dwelling. The increase in family size has also been connected to the labor requirements of Indian horticulture. Increasingly labor-intensive and extensive farming promoted the increased family size, doubling the workforce. The restructuring of settlement patterns and living arrangements coincided with a dramatic increase in corn production and consumption around 1400. Drooker, *Madisonville*, 332-335; A. Gwynn Henderson, Introduction, in *Fort Ancient cultural dynamics in the Middle Ohio Valley*, A. Gwynn Henderson and Emanuel Breitburg, (Madison: Prehistory Press, 1992), 1-8, on 5 (Hereafter noted as Henderson, "Introduction").

[4] For a general discussion of the Fort Ancient people see Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*; Drooker, *Madisonville*; Drooker and Cowan, "Transformation," 83-106; A. Gwynn Henderson, and Emanuel Breitburg, *Fort Ancient cultural dynamics in the Middle Ohio Valley*, (Madison: Prehistory Press, 1992) (Hereafter noted as Henderson and Breitburg, *Fort Ancient*); Prufer and Shane, *Blain Village*; James L. Murphy, *An Archaeological History of the Hocking Valley*, (Ohio University Press 1975) (Hereafter noted as Murphy, *Hocking Valley*); R. Barry Lewis, *Kentucky Archaeology*, (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 161-183 (Hereafter noted as Lewis, *Kentucky Archaeology*).

For role of corn in Fort Ancient diet: Janet G. Brashler and Reed, David M., Health and Status on the Eastern periphery of Fort Ancient, *West Virginia Archaeologist*, 42-1(Spring 1990): 36-41 (Hereafter notes as Brashler and Reed, "Health and Status").

tribes around the Great Lakes, the Algonquians in the Carolina piedmont and Chesapeake region, and the Siouan people in the plains to the west. (See Map I-2)[5] The interregional and intertribal connections were always in a state of renegotiation before the arrival of Europeans. These intercultural alliances became more detrimental as the contact with Europeans increased along the shorelines throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[6]

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were at least eight village sites in southern West Virginia and northeastern Kentucky: Clover, Buffalo, Marmet, Logan, Slone, Mayo, Mann, and Barker's Bottom. (See Map 1-1).[7] These village sites have evidence of long-term settlement of horticultural societies. Unlike many of their southern neighbors, the Monytons had a slightly more complex settlement pattern in response to the challenges of living in the steep river valleys of Appalachia. Villages had to be moved frequently to allow the land to regenerate. Like many other agricultural groups in the North American interior, the Monytons collected together in their central villages during the spring and summer to plant and later harvest. In the fall and winter, villages broke up into smaller family sized hunting parties and moved to winter hunting camps. During the harsh winters, when food was scarce, the smaller hunting camps spread the population out to allow for maximum survival.[8]

The placement of summer villages was important for the defense and maintenance of their nearby fields as well as for the processing of hides and meat for either consumption or trade. Summer villages were placed on the floodplain of a major river. In the Kanawha, Guyandotte, and Big Sandy river valleys the flood plains were not as wide as in the rest of the Ohio valley, so fields would stretch up and down stream for miles. Subsistence was not limited to horticulture; Monyton women and children would comb the edges of the forest for supplemental food including roots, fruits, berries, nuts and even small game. (Diagram 1-1)[9] Each village's hunting territory provided the men with ample supplies of deer, bear, elk and turkey.[10] Through the

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[5] Some allied peoples appear to have setup permanent homes among the Monytons and intermarried. During this period the trade connections of the Fort Ancient villages depended largely on their nearest neighbors. The Ouabache villages on the western side of the Ohio had closer connections with the Iroquoians in the north and the Siouans in the west. The Monyton villages were most clearly connected to and influenced by their three most powerful neighbors: Mississippian chiefdoms in the south, the Massawomecks in the north, and the Algonquians in the east. These close connections were also reflected in the material culture of each village, such as Citico gorgets from the Mississippians, and house construction from the Massawomecks. See further discussion in Chapter 3.

[6] For more detailed discussions of Native American interregional and intertribal trade see, George R. Milner, David G. Anderson, and Marvin T. Smith, The Distribution of Eastern Woodlands Peoples at the Prehistoric and Historic Interface, in *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A. D. 1400-1700*, eds. David S. Brose, C. Wesley Cowin and Robert Mainfort, Jr., (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 9-18 (Hereafter noted as Milner, Anderson, and Smith, "Distribution"); H. Trawick Ward, and R. P. Stephen Davis Jr., Tribes and Traders on the North Carolina Piedmont, A.D. 1000-1710, in *Societies in Eclipse: Archaeology of the Eastern Woodlands Indians, A. D. 1400-1700*, eds. David S. Brose, C. Wesley Cowin and Robert Mainfort, Jr., (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 125-141(Hereafter noted as Ward and Davis Jr., "Tribes and Traders"); Drooker, *Madisonville*, Chapter 8: Madisonville External Relationships, 283-337; James H. Merrell, "Our Bond of Peace": Patterns of Intercultural Exchange in the Carolina Piedmont, 1650-1750, in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in Colonial Southeast*, eds. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989): 196-222 (Hereafter noted as Merrell, "Our Bond" ).

[7] Map 1-1; adapted by author from Drooker, *Madisonville*, 69.

[8] This seasonal movement was misinterpreted by settlers and later historians as evidence of nomadism.

[9] Diagram 1-1: by Author.

[10] While there was a small population of buffalo living in the region after 1560, they did not factor highly in the diet of these eastern Fort Ancient people. The center of buffalo usage was much farther to the south on the edge of the Kentucky bluegrass where a buffalo mass-kill site has been found. While there was a small population of buffalo

hundreds of years of occupation of the Kanawha and Big Sandy river valleys, the Monyton people had created a highly adaptive system of settlement which maximized their use of the rugged landscape.[11]

Across the eastern portion of North America, corn, beans and squash were the most important crops. The Fort Ancient utilized these crops in addition to a few local plants which could be planted alongside these mainstays. The fields were created and maintained by burning areas of forest. The trees eventually fell, leaving stumps which many Europeans later witnessed protruding from the mess of vines, corn stalks and sunflowers. There was almost no weeding to promote the growth of scrubby plants and vines among the crops for protection and nutrient replenishment prolonging the longevity of the land. The initial planting required the labor of most of the village, while a small workforce of women and children maintained and cared for the fields afterwards. The active fields in which these plants grew were frequently mistaken for overgrown savannahs by Europeans unaccustomed to native planting patterns. These "messy" fields were often ignored by even more knowledgeable European visitors expecting neatly tilled, planted and weeded fields like those in Europe. This oversight contributed to the perception that native people in North America did not develop and thus did not own the land.[12] The slash and burn clearing and mixed planting strategy could not maintain the soil nutrients indefinitely. This meant that Fort Ancient people periodically fallowed fields once their soils had been depleted of nutrients. In most cases, once these villages had depleted the soils in their nearby fields, they relocated their villages to another nearby spot. Archaeologists have estimated that the village would be moved about every 10 to 20 years, but once a previous site was recovered it was reoccupied.[13]

The Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam expedition in 1671, sent out by Virginia Governor Abraham Wood, witnessed the Monyton field system at the head of the New River on the far eastern edge of their lands. On September 13, 1671, Robert Fallam remarked in his journal, "Due west, the soil, the farther we went [is] … richer and full of bare meadows and old fields."[14] These old fields overrun with wild grass were the only signs of the previous native residents. Only a few days later, on September 16th, the expedition came across some more old fields: "We understand the [Mohetan] Indians did here formerly live. It cannot be long since for we found

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living in the region after 1560, they did not factor highly in the diet of these eastern Fort Ancient people. The center of buffalo usage was much farther to the south on the edge of the Kentucky bluegrass where a buffalo mass-kill site has been found, Drooker, *Madisonville*, 336; Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 9-10; Davis, *Mountains*, 53.

[11] Central Ohio River Valley environment, Ray V. Hennen, and David B. Reger, *Logan and Mingo Counties*, (West Virginia Geological Survey Co. Report, 1914); Ray V. Hennen, and R.M. Gawthorp, *Wyoming and McDowell Counties*, (West Virginia Geological Survey Co. Report, 1915); Paul H. Price, et al, 1938. *West Virginia Geological Survey: Volume X: Geology and Natural Resources of West Virginia*, (Charleston: Mathews Printing & Lithograph Co., 1938); John Alexander Williams, *Appalachia: A History*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 7-35; Davis, *Mountains*; A. Gwynn Henderson, Physical Setting, in *Fort Ancient cultural dynamics in the Middle Ohio Valley*, eds. A. Gwynn Henderson, and Emanuel Breitburg, (Madison: Prehistory Press, 1992), 23-27; Arthur C. McFarlan, *Geology of Kentucky*, (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1943).

[12] These "messy" fields were often ignored by even more knowledgeable European visitors expecting neatly tilled, planted and weeded fields like those in Europe. This oversight contributed to the perception that native people in North America did not develop and thus did not own the land.

[13] Fort Ancient agricultural practices, Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 7-10; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 63-77; Henderson, "Introduction," 1-8; Prufer and Shane, *Blain Village*, 246-253; Dougals H. McKenzie, The Graham Village site: A Fort Ancient Site in the Hocking valley, in *Studies in Ohio Archaeology*, eds. Olaf H. Prufer, & Douglas H. McKenzie, (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1975), 63-97; Davis, *Mountains*, 17-33.

[14] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 189.

corn stalks in the ground."[15] Another indication of Monyton field creation was beside the wide river previously occupied by the Monytons as it had "grown up with weeds and small prickly Locusts and Thistles to a very great height that it was almost impossible to pass."[16] A product of slash and burn agriculture and the fallowing process, brush grows up in the place of agriculture. This was especially desirable because it provided a source of food that drew animals, such as deer, buffalo and elk, into the open expanses of the fallowed fields. The best soils and flattest areas were along the floodplains. Within the dense brush was also a form of tall bamboo-like cane that was a major resource for wildlife and villagers. The presence of cane breaks provided a prime spot to hide while hunting the game which was grazing in the prairies beyond. It was also used as a raw material for basketry, as a substitute for more substantial house materials, such as wood and mud, and for the construction of musical instruments and various other items. Another important use of the "combustible canes" was for kindling fires.[17] As second generation growth, cane and coarse brush comes from soils which were constantly fertile and moist. The cane breaks were thickest in the deposits of flood waters which ravaged the steep mountain valleys of the Monytons. [18]

Flooding was a frequent occurrence in the lives of the people living in the middle Ohio River valleys, especially in the steep and narrow Kanawha, Guyandotte, and Big Sandy tributaries. Though the detritus on the floor of the forest acted like a sponge absorbing a good portion of the rain runoff after a period of prolonged heavy rains, massive amounts of water would pour down the valleys, swelling riverbeds and flooding the wide basins which were home to the Fort Ancient villages. Villages were flooded and had to be rebuilt. Through destruction brought by the floods, the soils were replenished ensuring continued high crop yields. The soils in the valley were not as rich or deep as in the west in Ohio and central Kentucky. Flooding provided the much needed nutrients which helped to maintain crops for many years past the normal yield of the valley soils. As flood waters drained off from the highest ridges into the floodplains below, they brought with them fresh nutrient rich soils. The Monytons planted more extensively than selectively and thereby decreased the amount of intensive labor required to maintain high crop yields. Though a good portion of their diet was reaped from horticulture, the fields were not the only areas of the local landscape utilized by villagers.[19]

There were four general zones of land usage for the villagers in the region. (Diagram 1-2)[20] The most obvious center of Fort Ancient life was the ceremonial, economic and political nexus of the village. In the seventeenth century, there were two types of Monyton villages. Many,

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[15] Ibid, 191.

[16] Ibid, 192.

[17] Ibid, 218.

[18] Cane growth in Appalachia,: Davis, *Mountains*, 12-17, 29-33; Edward Gordon Simpson, Jr., Pioneer Trails through Southeast Virginia, Unpublished Masters Thesis for Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, 1971, 5; Dee Anne Wymer, Trends and Disparities: the Woodland Paleoethnobotanical Record of the Mid-Ohio Valley, in *Cultural Variability in Context: Woodland Settlements of the Mid-Ohio Valley*, ed. Mark F. Seeman, MCJA Special Paper No. 7, (Kent, Oh.: Kent State University Press, 1992), 65-76.

[19] Flooding: Davis, *Mountains*, 15,169.
Subsistence: Drooker, *Madisonville*, 63-77; Drooker and Cowan, "Transformation," 90; Henderson, "Introduction," 1-8; Gail E. Wagner, Fort Ancient Subsistence The Botanical record, *West Virginia Archaeologist* 35(2)(Fall 1983): 27-39.

[20] Diagram 1-2: by Author.

like Buffalo village along the Kanawha River, were circular palisaded villages.[21] Within the multiple palisades were two or three rings of mainly rectangular houses around a central ceremonial plaza. In Buffalo village, the multiple rings of houses and mixture of house types suggests a multi-ethnic population.[22] These villages exhibit a highly organized layout. Some smaller villages, such as the Clover site in Putnam County, West Virginia, were laid out more loosely and were not surrounded by palisades. Both village types positioned fields immediately outside the village and stretched for miles in both directions along the banks of the river. The fields were controlled by the women of the village who worked and maintained them. Immediately outside the fields, along the edges of the forest, villagers trapped small game and collected nuts, fruits, berries and various herbs and plants for food, ceremonial, and medical purposes. This area was also under the watchful eye of the women and children. In the narrow river valleys of the Big Sandy and Kanawha, this area included the surrounding hillsides for a few miles in each direction. Reaching out from there, hunting lands used by a village covered up to 100 square miles or more, depending on the season. Many researchers have suggested that these hunting areas doubled as socio-political buffers between villages even though they frequently overlapped. With large consolidated village populations, Monyton villages necessarily maintained large hunting areas. Daniel Richter, in *Facing East from Indian Country*, describes the impetus for such "extensive territories":

> "These territories surrounding Indian towns thus were far from empty, and far from unused. Indeed, forests were frequently managed with deliberately set fires that cleared out the underbrush and encouraged the growth of young plants on which deer and other small game fed."[23]

As villages grew in size, the struggle for hunting rights also increased as the territories inevitably expanded to meet demand. "Approximately equivalent, independent, moderate-sized villages separated by relatively short buffer zones appear to represent the typical protohistoric Fort Ancient settlement pattern."[24] Within this culturally contested space, many Monyton men gained their status as hunters and warriors at home.[25]

Since James Griffin wrote about the Fort Ancient inhabitants of the Middle Ohio River Valley, archaeologists have attempted to explain the relative lack of social hierarchy in the region. Grave materials are distributed evenly across age and sex which has supported the belief that Monytons were "classless." Although a young man could achieve status among his people, there was no strict social hierarchy. Unlike the strongly class oriented Mississippians to the south and west, the Monyton villages were relatively egalitarian. This lack of social class, along with their distinct pottery and flint points, was their most significant trait. Social standing in Fort

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[21] Circular palisaded villages: Edward V. McMichael, 1963 Excavations of the Buffalo Site, 46-PU-31, *West Virginia Archaeologist*, 16(Dec. 1963), 12-23 (Hereafter noted as McMichael, "Excavations"); Drooker, 1997, 46; Henderson, "Introduction," 5; Pollack and Henderson, "Model," 287.

[22] Multi-ethnic village: House construction and placement was a significant indicator of cultural heritage. The presence of multiple styles of house construction is a strong indication therefore that different cultural or "ethnic" groups were present. Drooker, 1997, 104, Henderson, Pollack, and Turnbow, "Chronology," 275.

[23] Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 57 (Hereafter noted as Richter, *Facing East*).

[24] Drooker, *Madisonville*, 282.

[25] Fort Ancient Village design: Drooker and Cowan, "Transformation" 83-106; Prufer and Shane, *Blain Village*, 246-250; Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 195-220; Henderson, "Introduction," 5; Morgan, *Archaeology of Eastern United States*, 94-95.

Ancient society was based on respect and honor. Adults achieved status from their individual achievements in life. Men gained respect and honor through war, hunting and trading.[26] Considering the status of women of nearby tribes in the seventeenth century, it is likely that the status of women was tied to the matriarchal ownership of land. Nearby Indians traditionally linked women to the working and owning of land; and this much is also true for the Monytons. [27]

There were many leadership roles to be filled in Monyton villages. These positions were increasingly important as the villages increased in size. Charismatic leaders, both men and women, took the roles of religious, political, economic and martial leaders at various times. Each village had a respected male leader. This individual was someone who had the political and economic connections to bring security to his village. The headman of the village would redistribute much of the exotic trade goods, such as shells, beads, rare metals and fabric, to people in the village for reworking and incorporation in all aspects of village life. Most of these items were later buried with deceased members of the village of various ages. These non-local goods not only played an important internal social function, but also "maintained and reaffirmed alliances both within and between communities rather than ascribed status."[28] The role of exotic trade goods in Monyton villages and its connection to redistribution suggests that leaders had influential trade connections which brought valuable goods into the village. In addition to the male head of the village, there were other roles to be filled:

> "The sachem amongst all the tribes was a magistrate either through duty or election, according to their various customs, but in all cases without tribute, revenue or authority. His duty was invariably to stay at home, whilst the war-chief, who was elected for his merit, was fighting at the head of the warriors to watch over the safety of the aged, the women and children, an office of such little estimation that amongst several of the tribes it was frequently filled by women."[29]

There was at least one war-chief and in some instances there may have been one for each clan, as in northern Iroquoian groups. Under each of these leaders, there were various male warriors. In addition to war-leaders, there was the position of the shaman or religious leader or leaders.[30] Each leadership position served the cultural needs of the village by navigating the social and political landscape in its own particular way.[31]

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[26] However, very little is known, either historically or archaeologically, about the status of women in Fort Ancient society. Much of the information which could be gathered archaeologically, such as the fiber arts and clothing, frequently attributed to women's roles, have not been preserved. Historical documents are equally mute concerning women's roles in the Ohio valley.

[27] Status in Fort Ancient society Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 303-308; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 279-282; Pollack and Henderson, "Model," 281-294.

Role of women: Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches & Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996) (Hereafter noted as Brown, *Good Wives*).

[28] Pollack and Henderson, "Model," 288.

[29] Sams and Whittle, *Conquest*, 171.

[30] The presence of some religious or spiritual system is apparent with the various burial practices and the goods which were left in the graves. One such object found frequently is the "spirit bag." This was a collection of materials, i.e. bones, feathers, herbs and seeds, which was bound together and placed in the grave, most likely with a spiritual purpose. This has been observed in burials across North America and in many areas around the world. Drooker, *Madisonville*, 279.

[31] Leadership roles in Fort Ancient groups Drooker, *Madisonville*, 56-62, 283-337; Pollack and Henderson, "Model," 288-290; Prufer and Shane, *Blain Village*, 255.

Grave items (i.e. Spirit bags): Drooker, *Madisonville*, 279, 332.

II. Fort Ancient Village Politics

The village was the main political unit in Fort Ancient society beyond the family. Many theoretical models have been suggested to explain the interactions between Monyton villages and other tribal groups. Their villages absorbed many cultural traits from their neighbors. Like Mississippian society, Moneton society was structured around its horticultural traditions, but this was manifested without the strict social hierarchy characteristic of the Mississippians. Archaeologists and historians have proposed many models to explain this difference. Ohio Valley archaeologists, David Pollack and A. Gwynn Henderson proposed the classic New Guinea "Big Man" model for Fort Ancient village politics. In this model, Monyton society was structured around a highly influential and wealthy male, the "Big Man." He gains power through the accumulation of wealth from trade and from offerings which pays for protection. The Big Man complex says that villages competed with each other for trade wealth. This model focuses on the charisma of the headmen as leaders of the village. The tribute-hoarding emphasis of the "Big Man" complex is refuted by the even distribution of exotic goods among Monyton. This also shatters the belief that Monyton leaders achieved their station by hoarding wealth. This model also ignores the tendency of Fort Ancient and other native groups towards semi-permanent or long-term alliances for the purpose of warfare and trade.[32]

Penelope Drooker and Colin Renfrew have proposed a dynamic alternative for explaining Monyton politics: the Peer-Polity model. This model suggests that Ohio villages were "autonomous sociopolitical units, usually of similar size and situated within the same geographical region."[33] Individual villages were self-sufficient but interacted with other tribal groups in order to obtain important exotic trade goods, such as marine shell and copper. Though each village was relatively equal to other villages, its political relationships were balanced on the flow of trade materials. As the flow materials along established trade routes fluctuated, the balance of power between peer polities also shifted.[34] This model is most useful in examining the differences between the Monytons and their and western Fort Ancient cousins, the Ouabache. The Monytons were separated from the Ouabache only by the Ohio River, but there were some important differences in geography and cultural influences. Gabriel Arthur, the illiterate servant of Virginia Governor Abraham Wood, visited a Monyton village on the Kanawha River for a few days in the spring of 1674. This was the Buffalo village in Kanawha County, West Virginia. They were allies of the Tomahittans which called for occasional diplomatic visits. After this short conference, the party of Tomahittan warriors, including Arthur, moved west for three days to attack a nearby enemy village. Arthur was told by a Monyton, that a day's journey down river lived, "an inumarable company of Indians,… which is twenty dayes journey from one end to ye other of ye inhabitance, and all these are at war with the Tomahittans."[35] This was an attack against the western Ouabache. It would be easy to assume that as part of the autonomous nature of the Fort Ancient villages, that one village could have been connected to the Tomahittans, while nearby villages were not, thus allowing warfare with nearby villages. This "fend-for-

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[32] Big Man model: Pollack and Henderson, "Model," 281-294; Henderson, "Introduction," 5.

[33] Drooker, *Madisonville*, 2.

[34] Peer-polity model: Colin Renfrew, Introduction: peer polity interaction and socio-political change, in *Peer Polity Interaction and Socio-Political Change*, eds. Colin Renfrew and John F. Cherry, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1-18; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 1-4.

Double Barred Copper armbands: Drooker and Cowan, "Transformation," 103; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 279-282, 292.

[35] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 222.

yourself' attitude seems unlikely in the midst of such cultural similarities and their obvious trade connections. Some form of a larger political alliance did exist in the Kanawha valley which separated them from other Fort Ancient villages. The settlements of Monytons was said to stretch for twenty miles up the Kanawha River. [36]

An alliance with the Tomahittans may have been a sign of a much deeper connection than even trade ties. Skull evidence from burials suggests that one difference between Monyton and western Fort Ancient villages might have been their closer relationships with their nearest neighbors. Western villages tended to have more homogeneous skeletal and pottery types than Monyton. This suggests that there was one population of people living in these villages who all came from roughly the same genetic stock. There are much more diverse sets of skeletons in eastern Fort Ancient villages. Monyton villages may have consisted of two or three groups of people living in close quarters. Farther east and south, the two skull types are more distinct. One set of skulls is consistent with groups from western Fort Ancient villages, but the other appears to be a group connected to the people living on the Carolina Piedmont during the seventeenth century. The intermixing of the two types appears to only be minor and suggests that the migration of these southern people might have only occurred in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. The socio-political trade connections of the Monytons also appear to have been strongest to the south and southeast.[37]

During the seventeenth century, the Middle Ohio Valley was a major hub of activity not only for the Monyton people who lived there, but also for many other tribes passing through on the extensive network of trails. The region was canvassed by "the ancient system of trails and waterways stretching from Florida to Canada and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and beyond."[38] (See Map 1-2) A well-developed trail system within the Middle Ohio Valley supported a more highly developed system of interregional trade and political activity than previously acknowledged. [39] The secluded Ohio backwaters were in fact heavily traveled native thoroughfares. This interconnected system of trails facilitated close connections with close neighbors and distant peoples. Map I-2 shows other eastern North America native groups in relation to the position of the Fort Ancient people in the seventeenth century.

The Great Warriors' Path was the most influential trail in fostering these intertribal relationships. This trail connected the Ohio region to the residents of the Cumberland Gap and southward, including the Tomahittans and many other southern native groups.[40] To the immediate north of the eastern Fort Ancient villages were the Monongahela people or

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[36] One physical representation of intertribal politics are the double barred copper pendants found in the graves of men of middle and elder ages throughout Fort Ancient sites, including those of the Monyton villages. (See Diagram 1-3: by Author.) These pendants have been linked to men who had leadership roles in their own villages, and may have been instrumental in the trade which produced the raw materials for the pendants. The presence of these pendants signifies not only the lack of internal social hierarchy but also the cultural connections between the Monytons and other Fort Ancient groups. While the jewelry signified leadership roles among males across Fort Ancient society, there is a deep divide between the western and eastern halves of the region. Drooker, *Madisonville*, 292-293, 329.

[37] Skeletal remains: Robbins and Neumann, *Prehistoric People*; Morgan, *Archaeology of Eastern United States*, 83-98.

[38] Drooker, *Madisonville*, 1.

[39] Map 1-2: 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.

[40] From these people came the gorgets and masks which Monytons included in their graves and incorporated in their ceremonial life. (See Diagram 1-4: by Author).

Massawomecks. From them the Fort Ancient received cannel coal pendants which have been found buried with adult males. These coals pendants, like the double barred copper pendants, were a sign of the political or trade status of an individual.[41] Beyond the Monongahela was a distant trade connection with the Iroquoian people of the eastern Great Lakes, such as the Hurons, Petuns, and Neutrals. From these people, the Monytons obtained raw and processed copper for the creation of beads, plates and other adornments. The manufacturing and wearing of personal adornments was extremely important in Fort Ancient society as a way of establishing status and honor.[42] To the immediate east across the highest peaks of the Appalachians, the Powhatans, Occanneechis, Tutelos, Saponis and various other eastern groups were also in contact with the eastern Fort Ancient. This eastern connection is most apparent during the Batts and Fallam expedition return trip while they were resting in the Tutelo village. The meeting with the Monytons across the mountains from their home establishes that they had strong political ties with the Tutelo. This political connection probably stretched much farther east.[43]

Exotic goods flowed through the tangled web of intertribal relations and crossed trade paths of the seventeenth century. Most trade occurred village to village and person to person along the trails. Raw materials were worked into transportable items and then exchanged down established trade lines. The trade materials changed hands many times before passing into Monyton villages. This system meant that many of the Fort Ancient people had infrequent, if any, direct personal contact with their more distant trade partners. Trading served the dual purpose of gaining materials necessary for cultural and spiritual expression and establishing political alliances between the Monytons and their trading partners. Drooker further suggests that "rather than accumulate material wealth endlessly, those who acquired it gave it away, thereby earning prestige and placing obligations on others to reciprocate appropriately."[44] European trade goods which came to Monyton villages were incorporated into the intertribal trade much the same way. The most common items found in Fort Ancient villages, beads and reworked metals, were

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[41] Cannel Coal pendants: Drooker, *Madisonville*, 328; "Coal: Types," *Encyclopedia.com*, 2002, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/html/section/coal_Types.asp> (19 August 2004), Cannel coal, a dull, homogeneous variety of bituminous coal, is composed of pollen grains, spores, and other particles of plant origin. It ignites and burns easily, with a candle like flame, but its fuel value is low.

[42] Great Warriors Path: 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); Helen Hornbeck Tanner, The Land and Water Communication Systems of the Southeastern Indians, in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in Colonial Southeast*, eds. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov and M. Thomas Hatley, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 6-20, on 8-10; Charles H. Ambler, *A History of Western Virginia, to 1861*, Manuscript, 1931, 12-13; Emmett A. Conway, Sr., *Ancient Footpaths, Native American Indian Trails*, (Unknown publisher, Unknown date); Edward Gordon Simpson, Jr. *Pioneer Trails through Southeast Virginia*. Unpublished Masters Thesis for Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, 1971, 10.
Monongahela/Massawomeck people: Johnson, "Monongahela," 67-82; Don W. Dragoo, *The Archaic Hunters of the Upper Ohio Valley*. Section of Man, Carnegie Museum, Anthropological Series No. 3, (1959), 152-154; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 45, 54-55, 284, 333; Sams and Whittle, *Conquest*, 403; William J. Mayer-Oakes, *Prehistory of the Upper Ohio Valley; and introductory archaeological study*, (Pittsburgh: Annals of Carnegie Museum, 1955), 220.

[43] Mississippian culture: Drooker, *Madisonville*, 41, 293, 332; Moreau S. Maxwell, The Archaeology of the Lower Ohio Valley, in *Archaeology of Eastern United States*, ed. James B. Griffin, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 176-189; Davis, *Mountains*, xi; Smith, *Archaeology*; Richter, *Facing East*, 33-36; Richard W. Jefferies, Living on the Edge: Mississippian Settlement in the Cumberland Gap Vicinity, in *Archaeology of Appalachian Highlands*, eds. Lynn P. Sullivan and Susan C. Prezzano, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 198-221.

[44] Neal Salisbury, Indians' Old World: Native Americans and the Coming of Europeans, in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*, eds. Peter C. Mancall and James Merrell, (New York: Routledge, 2000), 3-25, on 5.

incorporated into the pre-existing patterns of the trade of exotic goods in Fort Ancient society. The beads were ideal for adornment, and bits of kettles, knives and various other metal implements could be reworked into useful and culturally meaningful jewelry. Children were buried with European trade goods with greater frequency than adults. It has been suggested that these burial goods may have been bestowed on favorite children in an attempt to honor them and call their spirits back.[45]

The European trade goods found in Fort Ancient villages point to a strong connection to the Massawomecks and the Great Lakes people beyond. Traditionally Monytons had obtained New England wampum shell materials and natural copper from the Massawomecks. They obtained some forms of French beads and other metals through the Great Lakes people. European trade beads also came through the Massawomecks because of their relationship with the Susquehannocks. Unlike many other native peoples, European trade goods never flooded Monyton villages. As the Massawomecks declined in the mid-seventeenth century and European trade goods began overtaking many native industries, the levels of European goods in Monyton villages actually decreased. The removal of the Massawomecks from the upper Ohio Valley in the middle of the seventeenth cut off the Monytons from a majority of European goods for twenty years. This trade was reopened by the 1670's expeditions of the English in Virginia. The peoples to the south, mainly the remnants of the Mississippians, contributed "engraved gorgets of all style periods, small amounts of native copper, foreign pipes, and a variety of exotic ceramic sherds" to the trade goods of the Monytons.[46] These items were essential to the continuance of political and spiritual balance. Copper was used to produce the double barred pendants. Engraved shell gorgets were powerful spiritual emblems, while pipes and pottery were used in maintaining political connections to allied peoples. As the Massawomecks declined in the mid-seventeenth century the Monyton alliances with Indians in the Cumberland Gap region strengthened. These mutually beneficial alliances, however, did not ensure an entirely peaceful coexistence with neighboring Indians.[47]

Warfare was an important and complex social institution across eastern North America. "Although grouped under one general name the various nations of tribes included under it were by no means therefore friends or allies."[48] Even visitors from distant villages that would one day be trading exotic goods might be raiding the next. While frequently violent, the act of war did serve some very important social functions. For individual male warriors, this was the most important way to gain prestige and honor. This not only brought social standing to the individual but also to his family and clan. A secondary motivation for war raids was often the plunder of trade goods from the defeated village or enemy war parties. Though this became a prevalent motivation in the eighteenth century, looting was only a fringe benefit of participating in a war

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[45] Trade network complexity: Drooker, *Madisonville*, 283-337; Helen Hornbeck Tanner, The Land and Water Communication Systems of the Southeastern Indians, in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in Colonial Southeast*, eds. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 6-20; Merrell, "Our Bond," 196-222.

European trade goods in child burials: Drooker, *Madisonville*, 279, 294.

[46] Drooker, *Madisonville*, 48.

[47] Northern Trade connections: Johnson, "Monongahela," 67-82; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 45, 54, 284, 333. Southern Trade connections: Ward and Davis Jr., "Tribes and Traders," 125-141; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 48, 74, 293, 332; Janet G. Brashler and Ronald W. Moxley, Late Prehistoric Engraved Shell Gorgets of West Virginia, *West Virginia Archaeologist*, 42-1 (Spring 1990), 1-10 (Hereafter noted as Brashler and Moxley, "Shell Gorgets").

[48] Sams and Whittle, *Conquest*, 27.

party in the seventeenth century.[49] The war parties that Gabriel Arthur accompanied in 1673 and 1674 covered more than a thousand miles traveling to Spanish settlements in the south, Port Royal in South Carolina and the Monytons in the Ohio Valley.[50] A village's memory of attacks did not dwindle quickly, and retribution was required, and they had to replace lost members of the tribe. Most warfare, though, was the product of a combination of the complex interaction of retribution, replenishment, and the unbalancing of their trade relationships. Balancing this potential for violence was the mediating force of diplomacy among native groups. Traditional Native American warfare and diplomacy coexisted in the same social space, both were means to a social end, maintenance of their cultural values.[51]

III. The Beginning of the End

The Monytons living in the Kanawha and Big Sandy River Valleys, contrary to previous scholarship, were part of a vibrant and well connected society in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Far from being a secluded backwater group of farmers, the Monytons were deeply involved and influential participants in the economic life of seventeenth century North America. They fully participated in intertribal and interregional trade and politics, while sustaining themselves within relatively safe villages in their narrow fertile floodplains. They were able to adapt to harsh environmental conditions, incorporate themselves in ever-changing regional politics, and maintain a distinct cultural identity. Penelope Drooker described how dynamic the Ohio Valley was even before the arrival of the Europeans:

> "The archaeological record of the central Ohio Valley also reveals trends already under way long before the advent of Europeans. Evidence of population movements, sub-regional abandonment, and increasing intra- and interregional communication suggest that for whatever reason, the Ohio Valley was already in a state of flux at European landfall on the North American continent."[52]

There were many important and dramatic changes which affected the inhabitants of the Middle Ohio River valley as the influence of Europeans spread across North America. Their villages had survived change previously, but after 1670, as faceless intruders from the coast pressed inland, the Monytons struggled to maintain a foothold in the Ohio Valley.

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[49] Warfare's social functions: Daniel K. Richter, War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience, *William ad Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. ser., 40 (1983), 529-537 (Hereafter noted as Richter, "War and Culture"); Richard Aquila, Chapter 7: The Southern Wars, *The Iroquois Restoration: Iroquois Diplomacy on the Colonial Frontier, 1701-1754*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 205-232 (Hereafter noted as Aquila, "Southern Wars"); George T. Hunt, *The wars of the Iroquois; a study in intertribal relations*, (Madison, The University of Wisconsin press, 1940) (Hereafter noted as Hunt, *Wars of the Iroquois*); José António Brandão, *"Ye fyres shall burn no more": Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 31-48 (Hereafter noted as Brandão, *"Ye fyres"*).

[50] Arthur's travels with the Tomhittan war parties: Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 86-88, 219-223; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 331.

[51] Mourning War complex: Richter, "War and Culture," 529-537; Aquila, "Southern Wars," 205-232; Hunt, *Wars of the Iroquois*; Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* 31-48; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 56; Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 29; Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America*. (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 34; Drooker, "The Ohio Valley;" Daniel K. Richter, Ordeals of the Longhouse: The Five Nations in Early American History, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 11-27, on 15-20 (hereafter noted as Richter, "Ordeals"); James H. Merrell, "Their Very Bones Shall Fight": The Catawba-Iroquois Wars, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 115-133 (Hereafter noted as Merrell, "Their Very Bones").

