

1989

Anglo-Siouan Relations on Virginia's Piedmont Frontier, 1607-1732

Joseph Benjamin Jones

College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd>



Part of the [Indigenous Studies Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Jones, Joseph Benjamin, "Anglo-Siouan Relations on Virginia's Piedmont Frontier, 1607-1732" (1989). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. William & Mary. Paper 1539625493.
<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-nx9x-qr97>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.

ANGLO-SIOUAN RELATIONS ON VIRGINIA'S PIEDMONT FRONTIER

1607-1732

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the American Studies Program

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

Joe B. Jones

1989

APPROVAL SHEET

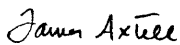
This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts




Author

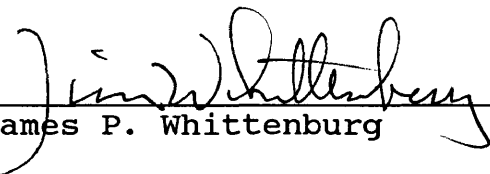
Approved, May 1989



James L. Axtell



Thaddeus W. Tate



James P. Whittenburg

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTSiv
LIST OF FIGURES	v
ABSTRACTvi
CHAPTER I. THE PIEDMONT WORLD	2
CHAPTER II. RELATIONS ACROSS THE FALL-LINE BECOME DISTRUSTFUL AND INDIRECT30
CHAPTER III. THE SIOUANS AND ENGLISH MEET AGAIN56
CHAPTER IV. AN ANGLO-SIOUAN ALLIANCE93
EPILOGUE	128
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	134

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer would like to express his sincere appreciation to Professor James L. Axtell, under whose guidance this investigation was conducted, for his helpful advice and criticism throughout the phases of research and writing of this manuscript. The author is also indebted to Professors Thaddeus W. Tate and James P. Whittenburg for their careful reading and criticism. Finally, the writer owes a great debt of gratitude to his parents, Charles O. and Vera M. Jones, for their suggestions, patience, and support.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia	13
2. Routes of the Bland-Wood, Lederer, Batts-Fallam, and Needham-Arthur Expeditions	54
3. The Occaneechee Path103

ABSTRACT

Although ethnohistorians have begun to define the important role that relations between the English and tidewater tribes played in the early history of the colonial Virginia, relatively little research has been done on the discontinuous, yet nonetheless significant, interactions between the Virginia colonists and the Siouan-speaking natives of the piedmont. Further, there is a notable lack of current scholarship concerning piedmont Siouan culture and the changes it went through as a result of colonization.

One purpose of this study is to portray the various effects colonization had on piedmont Siouan culture. Ethnohistorical analysis of both archival and archaeological data illuminates these cultural changes. Traditionally, the Siouans were an adaptive people owing largely to the broad expanse of a relatively uniform piedmont environment in which they lived. Consequently, they do not appear to have shared the fate of the coastal tribes who were either physically exterminated or gradually acculturated into the tidewater colonial society. Instead, the Siouans resisted acculturation until sheer lack of numbers brought about a rather sudden cultural extinction through physical assimilation into other native groups and multiethnic backwoods communities.

However, prior to their cultural disappearance in the mid-eighteenth century, the Siouans played an important though often unrecognized role in Virginia's colonial history. Indeed, probably the most influential phase of Anglo-Siouan relations occurred after 1676, a year which more than one scholar has used to mark the end of the "Indian Period" in Virginia.

Thus, a second guiding consideration of this study is to highlight the important influences that relations with the piedmont Siouans had on the English in Virginia. Throughout much of the seventeenth century, the Siouans presented a perceived threat that helped to prevent the English from venturing inland of the fall line. By the early eighteenth century, after the end of the so-called "Indian Period", the Siouans agreed to help defend Virginia's inland piedmont boundary against the incursions of the Iroquois. In so doing, they provided a buffer of protection that allowed the colonists to expand their settlement, thus shifting the "frontier" farther westward and hastening the cultural extinction of the piedmont natives.

ANGLO-SIOUAN RELATIONS ON
VIRGINIA'S PIEDMONT FRONTIER
1607-1732

CHAPTER I

THE PIEDMONT WORLD

So farr as we could Discerne the River
above the overfall, it was full of huge
Rockes...It runnes up betweene highe
Hilles which increase in height one
aboue another so farr as wee sawe.

--Captain Gabriel Archer, 1607¹

Concerning the High Land, little can we
say as yet, because therof little haue
we discovered, only some Indians
Relations, and some fewe dayes Marches
into the **Monocan** country of our owne,
haue instructed vs thus farre.