[52] Drooker and Cowan, "Transformation," 106.

# Chapter 2:
# European Visitors from all Directions

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"I had never seen a Wasichu then, and did not know what one looked like; but everyone was saying that the Wasichus were coming and that they were going to take our country and rub us all out and that we should all have to die fighting." (Black Elk)[1]

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The saddest irony of Native American history is that the documents used to expand the understanding of Native people were written by European in the mid-sixteenth century, the Spanish arrived in the south and left their mark across much of the southeast. The Spanish created many problems for the southern allies of the Monytons. Then, in 1671, English explorers entered Monyton lands by crossing the Allegany Mountains on their eastern borders. Meanwhile, the French were exploring the waterways on the west of Fort Ancient territory drawing many Ohio Indians out of their homes into the French sphere of trade. The records of Spanish, English and French explorations are the only surviving written documents concerning the elusive Monyton people. The accounts left by the Spanish, English and French explorations of the regions surrounding the Ohio, provide us with knowledge of the Monytons, but the expeditions contributed to their eventual downfall.

## I. Spanish exploration in the Southeast: de Soto, Pardo and de Luna

Spanish explorers had been active in the southeast since the 1540s, when they came within one hundred and twenty miles of the most southern Monyton villages. Although there were no known direct contacts with the Monytons, the Spanish explorers provided glimpses of the Mississippian chiefdoms, the Monytons' closest allies. In 1539, Hernando de Soto landed on the western coast of Florida and began an expedition to the southern Appalachian Mountains. (See Map 2-1).[2] His travels were chronicled by at least three different people. Each provided a detailed picture of the environment, people, and events from 1539 to 1543. Unlike later more diplomatic expeditions, de Soto's men, bearing crosses, armor, horses and rifles, came prepared to convert and fight. The column passed through many small villages until it reached the first ridge of the Blue Ridge Mountains in western North Carolina on May 24, 1540. When de Soto's expedition entered the Appalachian Mountains it encountered the most southern trading partners or political allies of the Monytons, who were one hundred and fifty miles to the north. De Soto came closest to Monyton territory while staying at four Indian villages, Xuala, Guasili, Canasoga, and Chiaha, deep in the Appalachian Mountains during the summer of 1540. The people of these villages gave the Spaniards food and allowed them to stay in the village palisades for weeks at a time. The villages were controlled by a powerful king, and each village was a bustling economic center. Outside of the villages were the fields and the broad forested lands which the Spanish considered desolate and dangerous areas.[3]

Hernando de Soto came prepared for battle, but also came prepared to trade. Many trade items, in fact, were brought to the Ohio Valley. Beads and metal bells traceable to de Soto's expedition have been found in the Madisonville site in Cincinnati, Ohio. These implements most

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[1] John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 8.

[2] Map 2-1: by author, base map courtesy of Nationalatlas.gov Outline Maps, <http://nationalatlas.gov/outline/coasts_boundaries(u).pdf> (27 August 2004).

[3] de Soto's armament: John E. Worth, Late Spanish Military Expeditions in the Interior Southeast, 1597-1628, in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704* eds. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994),104-122 (Hereafter noted as Worth, "Spanish Military"); Smith, *Archaeology*, 11-13.

likely came through West Virginia before finding a resting spot on the other side of the Ohio.[4] De Soto not only left material goods with the native people, he introduced them to firearms, the Christian religion, and deadly diseases which devastated many southeastern villages. Even before de Soto reached Cofitachequi in South Carolina, a European plague attacked the village, leaving it almost completely depopulated. One chronicler suggested that there was already disease in the land around Cofitachequi, where elders were dying. The result was a loss of cultural knowledge, while the woods filled with dog-eaten bodies and villages were grown over with grass. This was an omen of what was to come for much of the southeast and the rest of North America. The full effects of de Soto's expedition became much clearer twenty years later as Spaniards retraced de Soto's journey.[5]

In 1559, Tristan de Luna built a permanent Spanish fort along the Gulf Coast, located along the border of Florida and Alabama. This settlement eventually failed because local Indian groups took advantage of poor organization and attacked There was also a lack of supplies late in 1561, and a hurricane destroyed some of their fleet in harbor. While organizing and coordinating the settlement, de Luna took a military troop far up into Alabama and into the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains where he was killed in a dispute with the Napochies in Tennessee. He retraced de Soto's 1542-1543 path when he left the village of Chiaha in Tennessee.[6] The brief account of the trip from one of de Luna's military officers states that the powerful chiefdoms who had easily controlled the mountain valleys in the1540s were now struggling to maintain stability only twenty years later. Coosa, in northeast Georgia, had been one of the most powerful villages in the entire southwest as de Soto passed through, but de Luna and his men found its occupants weakened by disease, with half its population dead since their last visit. De Luna, like de Soto, left a trail of European goods, such as beads, metal tools, and a renewed threat of deadly diseases. In addition he provides a glimpse of the decaying social conditions of the southeast, especially surrounding the once powerful Indian town Coosa. This military expedition marked the end of de Luna's life and his settlement, but increasingly unfriendly native people did not keep the Spaniards from attempting other settlements and further exploration.[7]

Following the legacy of Spanish hostility toward the southeastern tribes typified by de Soto and de Luna, Juan Pardo and his second in command, Hernando Moyano, explored the Atlantic coastline of South Carolina in 1566-1568. They landed at Saint Elena near Parris Island, South Carolina with "specific orders not to upset the Indian populations." Pardo "was given large quantities of trade goods to distribute to the Indians to secure political alliances and food for his troops."[8] In the summer of 1566, Pardo and Moyano took their party inland searching for Indian

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[4] West Virginia route for Spanish goods to Madisonville: Drooker, *Madisonville*, 103, 301-317. This is also suggested by the raiding parties sent by the Monytons to Spanish territories in 1673. Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 83-86, 213.

[5] Hernando de Soto: James H. Merrell, The Indians' New World: The Catawba Experience, in *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*, eds. Peter C. Mancall and James Merrell, (New York: Routledge, 2000), 26-50, on 30-31 (Hereafter noted as Merrell, "Catawba Experience"); Worth, "Spanish Military," 104-122; Davis, *Mountains*, 11-15; Richter, *Facing East*, 35; Smith, *Archaeology*, 11-13; Sixteenth Century Catawba Valley, <http://www.warren-wilson.edu/~arch/Berrysite.html>, (10 April 2004).

[6] See Map 2-1.

[7] Tristan de Luna: Worth, "Spanish Military," 104-122; Marvin T. Smith, Aboriginal Depopulation in the Postcontact Southeast, in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704* eds. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 257-275, on 257 (Hereafter noted as Smith, "Aboriginal Depopulation"); Smith, *Archaeology*, 11-13; Sixteenth Century Catawba Valley, <http://www.warren-wilson.edu/~arch/Berrysite.html>, (10 April 2004).

[8] Smith, *Archaeology*, 11-13, on 12.

villages from which they could forcibly extract supplies and food to support their floundering settlement. They were well aware of the strong tribes de Soto had found and were surprised to find only tattered remnants of the formerly powerful villages along de Soto's path.[9] In the spring of 1567, Moyano broke from his ordered assignment and headed north into southwestern Virginia with a force of Spaniards and Joara Indians to sack and burn the "Chisca" village of Maniateque, near present-day Saltville, Virginia, on the southeastern border of Monyton territory. By siding with the Joara Indians, Moyano became involved in regional intertribal conflicts. Spanish involvement in intertribal warfare gave their allies a dramatic increase in military power. This political-military turbulence so close to the Ohio Valley was cause for much concern among the Monytons. While they may have held a slight technological advantage, Spaniards still faced heavy Indian opposition in the North Carolina-Tennessee border area. In September and November of 1567, Moyano requested assistance from Pardo because he had been attacked and defeated by local Indians in Chiaha, one the original villages de Soto visited in 1540. Native people hated the incursions of the Spanish who either killed Indians or usurped leaders' authority. Pardo found a landscape adjusting to the wake of the collapse of the powerful chiefdoms and the depopulation caused by the initial spread of European diseases.[10]

The dramatic and devastating effects of Spanish contact are most apparent in the changes noticed by the de Luna and Pardo expeditions. These travelers found the once strong chiefdoms mentioned by de Soto diminished in population and political power. The Spanish traveled north until 1567, attacking villages on the southern fringe of Monyton territory. They did not enter Monyton lands, but by the seventeenth century, the effects of Spanish exploration were felt by all Ohio Indians. The Spanish presence in Appalachia disrupted the pre-existing social fabric in three ways. First, as a military power, the Spanish were a threat to anyone who stood in their way. Next, the effects of their military might were worsened by the effects of epidemic diseases.[11] Lastly, the trade materials, namely beads and metal goods, changed traditional trade practices. The Spanish influence in the Southeast continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but as the English began to dominate in the Mid-Atlantic, the Spanish receded to their strongholds along the Gulf Coast and in Florida.

II. English exploration: Batts and Fallam, Needham and Arthur

Europeans' exploration into the Appalachian Mountains declined dramatically from the fall of 1567 to the summer of 1670, but the presence of European trade goods in Indian villages, especially in the Southeast, suggests continued contact between native people and their new trading partners. As Spanish settlements increased across the southeast, the English settled farther north in Virginia. On May 13, 1607, the English established a permanent settlement in Jamestown, Virginia. As settlers struggled to cope with the environment, they often relied on local Indian villages for food and supplies. During the first twenty years English settlements expanded but remained well outside of the foothills of the Appalachians.[12] In March 1652, the Virginia House of Burgesses passed an act permitting expeditions and granting land rights to the west, but exploration remained sporadic until the 1670s. English scientist, John Lederer, over the

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[9] See Map 2-1.

[10] Juan Pardo: Worth, "Spanish Military," 104-122; Smith, "Aboriginal Depopulation," 257; Smith, *Archaeology*, 11-13; Sixteenth Century Catawba Valley, <http://www.warren-wilson.edu/~arch/Berrysite.html>, (10 April 2004).

[11] Unintentional biological warfare: Spanish, and other Europeans, did not intentionally spread disease to Native people, at least not until the eighteenth century. How deeply each of these disturbances affected the Monytons in the sixteenth century is still of considerable debate, especially considering the Appalachians were relatively free from European intrusion over the next one hundred years. See Discussion in Chapter 3.

[12] Early Virginia settlement and exploration: Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, (Richmond: J.W. Randolph, 1855), 1-39; Sams and Whittle, *Conquest*, 1-25; Smith, *Archaeology*, 130.

course of three expeditions from 1669 to 1670, traveled as far as the Occanneechi village, in southwest Virginia, and then to the Sara Indians in North Carolina.[13] Abraham Wood, a Major General in the British military, in 1671 sent out an expedition led by Virginia traders, Thomas Batts, Robert Fallam, and Thomas Wood. By this time, Appomattox, Occanneechi, Saponis, and Tutelo people were frequent visitors and trade partners; and became native guides for the expedition. They were charged with "finding out the ebbing and flowing of the Waters on the other side of the Mountaines in order to [verify] the discovery of the South Sea."[14] A brief record of this trip was kept in Robert Fallam's journal. They passed through familiar territory to the west till they reached the Saponis village where they picked up another Indian guide for crossing the mountains. The familiarity of the Saponis and Tutelo people with the mountains and Monyton territory to the west suggests that they frequently passed through the Middle Ohio Valley. Their relationship with the Monytons provided for selective passage through each group's lands. They left Thomas Wood and an Appomattox guide in the Saponis village, both suffering with the "flux," a bloody and often fatal diarrhea. Thomas Wood died in less than a week after the expedition left him behind. After the expedition left the Saponis village near modern Richmond, Virginia the landscape became steeper as the expedition entered the foothills of the Appalachians.[15]

At the base of the first mountain ridges, Robert Fallam noticed strange markings on the trees. This September 8th entry is the first of three sightings of marked trees. Shortly afterwards the expedition reached the Totera town which sat in the middle of a swamp. Fallam, on September 13, 1671 recorded some more tree markings found high in the mountains. These resembled the letters "MA NI" and "several other scratchments" etched in coal. These markings have been attributed to either Native Americans, English traders, or French explorers rumored to be exploring the Virginia back country. The markings were probably not European, in spite of Fallam's reference to Arabic letters. The markings were familiar native symbols to the expedition's Indian guides. On the last day of westward travel, September 16th, the final sighting of marked trees occurred, and as before, old fields were noted nearby. The decaying stalks of corn prompted Fallam to remark that: "We understand the [Monyton] Indians did here formerly live. It cannot be long since for we found corn stalks in the ground."[16] Sigfus Olafson, a West Virginia archaeologist, suggests that these markings were also totems used by war parties to mark their campaign achievements. As a war party left and returned to the village, cleansing ceremonies were performed where trees were painted indicating the achievements of the war party. The marked trees were not only important ritual sites for war parties, guide-posts, and warning signs, but they indicated that a village was very near. The presence of marked trees

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[13] Lederer's accounts have been discredited as fiction by some historians because of their wild stories of ferocious animals and plants not found in North America. "Lederer reported these expeditions in Latin and embellished them with exaggerations about impossible heights and fierce lions and tigers." John Alexander Williams, *Appalachia: A History*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 27.

[14] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 184.

[15] Virginia legalization of exploration: Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 101.

John Lederer's exploration: Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 64-69, 141-170; Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier: 1670-1732*, (Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Paperbacks, 1964), 15-16 (Hereafter noted as Crane, *Southern Frontier*); Merrell, "Catawba Experience," 35; Edward Gordon Simpson, Jr., *Pioneer Trails through Southeast Virginia*. Unpublished Masters Thesis for Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, 1971, 17-19.

Flux: Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 185, 224; the only two mentions of "flux" occur in the Fallam journal and in Wood's letter concerning Needham and Arthur, the causal reference suggests that the authors' assume the reader would know what this is Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* Table B-1, mentions a bloody "flux" among the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas in 1682.

[16] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 191.

along the path of the expedition indicates that this was an important route for trade and diplomacy as well as war in the seventeenth century.[17]

On September 17th, the expedition marked trees along the New River (known then as the Wood River), in southwestern Virginia, near the old fields. “When they arrived at this River, they were informed of a numerous and warlike Nation of Indians, that lived on the Great Water, and made Salt, the accounts of whom prevented their going any further.”[18] The guides were very anxious to leave the area. Noting this, Fallam and Batts made their way to the nearby river to test it for tides. The “weeds and small prickly Locusts and Thistles” by the river side provided a difficult passage for Batts and Fallam.[19] Fallam finally made it through and stuck a tree limb in the river bottom to see if it was affected by tides, an indication that the river ran into a western ocean, presumably the Pacific Ocean. The river appeared to ebb slightly and they concluded that they had found an overland route to the Pacific Ocean. Despite this error, they had succeeded in finding a headwater to a river flowing west across the mountains into the Ohio River. Bolstered by their “discovery,” and hoping to quiet the protests of their Tutelo guides, the expedition began the three day journey back east.[20]

Though Batts and Fallam had been traveling through Monyton territory, they had not yet met a member of the Monytons, but by the time they returned to the Tutelo town, word of the expedition had reached the Monytons. “We have found Mohetan Indians who having intelligence of our coming,” writes Robert Fallam, “[and they] were afraid it had been to fight them and had sent him to the Totera’s to inquire.”[21] The English assured them of their good intentions and tried to allay their fears of an imminent English attack by giving the men “three or four shots of powder.”[22] This exchange indicates that the Monyton men already had rifles, probably of English make, which they had obtained from their well-connected southern (Tomahittan) allies. The Monytons relaxed and spoke of their home farther west on the Kanawha River. He explained that the expedition “had [been] from the mountains half way to the place they now live at.”[23] The presence of the Monyton men in the Tutelo village suggests that they maintained a relatively amicable relationship. Therefore, the reason Tutelo guides did not want to travel any farther through Monyton territory was the threat posed by outside warriors, such as the dangerous “salt-maker” Indians from across the “Great Water” and the more northern Iroquoians. The Monyton party explained that a major threat was on the Ohio River, where, “the next town beyond them lived upon plain level, from whence came abundance of salt… [and] there were a great company of Indians that lived upon the great Water.”[24] Although Batts and Fallam did not fulfill their mission to the “South Sea,” their initial contacts with the Monytons opened the door for

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[17] Tree markings: Sigfus Olafson, The Painted Trees and the War Road: Paint Creek, Fayette Co., W. Va., *West Virginia Archaeologist*, 10(1958): 3-5; Edward Gordon Simpson, Jr., *Pioneer Trails through Southeast Virginia*. Unpublished Masters Thesis for Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, 1971, 20-23, on 23;

[18] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 198-199; Alvord and Bidgood mention this in the analysis after the original Fallam Journal.

[19] Ibid, 192.

[20] Ibid, 190-194.

[21] Ibid, 193.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

European contacts deeper within the Ohio Valley.[25]

The first European to visit the middle Ohio River Valley was one of Abraham Wood's illiterate servants, named Gabriel Arthur, who accompanied the Tomahittan "king" on a diplomatic mission north to the Monyton people during the spring of 1674. In 1673, Abraham Wood had sent James Needham, a Virginian trader, with Arthur south to establish trade with the Indians past the Occanneechi Indians. Wood later recounts the story of the expedition in a letter to a financer in England which he received from Arthur on his return to Virginia:

> "as breife as I can give a touch upon ye heads of ye materaall 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."[26]

After a failed attempt to penetrate past the blockade of Occanneechi villages in April 1673, Needham and Arthur found a group of Tomahittans on their way to trade with the Occanneechi who agreed to bring them back to their village in the mountains of North Carolina. Needham stayed with the Tomahittans from June 18th till June 25th when he returned to Fort Henry to get more trade materials and send news to Abraham Wood. He left Gabriel Arthur with the Tomahittans to learn their language. Needham's guide, Indian John, shot Needham. He was set off after Needham verbally abused the other Indian packers.[27] Indian John then convinced the Tomahittans to return to their village and kill Needham's companion, Gabriel Arthur. The warriors initially refused for fear of being cut off from the English trade but eventually were persuaded and returned to their village.

When the Tomahittans returned to the village, they "tied Gabriell Arther to a stake and laid heaps of combustible canes a bout him to burne him."[28] The attempt to burn Arthur at the stake was almost successful, but the Tomahittan "king," who had been out hunting, returned and intervened. Arthur was spared and promised safe passage home in the near future. During his stay with the Tomahittans, Arthur was ritually adopted by the king's family as a member of the tribe. Therefore, he was required to participate in the raiding parties south to Spanish territory and southeast to the British town of Port Royal, South Carolina. The raid on Port Royal around Christmas day shows that war-raids occurred throughout the year, not just during the summer and fall. The main motivation of these raids was to gain access to European and Indian trade materials, "for that is ye course of theire liveing to forage robb and spoyle other nations."[29] The distances traveled, though, suggests that this was more than just fighting over bags of beads and rusty knife blades. After returning home, Arthur's war party immediately prepared for a diplomatic and war-raid north.

This last journey brought Arthur into a Monyton village on the Kanawha River, the allies

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[25] Batts and Fallam Expedition: Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 183-205; The Expedition of Batts and Fallam, E.B. O'Callaghan, M.D., ed. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*. (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, Printers. 1855), III: 193-201; Charles H. Ambler, *A History of Western Virginia, to 1861*. Manuscript, 1931, 17; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 64; Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 31; Edward Gordon Simpson, Jr., *Pioneer Trails through Southeast Virginia*. Unpublished Masters Thesis for Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, 1971, 20-23; Olafson, "Gabriel Arthur," 33; Alan Vance Briceland, *Westward from Virginia: The explorations of the Virginia-Carolina Frontier, 1650-1710*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1987), page #; Virgil A. Lewis, First Biennial Report of the Department of Archives and History of the State of West Virginia, State Historian and Archivist, 252.

[26] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 209-227, on 216.

[27] On hearing the news, Wood regretted the loss of Needham, but was more upset that "with him died one hundered fourty-foure pounds starling of my adventure." Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 209-227, on 217.

[28] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 218.

[29] Ibid, 218-219.

of the Tomahittans. According to Abraham Wood, *monyton* meant "great water" in the Monyton language.[30] Wood provides little description of the Monyton village, or lifestyles, except that Arthur swam in the fresh-water river which ran to the northwest away from the village and met with an even greater river, the Ohio. Wood mentions that this river was "ye same river Mr. Batt and Fallam were upon the head of."[31] This village on the Kanawha River was Buffalo site (46PU31) which was large during the late seventeenth century and shows a wide assortment of European beads and other goods.[32] After their short stay in the Monyton town, the Tomahittans "marched three days out of thire way give a clap to some of that great nation."[33]

Apparently most of the people living along the Ohio River were at war with the well-armed Tomahittans. Successful in previous attacks witnessed by Arthur, the sixty warrior Tomahittan party "fell on [the Ouabache] with great courage and were as curagiously repullsed by their enimise."[34] Arthur was wounded twice with arrows and captured by the village warriors. Arthur did not look like a Tomahittan, since his hair was too long, his skin was pale, and he carried a metal knife, gun and hatchet which had not been seen before. Arthur showed goodwill by offering "ye knife and hatchet he gave to ye king. they not knowing ye use of guns, the king receved it with great shewes of thankfulness for they had not any manner of iron instrument that hee saw amongst them." [35] Arthur promoted trade when "they brought in a fatt beavor which they had newly killd," indicating those skins were highly desired by Europeans. He showed "by signes how many such skins would take for such a knife … foure and eight for such a hatchett and made signes that if they would lett him return, he would bring many things amongst them. They seemed to rejoice att it."[36] By such negotiations he secured his release with promises that he would return with more trade materials, after which the Ouabache villagers released him to the Tomahittans. Arthur mentioned that the Ouabache, on the northern side of the Ohio River, had no visible European goods. Wood's letter does not mention explicitly whether the Monytons had European trade goods, but since their Tomahittan allies had access to trade goods, including firearms, it is probable that the Monytons also had access to these materials. This also further suggests the Monytons carried firearms during their meeting with Batts and Fallam in 1671.

Gabriel Arthur returned to the Tomahittans for a short while and on June 18, 1674, was brought back to Fort Henry, Virginia, where he recounted his story to Abraham Wood. Although the story is abridged and altered by Wood, the details of the letter answer some important questions not only about the Tomahittans and Monytons, but also about the intertribal politics of the period. As Penelope Drooker suggests in *The View from Madisonville*, the eastern Fort Ancient villages had stronger connections to their neighbors to the south and better access to European goods, including metal tools and firearms. The conflict between the Monyton-Tomahittan alliance and the Ouabache west of the Ohio is supported by strong archaeological differences between these eastern and western Fort Ancient villages. Arthur's short trip through

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[30] This was probably an Algonquian language related to, if not the ancestor of, modern Shawnee. Olafson, "Gabriel Arthur," 32-41; Richard White, *Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), xi; Handbook of North American Indians Vol. 15 (Northeast. Pub. Smithsonian Institute,1978), 587, 590.

[31] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 221.

[32] Buffalo Site 46PU31: McMichael, "Excavations," 12-23.

[33] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 222.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid, 222-223.

Monyton territory cemented a fledgling trade connection to the Ohio region in the 1670s. Each of the three groups with whom Gabriel Arthur had contact during this adventure openly sought trade relations with the English.[37] Not long after Gabriel Arthur's return to Fort Henry, traders, hearing of his journey, packed up and headed across the mountains. Rumors of English traders in the Ohio began just after Arthur's return and continued until Viele's New York sponsored trade expedition in 1694. Unlike the large-scale and violent Spanish exploration of the sixteenth century, the smaller parties of the English explored the Appalachian Mountains seeking trade and claiming the "right of discovery." Like the Spanish, though, the English opened communication with Ohio Indians to establish trade and inevitably opened the door for change in the Ohio River Valley.[38]

III. French exploration

By the first decade of the seventeenth century, the French in New France had established themselves as powerful trading partners with their Algonquian and Iroquoian neighbors. Part of this power was derived from their hefty gun trade with their allied tribes. This gave their Indian partners a distinct advantage over groups like the Iroquois and the Monytons, who did not acquire guns until the middle of the century. The French began to explore the central portion of North America, during the last thirty years of the seventeenth century including the Ohio Valley. There are few instances where contact with Middle Ohio Valley people was possible, but no significant correlation can be drawn to the Monyton people. Though the French explored throughout the Mississippi Valley, during the seventeenth century, they remained hundreds of miles away from the Kanawha, Guyandotte, and Big Sandy rivers. Indians who traded with the French at their forts told tales of their conflict with other Ohio region tribes. Robert Cavalier de La Salle explored the Mississippi River in 1669 and 1670 and made it as far as the delta on the Gulf Coast. La Salle and his crew of Frenchmen also explored much of the Great Lakes region and then navigated down various streams along the Mississippi, where they mentioned contact with groups from the Ohio. La Salle met with an Ohio Indian chief recently dispossessed by the Iroquois. Among the French entourage was an enslaved Mosopelean who was promptly returned to the chief as a sign of goodwill. La Salle remarked many times that native groups on the "great water" were at war with the Iroquoians to the north. Most of these accounts are linked to Chaouanon (Shawnee) informants traveling to and from their Illinois allies, and trading at French forts. According to Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin's journal of the La Salle journeys, during the late seventeenth century, the Mosopelea, Honniasontkeronons (a people east of the Shawnee), Chaouanons (the Shawnee), and Ouabache were all dispersed or absorbed by Iroquois warriors. Although La Salle's accounts of his journey are often vague, his position west of the Monytons brought him into contact with many of their Algonquian neighbors.

La Salle's voyages along the Mississippi River were followed by Louis Joliet in 1673-1674, and Jacques Marquette in 1682. Finally in the 1690s, Captain Jean Couture explored deep into the Mississippi and Ohio River Valleys. By this time, the presence of the Mosopelea,

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[37] Gabriel Arthur and the Monytons: Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 209-227; Drooker and Cowan, "Transformation," 99; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 4, 64, 331; Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 32-33; Helen Hornbeck Tanner, The Land and Water Communication Systems of the Southeastern Indians, in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in Colonial Southeast*, eds. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 6-20, on 14; John Anthony Caruso, *The Appalachian Frontier: America's First Surge Westward*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 18; Olafson, "Gabriel Arthur," 32-41; Smith, *Archaeology*, 20, 130.

[38] New York trade with the Shawnee in 1694: Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century*, (Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, 1997), 325; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2:87, 124; E.B. O'Callaghan, M.D., ed., Vol. 4, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, Printers,1855), 90, 96-99.

Honniasontkeronons, Chaouanons, and Ouabache seems faded from French view along the waterways they explored. Marquette describes a people that:

> "have guns, hatchets, hoes, knives, beads, and flasks of double glass, in which they put their powder. They wear their hair long, and tattoo their bodies, after the Hiroquois fashion. The women wear head dresses and garments like those of the Huron women."[39]

This Iroquois speaking group was, in fact, a remnant of the Huron, dispossessed and scattered throughout the Ohio Valley. They later came to be known as the Wyandots. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Ohio Indians were considered the victims of the rampages of the Five Nations of the Iroquois. By the time Frenchman entered the Ohio Valley, the Monyton people were gone.[40]

IV. New Faces on the Horizon

In the sixteenth century, Native Americans found the Spanish infiltrating their lands in the southeast for the first time. The Europeans introduced new plants, animals, trade goods, weapons and diseases. In spite of this, the backcountry remained relatively unchanged for half a century. As the Spanish created settlements, converted local natives, raped and pillaged, they left behind detailed accounts of the existing social conditions in the Appalachian Mountains. With the de Soto expedition as a foundation, the Pardo and de Luna expeditions provided glimpses into the effects of foreign exploration on indigenous people. During the seventeenth century Europeans wandered ever closer to the Monyton homelands. Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam trekked as far as the New River on the eastern border between Virginia and West Virginia. Their arrival was cause for concern among the Monytons, who were fearful of an attack from the unknown intruders. Gabriel Arthur, an illiterate servant, accompanied the Tomahittans to visit their allies the Monytons. Arthur witnessed and participated in the internal workings of the society of his hosts, their allies and enemies. He also played a key role in the process of intertribal politics among his hosts and the Ohio Indians. The French came to know the region through the accounts of their trading partners, the Shawnee, Iroquois, and other groups which frequented the Great Lakes region. Although buffered by the expanses of Appalachian wilderness, the home of the Monytons was very much on the minds of Europeans. They came to the steep forested mountains sides from all directions, and they left the Monyton people coping with the changes they inevitably brought with them. The handful of European witnesses of the Ohio Valley before the major upheaval of the late seventeenth century not only preserved the essence of Monyton history, but also further complicated an already complex balance in the Middle Ohio River Valley which led their eventual disappearance.

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[39] Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2:100.

[40] French exploration Drooker, *Madisonville*, 63; Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 13, 17-19, 27-29; Drooker and Cowan, "Transformation," 100; Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"*; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 3-4, 42-72; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2:100; Olafson, "Gabriel Arthur," 36; Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673-1800*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 19.

# Chapter 3:
# Dealing with Globalization: Cultural instability, 1640-1670

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"The Ohio Country was a region in a state of flux, a land that witnessed far less order and stability than many of its residents (themselves often victims of similar circumstances in the east) might have wished."[1]

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As summer grew warmer along the Kanawha and Big Sandy Rivers in the year 1640, the world was bright and productive for the residents of the many villages nestled in their steep valleys. Strangers had increasingly been traveling through neighboring lands, bringing new tools, strange metals, beads, cloth and various plants and animals. It seemed they carried an entire new world on their backs. Some were friendly, while others left a path of destruction in their wake. Even if the visitors did not cause immediate disturbances when they visited, many villages later suffered from devastating epidemics. The only constant in this dynamic landscape was change. Traditional ancient trade networks were always expanding, incorporating new goods, sometimes spreading disease among Native American communities. These pre-contact events were typically small scale and the affected societies coped and restructured relatively quickly. After the arrival of Europeans in North America, the pace of these changes increased. European contact initiated sudden, frequent and prolonged exposure. The pressures placed upon Eastern Native American societies, such as the Monytons, by subsequent high mortality interrupted the balance established over hundreds of years. Indian responses to the resultant social instability varied depending on the region and the traditions of each group. The Monytons responded to the weakening of their society by joining forces with nearby groups for survival. The process of ethnogenesis, "the making and remaking of Native nations," is explained by ethnohistorian Daniel Richter as a "response to the disease, displacement, and dispossession visited upon North America after 1500."[2]

The changes affecting Monyton society during the middle and late seventeenth century were very similar to the problems facing most Native people in the Americas. The accounts of more visible Indian groups can be used to create a general framework for understanding the social pressures affecting the Monytons. The fast paced reformations caused instabilities within the Monyton villages, leaving them vulnerable and weak by the end of the seventeenth century. The Native American world was characterized by interaction among people and this increased after European contact. For the Monyton people, their most frequent connections were with their closest neighbors, the Massawomecks in the north and the scattered Mississippians on the Cumberland Plateau. These neighbors were weakened and dispersed altering alliances. New diseases wracked Monyton villages and the introduction of trade goods altered the traditional culture forcing the Monytons to deal with new trade and living arrangements. As the European presence increased within Monyton territory, their society weakened.[3]

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[1] Michael N. McConnell, Peoples "In Between": The Iroquois and the Ohio Indians, 1720-1768, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 93-112, on 95.

[2] Ethnogenesis: Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, Preface to the Paperback Edition, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), xi-xvii, on xiii; Richter, *Facing East*, 62.

[3] Accounts of problems in intertribal politics: Mary Druke Becker, Linking Arms: The Structure of Iroquois Intertribal Diplomacy, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 29-39; Lewis, *Kentucky Archaeology*, 181; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 49.

I. The Fallout from the Decline of Mississippians

By the time the Spanish explorers de Soto, Pardo and de Luna arrived in the southeast, the Mississippians had already lost in dominance, but their presence accelerated the breakdown of the large Mississippian chiefdoms into smaller, less socially stratified, but stronger villages. The arrival of the Spanish explorers altered the political balance in the region creating a dangerous native power-vacuum across the southeast. The Mississippian chiefdoms had been the most powerful and dangerous forces in the southern Appalachian Mountains. The Spanish had guns, metal armor and other tools which gave them a slight edge over the Indians of the southeast, but even with these technological wonders, they were defeated on occasion by their Indian foes. The façade of invincibility allowed the Spanish to take control of entire villages when they settled and established forts. The protection offered by the Spanish was beneficial to Indians in two ways. Alliances with them meant protection from other enemy native groups, but also from the Spanish military. This enticed many Native Americans out of distant villages into Spanish trading forts, so that by 1600, the populations of many villages diminished. This collapse began a series of destabilizing social changes on their northern Monyton neighbors.

The weakening of the powerful Mississippian cultural and economic centers restructured the trade networks across the eastern half of North America. Fractured Mississippian villages had to renegotiate their connections with other groups, such as the Monytons. The decline caused a strengthening of the trade ties between the Monytons and local groups of people on the Cumberland Plateau (Tomahittans), around the borders of North Carolina and Tennessee in the sixteenth century. Mississippian religious fragments followed their descendents and maintained their traditions. One of the strongest connections with the Monytons might have been a religious cult of Mississippian origins. The presence of Mississippian manufactured Citico shell masks has been linked to the southern death "cult" which was common in the Southeast. (See Diagram 1-4).[4] The gorgets were placed most often in the graves of children and women, possibly to honor and call back favored spirits from the dead. The presence of these gorgets at many West Virginia Monyton sites is a strong indication that the cult was an important aspect of Monyton culture. The practice might have been introduced by southeastern refugees living among the Monytons. The gorgets disappear from the Ohio Valley during the last half of the seventeenth century. As the Citico gorgets gradually faded out, European goods increased, suggesting that the manufacturing of gorgets, and many other traditional arts, disappeared as European contact increased. This was partially caused by the interruption of the trade routes by which the raw shell materials were obtained. In addition to this major economic shift away from traditional sources, the Monyton spiritual focus shifted away from the gorgets towards more exotic and valuable European goods, such as brass and copper, which could be reworked and lasted longer. This was significant enough for some groups "in the southeastern interior … to have begun moving closer to the coastal sources of European goods." Uprooting was a very dangerous process and proved, "not entirely peaceful [as] suggested by a simultaneous trend for communities to resettle in defensible inland locations."[5] As Southeastern chiefdoms declined, the individual villages increased trade with their Monyton neighbors in the north and with Europeans in the east and far south. The Cumberland Plateau's traditional southeastern trade routes were frequently interrupted causing shortages of important exotic trade goods, such as shells, for the Monytons. These interruptions hindered the Monytons' ability to perform important cultural rituals,

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[4] These six inch wide masks are made from the *Busycon* species from the Gulf coast and along Florida's Atlantic coast. The inscriptions were most likely made later in Mississippian territory. These highly symbolic items were manufactured all the way to approximately 1650. Brashler and Moxley, "Shell Gorgets," 1.

[5] Richter, *Facing East*, 36.

destabilizing their society even further.[6]

These trade disturbances worked to bring the Cumberland Indians even closer to the Monyton villages than before. During the first half of the 1600s, the Cumberland people began living among Monytons in shared but segregated villages. This immigration north coincided with an intensification of conflict in the south, as Southeastern Indians faced increased conflicts with the Spanish and neighboring Indian villages. Villages dispossessed by the Spanish typically moved to more remote and defensible locations. This pushed refugees into other groups' territories and often produced further violence. Refugees also responded by settling among Ohio Valley villages. In 1972, Louise Robbins completed a systematic study of the crania from known Fort Ancient villages on the possibility of multi-ethnic villages in the Ohio Valley.[7] According to her findings, western Fort Ancient villages were relatively homogenous, but eastern region villages in West Virginia and Kentucky showed a great deal more skeletal variation. Robbins concluded that eastern populations consisted of two biologically different groups living in close quarters with moderate interbreeding. The largest skeletal group (Lenid skull type)[8] comprised the original inhabitants, while the other was a smaller skeletal group (Muskogid skull type)[9] from the south. Buffalo village, in Putnam County, West Virginia, is a good example of how the mixed ethnic composition was manifested in the village design. It was surrounded by a large palisade and contained three separate clusters of houses around the central plaza. The distinct clusters of houses have been interpreted to mean that the village was composed of as many distinct social groups and that little intermingling was going on between these "ethnic" groups. Robbins corroborates this with her observations of the Lenid and Muskogid skeletal types from Ohio valley sites. In addition, artifacts from Ohio Valley show many design features common in the south, such as geometric etchings on pottery sherds and shell ornaments. The southern allies of the Monyton did not entirely abandon their Appalachian homes, but the large number of refugees in Ohio villages dramatically affected village design and the biological makeup of the Monytons.[10]

The incorporation of the Cumberland Plateau people into Monyton villages strengthened the socio-political and trade alliance between the two groups. The trip of the Tomahittan king to the Monytons in the spring of 1674 was not only a diplomatic visit with distant allies but also a gathering of distant family. The presence of fellow Tomahittan people among the Monytons not only bolstered the political and economic ties which had already been present but also apparently

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[6] Decline of Mississippians: Drooker, *Madisonville*, 41, 48, 293; Davis, *Mountains*, 18-19; Richter, *Facing East*, 33-34, 36; Worth, "Spanish Military," 104-122.

Southern Death Cult and Citico Gorgets Brashler and Moxley, "Shell Gorgets," 1-10; Karl Schmitt, Archaeological Chronology of the Middle Atlantic States, in *Archaeology of Eastern United States*, ed. James B. Griffin, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 59-70, on 68; Moreau S. Maxwell, The Archaeology of the Lower Ohio Valley, in *Archaeology of Eastern United States*, ed. James B. Griffin, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), 176-189, on 189; E. Thomas Hemmings, Fort Ancient Pipes from the Blennerhassett Island Area, *West Virginia Archaeologist*, 25(1976)56-66.

[7] Though hundreds of skeletons have been collected since her report, her findings still indicate important trends in Ohio Valley biology.

[8] Lenid skull type: Robbins and Neumann, *Prehistoric People*, 9-14.

[9] Muskogid skull type: Robbins and Neumann, *Prehistoric People*, 16-18, 106-108.

[10] Movement of southerners into Monyton villages: Morgan, *Archaeology of Eastern United States*, 96; Robbins and Neumann, *Prehistoric People*; Henderson, Pollack, and Turnbow, "Chronology," 275; Pollack and Henderson, "Model," 287.

Buffalo Village: McMichael, "Excavations," 12-23.

involved the Tomahittans in the conflict between eastern and western Fort Ancient peoples.[11] Unlike European diplomacy, agreements between different groups were reaffirmed every year through ritual gatherings and the exchanging of ceremonial gifts among members to rekindle relationships.[12] The incorporation of southern peoples in Monyton villages was both a blessing and a curse for the Monytons. By increasing their village sizes, their ability to defend and feed the village was strengthened, but at the same time, it placed added pressure on field production and pushed the hunting areas outward even farther. The latter proved increasingly dangerous because of the frequent southern raids of Five Nations of the Iroquois warriors beginning in the 1640s. This was further aggravated by the increased village population and may have caused health issues by creating an overdependence on corn. Their dependence on a relatively small selection of food had caused general malnutrition among the Monytons, according to archaeologists, Janet Brashler and David Reed. By accepting outsiders, the Monytons may have been repopulating their work force and maintaining their food supply. While the presence of southern people among the Monytons suggests increased contact with people in the south, it also suggests that tribal movements were increasing in the region as people jockeyed for space and security in the Appalachian interior.[13]

II. The Eviction of the Massawomecks

The Massawomecks of southwestern Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia also found themselves fractured and homeless during the middle seventeenth century further complicating the situation for Monyton society. They were the closest allies of the Monytons during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but then, foreshadowing the removal of the Monytons, they disappeared from the historical picture. Their disappearance meant an even more dramatic change for the Monytons since most important exotic trade goods came from the Massawomecks. With the increasingly complicated situation with the Tomahittans in the south, the loss of their closest allies was especially devastating. Not only did they lose their last stable trade connection and political allies, but also the buffer between Iroquoian warriors and them was now gone. This forced the Monyton society to adapt yet again, and left it further vulnerable to outside forces.[14]

Even before the removal of the Massawomecks, it appears that the New York Iroquois infiltrated the Ohio valley. Archaeologist Penelope Drooker discusses two distinct "smoking

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[11] Gabriel Arthur does not mention any Tomahittans living among the Monyton people, but as an outsider he may not have been able to discern them from the other villagers. The presence of Tomahittans, as well as other southern peoples, among the Monytons is very likely when general Native American practices are taken into account.

[12] Condolence Ceremonies: Mary Druke Becker, Linking Arms: The Structure of Iroquois Intertribal Diplomacy, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 29-39, on 33, 36; Matthew L. Rhoades, "Assarigoa's Line: Anglo-Iroquois Origins of the Virginia Frontier, 1675-1774." unpublished Ph. D. dissertation at Syracuse University, May 17, 2000, 26. Among the Iroquois and most of the Algonquian tribes, diplomacy was a constantly flowing process which meant that guests from nearby groups frequently took advantage of a village's hospitality. A prevalent series of diplomatic rituals called "at the woods edge" were important among the northern Iroquois and Algonquians and became prevalent across North America during the seventeenth century. This included welcoming speeches, the giving of ceremonial gifts, and the metaphorical wiping of the tears, unplugging of ears, and cleansing the throat of weary travelers, ease social tensions and establish powerful social obligations. These later came to be known as Condolence Ceremonies among the Europeans who progressively took part in them.

[13] Dietary Problems of Monytons: Drooker, 1997, 72; Vernon Leslie, Indian Longevity, *West Virginia Archaeologist* 6(1953), 1-4; Brashler and Reed, "Health and Status," 36-41.

[14] Johnson, "Monongahela," 79-80; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 45, 54, 333, 337.

guns" which suggest a direct connection between the western Fort Ancient villages and the Iroquois people of New York and Canada, especially the Seneca. "From the bulbous ceramic pipe stems and punctuate-rim ceramic trumpet fragments excavated at Madisonville, it is extremely probable the Ontario and perhaps New York Iroquoians visited the [Madisonville] site."[15] The presence of Iroquois pipes as far south as Madisonville in non-grave contexts suggests a close political relationship with these numerous northern people. There are no examples of Iroquois pipes in Monyton villages. In fact, the presence of eastern style pipes is indicative of a much closer connection with Algonquian peoples across the mountains to the east. Drooker also suggests that the presence of pieces of Basque iron-fitted copper kettles, a metal dagger guard and friable blue glass beads also supports a close direct relationship with the Iroquois. The close diplomatic relationship between the Iroquois and Ouabache survived from around 1600 until the1670s. This relationship did not save the Ouabache from Iroquois attack and may have been dissolved after the 1670s.[16] The Massawomecks also were able to gain strong access to European materials giving a strong advantage militarily, even if it was not enough to overcome the much better equipped Seneca.

The connection between the Massawomecks and Monytons completed the long trading chain between the southeast and the Great Lakes region.[17] Among the pre-contact goods which the Monytons received from the north through the Massawomecks were brass animal effigies, spirals, coils, and serpents made from thin metal tubes, cannel coal pendants, ear spools, shell and clay ornaments. The shell and clay items and metal effigies can be traced to the Great Lakes and New England coastlines. This places the Massawomecks in close contact with Iroquoian people early in the seventeenth century, but this soon gave way to a closer connection with the Susquehannocks on the headwaters of the Chesapeake Bay. This is supported by the overall increase in European beads and metal goods across the Ohio valley during mid seventeenth century.[18] As European goods became more common in the northeast during the early 1600s, the Massawomecks became the gateway for most of the European trade goods entering Monyton villages. The interruption of southern trade routes in the 1610s and 1620s had cut off most of the Cumberland region from European trade goods by this point. European metals from kettles, bells and various reprocessed trinkets made their way from the North into Monyton villages, but many European trade goods came from the east. Glass beads, brass and iron, possibly even cloth, came from the Massawomecks trade with the Susquehannocks. By the 1610s and 1620s, the fur trade fueled the east-west trade, making interior Indians focus even more attention on hunting and the collection of furs. In the traditional trade networks, exotic goods were traded directly but as European goods overtook traditional materials, furs became the primary currency. In the 1620s, Iroquoian hunters intruded on other tribes' lands to hunt for pelts. Smaller remote groups like the

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[15] Drooker, *Madisonville*, 333-334.

[16] Connections between western Fort Ancient villages and Iroquoians: Drooker, *Madisonville*, 333-334; Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 13, 223-225.

[17] The Massawomecks were closely related to the Iroquoian people to the north because of their pottery and various flint points, although they differed greatly in their village design. Instead of the iconic Iroquoian longhouse, the Monongahelan people built round houses like the Cumberland Plateau and Monyton people. (See Diagram 2-1 Diagram 3-1: Don W. Dragoo, *The Archaic Hunters of the Upper Ohio Valley*. (Section of Man, Carnegie Museum, Anthropological Series No. 3. 1959), 11.) House construction was a very important spiritual and cultural statement for various native peoples. For the Iroquois, the long-house was a microcosm of their perception of the world, not to mention a political icon. It is unknown what specific spiritual beliefs were held by the Monongahela or Monyton peoples, but their obvious preference for circular houses and palisades may be a subtle hint of this connection.

[18] Trade goods from the Massawomeck (Monongahela): Johnson, "Monongahela," 79-80; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 45, 54, 333, 337; Don W. Dragoo, *The Archaic Hunters of the Upper Ohio Valley*. (Section of Man, Carnegie Museum, Anthropological Series No. 3. 1959), 152-155.

Massawomecks and Monytons yearly produced a large number of furs. The presence of European materials in Monyton villages is not strong enough to support a direct link. The Monytons traded furs with the Massawomecks, or eastern groups like the Tutelos, for European goods. Then the Massawomecks paid in furs to their Susquehannock partners, though a direct connection to European traders in Maryland and Pennsylvania is possible.

By 1640, the Monongahela people no longer lived in Pennsylvania and West Virginia. This date is suggested by the types of European materials found in their village sites which have been traced to the 1630s. Historical records suggest that a large militant group of people from across the mountains of Virginia became a serious threat for the coastal English during the 1640s and 1650s.[19] In 1655, a Colonel Edward Hill, with his militiamen and a group of Pamunkey Indians, was sent out to repel the intruders but was defeated by the Richaherians. These were more than just raiding parties as the Black Minqua joined their brethren the Susquehannocks, also known as the White Minqua, along the Susquehanna River and in New York. (See Diagram 3-2).[20] The Massawomecks sought refuge in the 1640s and 1650s from repeated attacks of disgruntled English colonists and the warriors of the Five Nations of Iroquoia who had pushed them from their homes in the west. These complex migrations brought some Massawomeck bands under the care of the Susquehannocks while others resided south on the North Carolina Piedmont. [21] This effectively severed their strongest trade ties, leaving only their loose connections across the mountains to the east as a source for important cultural materials. This disconnection from the networks, which had been established yet again, forced the Monytons to reevaluate their position and reestablish a way to carry on their traditions.

## III. Native synthesis of Europeans and their trade goods

Pre-contact traditional trade networks were essential to the social order across eastern North America but were flexible and malleable enough to incorporate new materials and people. Native people had to create a place for Europeans and their materials in their society, traditions and overall world view, a much more complicated than in dealing with other Indian groups.[22] Whether unwilling or ignorant, the Europeans were poor allies according to the cultural rules of

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[19] For naming issues see discussion the Introduction.

[20] Diagram 3-2: Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2:color plates.

[21] Removal of Massawomecks: Johnson, "Monongahela," 67-82; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 45, 54, 333, 337; Sams and Whittle, *Conquest*, 403; Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 42, 146, 155, 161; Drooker and Cowan, "Transformation," 83-106; Marvin T. Smith, Aboriginal Population Movements in the Postcontact Southeast, in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, eds. Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 3-20 on 6; Roundtree, "Trouble Coming Southward," 65-78; Whiters, *Border Warfare*, 44; DeHass *Settlement*, 33-34.

Iroquois connections with western Fort Ancient villages: Drooker, *Madisonville*, 314, 333; Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 67.

East-west differences: Drooker, *Madisonville*, 74, 301-330; Drooker, "The Ohio Valley," 120-122.

[22] European explorers notoriously "misunderstood much of what happened in brief face-to-face meetings with Native people." (Richter, *Facing East*, 11.) As the process of incorporating Europeans in Native cultural patterns commenced, language and cultural barriers confused European traders about native societies system. As contact progressed and Indians became familiar with the European ways of doing things, they tried to beat the foreigners at their own trading and political games. These sly attempts often did not bode well when duped traders and colonists violently retaliated. The most prevalent tactic was to avoid direct contact, but this increasingly became impossible as the colonists multiplied and settled close to Native American villages. This forced the removal of villages further into the interior and pushed native groups into closer quarters with each other.

Native American politics. Native people had to develop new strategies to deal with Europeans. They first attempted to incorporate newcomers into their traditional systems as fictive kin. When that did not work, they tried to defeat them, join them, or even copy them, in hopes of coming to terms with the newcomers. Even when direct contact was avoided, native people contributed to the distribution of European materials in unbalanced trade negotiations:

> "Although Europeans and Indians were locked together for mutual advantage, they were not really on equal terms in the larger sense. They were interdependent within the commercial system they had together created, but were not equally dependent on that system. Europeans could shift to trading opportunities elsewhere or settle down within a diversifying European colony, whereas Indians could not go back to old ways, for they had lost lands and skills and could never again insulate themselves from European pressures and dangers."[23]

In English-Indian trade relationship each group filled roles much more complex than just those cast by Europeans of imperial oppressor and uncivilized victim. The Monytons, though, participated in the larger trade system long before such highly complex direct relationships with English were established.[24]

Exotic trade materials in Monyton villages were important markers of status, cultural affiliation and religious beliefs. Materials brought into Ohio River villages had multiple layers of significance, social, political, and spiritual, which connected individuals to a much larger network of social obligation and cultural heritage. Exotic materials were necessary gifts and offerings for the rituals that maintained diplomatic alliances with other villages. As outsiders entered a village, gift giving also was part of the process of introductions. Placing shell materials or hammered copper and mica in the graves of loved-ones was a way to honor the dead. Even before the trade goods reached the grave, they were made into symbols of the spirit world, such as spirit bags and Citico gorgets. Their cultural meanings remained relatively unaltered even after the introduction of European materials because traditional goods and European materials filled different niches in the society. Indians exhibited a well-defined sense of bartering and used this to their advantage in negotiations for new materials which fulfilled their own cultural aesthetics and needs. This allowed them to trade on their own terms and maintain their heritage. Even though villages in the south were visited often in the mid-to-late sixteenth century, "by the time they were again in direct contact with Europeans, they had adopted a 'synthetic [culture] incorporating both European trade goods and traditional artifacts, values, and activities in a new, distinctive, stable cultural format.'"[25] By 1670 even the Ohio Valley was reaping the benefits of European/Native American trade. Father Marquette, a Jesuit missionary in 1670 at La Pointe on southern shore of Superior talked with some passing Illinois warriors: "'They [had been] visited last summer by a nation whom they call Chaouanon, and who lived to the east-southeast of their country… They had glass beads, which proves that they had communication with Europeans." [26] While the role of European materials in Monyton villages grew considerably from 1600 to 1640, traditional goods, such as cannel coal pendants, shell ornaments and native copper, retained their value. In fact, as their nearest neighbors struggled to maintain cultural stability, Monytons

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[23] D. W. Meinig, *The shaping of America: a geographical perspective on 500 years of history*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 211.
[24] Incorporation of Europeans in North America: James Axtell, *Beyond 1492: encounters in colonial North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 100; D. W. Meinig, *The shaping of America: a geographical perspective on 500 years of history*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 205-213; Richter, *Facing East*, 41-57.
[25] Drooker, *Madisonville*, 54.

[26] Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1:120.

returned somewhat to their use of shell, bone and clay implements while European materials declined slightly around 1640.This was a direct result of crumbling political and trade alliances.[27]

Even though labeled "trinkets" among Europeans, these new trade goods fulfilled the cultural needs and aesthetic desires of native people. Even those items which had real functional use on the frontier for English, French and Spanish traders, such as axe heads, were given alternative spiritual and cultural meanings which were misunderstood by Europeans. For the native villager, "the axehead was far too valuable to be used to chop trees. And so it slipped into ancient patterns of long-distance North American trade, steeped in spiritual significance and valued for its raw material rather than for its cultural irrelevant finished form."[28] This is especially true for new European manufactured metals such as iron and brass. With continued contact the trade materials eventually were used for their European intentions. Metal goods such as bells, kettles and sword blades, fishhooks, spears, knives, machetes, cutting hooks, spades, hoes, axes, celts, wedges for splitting wood, scissors, needles, and awls, were commonly given new cultural roles.[29] Flint and steel "strike-a-lights" used for building fires were examples of how Indians adopted European tools that made village life easier. Previously, villagers had to maintain smoldering embers of a fire or laboriously relight fires every time they made an encampment. Some items such as "strike a lights" and bits of metal hammered into arrow points were desired for their simplification of previous complicated everyday activities.[30]

Items used for personal adornment were the most commonly traded Europeans materials. Most of the glass and clay beads found in Monyton sites have come from burials as elaborate adornments worn by the deceased.[31] Father Marquette, quoted above, mentions the presence of such beads as an indication of contact with Europeans. The coloration of beads was the most significant factor in determining value for Natives, with blues, reds and whites as favored colors. In addition to beads, shards of metal, kettles, broken knife and sword blades were valued because they could be reworked into bead-like forms and they lasted longer than shell, bone or wood forms. One valuable European trade item, cloth, has not yet been uncovered in Monyton sites. Skins and hides were the only clothes known among the Monyton people before the arrival of Europeans, as there is no evidence of textile manufacture, i.e. looms, in the Ohio. Cloth was desirable because it dried easily and was much easier to repair, whereas skins soaked up moisture making them heavy and uncomfortable. If the desire for cloth, or duffels, along the Atlantic

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[27] Traditional trade goods and cultural connections: Drooker, *Madisonville*; Merrell, James H. " 'Our Bond of Peace': Patterns of Intercultural Exchange in the Carolina Piedmont, 1650-1750." in *Powhatan's Mantle: Indians in Colonial Southeast*, eds. Peter H. Wood, Gregory A. Waselkov, and M. Thomas Hatley, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 196-222.

[28] Richter, *Facing East*, 15.

[29] In 1620, French trade houses included a wide range of materials: cloaks, blankets, nightcaps, hats, shirts, hatchets, iron arrowheads, bodkins, swords, picks to break ice, knives, kettles, prunes, raisins, Indian corn, peas, crackers (sea biscuits) and tobacco, flint and steel "strike a lights." Richard White, *Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 97-98; Richter, *Facing East*, 44-50.

[30] European goods available: Richter, *Facing East*, 41, 43-44; James Axtell, *Beyond 1492: encounters in colonial North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 145; James Axtell, At the Water's Edge: Trading in the Sixteenth Century, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 144-181;

[31] Beads introduced along the Atlantic seaboard, as a way to date archaeological sites. Their discovery has produced an extensive amount of research concerning adornment in native societies.

coasts and in the interior southeast are any indication, the Monyton people sought after it as well. The trade for cloth, or duffels, was second only to beads in volume among eastern Indian groups. It seems unlikely that the Monytons would have access to guns and not cloth, therefore this is bias of the preservation process. Clothing and jewelry were important indications of status and spiritual power; therefore the shift from shell and other traditionally manufactured items indicates major changes in the Monytons' economic focus.[32]

Though cloth was traded more heavily, the social changes it caused were minor compared the role of new deadlier weaponry in shifting the balance of power in intertribal politics. Native warfare relied on a limited assortment of tools made out of local materials, such as wood, bone and stone, before contact weapons, including bow and arrows, ball-headed war clubs, shields, spears and armor appeared. It was not long after the arrival of Europeans that this collection of armaments grew deadlier. The earliest explorers and traders maintained their superiority among native people by distributing axes and hatchets but not rifles. Bits of metal were grafted onto arrows to become much cheaper and more effective projectiles. At least initially, the benefits of everyday tools, like metal hatchets, knives, and strong rope provided a distinct edge in native warfare against more traditionally armed opponents, but this did not always ensure a victory. Traders did not long restrict their sale of guns to native people. Indians, after witnessing the shock value and destructive power of guns, went to great lengths to purchase them, and traders soon saw the potential for a profit which outweighed the possible, "use of the guns against the very persons who had furnished them." This threat though could not be ignored so "all colonies took steps in the early years to check, if not to abolish, the trade. They failed in because of the same spirit of greed and lawlessness which made a mockery of the liquor regulations."[33] Local groups sought contacts with traders to gain a military advantage over their enemies. The success of war parties with the advantage of strong metal hatchets and knives was also a great advertisement for traders to increase their sale of guns. It is important to note the shift in focus, yet again, away from traditional materials. Native people quickly incorporated these deadlier tools, but traditional weapons were still used into the nineteenth century, because of the inherent problems of guns for native people. The flintlock muskets of the seventeenth century, although easier to use than earlier models, still required frequent maintenance. The striker, balls and powder had to be kept dry and in constant supply. All this required native people to keep in close contact with their European trade partners. This was a relationship of dependence resented by native people. As they spread among native groups but it meant that Indians were impelled to acquire these weapons or suffer their effects. The Monytons never obtained a large arsenal of firearms, but the few rifles they did possess provided protection in the increasingly threatening Ohio Valley.[34]

For the Monytons, who acquired guns from their southern Tomahittan allies later than many northern groups, their cultural needs and threats to security motivated them to establish

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[32] New trade goods and cultural adaptations: Drooker, "The Ohio Valley;" Richter, *Facing East*, 36-45; Bernard Sheehan, *Savagism & Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia*, (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1979), 143; Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century*, (Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, 1997), 48-49; NYCD IV, 41-42.

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[33] Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century*, (Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, 1997), 94.

[34] New weaponry: Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* 33-34; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 56; Richter, "Ordeals," 21; Smith, *Archaeology*, 13, 20; Mary Lou Lustig, *The Imperial Executive in America: Sir Edmund Andros, 1637-1714*, (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2002), 68; Douglas Edward Leach, *The Northern Colonial Frontier: 1607-1763*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 20-22, 100; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 24; Richter, *Facing East*, 44-50; Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century*, (Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, 1997), 94-96, 213, 225.

and maintain connections with their closest neighbors who had already gained access to exotic goods. The shifting climate made acquiring European materials imperative to sustain their traditions and to secure their villages, but ironically this reliance was creating a worsening of their social conditions. The costs of this increased contact with Europeans forced the Monytons to deal with increasing social instability. The needs which forced them to trade caused many to leave to search for a way to acquire these goods.

IV. The fur trade as a catalyst for social instability.

Indians had to hunt for food and to make leather for clothing, and it provided training for young male warriors. Monyton game consisted of mostly large animals, such as deer, elk, black bear, and an occasional buffalo, but smaller game, like beaver, rabbit, and raccoon, were also a part of their diet. (See Table 3.1 Animals found in Monyton Sites). Pre-contact hunting was focused on maintaining an ample food supply for the year and creating a stock of supplies, like bones and skins, needed for adornment and clothing. Hunting provided Monytons a profitable resource, furs, which they used as the main currency in trade during the seventeenth century. Deerskin was a valuable trade item, but the smaller pelts of animals, like beavers and mink, were more valuable because they were used in the production of felt back in Europe. "In these exchanges the fears and desires of non-European cultures came into play as well. Indians, like Europeans, saw themselves as competitors with their neighbors; despite their misgivings, they usually chose to pursue trade with strangers as a means of gaining advantage over rivals."[35] For Indians, furs were a means to the gain access to useful new weapons, tools, and culturally important materials like beads. "The Beaver does everything perfectly well," a Montagnais man told a French missionary, "it makes kettles, hatchets, swords, knives, bread: … in short, it makes everything."[36] This European dominated trade caused major disturbances in the everyday lives of native people all across North America.

Interest in the fur resources began on the very first landing of Europeans in North America. When the Dutch ship, the *Half Moon*, returned in 1609 from a trip to the Hudson Bay they brought back pelts of beavers and otters. This was more than enough to whet the appetite of European entrepreneurs searching for an alternative to Scandinavian and Russian furs. It also opened a ravenous Indian consumer market along the coastlines of North America. For the 400 or more pelts gathered from their native hosts, the Dutch sailors traded 40 small "trinkets" including some beads, buttons, scraps of metal and various scraps of cloth. Though the sailors believed the tidbits were valueless trash, for the native people the materials were outside of their manufacturing ability and thus highly valuable. After the initial shock of contact wore off, sometimes in a matter of days, they began selecting through the materials offered according to culturally specific needs and desires, and European traders learned these desires quickly. The craze for furs gained speed among the English, French and Dutch traders in the northeast throughout the seventeenth century.[37] The Dutch New York trade colony dominated the fur trade till 1664, when the colony was taken over by the English. It was not until the establishment of Charles Town by English traders in South Carolina in 1670, that there was even a noticeable market for skin and fur trade in the south. This northern dominance was fueled by the quality of

[35] Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673-1800*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2.

[36] James Axtell, At the Water's Edge: Trading in the Sixteenth Century, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 144-181, on 167.

[37] In 1624, still very early in the development of the fur trade, 4,700 beaver and otter skins were brought back to Holland from New Netherland, but by 1635 that number was 16,304.

fur from their cooler climates. Beavers in the north had much thicker and more valuable pelts. The same was true for other furs sought by Europeans. Vying for part of this trade were the French traders on the northern side of the Great Lakes. As fur increasingly became the currency of trade, and more native groups became involved in its trade, the French and Dutch tried to increase business by courting the native peoples of New York and the southern Great Lakes.[38]

The geographic position and political skills of the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy assisted them in taking control of a large portion of the native fur trade. The strength of the legendary Iroquois has been the subject of much discussion. "Iroquois preeminence … stemmed less from 'martial ardor' or 'thirst for glory' than from an extraordinary ability to adapt familiar customs and institutions in response to novel challenges, to convert weaknesses into strengths, and to forge alliances among themselves and with others that helped preserve native political and cultural autonomy."[39] Their control was more of a perception of English and French traders than it was a reality. Francis Jennings in *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, disputes the gross overstatement of Iroquois power across the northeast of North America during the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century. The Iroquois became more than just middlemen in a high volume trade between Europeans along the coastlines and Native people in the interior by establishing tenuous diplomatic and trade relations with the Dutch, French, and English. Before the 1640s, the Iroquois were devastated by the firearms of French allied Indians, but in 1640 they finally gained access to the vigorous, if illegal, Dutch arms trade.[40]

The increase in firearms and the ever increasing demand for furs led to increased conflict in the interior of North America. The potential for intertribal conflict was ever present even before the arrival of Europeans, but increased involvement in trade with the newcomers brought native peoples perilously close to dependency. Iroquois warriors began roaming farther and farther west around 1640 in what has been termed the "Beaver Wars." George Hunt in *The Wars of the Iroquois; A Study in Intertribal Relations* suggested that Iroquois villages had depleted their supply of pelts and thus began roaming into other tribal lands to obtain the necessary furs for trade goods upon which they had become dependant. There were changes in warfare during the seventeenth century, making this view an oversimplification. "It may be conceded that even if the Iroquois were not dependant on the products of European technology, they wanted them. But did they want them enough to destroy other groups in order to get at their furs in order to

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[38] The European side of the fur trade: James Axtell, At the Water's Edge: Trading in the Sixteenth Century, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 144-181; Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century*, (Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, 1997); Douglas Edward Leach, *The Northern Colonial Frontier: 1607-1763*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966); Crane, *Southern Frontier*.

[39] Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, Introduction, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 5-8, on 7-8.

[40] Fur trade and its effects: James Axtell, At the Water's Edge: Trading in the Sixteenth Century, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 144-181; Joel W. Martin, Southeastern Indians and the English Trade in Skins and Slaves, in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, eds. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 304-324; James Axtell, *Beyond 1492: encounters in colonial North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 131-145; Drooker and Cowan, "Transformation," 103; Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673-1800*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2; Crane, *Southern Frontier*; Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century*, (Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, 1997); Gary B. Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The peoples of early America*, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974), 93-94.

trade for those goods?"[41] The desire for European trade goods alone did not to justify the aggressive behavior exhibited by Iroquois warriors during the mid to late seventeenth century. Their widespread warfare was also the product of a long cultural history of intertribal warfare.[42]

Monyton involvement in the fur trade was by all estimations minimal but the large store of fur enticed raiding northern Indians. Their remote location precluded direct trade with European fur traders throughout most of the seventeenth century, though it is likely that they used furs to trade with fellow native peoples who in turn traded the fur further down the line. Although "beaver wars" theory has recently been discredited by Francis Jennings and José António Brandão, it suggests that in the middle and late seventeenth century Monyton hunting territories were threatened by Indian raiding parties. Hunting territories were carefully calculated areas which served not only to feed a village, but also to provide a buffer between other villages and outsiders. As the need for furs expanded, and more fur traders pursued trading partners, the toll on the environment was immediate. Small game decreased, forcing even wider searches. As hunting required more and more time, the chores of village life had to be restructured. Fur hunting involved the whole village; men hunted larger game and laid traps for small game. Women and children often collected the game from those traps and they skinned and cured the hides for later transport. The exponential increase in production of furs for trade required increasingly larger portions of time.

V. Disease

One of the most dramatic and destructive issues facing Native Americans was the uncontrollable spread of the diseases carried by Europeans.[43] Henry F. Dobyns calculated there were approximately 18 million people living in North America around the turn of the sixteenth century.[44] From 1492-1600, a period of 108 years, the population dropped down to around 8 or 9 million. This is attributed to the spread of European diseases to which native people had no immunity. Between 1600 and 1680, Dobyns accounts for a further two-thirds loss of population in the southeast, from 200,000 to approximately 67,000 people. Since his initial publication of *Their Number Become Thinned* in 1983, Dobyns has supported a focus on multiple factors of population instability by tempering his previous over-emphasis on epidemic diseases.

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[41] Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* 51.

[42] Beaver War possibilities: Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* 45, 84; Johnson, "Monongahela," 67-82; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 64; Richter, "Ordeals," 19-20; Neal Salisbury, Toward the Covenant Chain: Iroquois and Southern New England Algonquians, 1637-1684, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 61-73, on 61-65; Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 50-74, 144-149.

[43] How and where diseases like smallpox, measles, and bubonic plague struck has been debated by historians since the nineteenth century. Initial European estimations of Native populations assumed that much of the continent was vacant and thus the total population of North America was only around 5,000 people. "It would seem that earlier accounts misrepresented the size of these towns making them appear smaller than they really were. Possibly this was done in order not to deter settlers from coming over."( Sams and Whittle, *Conquest*, 130.) Unfortunately, the lack of strong historical data has not allowed a systematic analysis of the Ohio River region in the same way that Henry Dobyns was able to do for the southeast.

[44] This liberal figure is debated by Douglas Ubelaker who estimated the overall population at a much more conservative 2 million around 1492. Milner, Anderson, and Smith, "Distribution," 14-15; John W. Verano and Douglas H.Ubelaker, eds., *Disease and Demography in the Americas*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992).

Nonetheless, the fact remains that disease was a major factor in Native American life during the seventeenth century.[45]

It has been assumed that native people lived disease-free lives before the advent of Europeans, but this is not the case.[46] Prior to 1492, diseases were slowly introduced between Indian groups and thus immunity formed gradually. (Refer to Table Concerning Epidemics)[47] The sudden contact with so many different people from Europe introduced a multitude of unknown diseases. The transmission and aftermath of such epidemics as smallpox, scarlet fever, measles, influenza and various other diseases was of immediate importance to the struggle of the Monyton people. Diseases, like small pox, periodically struck across the east in waves. Smallpox left its mark across North America as early as 1520-1524. At the end of the sixteenth century, during the winter of 1592-1593, New England and eastern Great Lakes peoples suffered from a major outbreak of smallpox. It was not until 1649, that smallpox was recorded in epidemic levels, this time among the Iroquois in New York.[48] During the period of 1593-1649, small clusters of outbreaks of disease probably occurred without notice or mention.[49]

Increased mortality rates caused native peoples much concern in the seventeenth century. These new diseases did not discriminate between weak or strong, young or old when they struck, leaving villages weakened from top to bottom. The few who managed to survive were unable to care for their village. In the 1680s and 1690s, the Iroquois and their neighbors suffered repeated bouts of smallpox: “Small pox had destroyed four hundred Iroquois and a hundred Mohegans (Loups) and that in the great Mohegan town where they had been, only sixteen men had been spared by the disease.”[50] The toll on the population of a village was devastating, but for those who survived it was even more difficult. While the losses of population and the problems of survival limited their physical numbers, it also hindered the oral transmission of cultural heritage by wiping out the bearers of such knowledge. The high mortality of these diseases was a major catalyst for the ethnogenesis of fractured communities into sustainable villages. The ravages of disease in the south caused the movement of Cumberland Plateau people into Monyton villages during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.[51]

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[45] Initial Estimate of population: Dobyns, *Thinned*; Milner, Anderson, and Smith, “Distribution,” 14-15.

[46] The presence of various ailments and diseases in North America before the arrival of Europeans has not received much attention mostly because of the bias of historical sources. Europeans most avidly described diseases with which they were familiar, and it is likely that they mistook some sicknesses. The historical evidence for epidemics during the 1600s in the Appalachian Mountains is, at best, second hand stories related in brief journal entries of distant Europeans. The general picture related by these brief accounts was pieced together through the work of Henry Dobyns and Marvin Smith in the 1980s. Both were focused on the effects of disease on indigenous people in North America before the colonial period.

[47] Table Concerning Epidemics, pp. 120-122.

[48] For full tables see, Appendix A; Dobyns, *Thinned*, 15-23.