--William Strachey, 1612²

The land and people of the seventeenth-century Virginia piedmont were a mystery to the early English colonists. To this day much of the natives' way of life at that time remains a mystery, though researchers are starting to find answers to some of their questions. However, the physiography of the piedmont is now well-known and it is clear that the geologic history of that part of Virginia east of the Blue Ridge mountains resulted in landforms that played a vital role in affecting the human history of the region. The present-day political boundaries were vague and

¹Edward Arber and A. G. Bradley, ed., Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, (Edinburgh: 1910), p. xlvii.

²William Strachey, The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania (1612), ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (London: University Press, 1953), p. 33.

in most cases non-existent on the frontiers of the colony around the turn of the eighteenth century. Thus, different physiographic provinces and features were more important in defining boundaries for colonists and various Indian cultures.

The first successful English colony in the New World at Jamestown was situated in the tidewater region of Virginia. The tidewater is one section of the physiographic province known as the Atlantic Coastal Plain.³ This area is characterized by low topographic relief owing to the fact that it was once submerged beneath the ocean and accumulated blankets of sediment. The coastal sediments of the tidewater pinch out between 50 and 150 miles inland in Virginia exposing the more resistant folded and fractured rock, beneath which gives the piedmont its distinctive characteristics. This boundary line between the two physiographic provinces is most obvious in the rivers which flow to the sea. The erosion-resistant rock of the piedmont jutting up at the boundary creates falls in each of the rivers. Thus the line connecting the falls and separating the tidewater from the piedmont is known as the fall line, although in reality the "line" is really a zone of rapids extending several miles up and down each river.

³See Charles B. Hunt, Natural Regions of the United States and Canada (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Company, 1974).

Downstream from the fall line, the rivers are wide and slow-moving. Raised above sea level by tectonic activity about sixty five million years ago, the entire coastal plain gradually acquired many valleys as the rivers eroded down through the sediments. However, millions of years before prehistoric man entered the area, the sea level again began to rise, thereby flooding many of the former river valleys on the coastal plain. The tidal-drowned river valleys which resulted gave the tidewater its name and re-emphasized the fall line boundary which had already been created by geologic forces. For the aboriginal societies, the physiographic boundary at the fall line probably served as a cultural and physical "buffer zone" between the Algonquian language groups living on the coastal plain and tribes of Siouan speakers in the piedmont.⁴ Little can be said with

⁴The degree to which the fall line boundary or "buffer zone" may have been permeable to trade and other interaction between the piedmont and tidewater tribes prior to the arrival of the English remains open to debate pending further archaeological research. See E. Randolph Turner, "An Intertribal Deer Exploitation Buffer Zone for the Virginia Coastal Plain and Piedmont Regions," Archaeological Society of Virginia, Quarterly Bulletin 32 (July 1978): pp. 42-48; C. G. Holland, "The Ramifications of the Fire Hunt," ASV, Quar Bull 33 (October 1979): pp. 134-140; Indeed, although most scholars of the pre- and protohistoric piedmont tribes currently believe those tribes to have been Siouan speakers and ancestors of the eighteenth-century Virginia Siouans, the theory has not been firmly substantiated. Carl F. Miller, Re-evaluation of the Siouan Problem with Particular Emphasis on the Virginia Branches/ Ocaneechi, Saponi, and Tutelo, Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 164 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1957), went so far as to suggest that the protohistoric piedmont tribes were inland Algonquian speakers.

certainty about the degree of enmity which may or may not have existed between the Indians of the tidewater and those of the piedmont before the arrival of the English. However, it is clear that Powhatan considered the piedmont Indians to be enemies of his people when the English began their colony in 1607. His attempt to "disswade" the English from exploring past the fall line indicated a friction between the two Indian culture groups which would serve to emphasize the fall line as an inland boundary to English settlement.⁵

Perhaps a more influential aspect of the fall line as a boundary for the English was the limit to navigability that it imposed on their ocean-going vessels. From its start the Virginia colony was a mercantile venture and the economy centered around tobacco throughout the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century. The nature of the economy encouraged the planter to settle where he would have as direct access as possible to ships bringing goods from England in exchange for his tobacco. As late as 1724, the Reverend Hugh Jones noted that "most houses are built near some landing-place; so that any thing may be delivered to a gentleman there from London, Bristol, etc." who "in gratitude engaged to freight tobacco upon the ship" in