[49] De Soto, Pardo and de Luna mentions of disease: Smith, “Aboriginal Depopulation,” 257-275; Worth, “Spanish Military,” 104-122; Merrell, “Catawba Experience,” 30-31; Davis, *Mountains*, 11-15; Richter, *Facing East*, 35; Smith, *Archaeology*, 11-13; Sixteenth Century Catawba Valley, <http://www.warren-wilson.edu/~arch/Berrysite.html>, (10 April 2004).

French influences on disease: Dobyns, *Thinned*.

[50] NYCD, IX, 490.

[51] Disease: Smith, “Aboriginal Depopulation,” 257-275; Hudson, “Introduction,” xi-xxxix; Marvin T. Smith, Aboriginal Population Movements in the Postcontact Southeast, in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, eds. Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 3-20; Dobyns, *Thinned*; Richter, *Facing East*, 60; Milner, Anderson, and Smith, “Distribution,” 9-18; Ward and Davis Jr.,

A century after the introduction of European diseases, the Monytons had experienced diseases periodically and were weakened by them. An especially bad wave of smallpox occurred during the years of 1665-1667 affecting tribes from Florida and far north into the mountains of Virginia. Archaeologists have suggested that the lack of contact with Europeans until 1671 would have spared the Ohio River Valley the most damaging effects of smallpox. The presence of mass burials at a site would be considered strong evidence of severe epidemics, but few mass burials have been uncovered in West Virginia and Kentucky sites.[52] Another indicator of epidemic disease is a sharp peak in the number of graves around the same time, but again there is little evidence of such a sudden increase in burials among Monyton villages. The problem with mass graves is that they require a great deal of effort to create. A seventeenth century Indian society weakened by a sudden outbreak of smallpox was wiped out, as can be seen in this record of an outbreak of the disease in Mexico in 1592:

> "The illness was so dreadful that no one could walk or move. The sick were so utterly helpless that they could only lie on their beds like corpses, unable to move their limbs or even their heads. If they did move their bodies, they screamed in pain. Many succumbed to the illness while others starved to death because there was no one to provide sufficient food for their recovery."[53]

Mass burials were impossible to perform in these conditions. They did not have the workforce to complete such an undertaking, and the survivors were inclined to not touch their deceased relatives for fear of contracting and spreading the sickness. By leaving individuals unburied the bodies would have decomposed and thus would not show up in the archaeological record. Hernando de Soto stumbled upon a similar scene of "dog-eaten bodies" strewn in the forests of the Appalachian Mountains.[54] Even if the bones were preserved, the high mortality outbreaks of smallpox and measles left little to no signs on the bodies. This makes the analysis of the true extent of disease very difficult. [55]

Dobyns outlined three general effects of disease: 1. immunity or death, 2. mental instability and social ineffectiveness, 3. cultural instability. Even if the Monytons were insulated from the ravages of European diseases before 1671, after that date they experienced direct and sustained contact with English traders and their illnesses. There were two widespread bouts of

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"Tribes and Traders," 125-141; Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America*, (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 15-17; Francis Jennings, "Pennsylvania Indians" and the Iroquois, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 75-91, on 78; Michael N. McConnell, Peoples "In Between": The Iroquois and the Ohio Indians, 1720-1768, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 93-112, 94.

Lack of Pre-Contact diseases: Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America*, (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 15; Dobyns, *Thinned*, 34.

[52] Mass graves have also been linked to an increase of warfare. Drooker and Cowan, "Transformation," 83-106; Drooker, 1997, 46, 55, 209.

[53] Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America*, (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 17.

[54] Merrell, "Catawba Experience," 30.

[55] Archaeological evidence of epidemics: Ward and Davis Jr., "Tribes and Traders," 135, 140; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 74, 209; Hudson, "Introduction," xxiii.

smallpox between 1671 and 1700 across much of the northeast in English and French regions. Another consequence of severe outbreaks of disease was the emigration of the survivors to join stronger nearby groups. The occurrence of smallpox or any other disease could ostracize a village from its neighbors and allies. When Iroquois and Mohegans suffered from smallpox in the 1680s, the Iroquois had been asked to visit the Mohegan village by English traders. "The English and Mohegans (Loups) having been attacked by the Small pox, sent to the rendezvous some persons who were still red with the marks of it; which greatly incensed the Iroquois who told them they were bringing the plague among them. That disorder did in fact break out in their midst, and destroyed more than three hundred of them."[56] In retaliation, the Iroquois rampaged through remote English settlements in the Appalachian foothills on their way back to their villages in New York. In the face of such merciless and invisible killers, the societies they attacked were left weakened or fractured. "Such situations would have provided ideal opportunities for traditional enemies to wreak vengeance on suddenly weakened foes, triggering movement to safer locales and prompting the formation of alliances among decimated groups desperately struggling for survival."[57] These effects were devastating not only among the Monytons, but also for their allies and enemies. The network of alliances and trade which were ritually maintained also suffered the loss of individuals.[58]

VI: Conclusions

The social climate of the Ohio River Valley was changing during the early and middle seventeenth century. Monyton people were dealing with the effects of increasing pressure on their social order. They had altered their preferences for materials used for maintaining their spiritual and political lives with the availability of new materials, leading to a greater reliance on foreign materials. An increased focus on hunting and trapping small game took away from their other more traditional activities such as farming and crafts in order to obtain European trade materials such as metal, cloth, and guns. The Massawomecks, to the north, and the Cumberland Plateau Indians, to the south, were both weakened by the social and population pressures of neighboring peoples and disease. The increased number of southern people in Monyton villages had to be absorbed. By the 1650s, villages once filled by the Massawomecks were unoccupied as they sought refuge among their brethren in the east and south. Disease had also moved closer to Monyton villages, possibly carried by their allies. Trade had brought a relative halt to many of their traditional skills which were replaced by a dependence on European made goods. The process of incorporating Europeans allowed the Monyton people to maintain their cultural values, political strength and spiritual traditions, by adapting to new social conditions. As changes accelerated during the mid-seventeenth century, some villages could no longer re-group and adapt so they splintered and fractured. Other villages, such as the larger ones along the Kanawha and Big Sandy rivers, recollected into yet fewer villages, but maintained their traditions and cultural values relatively intact. The population of the entire Ohio River was cut in half by 1670. Disease, changes in the everyday needs of the village, and the shredding of the old trade network further weakened the social fabric of Monyton villages. Still, Monytons maintained a foothold in the ancestral home, and survived the first wave which would eventually push them out of the region. The social instabilities of interior peoples and the draw of trade fueled increasing violence in the Ohio River Valley.

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[56] NYCD, IX, 460-461.

[57] Milner, Anderson, and Smith, "Distribution," 16.

[58] Population Instabilities: Milner, Anderson, and Smith, "Distribution," 9-18.

# Chapter 4:
# Fighting to Hang On: Northern Warfare, 1660-1690

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"Tradition tells of many a bloody battle along the shores of this grand old river, over whose sylvan banks has so often rushed the crimson tide of Indian massacre."[1]

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Increased warfare was the most visible historical symptom of the changes occurring among native people in North America during the seventeenth century. So much has been written concerning the conflicts of natives with Europeans and among themselves that they are still viewed as bloody savages. Only in the last twenty years of the twentieth century have historians written a more balanced picture of Native people. Much of what is known about seventeenth century indigenous life in the east is collected from detailed accounts of conflicts. Traditional Indian seventeenth century warfare was very different from European conflicts because of the weaponry, issues, and people involved. Europeans caused a dramatic increase in warfare in Monyton territory, but other Indian groups also struggled with outside invaders. The entire North American continent was under constant threat of violence from Europeans and other Indians. Archaeological and historical evidence in the Ohio Valley suggests a dramatic increase in warfare which affected the Monytons. As warfare increased, natives became involved in a complex system of trade which led many to slightly alter their traditional ways. Cross-cultural trade brought native people into conflict with each other. The Monytons fought distant Indian war parties who sought retribution, captives, and plunder which effectively depleted the Monyton's natural resources and population base. The Monytons fought violent intruders from all sides but by 1692 were unable to defend and sustain their villages in the Ohio River Valley. This caused both a forced and voluntary migration northward during the 1680s and 1690s. Adoption practices incorporated the Monytons into new villages, strengthening the New York Iroquois while conversely weakening Middle Ohio Monyton villages.

## I. Continental Conflagration

The seventeenth century was violent for both Native people and Europeans in North America. Indians jostled to maintain their positions far from Europeans eyes.[2] Indians were drawn into them through their alliances with these countries. Typical was the "Covenant Chain" created between the Iroquois and the English in 1677. A series of major battles caught the Iroquois between the English and the French. The latter had attacked the Iroquois leaving them as weakened that they agreed to neutrality in 1701. These wars between old European rivals, that affected Indians, were local manifestations of growing global hostility.[3]

The participation of Indians in the wars of the English, French and Dutch was more a

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[1] DeHass *Settlement*, 33.

[2] Europeans were the major parties in worldwide conflicts. The English had wrested control of New Netherland (renamed New York) from the Dutch after three minor wars (1652-1654, 1665-1667, and 1672-1674). The Dutch colonists were encouraged to stay in the colony and actively trade after they swore oaths to their new English rulers. This meant Indians continued to have access to European trade goods they had been introduced to only fifty years earlier. King William's War began as the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-1697) in Europe and proceeded to be fought in North America. King William's War: Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 132, 134, 140-146; Richard L. Haan, Covenant and Consensus: Iroquois and English, 1676-1760, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 41-57, on 52.

[3] General warfare in North America: Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

process of intertribal-intercultural politics, than a function of European political squabbling. Between 1600 and 1640, neighboring villages in the Northeast participated in European conflicts to gain power and the advantages of alliances with European powers. The early conflicts of the Virginia Powhatans with the English in the first half of the seventeenth century (1622 and 1644) were ill omens for all native people. The settlement of Virginia in 1607 immediately put Europeans in conflict with the Powhatan Indians. The most severe fighting began in 1622 when Opechancanough, the chief of the Powhatans and then, made a fierce effort to repel the advancing waves of English settlers. Another major assault came in 1644, when the Virginia militias finally overcame the weakened Powhatans, imprisoned and murdered Opechancanough. The resolution of the conflict prompted Virginians to build a series of forts along the western borders of the Virginia territory. In 1646, Fort Henry was built on the Appomattox River and became the staging point for all English explorations in the Appalachian Mountains during the century. The Virginian response to the Powhatans during the initial stages of the seventeenth century set the tone for future conflicts on the Virginia frontier. Two New England examples of conflicts between Indians and Europeans were the Pequot War (1636-1637)[4] and King Philip's War (1675-1676)[5]. Native people in New England sought to maintain their control and access to lands which had traditionally been theirs, but Europeans put pressure on space. The fear and anger that King Philip's War unleashed upon New England colonists spread to the Chesapeake where a major rebellion broke out.[6]

Many factors contributed to Bacon's Rebellion (1675-1677), but most important was Nathaniel Bacon's attacks on Indians. Virginia Governor William Berkeley had been struggling to control his colonists in the face of increasing conflicts with native people even before Nathaniel Bacon took matters into his own hands. Berkeley remarked that "the infection of the Indianes in New England has dilated it selfe to the Merilanders and the Northern parts of

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[4] Peqout War: Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 28-9, 116, 118; ; Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 91-94, 101. The Pequot War began in 1636 with the murder of a disreputable English trader who attempted to ransom Pequot Indian captives as a conflict fueled by native frustrations at unscrupulous Europeans traders. The English learned the Pequots were preparing further retaliation. The Indians refused English demands to hand over the murderers and pay a heavy tribute of corn. The English enlisted the help of their new native trade partners, the Narragansett, Connecticut and Mohegan Indians, goading them to attack the Pequots. In fact, the majority of fighting was between the Pequot and the English native allies, with few English fatalities on the battle field. The climax came in May 1637 when the Puritan Militia massacred a Pequot village on the Mystic River. The Pequot War left intertribal politics in the region smoldering. The involvement of the English deepened rifts between groups and perpetuated conflict.

[5] King Philip's War: Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1998). King Philip's War was more than just a product of the killing of a Christian Indian, John Sassamon on January 29, 1675; it was the visible and violent expression of the frustration of the Wampanoag, Nipmuck and other New England tribes at the threats of the English to their ways of life. As Jill Lepore has pointed out, this was the battle between two cultures was directed at self-preservation. Fighting began with native people lashing out at Europeans in the New England colonies but deteriorated to reprisals on both sides. Metacom, better known as King Philip, was a shrewd diplomat and allied with more and more tribes, even futilely seeking an alliance with the Mohawks in January 1676. The conflict progressively died down by August 1676 when Metacom was killed by a Christian Indian soldier.

[6] Opechacanough's attacks in 1622: Beverley, Robert. *The History and Present State of Virginia*. (Richmond: J.W. Randolph, 1855), 39-50; Brown, *Good Wives*, 116; Samuel Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia*, 4th. ed., (Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1925), 15; Bernard Sheehan, *Savagism & Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia*. (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1979), 169-173; Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 46-50.

Establishment of Fort Henry: Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 29-33.

Virginia." [7] The aging and feeble Berkeley learned from King Philip's War in New England that allowing his colonists to rampage indiscriminately against Virginia's Indians increased the threat of pan-Indian assaults. Berkeley demanded that future attacks be government sanctioned, after Virginia colonists attacked allied Indian tribes in Virginia and Maryland in 1675. Nathaniel Bacon, a well educated, backcountry farmer, had raised a small troop of local farmers and attacked a village of Appomattox Indians in retaliation for Indian attacks on their homesteads. The problem was that the Appomattox Indians had not been involved in the attacks and were strong allies of the Virginia government. Bacon and his followers did not distinguish between friendly and enemy Indians; all Indians were a threat and therefore subject to attacks. Governor Berkeley reprimanded Bacon, but he had the support of the Virginia backcountry.[8]

Undeterred, Bacon demanded a militia commission to legitimize his previous military action, but Governor Berkeley unconditionally denied his request. Bacon continued to indiscriminately attack native settlements across Maryland and Virginia. Although Bacon's Rebellion was as much against the established autocracy of Berkeley as it was against Indians, the effects of this revolt were devastating for Indian communities in the Virginia backcountry. They were pushed farther west off their lands against the Appalachian mountain ridges. This process was spurred by an ever increasing desire for land by English homesteaders, which brought colonists and Indians into much more frequent contact. Native and non-natives were fighting to establish stability while maintaining their heritage.[9] The psychological scarring of this bloody struggle left coastal Indians very vulnerable, increasing social divisions and inter-group violence. The spread of Indian violence frightened the English and prompted the effort to push them far away from settlements. Stories of the Virginia and New England wars reached the Monytons and were a warning.[10]

As the seventeenth century wore on and the toll on native and European communities increased, the news crossing the mountains into Monyton lands was dire. Caught in the grips of cross-cultural conflict with Europeans, native people found it hard to maintain their relationships with other Indian groups. Seventeenth century conflict incorporated native people through their political relationships with Europeans. Alliances required Indians to attack Europeans and natives. Although coercion was often used by Europeans to get native people to fight in their

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[7] Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 168.

[8] Appomattox allies of Maryland: Alvord and Bidgood, 32-34; Roundtree, "Trouble Coming Southward," 74; Samuel Kercheval, *A History of the Valley of Virginia*, 4th. ed., (Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Publishing House, 1925), 16-34; Mary Lou Lustig, *The Imperial Executive in America: Sir Edmund Andros, 1637-1714*. (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2002), 86, 102; Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 55-58.

[9] Bacon's Rebellion: Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, (Richmond: J.W. Randolph, 1855), 61-71; Stephen Saunders Webb, *1676: The End of American Independence*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984); Kevin Phillips, *The Cousin's War: Religion, Politics, and the Triumph of Anglo-America*, (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 65-66, 106, 193; Douglas Edward Leach, *Roots of Conflict: British Armed Forces and Colonial Americans, 1677-1763*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 8-12, 169; Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), 136-137; Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 51-58, 108, 123.

[10] King Philips' War: Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1998); Kevin Phillips, *The Cousin's War: Religion, Politics, and the Triumph of Anglo-America*, (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 66-67; Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century*, (Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, 1997), 190-193, 230-236, 326; Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 55, 80, 93, 97-109, 123, 234.

wars, native warriors were not naïve pawns. They fought to fulfill their political obligations as well as their culturally-specific needs. Even distant Indians fought each other in the seventeenth century as warfare (both traditional and European-influenced), spread among people of the Appalachians and beyond.

II. Traditional Warfare

Warfare was an increasingly important component of Monyton society during the seventeenth century as conditions became more threatening. Monytons participated in traditional warfare as a response to both internal and external social pressures. Internally, warfare served to support the established social order of each village by involving individuals in village politics. It also served to defend and stabilize the population levels in Monyton villages. Warfare was also a response to external effects such as population losses from the attacks of outsiders. The entire village was involved in the preparations for war. Warfare was a way for young males to gain social status among their people and to uphold the honor of one's family. In Iroquois warfare, which is very close to Monyton warfare, "Individual Iroquois war chiefs, young men, and the mourning women in whose behalf they acted gradually found their way out of the crisis. The solution grew almost imperceptibly from one of the oldest of Iroquois traditions, the mourning war."[11] During the seventeenth century, Indians in the Ohio Valley changed their methods of carrying out attacks. In the first half of the seventeenth century, warfare in the Ohio Valley was traditional regarding weaponry, frequency, and motivations. By the 1650s, Monytons adapted their military skills to accommodate increased warfare, deadlier weapons, and estranged diplomacy with some of their northern and southern neighbors.

John Lawson, a Carolina colonist, wrote in 1709 that for Indians, especially the Iroquois, "to live in Peace is to live out of their Element, War, Conquest, and Murder, being what they delight in."[12] Ethnohistorians Daniel Richter and José António Brandão refute this belief, suggesting rather that this is based on the assumptions of European culture. In fact, Indians had very highly developed "conceptions of the purpose of warfare, while dramatically different from Europeans', made perfect sense to them."[13] The shifts in the social networks of North America with the introduction of Europeans altered the conditions, and native people fell back on their traditions by adapting them to the new circumstances. Diseases, increased land pressures, the disturbances of village subsistence practices, the fur trade, and new deadlier weaponry, according to Daniel Richter, "produced a dangerous spiral: epidemics led to deadlier mourning-wars fought with firearms; the need for guns increased the demand for pelts to trade for them; the quest for furs provoked wars with other nations; and deaths in those conflicts began the mourning-war cycle anew."[14] Even through their own biases, Europeans recorded a dramatic increase in Indian warfare during the last half of the seventeenth century.[15]

The traditional warfare of the Monytons can be pieced together from the archaeological and historical data from surrounding Indian groups. Before the incorporation of stronger

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[11] Richter, "Ordeals," 19.

[12] Richter, "War and Culture," 529.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Richter, "War and Culture," 533.

[15] Traditional warfare: Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* 31-48; Cadwallader Colden, *The history of the Five Indian Nations depending on the Province of New-York in America*. (Ithaca, N.Y., Great Seal Books, 1958), x; Drooker,1997, 46-55, 206; Hudson, "Introduction," xxii; Drooker, "The Ohio Valley;" Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 1-7; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2:119; Heckwelder, "History, Manners, and Customs," 174-187; Richter, "War and Culture," 529-537.

European introduced metals like iron and steel, native weapons were made from easily obtained materials like wood, stone and leather. Bows and arrows were the major offensive weapon for traditional warfare and were especially effective for the sieges of palisaded villages. (See Diagram 4-1).[16] Light armor, that consisted of woven leather panels, was worn as an over shirt by some warriors to deflect flint and bone tipped arrows, but warriors just as often showed their bravery by running into battle unprotected by such gear.[17] A warrior also carried an assortment of ball headed clubs, relatively small wooden shields, and spears. Shields defended against the barrages of long range arrows and spears, while clubs and flint/bone knives could be used for close combat. The focus of raids was on close combat. Bows and arrows, short spears and other long range devices were meant to loosen up defenses for hand to hand combat. Each weapon, especially the long range arrows, was easy to make, repair, and replace using natural local materials such as flint.[18] As opposed to the later metal implements introduced by Europeans, traditionally made weapons limited the casualities and did not tax native resources. Sustained traditional warfare is distinctive from European-influenced warfare by its relatively low social impact and its differing weapons and low death rate.

Raiding parties were swift in attacking, sending volleys of arrows at unsuspecting villages or camping warriors. Cadwallader Colden describes typical Indian warfare in the seventeenth century:

> "Their War-like Expeditions are almost always carried on by Surprising each other, and their whole Art of War consists in managing small Parties. The whole Country being one continuous Forrest, gives great Advantages to these Sculking Parties, and had obliged the Christians to imitate the Indians in their Method of making War."[19]

Surprise attacks were imperative to the success of a war party. Not only did it lessen risks for the aggressor, but it also tended to keep the casualties low. Native people had rules of engagement much like the Europeans. Hand-to-hand combat was desirable because of the desire for captives and plunder. Wounded opponents were often taken as captives, villages were burned to the ground, food supplies were plundered, captured villagers were tortured, and some were even eaten.[20] This was especially true with reprisal attacks.[21]

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[16] Diagram 4-1: Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2:color plates.

[17] Light Armor: Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* 31-34.

[18] Flint, a major commodity in pre-contact North America, was in ready supply all across the Ohio Valley. One particular variety, Kanawha Black Flint was a major trade item for the Monytons. R. S. Reppert, *Kanawha Black Flint: Its Occurrence and Extent in WV*. (Morgantown, WV: WVGES, 1978); Ray V. Hennen and David B. Reger, *Logan and Mingo Counties*. (Morgantown WV: West Virginia Geological Survey Co. Report, 1914), 742, 752; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Huntington District, *Ohio River Environmental Assessment: Cultural Resources Reconnaissance Report West Virginia*. (Huntington: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Huntington District, 1977), 7; Bettye J. Broyles, *A Late Archaic Component at the Buffalo Site, Putnam County, West Virginia*. Report of Archaeological Investigation, No. 6. (Morgantown, WV: WVGES, 1976), 10; Murphy, *Hocking Valley*, 31-38; Olaf H. Prufer and Douglas H. McKenzie, eds. *Studies in Ohio Archaeology*, (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1975), 74; J. W. Inghram, The Tompkins Farm Site, *West Virginia Archaeologist*, 6(1953), 43-48, on 43; Ronald W. Moxely and James D. Bloemker, The Man Site: A preliminary report on a late Prehistoric Village in Logan County, West Virginia, *West Virginia Archaeologist*, 37(Fall 1985-2), 3-22, on 21.

[19] Cadwallader Colden, *Notes on the History of the Five Nations*, x.

[20] Scalping was a common practice long before the arrival of Europeans. Two sixteenth and seventeenth century sites in northern Kentucky, Fox Farm and Larkin, have produced skeletons with serrations on the skulls which were caused by scalping using sharp flint scrappers. Pollack and Henderson, "Model," 287; Drooker, 1997, 46; Richter, "War and Culture," 529, 532; Mary Druke Becker, Linking Arms: The Structure of Iroquois Intertribal Diplomacy, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel

Although stealth was preferred for conducting a successful war party, attacks were highly organized and ritualistic affairs. French soldiers witnessed one such ritualized episode, on July 29, 1609, while accompanying a party of Montagnais and Huron Indians on a trade expedition on Lake Champlain. The troop was traveling by canoe and caught sight of some Mohawks, bitter enemies of the French and their native allies, paddling ahead of them near the shoreline. The troop pulled their canoes near the Mohawk and each cursed and threatened each other late into the night. That night each landed and prepared for battle in the morning. The next morning a delegation of Huron were sent to see if the Mohawk would meet them in combat. At this meeting both side reaffirmed their desire to fight. They stood about thirty feet apart in an open area of the woods and stood taunting each other. This session of taunting showed each warrior's bravery and prepared the individual for battle. This meeting marked the beginning of a new era of native war. The French soldiers, tired of the stand-off, propped up their cumbersome muskets and fired at the Mohawk. Caught off guard the, Mohawk fled, leaving the Huron and Montagnais to celebrate with their new, powerful allies.[22]

Daniel Richter in "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience," provides a powerful discussion of Native American warfare and its motivations. He first establishes the tactics and cultural ethics of traditional warfare and then details the dramatic effects Europeans had on native conflicts. Richter is not the first to discuss the deeper motivations of native warfare. Robert Beverly in *The History and Present State of Virginia*, 1709, attributed the warring of native people to the natural decline of their societies. Their violent behavior led Europeans to describe Indians as barbarians, savages, both natural products of a violent environment. George Hunt's 1940 classic work, *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Relations*, refuted and revitalized the discussion of native warfare, by suggesting that Iroquois attacks during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were motivated by economic gain through the fur trade. The so called "beaver wars," were Iroquois raids for the sole purpose of obtaining beaver pelts from other Indian groups to buy European trade goods. The Iroquois traded beavers with the Dutch, English, and French since the 1640s and had over hunted their own territory, forcing them to seek new hunting grounds. Hunt's theory updated the discussion of native warfare, showing more understanding of Native America culture, but it still assumed that native warfare could be explained by European motivations. Daniel Richter instead writes that Indians were motivated to fight with four basic goals in mind: social stability, retribution, plunder, and a show of strength.[23]

There were four different types of war parties: retribution parties, parties against traditional enemies, plunder raids, and mourning warfare. The distinctions of each type often

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K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 29-39, on 31; Merrell, "Their Very Bones," 119; Heckwelder, "History, Manners, and Customs," 214-223;

Cannibalism: Drooker, 1997, 46; Bernard Sheehan, *Savagism & Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia*. (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1979), 61-63; Richter, "War and Culture," 529-537; James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 25-26, 53.

[21] Traditional warfare Brandão, *"Ye fyres;"* Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1998); Bernard Sheehan, *Savagism & Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia*, (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1979), 59; Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 64-65 (Champlain with Huron); Lewis, *Kentucky Archaeology*, 180.

[22] Montagnais, Huron and French against the Mohawk: Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 64-65; Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic*, 2 vols. (Montreal, 1976), 1:246-256.

[23] Motivations for warfare: Richter, "War and Culture," 529-537; Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*. (Richmond: J.W. Randolph, 1709); Hunt, *Wars of the Iroquois*.

blurred as mourning war parties brought back trade plunder and retribution parties carried back live captives for adoption. Paramount to the continuation of each native group was the training and elevation of status of individual warriors which ensured the defense of the village. This presented a chance for young warriors to prove their bravery and to bring honor to themselves and their family while defending their brethren.[24] Another important type of warfare was against traditional enemies. Traditional enemies of the Monytons included the Iroquois in the north and the Ouabache in the west. Warriors yearly attacked their traditional enemies often in retaliation for attacks from the previous year. Native warriors, as in the case of the Iroquois, wanted to totally wipe out their enemies. An Onondaga leader, speaking with Gov. Robert Hunter in 1711, pointed out a major difference between the Iroquois and the British: “The Iroquois are not like you *Christians* for when you have taken Prisoners of one another you send them home, by such means you can never rout one another. We are not of that Nature, When we have war against any nation Wee endeavour to destroy them utterly.”[25] Warriors would destroy their enemies to prevent further attacks but enemy warriors were capable of resisting and repelling attackers and then leading reprisals. [26] Participants followed their own code of battle shared by all eastern Native warriors. Europeans were puzzled when parties of Indians, who were winning, retreated in the middle of a successful charge if a few of their number were killed. Even if captives were not the main goal of a raid, to lose a few warriors out of a party of a dozen or so was a heavy loss. If warriors were lost, the purpose of a mourning raid was entirely defeated and at best a troop could break even by capturing enough people to take the place of those lost in the party. Therefore, efforts were made to minimize human losses. This balance was maintained through the use of long range weapons, light leather armor, and increased close combat.[27]

Indians revamped an old tradition called mourning war as a way to create social stability. When a person died a violent or sudden death at the hands of an enemy, the matrons of a village sent a war party to replace that person. Direct relatives did not normally participate in raiding parties, “Instead, young men who were related by marriage to the bereaved women but who lived in other longhouses, in the case of the Iroquois, were obliged to form a raiding party or face the matrons’ accusations of cowardice.”[28] A raiding party would surprise an enemy village and attempt to claim as many prisoners as possible before they returned home. A war party had to balance the needs of captives with the capability of the warriors to provide food. Likewise, the party could not take more captives than they could control, so the excess number, if any, were tortured and killed. The road back to the warriors’ home village was a grueling one for the captives. Many did not survive, as they were tortured along the way, the more obstinate were killed outright. The entrance of prisoners was ritualized by the adoption of each one as a lost member of the village. Afterwards they were referred to by fictive titles, i.e. uncle, brother or son. Only the most resilient were adopted, and the rest were ritualistically killed, and, at least among

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[24] Some tribes became the “traditional” enemies, as in the case of the Iroquois and the Creeks and other southern Indians. This involved much more than bloodshed spiraling out of control. The relationship between warring parties was complicated. In fact, warfare was highly ritualized by the time Europeans arrived. Warriors almost yearly attacked traditional enemies. Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* 46-48; Richter, “War and Culture,” 529-537; Aquila, “Southern Wars,” 205-232.

[25] Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* 42.

[26] Warriors did not want the village they just attacked to be able attack swiftly afterward, so they destroyed as much of the village as they safely could. This prevented immediate attacks but eventually the village would strike back. Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* 42-48; Richter, “War and Culture,” 529-530; Aquila, “Southern Wars,” 205-206.

[27] Balance of mourning war raids, defeat and withdrawal: Richter, “War and Culture,” 530, 535-537.

[28] Richter, “War and Culture,” 529.

Iroquois, occasionally eaten if they were particularly brave. This was an accepted practice among the captors and was met with stoic acceptance by captives. It was expected that a captive would display bravery and fortitude during torture, virtues highly valued among Indians. An individual honored his family and tribe by quietly accepting the abuse. The spectacle of captive torture was witnessed by young and old alike, because it reinforced many of their cultural values. It taught young villagers how a person was supposed to behave in the face of death to honor one's ancestors. This was a powerful tool of socialization and cultural pride.[29]

Mourning warfare was designed to satisfy all four of the basic social needs. The most significant issue facing Monytons was the loss of population from warfare and disease. Through mourning warfare "vacant positions in Iroquois families and villages were thus both literally and symbolically filled, and the continuity of Iroquois society was confirmed."[30] By adopting people into the group, the village maintained its traditions and social stability. The torture of captives and the losses of the enemies were also part of a system of retribution. A warrior's ability to capture a live captive was of great importance to his social standing. Capturing villagers required close contact that facilitated a secondary reason for warfare-looting. George Hunt suggests that furs were the primary item sought during looting but certainly not the only items. Shell beads, wampum, flint, and various other materials of value were taken as well. Grief is a powerful and chaotic emotion in all societies and the control of the potentially negative effects of this emotion were at the heart of the mourning war complex. After a death, mourning ceremonies were conducted, but if these ritual outlets did not assuage the relatives' grief, mourning raids were arranged. "The Iroquois believed that the grief inspired by a relative's death could, if uncontrolled, plunged survivors into the depths of despair that robbed them of their reason and disposed them to fits of rage potentially harmful to themselves and the community."[31] By directing grief against enemy tribal groups the internal social tensions were released. Though the expression and release of grief was an important social function during the seventeenth century, it was by no means the only reason to attack enemy Indians. [32]

III. Monytons and increasing warfare

The model of traditional Iroquois warfare described in detail above can be applied to the much smaller Monyton villages of the seventeenth century. It is apparent that Monyton villages along the Big Sandy, Guyandotte and Kanawha rivers sustained frequent attacks. "Warfare, evidenced by population movements, palisades, skeletal trauma, and cannibalism, appears to have been common during the fifteenth-early sixteenth centuries,"[33] but may have continued into the seventeenth century. Fox Farm and Larkin, two Fort Ancient sites in northern Kentucky,

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[29] Adoption process: Brandão, 63; Richter, 1983, 532-535; Richter, "Ordeals," 15; Richard L. Haan, Covenant and Consensus: Iroquois and English, 1676-1760, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 41-57, on 50; Michael N. McConnell, "Peoples 'In Between': The Iroquois and the Ohio Indians, 1720-1768," in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 93-112, on 95-96.

[30] Richter, 1983, 530.

[31] Ibid, 531.

[32] Mourning warfare: Brandão, *"Ye fyres;"* Richter, "Ordeals," 11-27; Richter, "War and Culture," 529-537; Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 113, 115, 117, 167.

[33] Drooker, *Madisonville*, 46.

have produced skeletons with scalping marks and cultural materials suggesting frequent warfare.[34] More important to note are the increasing populations of villages and the many villages placed in defensive positions and surrounded by palisades. The increase in village populations suggests that outlying people collected in villages for protection from raiding parties. Villages in the late seventeenth century were concerned about defensive placement in the steep valleys of the mountains. Palisades around the Slone and Buffalo villages show signs of occasional damage and repair. The palisades around the Slone village were rebuilt three times which has been attributed to the damage incurred during attacks. Warriors burned down defenses during attacks to cripple the village so they would be unable to retaliate. Buffalo village in Kanawha County, West Virginia also shows some signs of periodic repair, but this may have been more to incorporate the ever growing populations. As the village absorbed more people, it extended the palisades to protect its new members. A number of the graves in Buffalo also reflect the danger posed by warfare. Edward McMichael, the head archaeologist of the original 1963 excavations at Buffalo, cites several bodies with arrow points within their bodies: "Considering these bodies with points in them and the large palisade around the village, warfare can be assumed."[35]

Native American warfare in the contact period has been portrayed as starkly brutal and senseless by historians. More recently, ethnohistorians, such as Daniel Richter, have begun discrediting this misconception. "Iroquois and other Indians were not engaged in mindless slaughter and bloodlust; their conceptions of the purpose of warfare, while dramatically different from Europeans,' made perfect sense to them."[36] Tools of war and martial training were incorporated in the education of young boys. As youths, they were introduced to bow and arrows, ball-headed war clubs, shields, spears, and wooden armor. As a warrior, one had many reasons for participating in war parties, even beyond the honor of killing an enemy in close quarters. In

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[34] In pre-contact Ohio Valley, warfare mortality was relatively low in comparison to warfare after 1650. Only two percent of the burials found in Monyton and Fort Ancient sites exhibit signs of violent deaths This figure is from site leading up to 1650, afterwards the amount of burial activity seems to fall off dramatically suggesting that while death because of warfare was potentially increasing it was also harder to fulfill the burial rites. This would mean that there would be fewer burials no matter what the mortality rate. For further discussion of these burial biases see: Drooker and Cowan, "Transformation," 83-106; Drooker, 1997; Penelope B. Drooker, "The Ohio Valley;" Henderson and Breitburg, *Fort Ancient*.

[35] Quote: McMichael, "Excavations," 17.

Case for increased warfare: Drooker, *Madisonville*, 55, 206 (little evidence of); Pollack and Henderson, "Model," 287; Hudson, "Introduction," xxii, (Europeans caused increase); Lewis, *Kentucky Archaeology*, 177 (Slone stockade rebuilt 3 times), 180 (warfare already common, scalped skeletons at Fox farm and Larkin); Smith, *Archaeology*, 13, 20, 132-140.

Palisades: Flooding, which had destroyed many villages in the past, was ruled out as a reason for the repairs. This left two other possibilities: gradual decay and warfare. As a defensive measure for the village, it seems unlikely that a village would let its palisades decay. McMichael, "Excavations," 12-23; Brashler and Reed, "Health and Status," 37; John Alexander Williams, *Appalachia: A History*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 35; Smith, *Archaeology*, 94; Pollack and Henderson, "Model," 287; R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., The Cultural Landscape of the North Carolina Piedmont at Contact, in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, eds. Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 135-154, on 150; Drooker,1997, 46; Davis, *Mountains*, 31; Drooker and Cowan, "Transformation," 92-98.

New weaponry: Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* 33-34; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 56; Richter, "Ordeals," 21; Mary Lou Lustig, *The Imperial Executive in America: Sir Edmund Andros, 1637-1714*, (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 2002), 68; Douglas Edward Leach, *The Northern Colonial Frontier: 1607-1763*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 20-22, 100; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 24; Richter, *Facing East*, 44-50; Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century*, (Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, 1997), 94-96, 213, 225; Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[36] Richter, "War and Culture," 529.

the ideal war raid, fatalities were few and far between, so: “A war party that, by European standards, seemed on the brink of triumph could be expected to retreat sorrowfully homeward if it suffered a few fatalities. For the Indians, such a campaign was no victory; casualties would subvert the purpose of warfare as a means of restocking the population.”[37] Despite a reputation for ferocity, native warfare was rarely senseless slaughter. War parties were not always successful. Palisades, poor planning, and later European metals and guns scuttled many raids. War parties used stealth in approaching a village and ambushed when possible, running back to the safety of the forest. In these situations, lost companions would be dragged back to be buried when possible. After regrouping, a war party would return home. These forays could last weeks or months and cover many hundreds of miles in distance. Though warriors were the major participants in interregional warfare, the role of individual warriors was supported within the larger context of the village itself. Although warriors could request permission to form a war party, they were more frequently called upon by their village matriarchs and patriarchs to participate in these martial events. Sending a war party to attack the aggressors was one way of satisfying this thirst for revenge, but was also likely to fuel the fires of long term intertribal feuding. Disease, warfare and other factors lowered the population of the Fort Ancient villages.

The effects of mourning war worsened between 1640 and 1670, as guns became the weapon of choice for Iroquois warriors. (Refer to Table D.1)[38] During the 1610s, the Iroquois had been at a disadvantage because they did not have firearms when attacking their Great Lakes neighbors, who were well armed with French guns. The first Dutch weapons reached Iroquois hands by the 1620s to help destroy the Huron. Firearms made mourning warfare dramatically more dangerous for both those attacked, and for the Iroquois. This overall increase in guns meant that Iroquois war parties could expect more frequent mortal injuries, which further fueled the mourning wars. Beginning in 1638, with the removal of the Wenro people along the Great Lakes by Iroquoian aggressors, villages in the middle Ohio River Valley had to be even more watchful for Iroquois warriors skulking in the woods with their new Dutch flintlock rifles. Powerful tribes, such as the Huron in 1648-1649, the Neutral in1652, and the Erie in 1658, were destroyed by the Iroquois. Many refugees traveled south into the Ohio and Mississippi valleys to escape their entanglements with Iroquois warriors where they became the Wyandot. Richter suggests that the increasing use of firearms, and higher mortality rates, led to a slight weakening of the mourning warfare tradition among Iroquois villages starting in the 1670s as the Iroquois suffered defeats.[39] By the 1660s, as Iroquois warriors traveled farther and farther from their villages to points west and south, the condition of their home villages worsened and weakened their effectiveness against their targets. Nonetheless, their numbers and weapons made them formidable opponents throughout the century.[40]

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[37] Ibid, 534.

[38] Table D.1: Tables Concerning Iroquois Raiding Parties, pp. 123.

[39] Lowered Iroquois populations: Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America*, (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 34; Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 110-130.

[40] Wenro, Neutral, Erie dispersal: Marvin T. Smith, Aboriginal Population Movements in the Postcontact Southeast, in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, eds. Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 3-20 on 5.

Huron dispersal: Richter, “War and Culture,” 530; Marvin T. Smith, Aboriginal Population Movements in the Postcontact Southeast, in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, eds. Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 3-20 on 5; Douglas Edward Leach, *The Northern Colonial Frontier: 1607-1763*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 98.

Among various early historic Seneca sites in western New York and Pennsylvania, sherds of distinctly Fort Ancient style pottery become common. The presence of such pottery indicates that people from the Ohio valley were already being incorporated into Seneca villages by 1655, a practice that continued until the 1670s or 1680s. Penelope Drooker speculates that the appearance of Fort Ancient pottery within Iroquois villages suggests that Monyton women were living in the villages during the later half of the century as adopted captives.[41] The earliest recorded Iroquois war parties traveling into the Ohio Valley were in the winter of 1661-1662 when Jesuit missionaries noted a party of Onondaga warriors returning from attacking in the northern Ohio valley in reprisal for their defeat at the hands of the Shawnee in the early 1650s. According to the boasts of the returning warriors, many women and children were killed and the men were scattered. The French recorded Iroquois parties out against southern native groups in the spring of 1662, this time against the Ontoagannha, or "people who cannot speak." The outcome of these forays is unfortunately not recorded. The Iroquois suffered a defeat against the Shawnee on the Ohio River in April of 1663, loosing twenty-five men. They captured ten Shawnee and brought them back home, but an unknown number of Iroquois warriors were also captured by the Shawnee during the retreat. From late summer into the winter of 1669, there was intense conflict in the Ohio Valley, according to the French Jesuit missionaries. Five Seneca and Onondaga warriors returned to the New York shore of Lake Erie on August 26th, 1669, carrying with them two Shawnee captives, one of whom was later tortured to death. The French Jesuits mention a major military campaign that occurred later in the fall and winter of 1669 when 500 Seneca and Cayuga warriors laid siege to Shawnee villages in the Ohio Valley, but a full account was not recorded. This was the beginning of serious conflict in the Ohio region and suggests serious consequences for the Monytons in the next decade of escalating violence.[42]

The 1670s were equally as dangerous in the Ohio valley. The Susquehannock were officially adopted into the Mohawk Iroquois early in 1670 even as the strength of Iroquois warriors was beginning to wane slightly. Historians, Clarence Alvord and Lee Bidgood, refer to "the antient Chawanoes or Chaouanons" of the Ohio Valley as victims of "a hot and bloody war with the Iroquois, in which they were so closely pressed at this time, that they were entirely extirpated or incorporated with the Iroquois the year following [1672]."[43] In July 1672, the French Jesuit, Father Julien Garnier, recorded the presence of Shawnee captives among the Seneca. The notable thing about this specific captive was his advanced age. Garnier remarked that "ordinarily, only young men are brought captive from such distant nations." The elderly Shawnee would have been a poor replacement for a village member. This suggests that he had been with the Seneca for some time. A returning party of Onondaga warriors was scrutinized by French Jesuits on June 17, 1676, as it passed by Lake Erie. It was returning from a great distance of two hundred leagues (six hundred miles) to the southwest. This put them well inside the heart of the Ohio Valley occupied by the Ouabache and Monyton villages. This successful venture brought back fifty captives from two different tribes, including women, men, and children. On return to the village, six women, five men, and two children were killed. Finally, in 1678, New

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[41] Drooker and Seneca Pottery: Drooker,1997, 333; Drooker, Penelope B. "The Ohio Valley," 123-126.

[42] Winter 1661-1662: Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* Table D.1; JR: 47:145-147.
Spring 1662: Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1:120.
April 1663 Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* Table D.1; JR: 48:7-79; NYCD XII:431
August 26, 1669: : Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* Table D.1; Galinee, "Voyage de Dollier et Galinee" 32, 34; JR: 53:245, 54:113, 115
Fall/Winter 1669: Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* Table D.1; JR: 53: 47-49, 54:117.

[43] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 197-198, 198-199.

York colonists saw a party of returning Iroquois warriors carrying a Shawnee captive back from the Virginia backcountry. The success of mourning warfare is apparent in the total of fifty-two known captives claimed by the Five Nations of the Iroquois in the 1670s.[44]

English colonists in Maryland and Virginia complained about "strange Indians" marauding along the eastern edges of the Appalachian Mountains. Maryland and Virginia joined the Covenant Chain with the New York Iroquois in 1677 to halt the continuous attacks. Even the Covenant Chain did not stop the constant stream of Iroquois warriors terrorizing native villages and colonists. In 1679, Virginia convened a meeting with the Iroquois in Albany to re-establish the treaty which yet again was ineffectual in stopping the southern raids of Iroquois warriors. In spite of random sightings and vague threatening encounters on the Virginia and Maryland frontier, raids to the Ohio country lessened in the 1670s. The decrease in Iroquois raids was influenced little by the Anglo-Iroquois diplomacy of the Covenant Chain. During the 1670s, Iroquois warriors suffered a series of major losses in their battles with other Indian groups. While warriors raided, the French attacked Iroquois villages in New York in retaliation for their attacks on French trading posts and allied Indians. Disease also spread in waves among New York Indians lowering their populations, in much the same way that it lowered Monyton defenses. Inspired by the defense of their homes and recouping their losses, the war parties slowed to a trickle from groups less affected by French attacks and disease.[45]

The number of attacks within the Ohio Valley declined in the 1680s, but the casualties still remained high. On February 6, 1682, a company of Virginia Militiamen found a party of Seneca warriors along the Great Warriors path along the east side of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Through interpreters the militiamen inquired where the warriors had been and discovered that they had been to a village "under the mountains" to the southwest and had captured thirty-five from one attack and five from another. The Seneca were along the southern reaches of Monyton villages in northeastern Kentucky. The Saponi were living along the central portion of the Appalachian Mountains for many years dispossessed from their home in the piedmont of Virginia. This put them along the Great Warriors' Path in the 1680s. During the spring of 1685, they attacked the weakened tribe and took captives from Monyton villagers. This brought the total known number of Monyton captives to forty-two for the decade.[46] The Seneca vowed in February 1684, during a meeting with French leaders, that they would renew their war against the Shawnee which had flagged during the previous decade. Northern Ohio had already been "cleared" of Miami and Wyandot remnants by Iroquois attacks and the Middle Ohio River Valley was next. By 1685, Monyton villages were fractured and larger villages were abandoned as people were captured, killed, or moved away.[47]

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[44] Susquehannock adoption: Matthew L. Rhoades, Assarigoa's Line: Anglo-Iroquois Origins of the Virginia Frontier, 1675-1774. unpublished Ph. D. dissertation at Syracuse University. May 17, 2000, 31; July 1672: Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1:120; June 17, 1676: Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* Table D.1; JR: 60:185, NYCD: III:252.

[45] June 17, 1676: Brandão ,Table D.1; JR: 60:185, NYCD III:252.
Virginia entered in Covenant Chain with Iroquois in 1670s: Jennings, *Ambiguous*, xvii, 135-168; Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century*. (Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, 1997), 239, 257; NYCD: III, 271, 277.

[46] February 6, 1682: Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* Table D.1; CSP 11:193 Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series America and the West Indies, ed. W. Sainsbury et al.
Spring 1685 Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* Table D.1; LIR 85.

[47] February 6, 1682: Brandão ,Table D.1; CSP 11:193 Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series America and the West Indies, ed. W. Sainsbury et al.
Seneca vow to attack Shawnee: Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York:The Seventeenth Century*. (Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, 1997), 254; NYCD: XI, 226.

The Monytons provided many trade goods, shell beads and gorgets, native copper, and occasionally exotic pottery, to western groups. Though the Ouabache were known for profitable salt-making, there were quite a few salt-pans capable of providing an adequate source of salt within Monyton lands. This leaves the likelihood of an unbalanced relationship with the west. Ouabache warriors periodically raided the trade routes to the east during the seventeenth century as they had done previously. The shift away from traditional manufactured materials towards European materials stemmed these raids in the 1650s and 1660s, as Monytons gained an advantage over their western aggressors with metal implements. In the 1660s the Ouabache made trade connections of their own with the French and their native allies in the north around the Great Lakes. French trade with the Ouabache, therefore, refocused the Ouabache away from attacking the Monytons. [48]

IV. Pathways to Iroquoia

Mourning warfare destroyed the Monytons' identity. Beginning in the late 1660s, Iroquois mourning warfare didn't reach its peak until the 1670s and 1680s throughout the Ohio Valley. Over the course of twenty years, Iroquois warriors marched hundreds of Monyton captives north to Iroquoia. The focus on the role and motivations of Iroquois warriors in mourning warfare has obscured the tradition's effects on victims like the Monytons. Many Monytons died horrible deaths at the hands of the Iroquois. Some individuals were adopted as full members of the village, but did not forget their previous heritage. There appears to have been a great deal of personal cooperation and participation among Monyton captives throughout the process of adoption.[49] The interaction between the refugees and Iroquois in subsequent meetings shows the complexity of the adoption process for both the captors and the captives. In the late 1640s, the Iroquois had defeated and displaced the Huron and adopted many of their number. Some Huron, along with the fractured Ottawas and Petuns, fled west after their displacement. As the Iroquois followed these wandering bands in 1653, a troop of 800 Iroquois warriors guarding some Huron captives cornered a party of Huron and Ottawa warriors near Green Bay. Adopted Iroquois-Huron warriors began a long-term siege of the Huron and Ottawa forts containing their relatives. The Iroquois party tired quickly and after a month grew hungry and surrendered. They negotiated a truce with the Huron refugees for safe passage and food. In exchange, the Iroquois offered the return of the Huron captives captured during the campaign. A Huron woman, who had fled with the main body of Huron in spite of her marriage to an Iroquois man, had learned of a plot among the Ottawa to poison the Iroquois warriors with goodwill offerings of bread. The woman quickly told her son, who was an adopted Iroquois warrior, of the plot. The son spread word of the poisoned bread, and the Iroquois party escaped relatively unharmed with many Huron willingly fleeing with them.[50] Even though the two tribal groups were at war with each

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[48] Archeological evidence shows that the Ouabache and Monytons were closely related. There were diplomatic and economic connections but there was also periodic warfare between the two. The influence of trade connections on warfare was complex. Trade was mostly from eastern sites in Monyton territory into western villages such as Madisonville just north of Cincinnati, Ohio. It is unclear what materials were exchanged with the Monytons. There are not many examples of western materials in Monyton villages. See Chapter 1, pp. 20-22.

[49] Mourning warfare: Brandão, *"Ye fyres;"* Richter, "Ordeals," 11-27; Richter, "War and Culture," 529-537; Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 113, 115, 117, 167.

[50] Huron story: Richard White, *Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 3; (footnote 3) Nicholas Perrot, *Memoir on the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the Savages of North America*, in *the Indian tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, 2 vols. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1911), 1:151-156; Coincidentally this ill-fated party was later split in two and each was defeated by the Chippewas, Mississaugas, and Illinois and few survived to return to Iroquoia.

other, amicable relationships existed between individuals across tribal lines and outside of the social framework of adoption. Even adoption did not necessarily dictate a change of cultural affiliation, as shown by the Huron woman who warned her Iroquois-affiliated son.[51] Richard White suggests, “Tribal identity and the technicalities of kinship reckoning … did not dictate political behavior in this world of refugees.”[52] The mother retained an affinity for the Iroquois and her son, that prompted her to warn to him, in spite of the fact that the Iroquois had been trying to destroy her village. This kind of cross-cultural sympathy also affected those who remained with their Iroquois captors.

The sheer number of adoptions of foreign people seems to suggest a much looser form of identity and cultural affiliation than has been assumed in the past. The French Jesuits especially recorded these events. “The Relation for 1659-60 speaks of ‘Ontouagannha, or Fire Nation” as a tribe that had been conquered, [along] with the Eries, by the Five Nations, and some of its members [were] adopted by the latter.”[53] They also noticed that these cultural “converts” made up a majority of later mourning war parties against their former families. This reversal of allegiance is hard to explain but does cast some light on the process of adoption and how deeply it affected individuals and villages.[54] As shown by the Huron captives who fled with their Iroquois captors, not all captives were held against their will. Initially, captives offered resistance to their captors because of cultural pride. After a prolonged captivity, though, some accepted their new situation. Many captives, especially women and children, formed close relationships with the Iroquois and chose to stay among their captors. When the opportunity arose, some captives would try to escape to their native lands. Attempting to run away from an adoptive family was rare because the betrayal was met with severe punishments including torture and death, not to mention the social stigma attached to such cowardly behavior. A newly adopted Monyton did not know the geography and thus was in grave danger of being recaptured and punished. The more willing adoptees filled the roles of many deceased warriors in the adoptive village. The socio-cultural identity of these adopted warriors was complicated by their participation in war parties against their previous relatives, i.e. Monytons men adopted into the Iroquois attacking villages along the Ohio River. The Huron son, now an Iroquois, attacked relatives including his mother. Europeans recorded many parties of warriors similar to that described above, attacking their former friends and families. Adoption, therefore, played an important role in the dispersal and dissolution of the Monytons as an identifiable and distinct group of people.

According to C. C. Trowbridge’s nineteenth century account of Shawnee traditions, the move north appears to have been a conscious decision: “When [the Shawnee] tribes had confederated … they resolved to travel *en masse* and by a circuitous route, to the north.”[55] The protection which the Iroquois provided was another powerful recruitment tool. The Iroquois outnumbered the decreasing Monytons in combat. Even though the strength of the Iroquois has

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[51] The woman had been married to an Iroquois man but then had fled with her own people west of the Great Lakes, leaving her son with the Iroquois, probably with his father. This was contrary to the cultural norms of both the matriarchal Iroquois and Huron.

[52] Tribal/Cultural Identity Issues (Quote): Richard White, *Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 18.

[53] Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 1:120.

[54] Adoption practices: Smith, “Aboriginal Depopulation,” 270 (Iroquois absorption of smaller groups).

[55] Shawnee agreement to move north (Quote): Kinietz and Voegelin, “Shawanese Traditions,” 62-63.

been greatly exaggerated, especially at home, their military strength was a strong visual testament of Iroquois power for their victims on the battle field. The Iroquois provided many benefits for captive Monytons. The Iroquois were the center for much of the trade which was so important for Monyton spiritual fulfillment, and adoption into their group allowed captives to share in this trade. Protection, though, was only a perception, but psychologically speaking the Monytons felt safer among the numerous Iroquois than they had been in scattered villages south of the Ohio. Those who remained in the Ohio were threatened from all sides by other Indians and Europeans. Iroquois diplomats created and maintained the façade of protection as they manipulated Covenant Chain diplomacy. Their efforts created a system which required a steady influx of people into the auspices of Iroquois political hegemony. Iroquois security was severely weakened by French forces that periodically raided Iroquoia well into the 18th century. Indians allied with the Iroquois were not even safe from unscrupulous and disenchanted English traders and colonists embittered by their interactions with various Indian groups.

A connection between Ouabache villages and northern Iroquois groups had been important for trade in the sixteenth century, but archaeological evidence suggests that Monytons also established a relationship with the Iroquois (mainly the Seneca) sometime around the 1650s. Pottery with various stone and metal tools found in Seneca sites in Pennsylvania and New York indicate the earliest movements of Monytons out of their ancestral region.[56] This sudden appearance of these materials within Seneca sites coincides with the height of the mourning and trade warfare of the 1640s and 1650s when Monyton and Ouabache villages were first raided for captives. By 1707 groups of Shawnee were living on Seneca lands in southwestern Pennsylvania in the region of the Monongahela/Massawomeck settlements from the previous century. In addition to the archaeological evidence, there are scattered allusions to the Shawnee moving into the region by the English. Peter Wraxall alludes to the long-term presence of the Shawnee among the Seneca, which is supported by the archaeological evidence from the mid-seventeenth century.[57]

The Monyton connection with the Susquehannocks and other eastern Algonquians was much clearer. During the first half of the seventeenth century, Monytons had clearly established a strong relationship of trade and political alliance with their closest neighbors, the Massawomecks, who later combined with the Susquehannocks.[58] James Merrell discussed the struggles between the Susquehannocks and the Iroquois for the balance of power during the very beginning of the 1700s. The Monytons were caught in the middle and used as political capital for both sides. The game of tug of war played with the residents of the Ohio Valley during the late seventeenth century eventually created the conditions that forced the roaming Shawnee back west into their ancestral home. The route to their Susquehannock trading partners brought them north up the Ohio River and east across Pennsylvania, through closely watched Iroquois lands.[59]

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[56] Iroquois connections with western Fort Ancient villages: Drooker, *Madisonville*, 314, 333; Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 67.

[57] Shawnee present among Seneca in 1707: Peter Wraxall, *An Abridgement of Indian Affairs: Contained in four folio volumes, transacted in the colony of New York, from the year 1678 to the year 1751*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1915), Footnote 1 on p. 51.

[58] See Chapter 1 for discussion of close relationship and removal of Monongahela. See also: Susquehannock connection: James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 107.

[59] Susquehannock-Massawomeck migration route: Johnson, "Monongahela," 67-82; Drooker, 1997, 45, 54-57. This was the same as the path traveled by Arnout Viele in 1692 according to Charles Hanna: "proceeding by way of Esopus to the Minisink, and thence by the way of the Wyoming Valley and the Susquehanna River to the Allegheny, and down that stream and the Ohio to the country of the Shawnee." Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2:124.

The earliest cases of Monytons joining the Susquehannocks were relatively scattered during the 1660s and 1670s, but became a flood of refugees in the last two decades of the century. Their residence among the Susquehannock provided only a short period of stability as the Susquehannock fractured and became a tributary of the Iroquois Confederacy at the peak of the Monyton Diaspora in the 1680s.[60]

Another route of exodus was directly east over the mountains bypassing the most threatening regions of Iroquoia. The Monytons frequently traveled among the Algonquian and Siouan peoples to the east, such as the Tutelo and Saponis. Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam, while returning in 1671 from their expedition along the mountain borders of Monytons lands, were met by a party of concerned Monytons while resting at the Tutelo village.[61] The presence of trade beads and metal materials on both sides of the mountains further supports a close connection. Monytons crossed the mountains to the east, and joined other friendly, dispossessed, fractured and itinerant Algonquian speaking groups. It appears that the eastern mountain passes encouraged the Monytons to join the Saponis and Tutelo, who later united with the Catawba in the South.[62] The mountain passes were narrow to navigate for larger parties, therefore movement across them was relatively slow during 1680s. Impelled by the dire needs for security in 1689, Ouabache and Monytons moved eastward across the mountains in great numbers bound for the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers.

The ravages of warfare and disease in the Ohio region had also disrupted trade routes. A major impetus for leaving was to seek access to important trade materials. This decision was not motivated by economic gain, but rather by the need to fulfill spiritual and cultural obligations. The people had maintained their rituals through the acquisition of European trade goods, but as trade routes collapsed in the middle of the century they were no longer able to perform many of their traditional ceremonies. Thus, moving from the valley facilitated the acquisition of these goods for spiritual purposes. As important as their land was, ceremonies could be performed just as easily across the mountains as within them. Equally as important, trade facilitated the maintenance of social connections between the Monytons and their neighbors. By moving to establish new routes of trade, the Monytons attempted to redevelop the social networks which had deteriorated in the first half of the seventeenth century. This trade motivated exodus initially involved only small groups, comprising of a family or two seeking refuge among neighboring villages in exchange for continued access to trade materials. Monytons did not begin leaving their half of the Middle Ohio Valley for Iroquois territory in earnest until the 1680s, at the height of the second peak in Iroquois mourning warfare. The height of the Monyton movement into Pennsylvania and New York from their quiet corners of the Ohio region, both involuntarily as captives and willingly as refugees, occurred between 1680 and 1692. After 1692, as their ancestral valleys became cleared, the flow of Monytons from the Ohio Valley slowed and had ceased entirely by 1696. Though the main wave of Monytons had long since arrived among their Iroquois hosts, a number of itinerant Monytons began moving north to join their compatriots.

The Minisink and their allies, the Mahicans,[63] orchestrated the voluntary immigration of

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[60] Susquehannock absorption into the Iroquois Confederacy: Jennings, *Ambiguous*, 135-136.

[61] Batts and Fallam Expedition: Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 192-194.

[62] Saponis-Tutelo Catawba connection: R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., The Cultural Landscape of the North Carolina Piedmont at Contact, in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760,* eds. Robbie Etheridge and Charles Hudson, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 135-154, on 136.

[63] Mahicans were known as the Stockbridge Indians to Albany traders.

residents of the middle Ohio Valley to the Northeast between 1689 and 1700. The Algonquian bands roamed west and south, far from their homes along the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers in search of furs and plunder. At a September 12, 1681, meeting with New York Governor Thomas Dongan at Albany, they remarked, "of their goeing to Hunt & they went as farr as the *Spanish* Indians [along the Gulf Coast] who [they] found to be Angry people & they fell on them & killed 2 of there Indians."[64] One of the easiest routes south was by way of the Ohio River and its tributaries. Their course naturally brought the Minisink and Mahicans into contact with the residents of most of the river valleys leading to the Mississippi, including the heavily traveled Ohio River valley.

At For St. Louis along the Illinois River, a settlement of eastern Indian refugees, including a significant number of Ouabache from the western side of the Ohio River, had been living since the 1650s under the watchful eye of the French.[65] In 1689 the small enclave of refugee Ouabache negotiated what they hoped would be a more permanent settlement among the Minisink and Mahican, who were both by now under the jurisdiction of the Iroquois. Henri Tontí, Robert La Salle's lieutenant, attended this meeting initiated by the party of five Minisink and Mahicans with elders of the dispossessed Ouabache. The eastern Algonquians offered the entire party a home under their protection. Tonti, worried about the ramifications of the English allied Minisink's offer, threatened the attending Indians: "All the Indians that you take along to the Ssouwenas [Shawnees] will be killed, and yourself also." Undaunted by the threat, one of the Ouabache elders simply replied, "I fear you not," and agreed to follow the party east.

Though it is unlikely that any Monyton villagers were with the Ouabache at the meeting in 1689, it proved a landmark agreement for even these former rivals of the Ouabache. A few Monytons may have joined this initial wave of Shawnee into Minisink/Mahican territory, but the real significance of this very first wave was the relationship it established with eastern Algonquian Indians. This connection became pivotal in the affairs of Indians and Europeans alike. After half a century of strained relations between eastern Iroquois/Algonquians and western Indians, the Covenant between the Minisink, Mahicans and Shawnee suggests how complex intertribal politics had become in the Ohio Valley and beyond. Tonti's violent reaction to the removal of the Ouabache from his supervision casts light on the sudden change in importance of the Monytons and their cousins the Ouabache in the world. In the final moments of Monyton control of their small river valleys, Europeans were beginning to covet the economic and political potential of the Ohio River Valley. Europeans only had the vaguest of impressions of the region's full potential throughout the seventeenth century. Through their intermediaries, English and French traders began courting the residents of the Ohio region in the 1680s and 1690s. The Monytons had been contacted in the 1670s, and likely had seen the coming and going of scattered traders thereafter. The advent of New York traders in 1692 into their midst marks the final decline of Monyton control of the Kanawha, Guyandotte and Big Sandy Rivers. Outsiders sought not only the benefits of access to the relatively unspoiled forest of the region, but also to bring the Indian residents into a much closer relationship and proximity to European trade communities in the east.[66]

Most of the Ouabache from the northern shores of the Ohio moved northeast into what is

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[64] Minisink and Spanish Indians (Quote): NYCD XIII: 551.

[65] Ouabache: In the text these Indians are referred to as "sawano" but as I suggested earlier this refers only to the Ouabache north of the Ohio until the late seventeenth century with formation of the Shawnee. Jennings, *Ambiguous*, 197-198.

[66] Mahican/Minisink-Shawnee connection: Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century*, (Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, 1997), 324-325; NYCD XIII: 551; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2:124; Jennings, *Ambiguous*, 197-198; Olafson, "Gabriel Arthur," 40-42.

now Pennsylvania by way of the Ohio River, the Shamokin trail, and then the Susquehanna River. Another group of Shawnee moved directly across the mountains and traveled through Maryland to reach their Algonquian sponsors. The route taken by these refugees took them right through the Kanawha River Valley, following much the same route that Batts and Fallam had taken through the most populated of Monyton lands. Therefore, it is not farfetched to suggest that a portion of this group was Monyton.

In 1692 a band of Shawnee accompanied by Martin Chartier, a coureur du bois trader appears in the records of the Maryland Council. Chartier, a Frenchman, had been living with his Shawnee wife when Canadian Governor La Barre imprisoned him for some unknown offense. He fared no better when he arrived in Maryland. Colonial officials were understandably wary of some hidden French plot and promptly jailed Chartier and interrogated him. Chartier's story was corroborated by Colonel Casparus Herman; a courier sent to visit Chartier's traveling Indians companions. Herman had primarily collected information to ascertain the identity of these new people, but he was also recorded their end destinations and paths of travel. Interestingly, Herman did not identify the party as Shawnees; instead he listed them as Stabbernowles. While the origin of this label is unclear, the Maryland Council interpreted this to mean that these new Indians were Shawnee. Colonel Herman did not estimate their head count, but from the description and their speedy crossing of Maryland, the party was probably around 200 strong, the size of a small village. The Shawnee had been trying to reach the head of the Chesapeake Bay to reside among the Susquehannocks and Delaware living nearby, but they circumvented the more northern route through Pennsylvania so as to pass unnoticed by the Miami in central Ohio. The party split into two groups when they reached the Chesapeake Bay; one group proceeded north into Iroquois territory to join the fight against the French. The main body of Chartier's Shawnee companions petitioned to reside among the small villages of the Susquehannock living in the northeastern corner of Maryland. This was granted and they remained quietly settled until the early eighteenth century.[67]

While an invitation to join the eastern Algonquians was extended by the Minisink and Mahicans, the final instigation for this band of traveling Ohio Indians was through the endeavors of the English Arnout Viele expedition. Arnout Viele, an English allied Dutch trader, led a small but ambitious expedition down the Ohio River in 1692-1694. This was also the last known contact with the Monytons and Ouabache within the boundaries of their ancestral middle Ohio Valley territories. The mission was sent to the Ohio region by Major Richard Ingoldsby of New York to establish trade with the *Shanwans*.[68] This expedition is marked only by the tumult among New York Indians caused by the spontaneous arrival just south of Albany of the previously unheard of Viele expedition and more importantly the 700 Shawnee he collected along the way. Luckily, on February 6, 1694, when the first word of Viele's successful mission arrived, Major Peter Schuyler was meeting with Iroquois representatives; therefore the slow process of arrival was recorded. The Shawnee were leaving their homes because they had been promised refuge among the Iroquois, but no specific arrangements had been made. The importance of the Shawnee had been heavily debated among both Indians and English at Albany since the departure of the Viele mission. Just a few months before the conference, Schuyler mentioned a petition of peace between the Shawnee and the Iroquois:

> "Wee are glad that the Showannoes who were or Enemyes did make their application to you last fall for protection & that you sent ym heither to endeavour a peace with us as

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[67] Journey of Martin Chartier: Jennings, *Ambiguous*, 198-200; Interrogation of Chartier, Aug. 16, 1692, *Md. Archives* 8:345-347; *CSPA&WI, 1689-1692*, 695.

[68] Captain Arent Schuyler to Minisink, Feb 7, 1693/1694, NYCD: IV, 98-9.

> also that you have been pleased to send Christians along with them to their Country' to conduct them back againe wee wish they were come to assist us against the Common Enemy."[69]

Schuyler's quote illustrates how involved the Shawnee were in Iroquois politics. Negotiations, obviously, had already begun between the Ohio Indians and the Iroquois outside the influence (but not the awareness) of the English. Political and economic alliances were very important to the strength and stability of both the Iroquois and the Shawnee. Viele's mission though caused a huge rift to form between the English, Shawnee, and Iroquois. Finally, the last line of the quote further suggests that, while decreased in number, a significant population remained in the Ohio valley to warrant the arrival of Christian missionaries. Religion had not previously been an issue, but the new message was both a blessing and a curse for the Monytons themselves who were trying to re-establish a sense of equilibrium.[70]

To complicate matters, the "success" of Schuyler and Viele and the Indian allies further depleted the Monyton population. Viele had convinced 700 or more Shawnee, including a portion of the Monytons, to return to New York with them with promises of secure lands and homes among their allied Indians, specifically among the Minisink who had already established a connection with the Shawnee. The offer was too good to turn down and in the end too good to be true. Their arrival was met with stern opposition; even though the English seemed quite pleased with their circumvention of the Iroquois in bringing the Shawnee into the fold. The Iroquois were affronted by the blatant disrespect of the English in regard to not only their ongoing negotiations with the Shawnee but also with the obvious deception brought to light. The Iroquois had not been consulted in this matter and were infuriated that the English would leave them out of these negotiations.[71] This all happened during King William's War (1689-1696) and Iroquois were suffering from French attacks. The Iroquois harbored a great deal of resentment because the English helped them so little, further infuriating the Iroquois. For this breach in protocol, the Iroquois would not, at least initially, meet with the Shawnee and English to establish a formal relationship and settle them among their villages. Most eventually settled among their "older brothers" the Mahicans, who later came to speak for them among the Iroquois. The Minisink also accepted some Shawnee, but no matter where they settled, the Iroquois lands provided only temporary shelter. Less than a decade into the eighteenth century, they were uprooted and pushed back west.[72]

## V. Conclusion

While the Monytons maintained their slight advantage over the more numerous western

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[69] Major Peter Schuyler (Quote): NYCD IV: 43.

[70] Arnout Viele: Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century*, (Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, 1997), 325; NYCD IV: 88-99; Jennings, *Ambiguous*, 200-206.

[71] The English desired to supplement their collection of Indian allies for a great number of reasons. This not only provided them with a new access to furs, and various tradable goods from the Ohio valley, a yet untapped resource for the English, but also provided them with additional support for their claims of discovery and title to the region west of the mountains. Likewise, the Iroquois had a vested interest in maintaining some level of control over European/Indian relations.

[72] King William's War (1689-1696): Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 132, 134, 140-146; Richard L. Haan, Covenant and Consensus: Iroquois and English, 1676-1760, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 41-57, on 52.

neighbors, hostilities continued. The severity of the Monyton conflict with the Ouabache in the west lessened as other native groups, namely the Iroquois, started marauding across Monyton lands. The Iroquois attacked the Massawomecks and pushed them out of southwestern Pennsylvania and northern West Virginia. Beginning in the 1640s, intertribal warfare worsened along the coast and in the Appalachian interior. The steady increase in defensive measures, such as palisades, shows that the Monytons were fighting their northern and southern neighbors who had taken advantage of access to European metal weapons. The Tomahittans and their Cumberland Plateau neighbors gained access to European metals far sooner than their trade partners, the Monytons. As the threat of slave raids increased, more Tomahittans moved north, maintaining the high populations of Monyton villages until the end of the seventeenth century. The new weapons were so deadly that even slight fluctuations in the frequency of raids precipitated dramatically higher death tolls. The natural response of the Monytons was increased participation in both defensive and offensive attacks. Like the Iroquois and other better studied Indian groups, the distances traveled to attack increased dramatically during the seventeenth century. More warriors were out on raids which left villages vulnerable to attacks. In the face of such shifting and dangerous conditions the plight of Monytons villages seems precarious leading up to the European visits of 1671 and 1674.

The Monytons were faced with many formidable enemies who encroached on their lands after 1640. As Iroquois warriors returned to their home villages after a long trip raiding southwards, Europeans sometimes recorded their exploits. Jose Brandao lists 51 different Indian groups attacked by the Iroquois from 1603 to 1701. Eight of these are possible attacks within the Ohio River Valley. [73] These forays into the back country of Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas were even noticed by colonists on the fringes of European settlements.[74] The Monyton villages in the southernmost West Virginia river valleys were stripped of all peace and social stability during the last half of the seventeenth century. They interrupted the already weakened trade routes and catalyzed the consolidation of villages in the Ohio region. Also of great importance are the increasing signs of defensive positions along ridge tops which indicated an increased threat to village safety. Most devastating for these farming people was the disruption of their agricultural practices. Likewise, as was customary in sieges of villages, attackers burned the fields surrounding a village to cripple their food supply. These left villages like Buffalo, Man, Logan, Slone and others devastated without food, trade connections, and often defensively weakened by their lowered populations.[75]

These social instabilities pushed many Monyton families out of their Ohio valley villages. The devastating effects of mourning warfare, slave raids, and fur trade conflicts left Monytons with few other options. The struggle for control of the middle Ohio Valley was over by 1692.

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[73] The Southern Wars: Merrell, "Their Very Bones," 115-133; Aquila, "Southern Wars," 205-232; Matthew L. Rhoades, Assarigoa's Line: Anglo-Iroquois Origins of the Virginia Frontier, 1675-1774, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation at Syracuse University. May 17, 2000.

[74] Discussions of Iroquois and English to stop attacks on Virginia and Maryland frontier: Richard L. Haan, Covenant and Consensus: Iroquois and English, 1676-1760, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 41-57,on 43-46.

[75] Increasing Iroquoian attacks: Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 27 (on Mosopelea), 29 (Lament story), 32 (Shawnee at war with Iroquois), 33 (Hennepin captive); Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America*, (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 62-64; Marvin T. Smith, Aboriginal Population Movements in the Postcontact Southeast, in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, eds. Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 3-20, on 5-6.

Two hundred years after the arrival of Europeans in North America, the once thriving Monyton people of the middle Ohio Valley were removed from their ancestral home. There was a lull in the southern wars of the Iroquois beginning in 1692 which suggests that by that time, the Monytons were no longer a distinct presence in the Ohio Valley. Archaeological evidence supports the removal of the Monytons during the 1690s, which coincides with arrival of Shawnee groups in scattered places across the eastern half of North America during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. As the seventeenth century grew more dangerous for Monytons in the Ohio Valley, war parties bent on retribution, nabbing captives, and plundering trade goods ravaged Monyton villages. Between 1660 and 1692, Monyton villages were weakened by the attacks of the Iroquois, but their situation was further complicated during this time by the mourning war-adoption process. The Monyton Diaspora began as a product of abduction but evolved into a voluntary removal north away from their ancestral homes.

# Chapter 5:
# Brethren Enslaved: Slavery, 1660-1690

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"Because of their previous history of raiding for captives, many southern Indians adapted to European slave trading practically overnight." [1]

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Slavery during the early colonial period typically refers to the ownership of Africans for the purpose of manual labor. Africans were not the only people to fall prey to unscrupulous Europeans seeking economic benefit from the labor of others. Even the Monytons were threatened by slavery in the late seventeenth century. A form of slavery was already an institution among many southern Indians and this proved to the great detriment of people like the Monytons. The abduction and enslavement of Monytons in the South stemmed from the pre-contact tradition of *petite* slavery, a variant of mourning warfare among the remnants of the Mississippian chiefdoms, but Europeans exacerbated the role of the tradition by enslaving Indians as chattel starting in the 1660s. In this new model of slavery, entire enemy Indian villages were captured and sold, men, women, and children. The establishment of Charles Towne in 1670 created an even more detrimental system whereby Indians sold enemy captives to the English for trade goods and in payment of debt. Starting in1670, large numbers of Monytons moved south, joined confederacies and formed new alliances. By 1670, they became known as the Savannah Indians, who were the infamous Indian slave trader allies of the English at Charles Towne, South Carolina. The Monytons were not only victims of the slave trade that dispersed them as far as the Caribbean Islands, but also active participants in that trade. By 1680 they were in such a powerful position that they provided Indian enemies for slavery. The Monytons played multiple roles in the slave trade, moving from the enslaved to slave traders. The slave trade therefore influenced the Monytons to leave the Ohio Valley in a variety of ways. Initially Monytons left in an effort to escape the slave trade, but gradually the trade drew them nearer to Europeans. This adaptive duplicity was symptomatic of the highly complex social environment and the coping responses of indigenous people of the late seventeenth century.

## I. Traditional and European Indian Slavery

Human captives were an important commodity in traditional warfare before the arrival of the Spanish in the Southeast, much like in the Northeast. A tradition very similar to the northern mourning wars existed in the Southeast, which "operated within a mourning-war tradition and fought to 'satisfy the craving ghosts of their deceased relations.'"[2] The southern variant of this practice did not involve the adoption of captives, but rather brought them into the village as "slaves." A slave was identified by his or her subordinate social position. Slavery necessarily requires a society with a highly stratified social order, such as found among the Mississippian remnants in the Southeast. Therefore, Monyton society, with a traditionally egalitarian social structure, was ill-suited to dealing with slavery. "In Native American societies, ownership of individuals was more a matter of status for the owner and a statement of debasement and "otherness" for the slave than it was a means to obtain economic rewards from unfree labor."[3] Though these individuals performed vital functions, and probably filled many of the positions left vacant by deaths of village members, it was not their economic value which made slaves status symbols. In much the same way that capturing a human captive gave an Iroquois warrior a

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[1] Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 29.

[2] Merrell, "Their Very Bones," 120.

[3] Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 8.

mark of honor, southern Indians who acquired slaves in battle showed their high social standing. This form of slavery was in stark contrast to European chattel slavery.

Indian *petite* slavery is similar to West African pre-contact slavery, which Winthrop Jordan describes as a "household institution."[4] Slavery was a form of social order, where status was given to the owner, but the slave title was not inherited by the family of the slave. Another important distinction from European chattel slavery was that slavery was not inherited. Even though the condition was not passed on, slavery was perpetuated by constant warfare among the southern confederacies. Another aspect of *petite* slavery was the absence of any forum for the trade or sale of slaves in traditional Indian slavery. Gallay suggests that "the slave *trade*, however, was an entirely new enterprise for most people of all three culture groups."[5] The two ways to obtain a slave were by capturing or as part of the inter-tribal political process. Slaves were given as gifts much as were pipes and other exotic goods during the lengthy ceremonies accompanying political business. French explore Robert Cavalier de La Salle was given a young male slave during a meeting with the Iroquois in the 1670s. The gift of a slave in a southern Indian group was an honor among the highest orders of chiefs.[6]

Unlike Indians, Europeans sought slaves for economic gain. Spanish commanders increased their prestige among Indians by taking slaves as personal servants. This was also done by some French explorers, such asLa Salle. The enslavement of Indians began early in the sixteenth century with the arrival of the Spanish in the south. The markets for slaves in the southeast were confined to the Spanish settlements along the Gulf Coast and on the Florida peninsula throughout much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Spanish sent slaves to other places such as Mexico and the Caribbean. The Spanish discovered that it was impossible to enslave Indians near their homelands. The slaves were able to run away easily and, much more, they knew the landscape well enough to disappear completely. Another risk was the threat of attack from the slave's family and allies. To minimize this, and maximize the labor of Indian slaves, the Spanish sent them to far-off places. The Spanish further inflamed the enmity of many groups in the southern Appalachian Mountains with their support for Indian slavery. The Tomahittans of the Cumberland Plateau region, just to the south of the Monytons, were a constant threat to the Spanish because of this. Tomahittan raiding parties would go as far south as Spanish outposts in Alabama in search of materials for their guns and other trade materials. One such raid during the winter of 1673 included Gabriel Arthur in the fifty member war party. They attacked and burned a Spanish outpost, and then returned home with no contact with the Spanish. The devastation caused by de Soto, Pardo and other Spaniards had created enemies of many of the Indian groups in the Appalachian Mountains.[7] Indians were usually enslaved by

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[4] African *petite* slavery: Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro 1550-1812*, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), 58-59.

[5] Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 8.

[6] Traditional Indian Slavery: Merrell, "Our Bond," 202; Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the evolution of Cherokee society, 1540-1866*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979); Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*; David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-62*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 53.

La Salle's Indian slave: Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 19.

Cherokee Slavery: Theda Perdue, *Slavery and the evolution of Cherokee society, 1540-1866*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 10-25; David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-62*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 53. Much of the research concerning Indian slavery is drawn from the traditions of the Cherokee and Creeks in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

[7] Slave Raids: Joel W. Martin, Southeastern Indians and the English Trade in Skins and Slaves, in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, eds. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser,, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 304-324, on 308, 313; Merrell, "Our Bond," 198, 202; Crane,

English and Spanish settlers during times of war. Human captives were valuable among Indians because handing over captives from enemy tribes of their English allies strengthened diplomatic ties to the European power. During native uprisings in the northeast, boats sitting in harbors were filled with native captives for ransom.[8] Even when the extortion was successful, the release of the Indian prisoners was not always assured, as many by that time had already been sold into slavery and shipped out.

Records of the northern enslavement begin in 1647 during tensions between the Dutch and their Iroquois and Algonquian neighbors, sometimes called Kieft's War. Willem Kieft, the Dutch Governor of New Netherland wrote of, "captured Indians who might have been of considerable use to us as guides, have been given to the soldiers as presents, and allowed to go to Holland; the others have been sent off to the Bermudas as a present for the English governor."[9] Enslavement became an established activity in New England by 1676 during King Philip's War. A British ship, the *Seaflower*, was docked in Boston Harbor. After a major victory for the English, 180 Indian captives were loaded onto the ship, including adult men and women, as well as children, among whom was King Philip's son. Seventy were sold to slavery directly from the ship, and another 110 sailed to Plymouth and were sold. Philip sought to ransom his son, but the deal fell through when it was discovered that the son along with the others had been sold into slavery and could not be found. There are a few scattered references to Indian slaves in the interior of the continent during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. While exploring the Mississippi River in 1681, La Salle met with a Mosopelea chief wandering along the river with his family. After a short conversation, the Chief recognized one of La Salle's party, a slave obtained from the Iroquois. As a goodwill gesture, La Salle released the Mosopelean to the chief. This act of diplomacy was contrasted by the actions of Virginia's Council the next year. An Oneida sachem's daughter was captured by Virginia's militia soldiers in a raid on an unknown group of Indians. The Oneida, one of the Five Nations of the Iroquois, were allies of Virginia through the Covenant Chain. In spite of this alliance, the woman was given to the soldier who had captured her and promptly sold into slavery as payment for his military service. This woman was then sent to Bermuda to work on the sugar plantations.[10]

During the first half of the seventeenth century laws were enacted to hinder the Indian slave trade, but that did little to actually stop it. These laws were designed to keep the peace between the English and their Indian neighbors: "They [the proprietors] ceaselessly reminded appointees of the inhumanity of fomenting wars to obtain slaves, and they 'resolved to break' this 'pernicious Inhumane barbarous practice."[11] Colonists relied on the native people for many

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*Southern Frontier*, 67, 113 (Indians worth half of Blacks), 139 (Carolina makes slavery Indian slavery illegal), 140 (1683 allows Indian slavery to entice soldier enlistment); Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 8, 48-57, 83, 153-164; Brown, *Good Wives*, 180.

[8] Many captives were also towed out to sea in leaky boats and drowned.

[9] NYCD I, 210, from NY to West India Company 1647; Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century*. (Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, 1997), 158.

[10] Kieft's War (1647) slaves: Douglas Edward Leach, *The Northern Colonial Frontier: 1607-1763*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 23-24; Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: The Seventeenth Century*. (Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, 1997), 60-65.
*Seaflower* incident: Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 151-153.
La Salle and the Mosopelea slave: Griffin, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 19.
Oneida daughter slave: Matthew L. Rhoades, "Assarigoa's Line: Anglo-Iroquois Origins of the Virginia Frontier, 1675-1774." unpublished Ph. D. dissertation at Syracuse University. May 17, 2000, 33.
[11] European promotion of slavery (Quote): Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 38, 91.

things:

> "These alliances alleviated the European's tenuous position but did not reduce their dependence. Indians secured the colonies against external and internal foes while providing the economic wherewithal for each colony's survival: Indians fed the colonists, worked for them, and exchanged valuable commodities that Europeans sold to other parts of the world to gain the capital needed to construct plantations."[12]

Though slavery had been illegal for the first half of the seventeenth century, during the 1660s, the laws were reversed to permit Indian slavery in many colonies. Virginia revised its laws during the 1660s to justify the destruction and enslavement of Indians following many years of Indian attacks. This also provided access to a potentially lucrative trade in slaves, and provided an enticement for recruiting soldiers.[13] The laws relaxed even further when "the Virginia Assembly of 1677 ordered Indians taken captive to be kept as slaves," and "new restrictions lumped those Indians together with Africans into one legal category designated 'negroes and other slaves.'"[14] The issue of race and slavery was constantly being argued and litigated within colonial governments. Africans and Indians were a perceived threat to civilized society, which prompted English colonists to reverse a century of mandates suggesting diplomacy for policies favoring military action and slavery. As historian Verner Crane suggests, colonial governments were persuaded to change the laws in response to the needs of their elite constituents. The Carolinas initially forbade slavery until the 1680s even though the seeds of the slave trade were laid by the former Barbadian plantation owners who founded the colony. An underground Indian slave trade existed for two decades, sending small numbers of Indians to Barbados, Bermuda, Jamaica, and various other British Islands. In 1683, Carolina reversed the laws prohibiting the sale and ownership of Indian slaves to promote enlistment in the colonial militia. By allowing the sale of Indians into slavery, they gave tacit approval to 20 previous years of illegal slave trade activity. Indian slavery in South Carolina remained legal until 1707 when Yamasee allies, threatened by the Creeks, convinced the colonial legislature to outlaw the practice.[15]

Other colonies, like New York, provided stricter legal prohibitions of slavery because of the more important role Indians played in many northern colonies. New York had a formidable enemy in the Iroquois for such a small colony. In 1679, the New York Council "resolved, That all Indyans heer, are free & not slaves, nor can bee forct to bee servants."[16] In spite of these laws, New York English traders promoted the underground sale and distribution of Indian slaves, though on a much smaller scale than in the Southeast. Virginia was another colony to reverse the prohibition of Indian slavery. Indian communities moved farther west away from English settlements, and the English came to rely less on native assistance. New laws relaxing the prohibitions against Indians slavery were written. In 1676 the Virginia Council passed a bill stating, that in addition to the allotment for soldiers to take Indian captives as slaves, lands were

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[12] Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 4.

[13] Indian massacres as motivation for law changes: Bernard Sheehan, *Savagism & Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia*. (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1979), 175.

[14] Brown, *Good Wives*, 180.

[15] Carolina Indian Slave Trade: Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 139-140, 152; David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-62*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 53; Steven C. Hahn, "The Mother of Necessity: Carolina, the Creek Indians, and the Making of a New Order in the American Southeast, 1670-1763." in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, eds. Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 79-114, on 82; Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 41-70.

[16] NYCD: XIII, 537.

to be seized and sold to pay for the war effort. These laws facilitated and, in fact, promoted vigilante attacks of English bent on the destruction, retribution, and enslavement of Indian threats. Bacon's Rebellion was a direct result of these new laws and the perceived and real threats from raiding Indians in the Virginia backcountry. Their unsanctioned attacks were beneficial to the colonists seeking profit from selling captured Indians into slavery, sale of lands, and the removal of the Indians, who were hindering their settlement farther west.[17]

II. Monytons, Southern Indian Confederacies and Slavery

As the Monytons' movement northeast picked up momentum in the 1660s, an exodus south to join their southern allies was beginning. This southward movement was motivated by their close relationship with southern people who were strongly represented in Monyton villages. Even though their northern alliances with the Massawomecks were severed, Monytons maintained strong political and familial alliances with the groups in the Cumberland and Tennessee Valleys, such as the Tomahittans. The first half of the seventeenth century brought societal changes, increased pressure on their trade networks, and increasing involvement in warfare with marauding foreigners. Iroquois and various southern Indians, such as the Creeks and Cherokee, came for the purpose of extracting a bounty of captives. Unlike the Iroquois, the Creek were not seeking replacements for lost tribe members; they were providing Indian captives for sale into the fledgling slave trade. When the Monytons left the Ohio valley in large numbers, many went south in search of a more secure future away from mourning warfare and slave raids. They did not find the security or stability they were looking for in the Southeast. Initially, the Monytons lived among their close allies the Tomahittans in the Cumberland and Tennessee Valleys. The Monytons moved further south a few years later to the Carolina coastline with its opportunities for European trade.[18]

As the Monytons moved southward, they started to adapt to the new social environment. The Southeast was a dangerous place and forced many groups to collaborate with former enemies. The Monytons joined forces with their former enemies the Ouabache to become part of the Shawnee during the 1670s. In spite of social instabilities and population losses, Alan Gallay writes that, Indians "did not devolve into inferior polities, they evolved into societies that better suited their new world."[19] By the time the Monyton and Ouabache remnants came within the view of English in South Carolina the transformation into the Shawnee was almost complete. Penelope Drooker, in her research on the Madisonville Fort Ancient village in southern Ohio, explains how each group's identity was incorporated into the Shawnee tribe. According to eighteenth and nineteenth century Shawnee traditions, the tribe had initially roamed separately in clan divisions.[20] Drooker hypothesized that these divisions were originally different ethnic groups, which came together during the early eighteenth century. Two of the Shawnee divisions, the Thawikila and Kishpoko were mention in the South during the late seventeenth century. This coincided with the arrival of the Monytons and their Ouabache neighbors. The Thawikila were in

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[17]Changing laws and profiteering: Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 57.

[18] Movement of southerners into Monyton villages: Morgan, *Archaeology of Eastern United States*, 96; Robbins and Neumann, *Prehistoric People*; Henderson, Pollack, and Turnbow, "Chronology," 275; Pollack and Henderson, "Model," 287; Robbins and Neumann, *Prehistoric People*, 106-109.

[19] Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 33.

[20] Shawnee clans and the Monetoos: Kinietz and Voegelin, "Shawanese Traditions," 62-65.
Kinietz and Voegelin reference a group called the *Monetoos* in the text, but gives no explanation of what or who this word refers to, but the resemblance to the variations on *Monyton* are striking. Without further research and understanding of the Shawnee language it is impossible to know if this significant or merely coincidence.

the vicinity of Charles Towne in the late 1670s. Drooker places the Kishpoko with the Creek Indians a bit more inland at the same time. Kinietz and Voegelin corroborate that the Kishpoko division had an oral tradition of living with the Creek before they returned north early in the eighteenth century. The Kishpoko were the remnants of the southern band of Ouabache, while the Thawikila corresponded to the southern band of the Monytons. Even though the two groups were allied as Shawnee, this did not necessarily entail an amicable political relationship. The distance placed between the two divisions suggests that a major political rift existed. The transformation of Monytons from sedentary egalitarian farmers to nomads began a series of major changes in their society. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Monytons had taken on an entirely new social persona as the Thawikila.[21]

The presence of the Thawikila in South Carolina further supports the theory that the Savannah Indians were Shawnee. This then connects the Monyton, through the Thawikila, were the Savannah Indians living on the Savannah River. The Kishpoko correlates to the Ouabache from north of the Ohio and the Thawikila to the Monytons. The Ouabache had much closer relationships with their Iroquois political allies in the North which meant that the band moving south was relatively small. Therefore, they were more likely to seek refuge under the protection of the larger political organization of the Creeks. Even though the Iroquois harbored hundreds of Monytons, the largest portion of their population moved South. As a large population, the Monyton were stronger and more able to maintain their social integrity. Thus they could afford to remain separate from local groups as they moved through new lands. The arrival of a numerous, powerful, and motivated group coincides closely with the arrival of the Savannah Indians, who have been consistently identified as Shawnee in historical accounts of the South.[22]

The Monytons and their cousins were not the only indigent Indians moving south during the second half of the seventeenth century. They were joined by remnants of the Miami, from the north central portion of Ohio and Indiana; and the powerful Westo, who were remnants of the Erie people from the Great Lakes disbanded by the Iroquois in the 1650s. The Westo settled in the South sometime during the late 1660s. They were already the dominant Indian force along the Savannah River by the arrival of Henry Woodward in 1674. This is when the Savannah Indians began moving into the region. The reception of these newcomers among established Indian groups, like the Catawba and Creeks, was often violent as the Monytons jockeyed for territory in the Southeast. These conflicts for land in the Southeast between dispossessed Indian groups increased during the seventeenth century. By mixing together they lost much of their specific social identities, as a new turbulent cultural landscape of confederation and social flexibility was developing by the dawn of the eighteenth century.[23]

Pivotal in the identification of the Savannah Indians were the very earliest accounts from English traders entering the region around Charles Towne after its establishment in 1670. The increasing involvement of the English in the South greatly influenced the further dispersion of Monytons. Henry Woodward, one of the first traders to work out of Charles Towne, began his business with the Westo in 1674 by journeying with them far up the Savannah River to their well

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[21] Shawnee Identity and Origins: Heckwelder, “History, Manners, and Customs,” 86, 121; Drooker,”The Ohio Valley,” 123-126, 130; Kinietz and Voegelin, “Shawanese Traditions,” 62-65.

[22]Identification of Savannah Indians: Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 19-20; Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 16; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 103, cited from John R. Swanton 1922:307-17 (Shawnee on Savannah River SC by 1674); Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 51-52.

Shawnee among Creeks: David H. Corkran, Chapter 2: The Rise of the Creeks to Power, 1670-1715, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-62*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 48-60, on 51.

[23] Miami and Westo origins: Olafson, “Gabriel Arthur,” 37; Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 41; Alexander S. Salley, Jr., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*, (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1911), 128.

protected villages. Here he was brought into the largest Westo village by way of the "edge of the woods" ceremony prevalent among northern Indians, although he did not understand the full implications of his incorporation into the fictive kin of the village. The power of this tribe can be seen by Woodward's description of the village:

> "Uppon the tops of most whereof fastened to the ends of long poles hang the locks of haire of Indians that they have slaine. The inland side of the towne being duble Pallisadoed and that part which fronts the river haveing only a single one. Under whose steep banks seldom ly less than one hundred faire canoes ready uppon all occasions. They are well provided with arms, ammunition, tradeing cloath and other trade from the northward for which at set times of the year they truck drest deare skins furrs and young Indian Slaves."

The Westo appeared ready for defensive as well as offensive maneuvers at a moment's notice. This confirms the turbulent atmosphere of intertribal and intercultural contact of the seventeenth century South. Henry Woodward also established the first contact with the Savannah Indians during this expedition. This meeting was the first between the Westo and the Savannah Indians, recent arrivals in the region. It was still an ominous moment for both the Westo and Savannah (Monytons) because it opened up the trade which would be the downfall for both groups. The unexpected appearance of Woodward and his dedicated promotion of trade (fur/skins and slave) and profit placed these two powerful tribes at odds with one another. "This trade *infected* the South: it set in motion a gruesome series of wars that engulfed the region. For close to five decades, virtually *every* group of people in the South lay threatening by destruction in these wars."[24] While the most potent trading opportunity was mainly furs and skins, the beginning of an influential slave trade also began during Woodward's journey. After 1674, Henry Woodward, and other agents of English advance in North America, advocated the enslavement of Indians among both his Indian and European allies. Woodward and his trading partners were eventually successful in new legislation, but only after two decades of illegal participation in the trade. Woodward was jailed periodically for his alleged involvement in the trade but had many powerful clients who effected his release.[25]

The "infection" of the slave trade quickly set even allied nations against each other, inflaming already delicate intertribal politics in the southeast. Foreshadowing the turbulent process and results of colonization for the Monytons, Samuel Wilson described the social conditions of Indians in the South in 1682: "The Indians have been always so engaged in Wars one Town or Village against another … that they have not suffered any increase of People, there having been several Nations in a manner quite extirpated by Wars amongst themselves since the English settled at Ashly River."[26] Wilson alludes to the deep rifts in intertribal politics which were as much the product of social upheaval as the designs of the profit and security minded English. The English found that fomenting intertribal conflict by playing one side against the other, nullified any threat posed by Indians. This also provided traders with a profitable market for their goods. English traders, led by Henry Woodward, promoted the enmity between the

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[24] Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 6.

[25] Henry Woodward and the Savannah Westo Indian conflict: Alexander S. Salley, Jr., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 127-134; Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 54-57; Crane, *Southern Frontier*, 34; Gary B. Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The peoples of early America*. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974), 116-119.

[26] Samuel Wilson among southern Indians: Alexander S. Salley, Jr., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 173-174. (Quote): 174. Wilson was writing an account of the newly established South Carolina for a captive audience in England and therefore overstates the sterility of native people to make settlement seem more attractive.

Savannah and Westo for their economic gain. The Savannah Indians with the help from the English moved slowly southwards to overtake the Westo between 1680-1682. "However or whenever they began, hostilities seem to have escalated … [and] the increase in warfare may have come about at the instigation of French or of British traders."[27] Stirring up trouble among the tribes was typical of Europeans, especially during the late seventeenth century. One way that Monytons and other Indian groups counteracted this treachery was through the creation of loose political confederacies and alliances.[28]

Confederacy was another vehicle for the Monyton Diaspora and the legacy of their culture. The Mississippian chiefdoms that had dominated Southeast left a power vacuum which was filled in the second half of the seventeenth century as native people formed political and social confederacies. These political reformations were imperative for the maintenance of cultural security and territories, but it belies very complex geo-political relationships among southern Indian groups. Historian Alan Gallay uses the Creeks to outline these complexities:

> "The member groups had no reason to affiliate as a confederacy except to protect themselves from outsiders. Confederation met their needs, and it did so in a manner that neither eradicated nor significantly altered the individuals' and groups' traditional ways of life, social systems, and local politics."[29]

Not only did it not necessarily alter socio-cultural identity, it also did not require continuous participation. Displaced Monytons remained relatively anonymous within these shifting locations and loyalties in the fragmentary environment of the seventeenth century South.

III. Creation of the Southern Indian Slave Trade

The initial effects of this trade in Monyton lands was relatively minor because they were isolated by the mountains, but enslavement was a real issue by 1670 with the establishment of Charles Town in South Carolina. In *The Indian Slave Trade*, Alan Gallay writes of the Carolinian settlers: "From first settlement, South Carolina elites ruthlessly pursued the exploitation of fellow humans in ways that differed from other mainland colonies, and they created a narcissistic culture that reacted passionately and violently to attempts to limit their individual sovereignty over their perceived social inferiors."[30] This quickly became the most powerful trading center in the southeast. Indians possessed two valuable commodities for trade in Charles Town: deerskins and slaves. Compared to the lucrative northern beaver fur trade, the southern deerskin trade was minor. Hence frontiersmen by 1670 began to trade for Indian slaves. Richter suggests human captives were valuable as payments in European trade.[31] In 1687, Creek Indians began a major campaign to take captives from neighboring tribes. They raided as far west as the Choctaw in Alabama and north into the Appalachian Mountains. These raids were aided by their recently purchased English rifles, which heightened fears in those Monyton villages remaining in the Ohio Valley. The Tomahittan allies of the Monytons were not enough

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[27] English promotion of slavery among Indians (Quote): Theda Perdue, Cherokee Relations with the Iroquois in the Eighteenth Century, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds., Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 135-149, on 137.

[28] Thomas Newe about Savannah take over: Alexander S. Salley, Jr., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 182-184.

[29] Effects of Confederacy Quote: Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 12.

[30] Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 3.

[31] Richter, "War and Culture," 532.

could not insulate Monyton villages from the raiding parties of other southern groups and more than a few Monytons probably ended up being shipped as slaves to various British plantations in the Caribbean and South America.[32]

Exotic and local trade materials were required to maintain their religious and spiritual obligations and these needs superceded the economic motivations for trade. As suggested earlier, Monyton reasons for moving into the Savannah River Valley included reestablishing trade connections, presumably to maintain cultural values. Monyton cultural traditions were constantly changing as they came into contact with new people. Even so, trade was a way to create cultural stability, and by the late seventeenth century that meant trading with the English. In addition to the brisk but small fur trade, the Monytons participated in the slave trade to fuel their access to English trade. Through refocusing and adapting the much older tradition of mourning warfare to the slave trade, southern Indian groups fulfilled cultural obligations while maintaining close political relations with the English. An added benefit for slave raiders was that enemy Indians were demoralized by the diminishing of their numbers. Alan Gallay's in-depth development of the late seventeenth century slave trade in South Carolina places the Savannah Indians at the heart of this trade from 1680 until the end of the century. They were so deeply involved in the slave trade that with the support of Henry Woodward and other unscrupulous traders, the Savannah supplanted the powerful Westo people, who had been the major providers of slaves for the colony. "The Savannah understood the value of European trade. Their town in the Ohio Valley had had contacts with English traders by the 1670s, and the Spanish in Florida had provided them with trade goods, though in limited quantities."[33]Gallay's description of the Savannah Indians resembles the actions of Iroquois warriors rather than a band of egalitarian agricultural villages from the mountains of West Virginia and Kentucky. The Monytons were well armed even in the 1660s, and when pressed were capable warriors. Gabriel Arthur alludes to this potential during his stay among the Monytons in 1674. Their tense relations with the Ouabache, across the Ohio, further support the depiction of the Monyton remnants as shrewd and potentially violent adversaries. Their survival in the violent South required a powerful presence both offensively and defensively.[34]

The Indian slave trade was short-lived. Beginning in the 1660s and reaching its peak in the 1670s, the Indian slave trade had all but ceased by 1700. The legal foundation for Indian slavery in the south was removed in 1707 when the Carolina government passed laws again forbidding the sale of Indians into bondage for any reason. The practice was quickly going out of vogue because it was much cheaper and safer to purchase African slaves. Indian slaves proved ill-suited to slavery for a multitude of reasons. The slave trade had run out of Indians to enslave as the populations dropped dramatically east of the Mississippi into the eighteenth century. Jill Lepore offers one final explanation for the decline of the Indian slave trade at the end of the seventeenth century. During King Philip's War, angry colonists had promoted slavery as a way to punish the "subtle, bloody, and dangerous" Indians, but the violent perception of Indians they promoted haunted them later "making Indian slaves unmarketable." So this left the Monytons, now known as the Savannah Indians, or the Thawikila Shawnee, struggling to survive in the

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[32] Establishment of Charles Town: David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-62*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 48-49; Smith, *Archaeology*, 22, 135.

[33] Slave Trade and its insidious effects: Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 56.

[34] English trade with the Savannah Indians: Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*, 49-60. (Quote): 56.
The violent potential of Monytons: Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 221.

Southeast as the trade they had cornered withered away at the dawn of the eighteenth century.[35]

As potential slaves, prisoners of war, and mourning war captives, Monytons had been threatened by the encroaching warriors of the south and north. As raiding increased in frequency and the technology of war grew more deadly, it became harder for warriors to take captives alive and minimize their losses. Daniel Richter noted that from 1670-1700 the effectiveness of mourning warfare noticeably crumbled.[36] The collection of live human captives had once provided a culturally important outlet for aggression while maintaining social stability, but after 1670, the aggressive qualities of violence far outweighed its social potential. The cost for Monytons was high. Southern groups captured villagers and enslaved them. As one half of Monyton society moved northward, the other major thread of the Monyton Diaspora led southward into turbulent social and environmental conditions. Iroquois warriors were raging through their lands seeking captives to fulfill a downward spiral of population losses. Slavery created a threat even more sinister than adoption for the Monytons. Monytons turned the slave trade around to benefit and survive in the southeast. Initially Monytons were victims of the trade. As slaves, they were subject to conditions much like those endured by Africans. After arriving at the nearest center of slave trading, the Monytons were sold and sent by boat to the West Indies to work on sugar and rice plantations. They were sent out of familiar surroundings and mixed with other people to limit the threat of slave uprisings. This effectively dissolved the socio-cultural identity of the Monytons. Like African slaves in the New World, Monytons had difficulties maintaining individual traditional cultures, especially among such a wide range of slaves from different cultural groups. They soon developed new identities in common with their fellow slaves. As it relates to the process of Diaspora, slavery effectively severed any traceable connection for the historian to follow, leaving only the broadest story of the role of North American Indian slaves in the Caribbean. [37]

From the institution of *petite* slavery to fueling the European chattel slave trade, Monytons adapted yet again to the changing social conditions, but to the detriment of other native groups. The Monytons had had to cope with slavery as a growing institution while living within the Ohio Valley, but found the situation more complex after they reached their destinations in South Carolina and beyond. The slave trade cast former Monytons out into the Caribbean Sea, and pulled those remaining in North America towards the coastlines and English centers of trade. Budding multi-ethnic Indian confederacies also wiped away many of traces of the Monytons as they became more nomadic and socially opportunistic. After leaving the Ohio Valley to escape mourning war, slave raids, disease, and relative isolation, the Monytons found themselves threatened by many of the same conditions in their new homes, whether in the North or South.

The Monytons (Savannah) profited from the enslavement and removal of their enemies. The last twenty years of the seventeenth century were especially chaotic as the Indian slave trade grew to its height. The Savannahs were not the only Indians enslaving their neighbors; they were joined by the Creeks, Cherokee, Catawba, and many other groups who had a tradition of slavery.

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[35] Decline of the Indian slave trade: Joel W. Martin, "Southeastern Indians and the English Trade in Skins and Slaves." in *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704*, eds. Charles Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 304-324, on 308, 313; Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1998), 151-153, 168; Brown, *Good Wives*, 213; Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*.

[36] Mourning Warfare decline Richter, "War and Culture," 529.

[37] General Discussion of Indian Slavery: Gallay, *Indian Slave Trade*.

Slavery and cultural dissolution: Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black*, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), 44-100.

Just as martial strength was important for survival, participation in the Indian slave trade was an important social adaptation that was necessary for Monyton survival. Wandering south, the Monytons became the Thawikila and Savannah of South Carolina, or members of the Shawnee. Meanwhile, the powerful Savannah Indians profited from their renewed strength in their bid for survival through slavery. In spite of many attempts to rein in the illegal activity, the practice of enslaving Indians persisted well into the eighteenth century, despite competition from the African slave trade. The English had learned the power of pitting Indians groups against each other through experiences among the northern Indians earlier in the century. They used this technique often in North America to promote slavery. Attacks on their homelands, disease, and the rending of the social fabric of their villages, encouraged the Monyton exodus. The Monytons were a forceful tribal power in 1682, but by 1700, the Monytons were a fading memory and existed only as the Thawikila division of the Shawnee, who eventually moved back to the Ohio Valley where some of the Monyton villagers remained in tiny family groups.

# Conclusion

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"It had been almost entirely deserted by the natives; and excepting a few straggling hunters and warriors, who occasionally traversed it in quest of game, or of human beings on whom to wreak their vengeance, almost its only tenants were beasts of the forest." [1]

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The living conditions in the middle Ohio valley had degraded badly for the Monytons by the 1680s. Social integrity within Monyton villages evaporated entirely over the next two decades spreading the Monytons throughout the eastern half of North America through a series of migrations. This Diaspora was a product of the thinning social fabric of the Ohio Valley during the seventeenth century.[2] Richard White writes that "shattered peoples usually vanish from history, and many … who fell before the epidemics and the warfare, disappeared as organized groups."[3] This was the case for the Monytons in the seventeenth century. As their society broke apart, they ceased being the Fort Ancient Monytons and were incorporated into newly formed confederations of previously dispossessed peoples. As the Monytons traveled, they combined forces with their former enemies, the Ouabache, and became the Shawnee. In spite of this, Monytons did not completely lose their identity while fitting in among their new neighbors. They survived as the Thawikila band of the Shawnee and by participating in other powerful southern confederacies. The process of "ethnogenesis" allowed Monytons to maintain fragments of their previous cultural identity as they scattered in all directions.[4]

## I. Scattered Remnants of the Ohio

There remained some of Monytons who were relatively untouched. Small disconnected pockets of Monytons remained scattered throughout the Ohio Valley well into the eighteenth century. Too small to feasibly maintain any large villages but unwilling to leave their homes, a few family groups remained in the Kanawha, Guyandotte and Big Sandy River Valleys, retiring to their ancient winter hunting camps. This continued uninterrupted until the middle of the eighteenth century when organized tribal groups, such as the Shawnee (including the Thawikila), Delaware, Mingo, and others, were forced into the Ohio region and became indistinguishable from other displaced Indians. These scattered residents were probably the final Monytons to be absorbed into the Shawnee. Archaeological evidence suggests that even though the Guyandotte and Big Sandy were almost completely cleared in the 1690s; the Kanawha remained a relatively populated valley until the very end of the decade. At the turn of the century, the Monytons maintained a presence south of the Ohio River but probably numbered only one to two hundred. Most of the Monytons visited by Gabriel Arthur in 1674 left the Ohio region when the villages

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[1] Whithers, Alexander Scott. *Chronicles of Border Warfare: or a History of Settlement by the Whites, of North-western Virginia, and the Indians Wars and Massacres in that section of the state with Reflections, anecdotes, &c.* (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company, 1895), 45.

[2] Diaspora here refers to "any people or ethnic population forced or induced to leave their traditional ethnic homelands being dispersed throughout other parts of the world." "Diaspora" http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Diaspora+studies (Nov. 30, 2004).

[3] Disappearance of fractured people (Quote): Richard White, *Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1-2.

[4] Ethnogenesis: Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, Preface to the Paperback Edition, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), xi-xvii, on xiii; Richter, *Facing East*, 62; "cultural syncretism" Davis, *Mountains*, 209.

were abandoned in 1695. The few remaining families returned to a subsistence diet of hunting and gathering, adapting to their changing social environment by dropping their sedentary lifestyle for hunting, gathering and fishing. Their return to this lower impact technique of survival provides the best explanation for why so little archaeological and historical evidence exists for this "hiatus" period. Such low-impact activities leave few traces. Early twentieth century resource extraction in southern West Virginia has made finding such materials next to impossible.[5]

Indian occupation of the eastern and southern portion of the Middle Ohio Valley can finally be redefined. William Webb, in his classic *Prehistoric Indians of the Ohio Valley*, wrote:

> "During the period from 1680 to shortly after 1700 the Ohio Valley seems to have been essentially a no-man's land, a sort of buffer zone, between the growing Iroquois strength in the upper reaches of the Ohio Valley and Cherokee-Muskoghean groups in the Tennessee Valley. This vacuum was refilled by Shawnee groups coming back into what I believe was essentially their old homeland."[6]

Webb generalizes about the Ohio Valley, but he also begs the question as to where these people went when they left. The fields were fallow in the river valleys, which had been farmed for over a thousand years. No longer were well-maintained palisades seen protecting highly populated villages, but a small elusive population remained its their ancestral hideaways.

The Monytons, although dispossessed of full control of their homelands, did not entirely abandon the middle Ohio River Valley. Michael McConnell suggests in his article, "Peoples 'In Between': The Iroquois and the Ohio Indians, 1720-1768," that the region had been cleared as early as the 1660s.[7] West Virginian archaeologists, Daniel Fowler and Sigfus Olafson, suggest that the Ohio was cleared much later in the mid-1690s. Far from being emptied of *all* its inhabitants, a closer examination of the evidence suggests that scattered remnants of the Monytons remained well into the eighteenth century. More importantly, the relative lack of archaeological information in the late seventeenth century does not mean that the valley was entirely cleared. Many Monyton families slipped under the archaeological radar during the last decade of the seventeenth century by refocusing on subsistence hunting and gathering and moving in their smaller family groups, but it is still possible to see continued small-scale occupation.[8] Other Monytons, now combined with the Ouabache as Shawnee Indians, dispersed as far north as Seneca country, as far east as the Delaware Valley, and as far south as the Savannah River Valley. (See Map 5-1)[9] The complex history of the Monytons' Diaspora

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[5] Remaining outposts of Monytons: Ronald W. Moxley, The Dennison Site (46LG16): A Mountaintop site in Logan County, *West Virginia Archaeologist*, 34 (Fall 1982), 34-42. The Dennison site in Logan County, West Virginia is promising in suggesting relatively common usage even into the late eighteenth century.

[6] Empty valley (Quote): William S. Webb, et al. "Prehistoric Indians of the Ohio Valley." *Ohio State Archaeological History Quarterly* 61(1952),173-195, on 195.

[7] Dating the "emptying" of the Ohio Valley: (1660s) Michael N. McConnell, Peoples "In Between": The Iroquois and the Ohio Indians, 1720-1768, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 93-112, on 94.

[8] Dating the "emptying" of the Ohio Valley: (1695) Olafson, "Gabriel Arthur," 42; (1692) Daniel B. Fowler, An Old Shawnee town in West Virginia, *West Virginia Archaeologist*, 28(1979), 24-29, on 28.

[9] Map 5-1: accounts for the major movements of Monytons and Ouabache mentioned in this chapter, reference throughout.

parallels the struggles of all eastern Indians at the close of the seventeenth century.[10]

II. Diaspora: Unraveled by the Winds

Monyton society was a microcosm of the larger world of Indian-European interaction. At first the targets of mourning warfare raids by Iroquois warriors sent out by their clan mothers, the Monytons later were actively recruited by the more eastern Indians and their Algonquian allies to become part of their trading and political empire. In the European-Indian negotiations occurring late in the seventeenth century even the distant Monytons become important and controversial, if at times unwilling, participants.[11] So incorporated did the Monytons become in this contested Iroquois-Algonquian cultural space that by the mid 1700s the Mahicans, their "older brothers," were recounting the history of the Ohio Indians to outsiders and speaking for them in regional diplomacy.[12] The northern dispersion of the Monytons was only secondary to their movements south during this period, but it is the consistent upheaval of the Indian world which remains the most important factor in the continuation of the Monyton Diaspora in the eighteenth century. Even Monytons who moved south looking for social stability found none and consciously made their way north to Iroquoia in the 1740s and eventually back to the Ohio Valley.

The Tomahittan allies of the Monytons from the Tennessee and Cumberland Valleys provided a temporary home for itinerant Monytons. The Tomahittans, part of the slowly forming Cherokee tribe, provided also the window of opportunity for the Monytons to retire farther south where they became the powerful Savannah Indians who enacted their revenge for years of raids removing captives.[13] Through their involvement in the growing trade at Charles Towne, South Carolina, the Monytons were embroiled in a complicated dance between their relationships with fellow Indians and their trade with the English. The Monytons, reforming and adapting to the social conditions of the South, were able to maintain some sense of their former identity as the Thawikila division among the Shawnee. The reasons for these changes unfortunately are veiled by the representations of behaviors and attitudes recorded by contemporary Europeans.[14] The former Ohio River Indians are thought to have traveled so far that some archaeologists and historians theorize that the Monyton Diaspora explains the unknown origins of many tribal people east of the Mississippi River. One of the more likely scenarios involves the Quapaw Indians of northern Louisiana along the Mississippi River. Marvin Jeter has plausibly offered that they originated from the middle Ohio River valley around the mid to late seventeenth

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[10] Southern Movement of eastern Fort Ancients: Robert F. Maslowski, Protohistoric Villages in Southern West Virginia, in *Upland Archaeology in the East, Symposium 2*, ed., Michael B. Barber, (USDA Forest Service Southern Region, Atlanta Ga. 1984), 161; Drooker, *Madisonville*, 73.

Fracturing began though in 1670s: Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations*, 193.

[11] Iroquois Adoption of Tribes as method of control: Michael N. McConnell, Peoples 'In Between': The Iroquois and the Ohio Indians, 1720-1768, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds., Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), 93-112, on 95-96.

[12] Mahican elder brothers of Shawnee: Heckwelder, "History, Manners, and Customs," 86.

[13] Multiethnic Cherokee villages: Christopher B. Rodning, Reconstructing the Coalescence of Cherokee Communities in Southern Appalachia, in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, in eds., Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 155-176, on 157.

[14] Savannah Indians return north as Shawnee: Merrell, "Their Very Bones," 115-133; Perkins, Elizabeth A. "Distinctions and Partitions amongst Us: Identity and Interactions in the Revolutionary Ohio Valley," in *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830*, eds. Andrew R.L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 205-234, on 206.

century. He cites their similar material cultures as evidence that they were from the most eastern Fort Ancient groups, the Monyton villages, who had traveled along the Ohio and down the Mississippi. The Monyton Diaspora placed them at the heart of the social turmoil of all Indians during the seventeenth century.[15]

Monytons had been suffering for more than half a century. By 1680, warfare and disease had decimated entire villages forcing the remaining people to gather in defensible villages. Even as new villages were created, Monyton society was unraveling, leaving villagers with few options. Many decided to leave for more stable regions. This voluntary withdrawal from the Ohio Valley was not only a response to an increasing death toll but also to the threat of being captured by enemies. In spite of the threat, many families stayed in their ancestral Ohio River home. The difficulty of describing the Monyton Diaspora lies in the issue of how much or little of their socio-cultural identity was maintained during the last two decades of the seventeenth century.

Scattered by the forces already outlined above, the Diaspora of the Monyton people mirrored the hardships of many Indians during this time period. It is important to analyze the complex relationship these people had with the land and environment:

> "While upcountry Indians did not sail away to some distant land, they, too, were among the uprooted, leaving their ancestral homes to try and make a new life elsewhere. The peripatetic existence of Saponis and others proved deeply disruptive. A village and its surrounding territory were important elements of personal and collective identity, physical links in a chain binding a group to its past and making a locality sacred" [16]

While the forces that divided the Monytons limited their socio-cultural identity, it is their lingering connection with the Ohio River that brought many Indians back full circle. Their increasing involvement in the newly formed Shawnee nation and the scattered movements of the late seventeenth century show that as the fabric of their society deteriorated, traceable threads unraveled in the Monyton Diaspora. Monytons were carried off, beginning in the 1670s, sold as slaves and taken far from their homes in southern West Virginia to work alongside African slaves on rice and sugar plantations.

As the eighteenth century dawned in the Ohio Valley, little more than two centuries after the first arrival of Europeans, the human landscape had been altered in almost unimaginable detail. The thriving agricultural Monyton society had been a center of trading, diplomacy, and a mecca for spiritually minded travelers on the Great Warriors Path. The Monyton Diaspora fueled the creation of the Shawnee tribe of the eighteenth century, a confederacy of the Monytons, Ouabache, and at least three other fractured groups from the Ohio region. The story of the Monytons and their connection to the Ohio River region does not end in 1700, but rather continued in Ohio during the eighteenth century. The story of the survival and persistence of the Monytons parallel closely the stories of other Indians during this period. There is an important reminder that Native Americans were not doomed to passively die as victims of forces beyond their control but rather that they were active participants in the processes affecting them. Europeans may have complicated their social environment of the seventeenth century, but Indians dealt with the changes in ways which actualized their own traditions. Indians were

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[15] Quapaw from Monyton (Fort Ancient) ancestry: Marvin D. Jeter, From Prehistory through Protohistory to Ethnohistory in and near the Northern Lower Mississippi Valley, in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, eds., Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 177-223, on 216; Hudson, "Introduction," xxxi; Marvin T. Smith, Aboriginal Population Movements in the Postcontact Southeast, in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, eds., Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson, (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), 3-20, on 6.

[16] Effects of Confederacy Quote: Merrell, "Catawba Experience," 31.

influential players in the European conquest of North America. As Europeans expanded their New World interests, indigenous people were hindrances and facilitators, friends and foes. This duplicity extended from the ancient traditions of intertribal politics. As enemies became brothers, ancestral lands were left, and old customs were altered for new circumstances, native people survived through their flexibility to adapt to new social conditions in spite of overwhelming odds. In these changing situations, Europeans became both powerful allies and deadly enemies.

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# Appendices:

Appendix A: Tables

Appendix B: Chronology

Appendix C: Maps

Appendix D: Diagrams

# Appendix A: Tables

## Tables Concerning Epidemics
(Tables 1 & 2, 3 & 9, B.1)

## Tables Concerning Iroquois Raiding Parties
(Table D.1)

## Table Concerning Animal Remains in Fort Ancient Sites
(Table 3.1)

Tables Concerning Epidemics

Table 1: (*abridged 1520-1700*)[1]
Probable Epidemic Episodes of Smallpox
Among Native Americans in North America, 1520-1898

| *Date* | *Peoples Affected* |
| --- | --- |
| 1520-1524 | Total geographic extent unknown; at least from Chile across present United States, causing greater mortality than any later episode |
| 1592-1593 | Central Mexico to Sinaloa; southern New England; eastern Great Lakes |
| 1602 | Sinaloa and northward |
| 1639 | French and British Northeastern North America |
| 1646-1648 | New Spain north to Nuevo León tribes and western Sierra Madre to Florida |
| 1649-1650 | Northeastern tribes; Montagnais-Naskapi to Quebec, Huron, and Iroquois; Florida |
| 1655 | Florida chiefdoms |
| 1662-1663 | Iroquois, Delaware, Canadian tribes, and Central Mexico |
| 1665-1667 | Florida chiefdoms to Virginia tribes |
| 1669-1670 | French and British northeastern people |
| 1674-1675 | Coahuiltecan tribes of Texas, northeastern New Spain |
| 1677-1679 | Northeastern tribes in New France and British territory |
| 1687-1691 | Northeastern tribes on French and British frontiers, Texas tribes |
| 1696-1699 | Southeastern and Gulf Coast chiefdoms decimated |

Table 2: (*abridged 1531-1700*)[2]
Probable Epidemic Episodes of Measle Among Native
Americans North of Central Mexico, 1531-1892

| *Date* | *Peoples Affected* |
| --- | --- |
| 1531-1533 | New Spain and probably far beyond the colony northward, including Pueblos and more |
| 1592-1593 | Sinaloa |
| 1602 | Sinaloa |
| 1633-1634 | New England, New France, and Great Lakes groups; Native Americans near Boston and Plymouth, to Mohawks, Oneidas, Hurons, Montagnais, Narragansetts, Delawares, etc. |
| 1658-1659 | Canadian tribes; Florida peoples to Mexico City – with diptheria |
| 1692-1693 | Illinois peoples, Oneidas |

[1] Table 1: from Dobyns, *Thinned*, 15.

[2] Table 2: Ibid, 17.

Table 3: (*abridged 1559-1700*)[3]
Probable Epidemic Episodes of Influenza among
Native North American Peoples, 1559-1918

| *Date* | *Peoples Affected* |
|---|---|
| 1559 | Southeastern tribes; Gulf Coast peoples to central New Spain |
| 1647 | New England tribes |
| 1675 | Iroquois and New England tribes |
| 1696-1698 | Possible component with smallpox epidemic among Gulf Coast and Southeastern peoples |

Table 9: (*abridged 1528-1700*)[4]
Recorded Epidemic Episodes of Additional Pathogens
(Identified and Unidentified)
Among Native North Americans, 1528-1833

| *Date* | *Disease* | *Mortality* | *Peoples Affected* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1528 | Typhoid | 50% | Gulf coast barrier islanders |
| 1535 | Unknown | Low | St. Lawrence River valley, southern Plains, Southeast |
| 1564-1570 | Unknown | Severe | Florida to Virginia and New England tribes |

[3] Table3: Ibid, 19.

[4] Table 9: Ibid, 23.

Table B.1: (*abridged 1634-1690*)[5]
Disease among the Iroquois to 1701

| *Date* | *Disease* | *Peoples Affected* |
|---|---|---|
| 1634, Dec. | Smallpox | Mohawk |
| 1636 | No details | Mohawk or Onondaga? |
| 1639-1640, winter | Smallpox and/or unspecified throat ailment | Iroquois [not specified] |
| 1640-1641, winter | No details | Iroquois [not specified] |
| 1646-1647, summer to spring | No details | Mohawk |
| 1655 | No details | Onondaga |
| 1660 | Smallpox | Mohawk |
| 1661-1662, [winter?] | Smallpox | Onondaga and Seneca |
| 1662-1663, [winter?] | Smallpox | Iroquois |
| 1668, [fall to winter?] | No details | Seneca |
| 1672, June to Sept. | Severe headache and fever | Mohawk |
| 1676 | Influenza | Seneca |
| 1679, [winter] | Smallpox and fever | Onondaga, Oneida and possibly all Iroquois tribes |
| 1682 | Bloody flux | Onondaga and Cayuga and possibly Seneca |
| 1690, spring [to fall] | Smallpox | Mohawk and possibly rest of Iroquois tribes |

[5] Table B.1: from Brandão, *"Ye fyres,"* Table B.1.

Table Concerning Iroquois Raiding Parties

Table D.1: Iroquois War Raids[6]

| *Date* | *Groups* | *Note* |
|---|---|---|
| Winter 1661-1662 | Onondaga vs. Shawnee | some Females and Children killed in Upper Ohio Valley, "This was a reprisal for Onon deaths incurred 8-9 years past when Onon had attacked Shawnee." JR: 47:145-147. |
| April 1663 | Iroquois (Seneca, Cayuga, Onon.) vs. Susquehannock village | 25+ Iroquois killed, 10 captured, unknown number captured, Ohio River, JR: 48:7-79, NYCD 12:431. |
| Mid to Late August 1669 | Seneca vs. Shawnee | 1 Shawnee male captured, and tortured to death, war party arrived this date, Galinee, "Voyage de Dollier et Galinee" 32, 34 |
| 26 August 1669 | Iroquois (4 Onon and 1 Seneca) vs. Shawnee | 2 Shawnee captured, don't know when occurred, returned this day. JR: 53:245, 54:113, 115 |
| Fall to Winter 1669 | 500 Seneca & additional Cayuga vs. Shawnee | JR: 53: 47-49, 54:117 |
| 17 June 1676 | Onon vs. ? | 50 captured from 2 different tribes of whom 6 female, 5 male, 1 male child and 1 child killed, went 200 leagues SW, might have been Shawnee? JR: 60:185, NYCD: 3:252 |
| 6 Feb 1682 | Seneca vs ? | 35 captured, at one location, 4-5 at another, "New reported this day. Writing from Mt. Paradise, Virginia, C. Jones notes 35 capt. in an attack 300 miles SSW from his location, and 4-5 capt. from some villages "under the mountains" 500 miles away. Not clear if in same direction." CSP 11:193 Calendar of State Papers, Colonial series America and the West Indies, ed. W. Sainsbury et al. |
| Spring 1685 | Iroq. vs, Saponi | some Saponi wounded, 1 captured, below the mountains, LIR 85 |

[6] Table D.1: Ibid, Table D.1.

Table Concerning Animal Remains in Fort Ancient Sites

Table 3.1: Animal Remains in Fort Ancient Sites[7]

| *Animal(Mammals)* | *# out of 11 Sites* | *Animal(Birds)* | *# out of 10 Sites* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fisher | 4 | Wild Goose | 3 |
| Gray Squirrel | 4 | Duck | 3 |
| Porcupine | 4 | Trumpeter Swan | 4 |
| Otter | 6 | Bald Eagle | 5 |
| Skunk | 5 | Great Horned Owl | 5 |
| Mink | 5 | Great Blue Heron | 3 |
| Rabbit | 5 | Turkey | 9 |
| Groundhog | 6 | | |
| Muskrat | 4 | | |
| Indian Dog | 7 | | |
| Wildcat | 7 | | |
| Puma | 7 | | |
| Gray fox | 6 | | |
| Wolf | 7 | | |
| Beaver | 8 | | |
| Opossum | 7 | | |
| Raccoon | 10 | | |
| Black Bear | 10 | | |
| Elk | 11 | | |
| Virginia Deer | 11 | | |

[7] Table 3.1: Abridged from Griffin, Table X: Plant and Animal Remains in Fort Ancient Sites, *Fort Ancient Aspect*, 374-375.

# Appendix B: Chronology

# *Chronology 1300-1800*

## 1300s

| | |
|---|---|
| 1300 | Lenape and Iroquois drive the Alligewi from Ohio Valley |

## 1400s

| | |
|---|---|
| 1400 | Interregional trade through Ohio Valley begins increasing,<br>Fort Ancient village size increases |
| 1450 | Founding of Iroquois League<br>Gorgets begin to show up in Ohio Valley<br>Buffalo arrive in New-Kanawha River Valley |
| 1492 | Columbus arrives in North America, approximately 18 million Native people in North America |

## 1500s

| | |
|---|---|
| 1520s | First waves of diseases in eastern North America after European contacts |
| 1524 | Verrazano in Hudson Bay |
| 1526 | Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon in South Carolina and Georgia |
| 1534-1541 | French colonization of St. Lawrence River |
| 1539-1543 | Hernando deSoto Expedition |
| 1542-1599 | Basque fishing and trading expeditions |
| 1550 | European trade goods begin showing up in Ohio Valley |
| 1559-1561 | Tristan de Luna colonization attempt in Florida panhandle |
| 1566-1568 | 2 expeditions of Juan Pardo |
| 1581 | French and British requesting more beavers from Native traders |

## 1600s

| | |
|---|---|
| 1600 | Susquehannock population explosion |
| 1607 | Jamestown established |
| 1608 | Capt. John Smith on the mouth of Susquehanna River |
| 1609 | Henry Hudson explores Hudson River<br>Half Moon sails into Delaware Bay and Hudson Bay |
| 1610 | Algonquians in Canada gain firearms edge over Iroquois |
| 1614 | Fort Nassua established by Dutch (later New York) |
| 1620 | Plymouth Colony established |
| 1622-1646 | Powhatans fighting with Virginia Colonists |
| 1624 | New Netherland established by Dutch |
| 1624-1628 | Mohawk-Mahican conflict |
| 1625-1645 | Susquehannocks forced into smaller villages on Susquehanna River by Iroquois warriors |
| 1630s | Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut colonies established by English<br>First recorded epidemics among Huron and Iroquois<br>Citico gorgets appeared to have stopped manufacturing |
| 1633 | Maryland established |
| 1635 | Dispersal of Monongahela by Iroquois |
| 1637 | Pequot War |
| 1638 | New Sweden (Delaware) established by Swedish<br>Wenro people dispersed by Iroquois |

Chronology (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1640s | Iroquois begin getting flintlocks from Dutch giving them advantage in raids<br>Iroquois report depleted beaver furs to English and French starting “beaver |

| | |
|---|---|
| | wars" Black Minqua begin seeking asylum with Susquehannocks |
| 1644 | Virginia colonists defeat the Powhatans |
| 1646 | Fort Henry established above the falls near Petersburg |
| 1647 | Southern allies asked Mohawks to join raiding parties<br>First mention of Shawnee |
| 1648 | Indians tell Berkeley about strange Indians across mountains<br>Huron dispersal |
| 1652 | Neutral people dispersed by Iroquois<br>Susquehannocks first treaty with the English in Maryland<br>Mountains made free for English to explore and settle |
| 1655 | New Sweden taken over by Dutch<br>Iroquois attack Piscataway of Potomac River<br>Colonel Edward Hill and Pamunkeys defeated by Ricaherians |
| 1655-1670 | Fort Ancient pottery found in southwestern Pennsylvanian Seneca villages, evidence of Fort Ancient captives |
| 1656 | Erie people dispersed by Iroquois |
| 1659 | Seneca and Susquehannocks conflicts |
| 1660 | Indian Captives from Manhattan sent to the West Indies as slaves<br>Estimated 2/3 of Iroquois villages were adoptees |
| 1662 | French note Iroquois warriors going south attacking Ontoagannha |
| 1664 | Susquehannocks attacked by Virginians in Bacon's Rebellion<br>English take over New Netherlands |
| 1667-1677 | French-Iroquois peace |
| 1668 | William Berkeley and Abraham Wood trying to find sea, delayed by mountains |
| March 9, 1669 | 1st expedition of John Lederer |
| 1670s | Robert Cavelier de La Salle from Canada down the Mississippi<br>Mississippi and Arkansas explorations of Joliet and Marquette |
| 1670 | Iroquois begin focusing attacks on Monyton and Shawnee<br>Charles Town established in South Carolina<br>Virginia traders began making regular trips to the Dan River valley |
| May 20, 1670 | 2nd Lederer expedition |
| August 20,1670 | 3rd Lederer expedition |
| September 1, 1671 | Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam expedition leaves from Fort Henry |
| September 17, 1671 | Batts and Fallam reach New River Valley and old Monyton village and fields |
| September 20, 1671 | Batts and Fallam confer with Monytons at Totera village |
| 1672 | Fort Michilimackinac established between Lake Huron and Michigan by French |
| April 10, 1673 | 1st James Needham and Gabriel Arthur expedition leaves from Fort Henry |
| May 17, 1673 | 2nd Needham and Arthur expedition leaves from Fort Henry |
| June 18, 1673 | Needham and Arthur meet Tomahittans at Occanneechi |
| June 25, 1673 | Needham leaves Arthur with Tomahittans to learn language |
| December 25, 1673 | Gabriel Arthur with Tomahittans raiding English in Port Royal, South Carolina |
| 1674 | Arthur Woodward travels through Westo territory<br>Thawikila band of Shawnee settle in South Carolina |
| Spring 1674 | Gabriel Arthur captured by Shawnee |
| June 18, 1674 | Arthur back at Fort Henry |
| 1675 | Covenant Chain formed between Iroquois and English<br>Susquehannocks given land on south shore of Potomac River |
| 1675-1676 | King Philip's War in New England<br>Bacon's Rebellion in Mid-Atlantic |
| 1676 | *Seaflower* in Boston Harbour holding 180 Indian war captives |

Chronology (cont.)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1677 | Virginia and Maryland treaty with Iroquois concerning southern wars |
| 1678 | Iroquois raid in Virginia bringing back Shawnee captives<br>"Strange Indians" reported in Maryland and Virginia backcountry |
| 1679 | Virginia rekindle treaty with Iroquois |
| 1680s | FA already beginning to splinter<br>Iroquois attacked and destroyed Mosopelea, Illinois, Shawnee |

| | |
|---|---|
| | Carolinas forbade Indian slavery<br>Pennsylvania established |
| 1682 | Shawnees and Conoys move into southwestern Pennsylvania |
| 1683 | Iroquois attacking in MD and VA frontier<br>Carolina soldiers permitted to take Indian war captives as slaves<br>Shawnee met by LaSalle's traders near Fort St. Louis |
| August 2, 1684 | Iroquois meeting with English in Albany complaining of no beaver |
| 1686 | Firearm trade begins with Creeks<br>Spanish among Upper Creeks found recently settled Shawnees |
| 1687-1701 | Creek slave raids among Choctaw sent to Charlestown for sale |
| 1689-1699 | King William's War |
| 1690s | Increasing Iroquois military defeats abroad<br>Shawnee start appearing in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and the Upper Delaware River |
| 1692-1694 | Arnout Viele trade expedition to Shawnee territory |
| 1692-1701 | Lull in Iroquois southern wars |
| July 3-4, 1693 | Iroquois meet English at Albany mentioning Shawnee adoption |
| February 6, 1694 | Arnout Viele's scouts arrive at Albany |
| 1695 | Monytons splinter and leave Ohio Valley |

**1700s**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1700s | Shawnee were a displaced tribe |
| 1701 | Great Peace of Iroquois with French and English<br>John Lawson notes Tuscarawas coming into Virginia hunting<br>Saponis, Tutelos and Keyauwees on Yadkin River in Tennesee |
| September 29, 1707 | Lord Cornbury meets Indians about Shawnee |
| May 20, 1708 | English inviting Sawanoe Indians to New York |
| 1710 | Shawnee group living among the Minnisink Indians in Delaware River valley |
| 1720s | first white settlers to southern West Virginia |
| 1724 | Delawares move to Allegheny and Ohio River valleys |
| 1725 | Shawnee start moving back into Ohio valley |
| 1770s | First settlements in Kentucky |

# Appendix C: Maps

Map I-1: Elusive People Research Area[1]

Map I-2: Important Eastern Cultures and Linguistic, 1600-1650[2]

Map I-3: Important Eastern Cultures and Linguistic, 1650-1700[3]

Map I-4: Important Places 1539-1700[4]

Map 1-1: Important currently recognized Fort Ancient and related sites[5]

Map 1-2: Trails of the Southeast[6]

Map 2-1: European Explorations (1539-1694)[7]

Map 5-1: Diaspora of the Monytons During the Seventeenth Century[8]

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[1] Map I-1: by Author.

[2] Map I-2: Important Eastern Cultures and Linguistic, 1600-1650: by author, base map courtesy of Nationalatlas.gov Outline Maps, <http://nationalatlas.gov/outline/coasts_boundaries(u).pdf> (27 August 2004).

[3] Map I-3: Important Eastern Cultures and Linguistic, 1650-1700: by author, base map courtesy of Nationalatlas.gov Outline Maps, <http://nationalatlas.gov/outline/coasts_boundaries(u).pdf> (27 August 2004).

[4] Map I-4: Important Places 1539-1700: by author, base map courtesy of Nationalatlas.gov Outline Maps, <http://nationalatlas.gov/outline/coasts_boundaries(u).pdf> (27 August 2004).

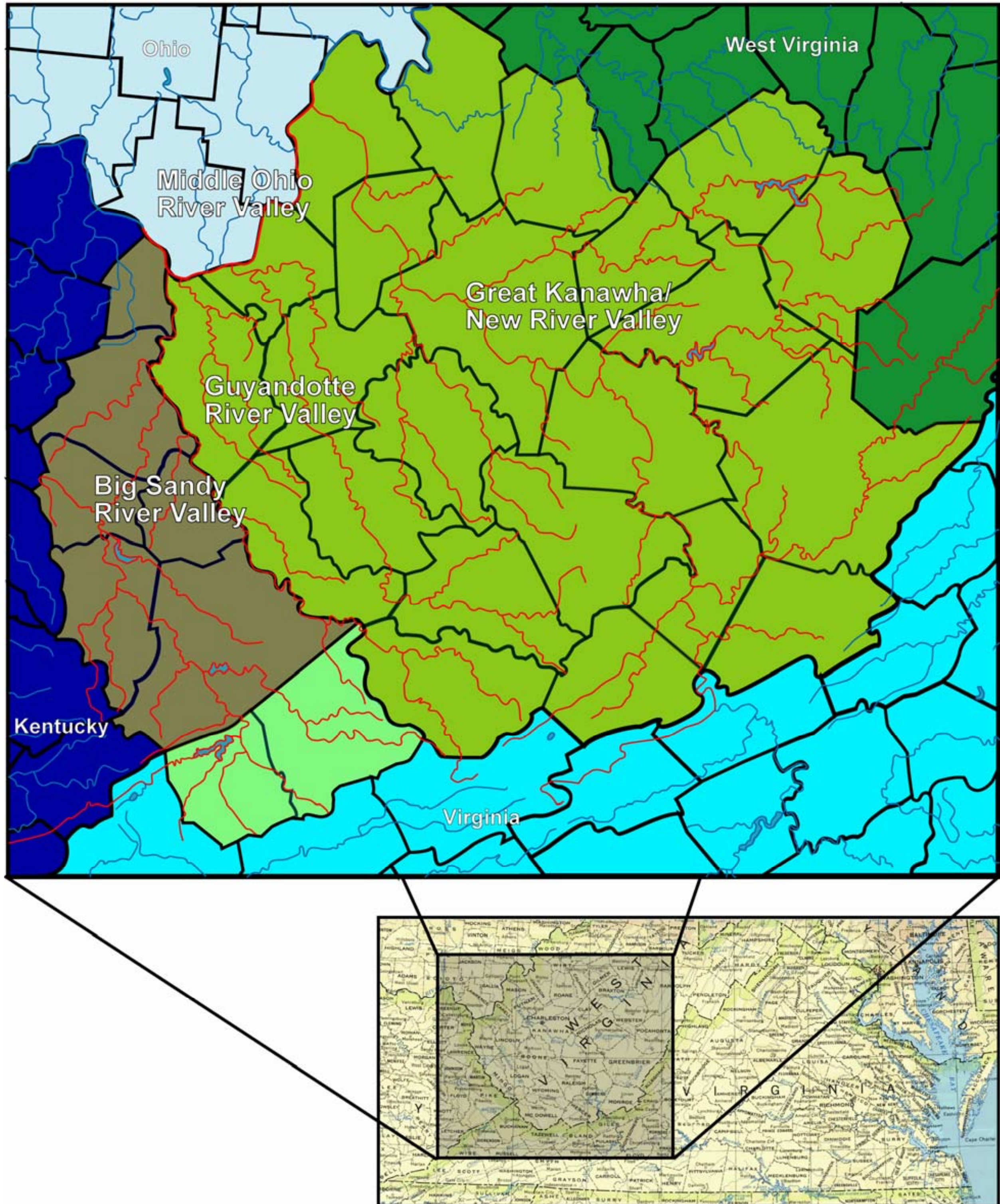
[5] Map 1-1: Important currently recognized Fort Ancient and related sites: adapted by author from Drooker, *Madisonville*, 69.

[6] Map 1-2: Trails of the Southeast: 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.

[7] Map 2-1: European Explorations (1539-1694): by author, base map courtesy of Nationalatlas.gov Outline Maps, <http://nationalatlas.gov/outline/coasts_boundaries(u).pdf> (27 August 2004).

[8] Map 5-1: Diaspora of the Monytons During the Seventeenth Century : by author, base map courtesy of Nationalatlas.gov Outline Maps, <http://nationalatlas.gov/outline/coasts_boundaries(u).pdf> (27 August 2004).

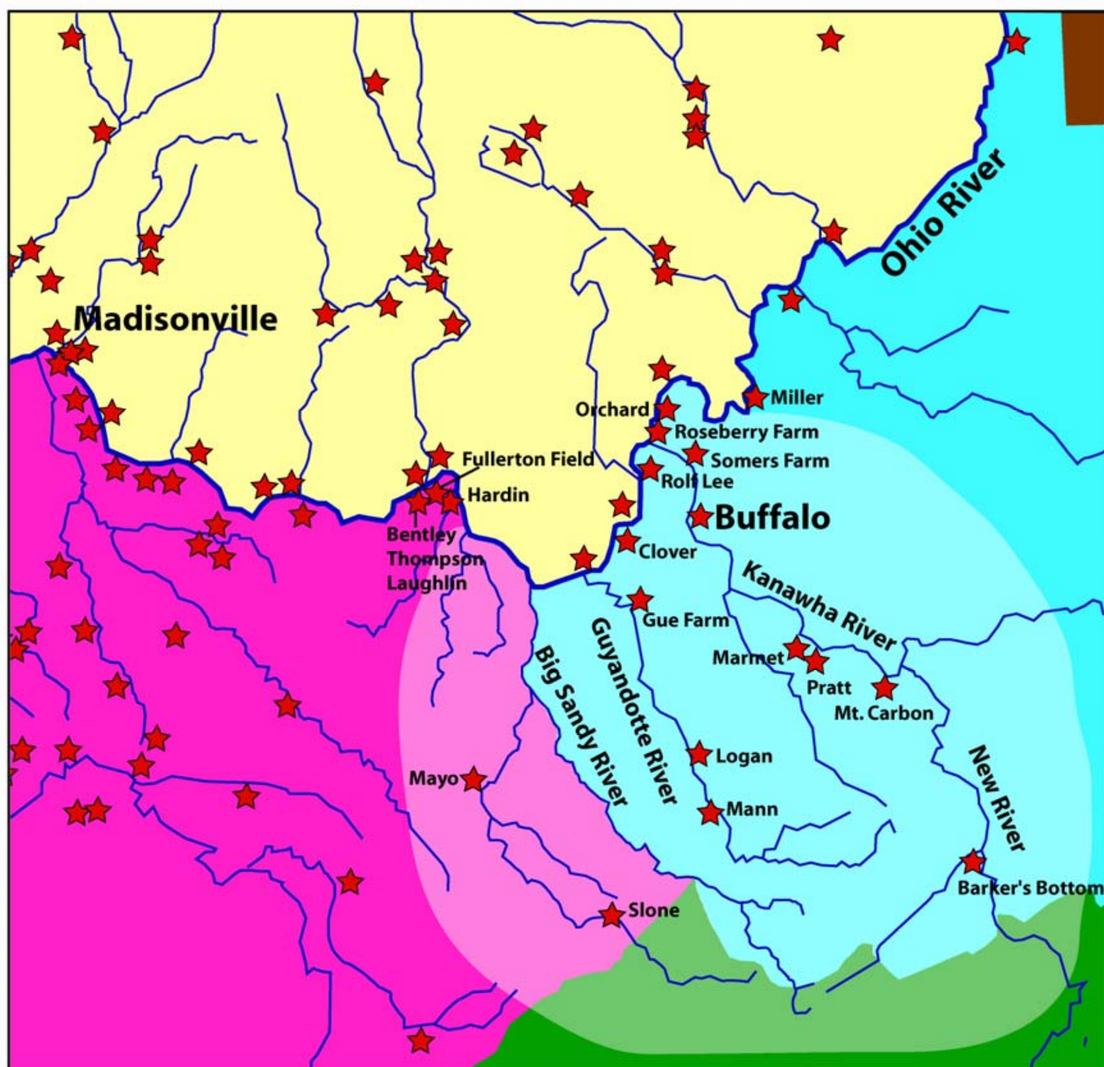
Map I-1: Elusive People Research Area



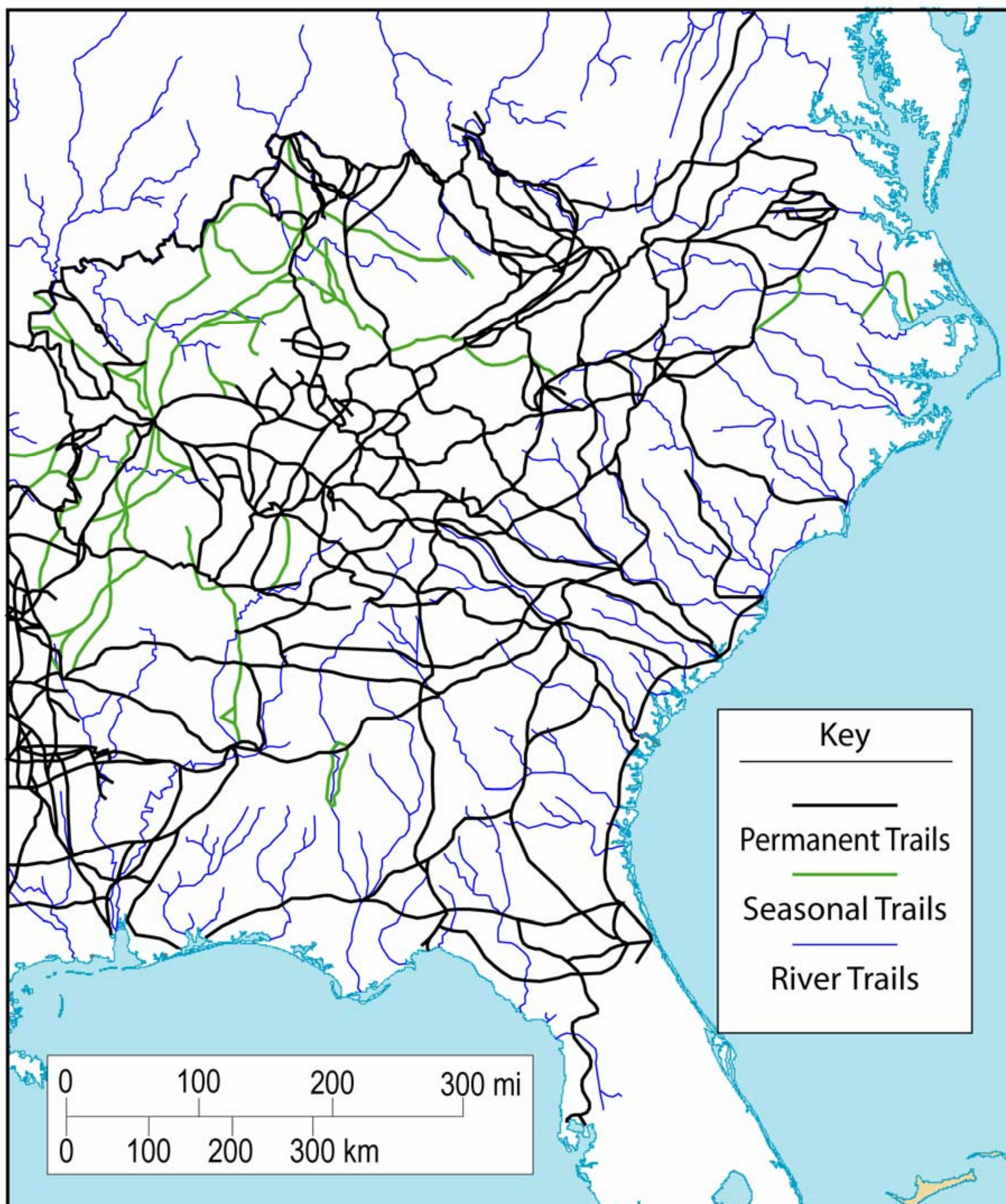
Map I-2: Important Eastern Cultural and Lingustic Groups, 1600-1650
Huron
Ottawa
Petun
Wenro
Neutral
Erie
Iroquois
Seneca
Cayuga
Onondaga
Oneida
Mohawk
Mahicans
Minisink
Delaware
Susquehannocks
Miami
Monongahela/
Massawomeck
Ouabache
Powhatans
Monacans
Moneton
Saponi
Tutelo
Occanneechi
Sara Indians
Proto-Cherokee
Tomahittans
Small Fractured
Former Mississippian
Villages
Language Key
Iroquian
Souian
Moneton
Algonquian
0 100 200 300 mi
0 100 200 300 km

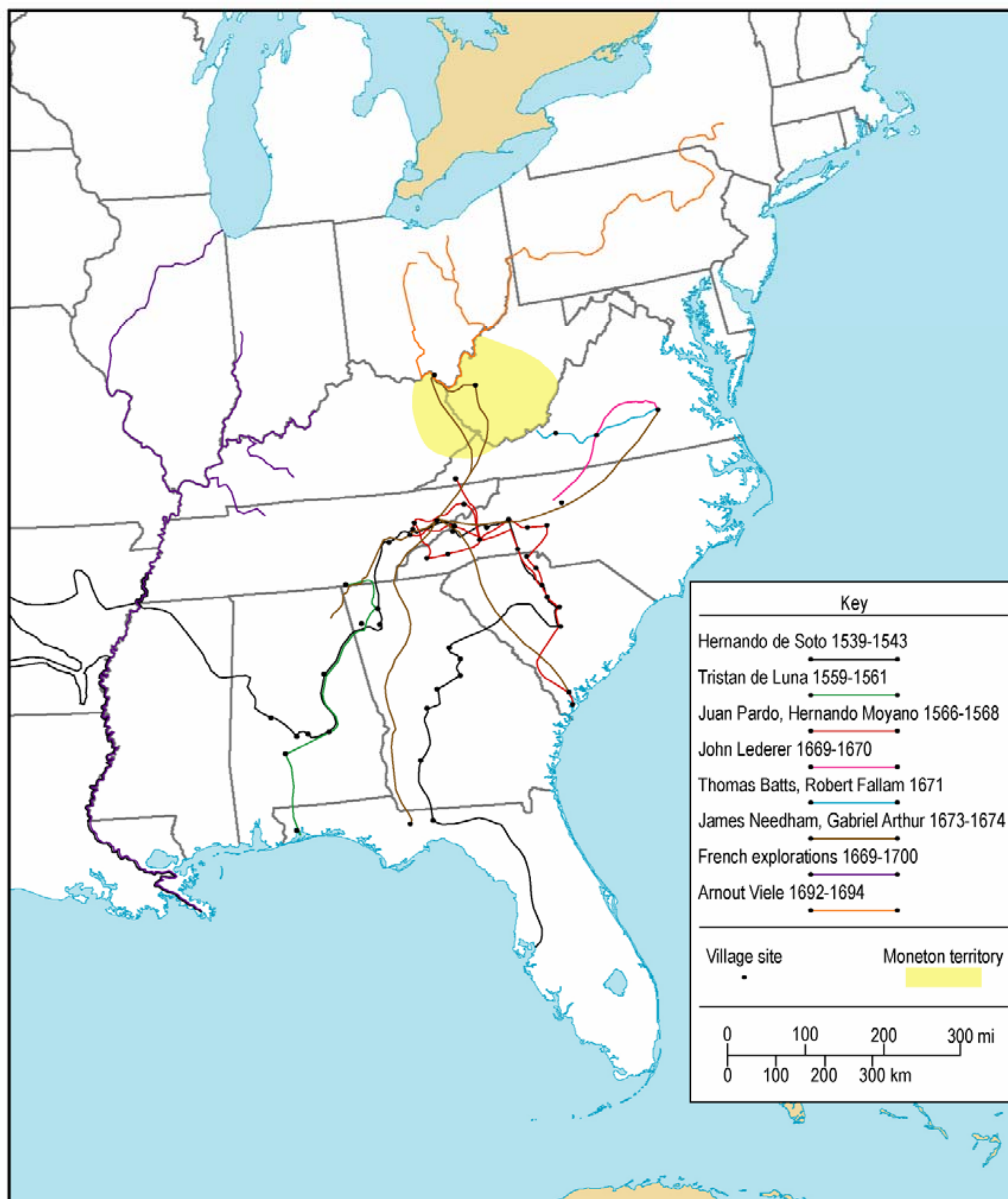
Map I-3: Important Eastern Cultural and Lingustic Groups, 1650-1700

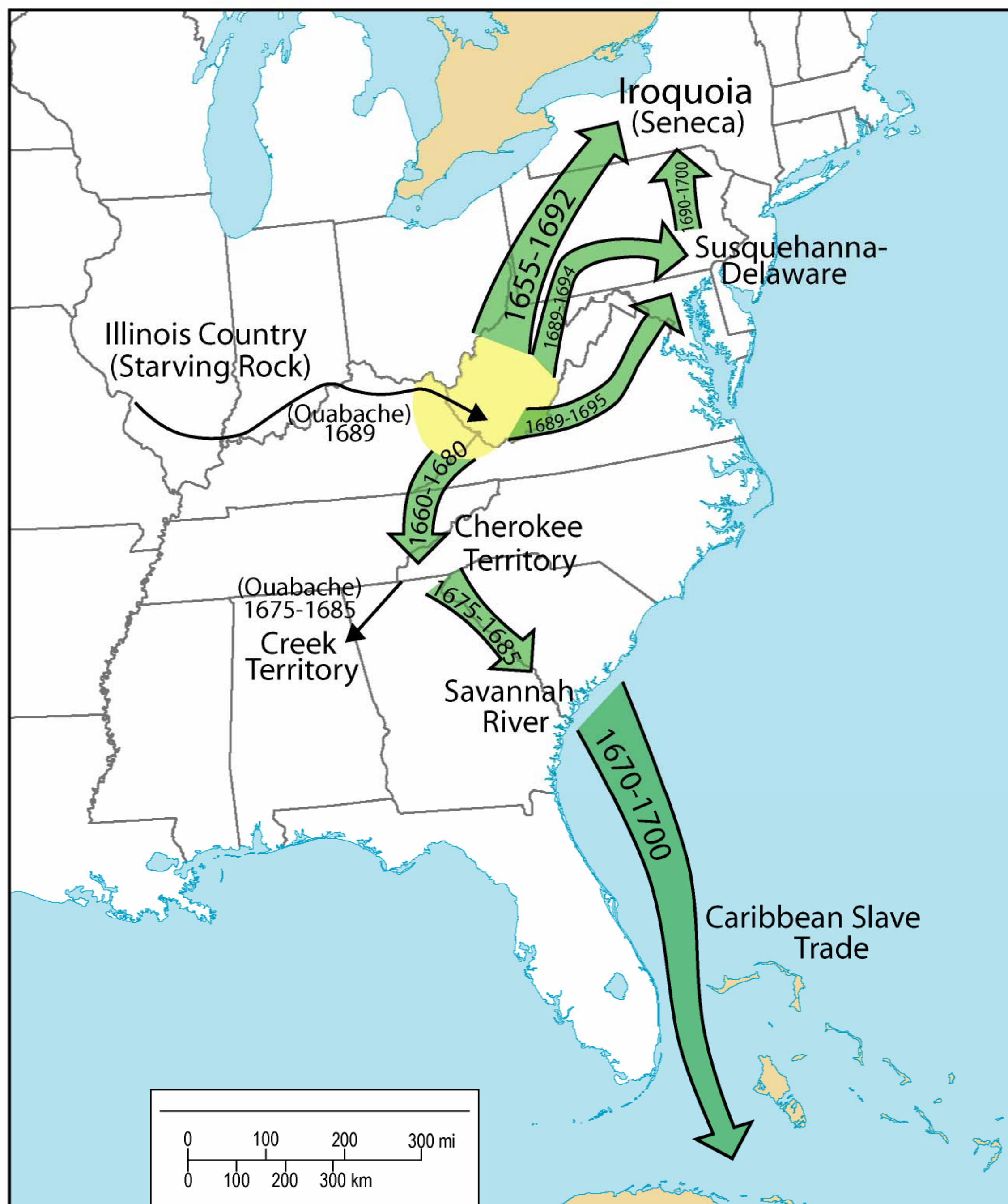
Map I-4: Important Places 1539-1700
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
J
K
L
M
N
O
P
Q
R
S
T
U
Key
A Buffalo (Moneton)
B Madisonville (Ouabache)
C Onondaga
D Albany
E Fort Henry
F Saponi
G Tutelo
H Maniateque
I Tomahitttan
J Napochies
K Coosa
L Xuala
M Occanneechi/Sara
N Cofitachequi
O Charles Towne
P Port Royal
Q Santa Elena
R Apalachee
S Spanish Fort
T Fort St. Louis
U Quapaw
Indian Village
European Town
Moneton territory
0 100 200 300 mi
0 100 200 300 km




Map 1-1: Important currently recognized Fort Ancient sites


Map 1-2: Trails of the Southeast
Key
Permanent Trails
Seasonal Trails
River Trails
0
100
200
300 mi
0
100
200
300 km


Map 2-1: European Explorations (1539-1694)
Key
Hernando de Soto 1539-1543
Tristan de Luna 1559-1561
Juan Pardo, Hernando Moyano 1566-1568
John Lederer 1669-1670
Thomas Batts, Robert Fallam 1671
James Needham, Gabriel Arthur 1673-1674
French explorations 1669-1700
Arnout Viele 1692-1694
Village site
Moneton territory
0 100 200 300 mi
0 100 200 300 km


Map 5.1: Diaspora of the Monetons
During the Seventeenth Century
Iroquoia
(Seneca)
1655-1692
1690-1700
1689-1694
Susquehanna-
Delaware
Illinois Country
(Starving Rock)
(Ouabache)
1689
1689-1695
1660-1680
Cherokee
Territory
(Ouabache)
1675-1685
Creek
Territory
1675-1685
Savannah
River
1670-1700
Caribbean Slave
Trade
0
100
200
300 mi
0
100
200
300 km

# Appendix D: Diagrams

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

Diagram 1-2: Illustration of Village Land Use[2]

Diagram 1-3: Double Barred Copper Pendant[3]

Diagram 1-4: Examples of Shell Gorgets[4]

Diagram 3-1: Reconstruction of a late Monongahela village[5]

Diagram 3-2: The Susquehannock Fort of 1670[6]

Diagram 4-1: An Attack on an Iroquois Fort[7]

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

[2] Diagram 1-2: Illustration of Village Land Use: by Author.

[3] Diagram 1-3: Double Barred Copper Pendant: by Author.

[4] Diagram 1-4: Examples of Shell Gorgets: by Author.

[5] Diagram 3-1: Reconstruction of a late Monongahela village: Don W. Dragoo, *The Archaic Hunters of the Upper Ohio Valley*. (Section of Man, Carnegie Museum, Anthropological Series No. 3. 1959), 11.

[6] Diagram 3-2: The Susquehannock Fort of 1670: Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2:color plates.

[7] Diagram 4-1: An Attack on an Iroquois Fort: Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 2:color plates.

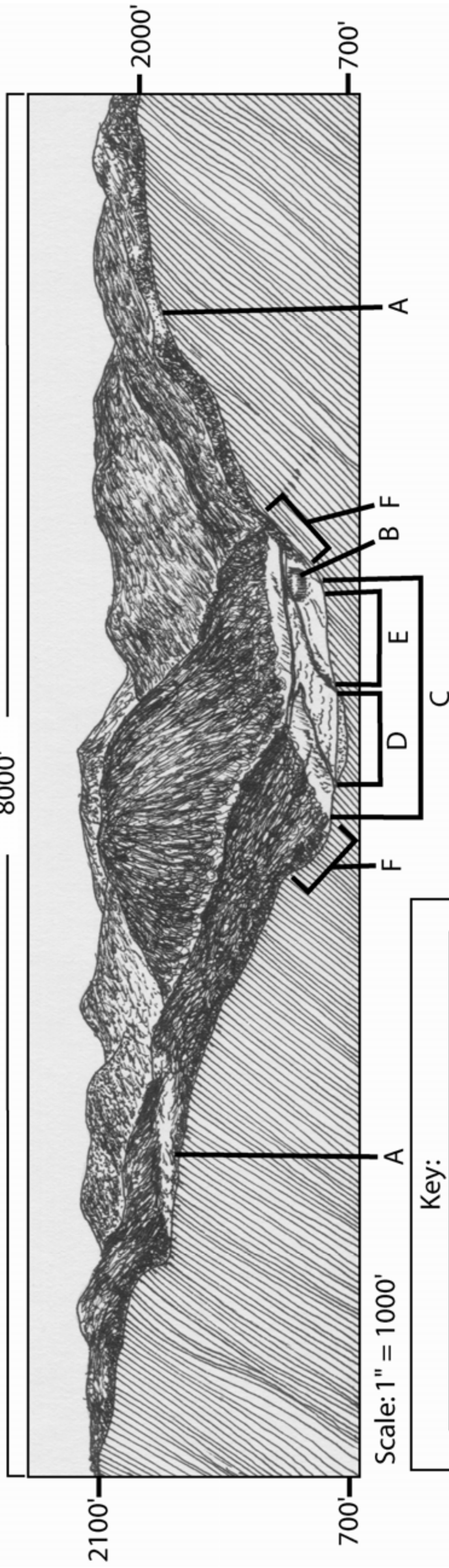
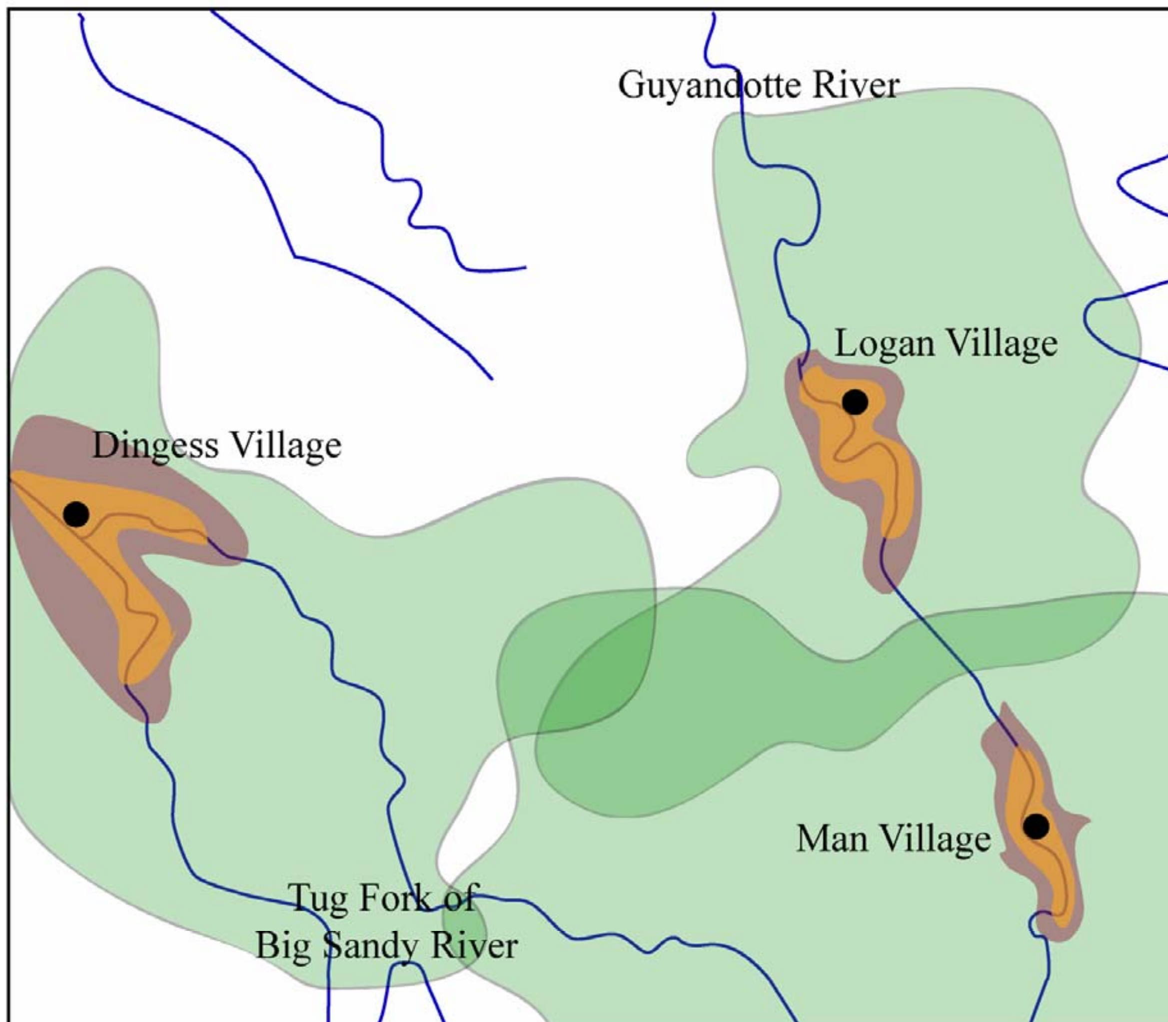
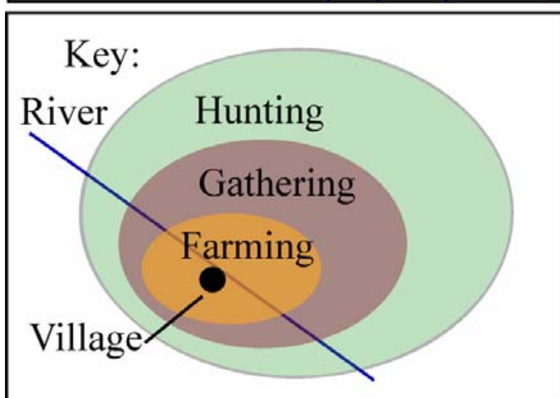



Diagram 1-1: Cross-section of Man village, (Logan Co., West Virginia)

Diagram 1-2: Illustration of Village Landuse



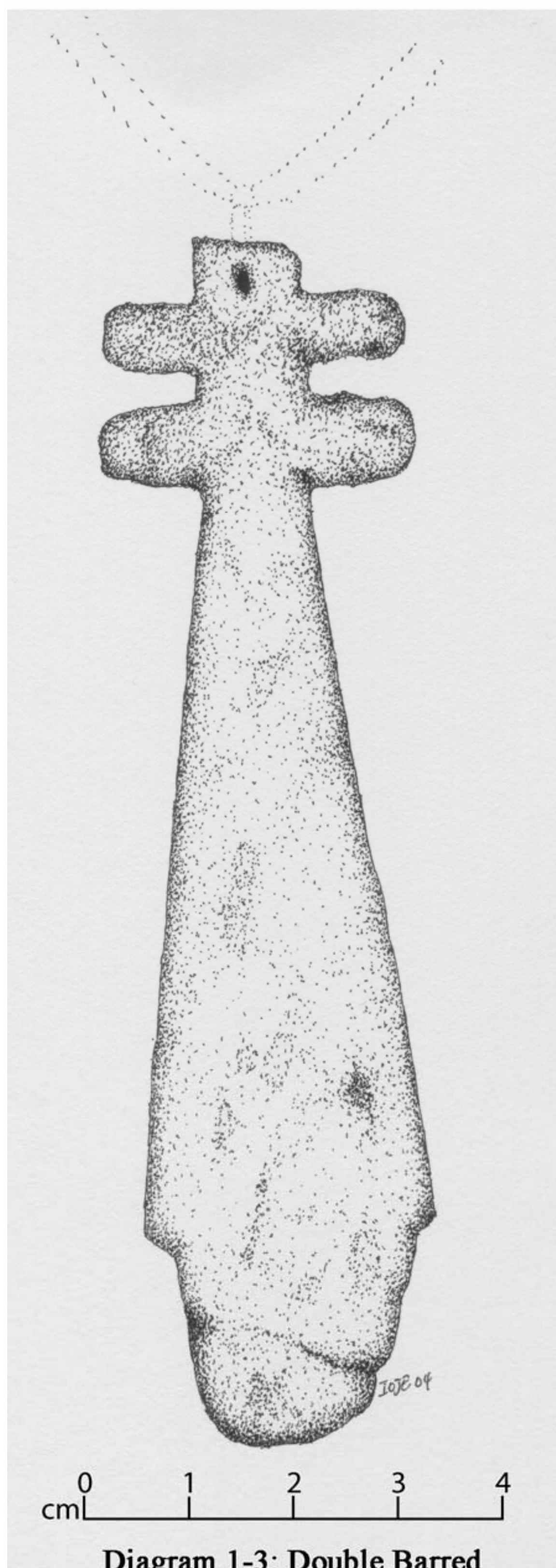
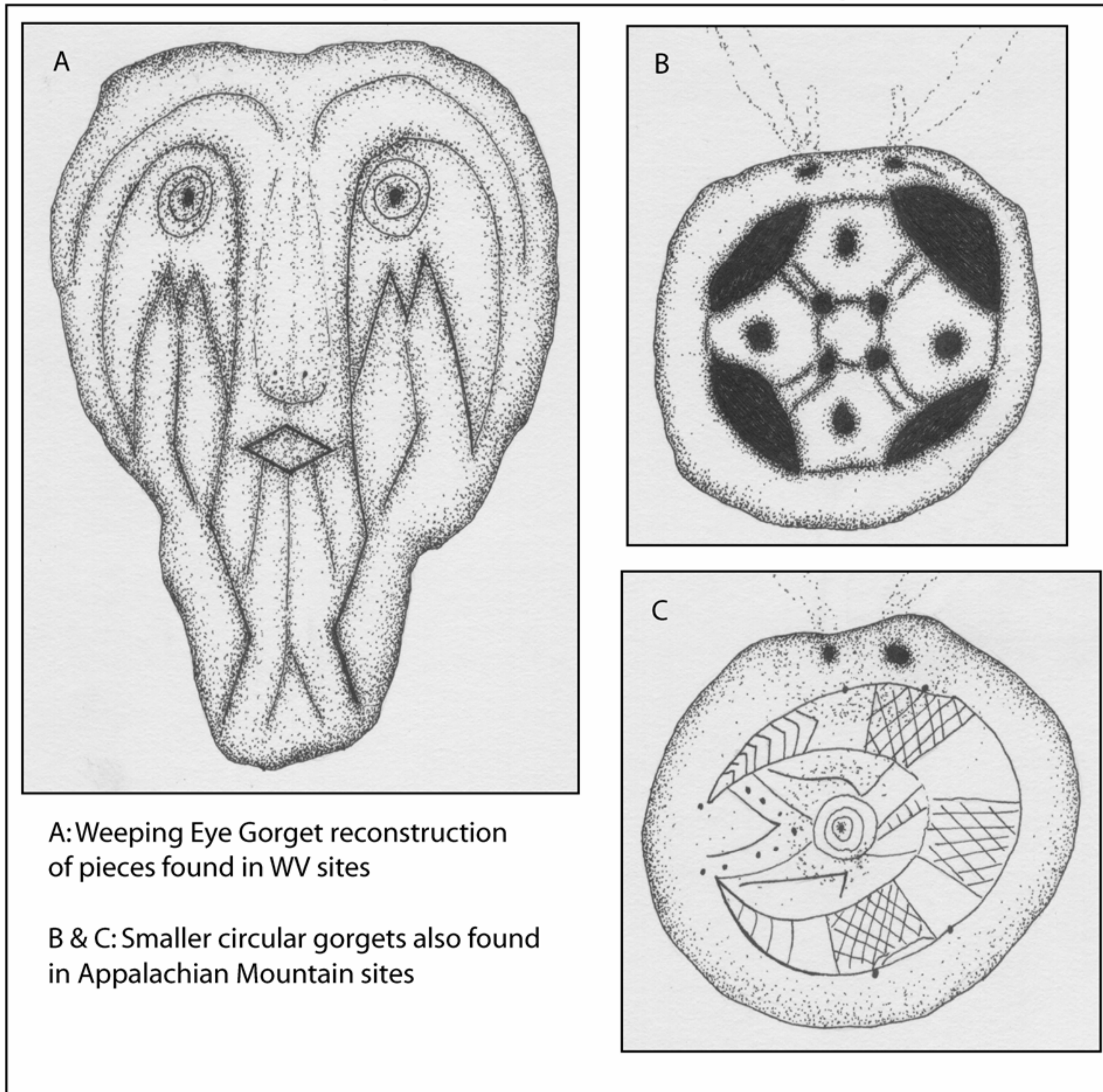



**Diagram 1-3: Double Barred Copper Pendant**

Diagram 1-4: Examples of Citico Shell Gorgets




A: Weeping Eye Gorget reconstruction of pieces found in WV sites

B & C: Smaller circular gorgets also found in Appalachian Mountain sites

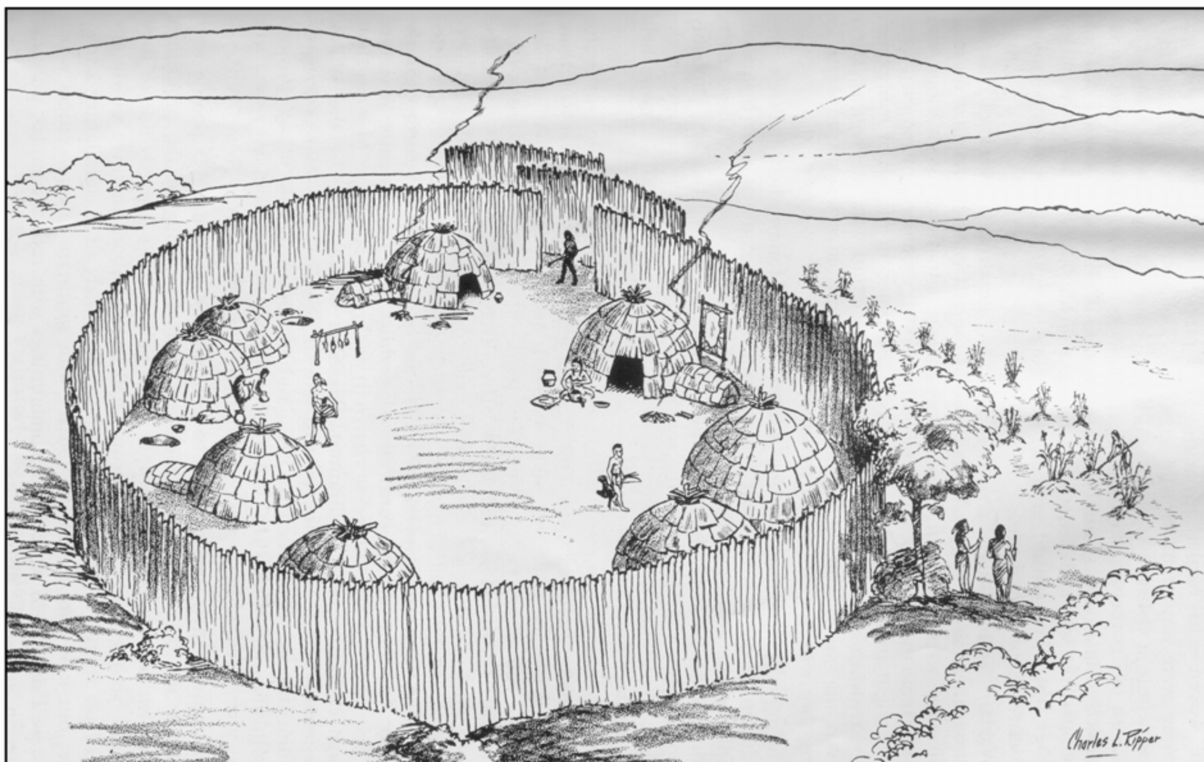



Diagram 3-1: Reconstruction of a late Monongahela village (Dragoo 1959: 11)

Diagram 3-2: The Susquehannock Fort of 1670

Diagram 4-1: An Attack on an Iroquois Fort