⁵When Captain Newport attempted to get advice from Powhatan on the country and people upstream of the fall line, Powhatan "sought by all meanes to Disswade our Captayne from going any further: Also he tolde vs that the Monanacah was his Enmye, and that he came Downe at the fall of the leafe and invaded his Countrey." Arber, Travels and Works, p. xlvi.

return.⁶ These settlement patterns discouraged the development of towns, roads, or anything else even a short distance inland from the shores of the tidewater rivers. Thus, by limiting navigation to the tidewater, the fall line also limited colonial settlement to the tidewater for more than a century, and a physiographic boundary became a physical barrier to what was economically feasible in the eyes of the English. Indeed, the fall line marked the boundary of a piedmont frontier that was, for the most part, closed even to exploration and trade for much of the seventeenth century.

However, when English exploration and settlement eventually crossed the fall line into the piedmont, the confrontation between Indian and English cultures that ensued was very different from that which had occurred in the tidewater. The contrast owed much to the differences in physical geography between the tidewater and piedmont. These differences may not be quite as apparent to the twentieth-century traveler as they were to the Indian or colonist of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For example, today it is hard to detect the difference in topographical relief between tidewater and piedmont unless one ventures off the graded interstate

⁶Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia., ed., Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956), p. 101.

highway onto a secondary road. There one finds that the piedmont's geologic history has resulted in a topography of rolling hills cut by fast-flowing streams. The physiography of the piedmont is fairly uniform over a relatively large area, as opposed to the tidewater whose characteristic combination of swampy lowlands and drowned river valleys extends from the northern tip of Chesapeake Bay only as far south as the Neuse River in North Carolina.⁷ The piedmont stretches from central New Jersey to Alabama, varying in width from about fifty miles in northern Virginia to almost one hundred and fifty miles in North Carolina. It is bounded sharply by the Blue Ridge mountains along its western edge.

While the physiography of the tidewater and fall line placed a cultural boundary on the English and Algonquian peoples of the coastal plain and an economic limit on English settlement, the physiography of the piedmont created a psychological barrier for the English as well. Historian Alan Briceland has argued that "Virginians were...terrified of becoming lost in the piedmont forests and of being at the mercy of its savage inhabitants" for much of the seventeenth century.⁸ The combination of barriers containing the

⁷Hunt, NRUSC, p. 220.

⁸Alan Briceland, Westward From Virginia, (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1987), p. 93.

English to the tidewater for so long did not contain either the news of their growing numbers or their diseases to which the Siouans had little immunity. However, the uniformity and extent of the piedmont which struck fear in the hearts of most seventeenth-century colonists gave its native Siouan inhabitants a certain amount of freedom to migrate in response to various pressures without having to adjust to drastic environmental changes. In addition to various pressures exerted by the English colonists, increasingly frequent raids by members of the Five Nation Iroquois Confederacy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries stimulated the Siouan nations to migrate and join together throughout the piedmont. Certainly the influx of strange diseases and foreign Indians were disruptive to the Siouan cultures. But the expanse of the piedmont landscape with which they were familiar gave them a buffer against these invasions as well as those of the English in the eighteenth century.

Who were these people who have been as elusive to modern historians as they were to the first English colonists? There is still very little known of the peoples of the piedmont before the actual push of English settlement past the fall line. Ironically, the first English accounts of native piedmont Indians and of the fall line boundary to their country were recorded only about a week after the colonists had chosen to settle at Jamestown Island. It was

another sixty to seventy years before the colonists would began to have consistent relations with the piedmont tribes. And much would change for the Siouans in those decades. Thus, the more frequent English accounts of piedmont Indians written towards the end of the seventeenth and in the early eighteenth centuries cannot be solely relied on to yield information about the baseline piedmont Siouan culture. Instead, the later records must be used in concert with the more fragmentary ethnohistorical and archaeological information which directly relates to the pre- and proto-historic piedmont Indians to gain an understanding of the cultural traditions from which the historic piedmont Siouans came.

In the first two years after the establishment of the Jamestown colony, its leaders maintained a zeal for inland exploration. They had hopes of finding mineral riches to rival the Spanish discoveries in Central and South America. Also, the sealed instructions sent over with the colonists from the Virginia Company sponsors specifically ordered Captain Newport to take forty men to explore inland on the rivers in hopes of finding not only "minerals" but also some passage "towards the East India Sea."⁹

Evidently, the Algonquians' descriptions of the

⁹The London Virginia Company, "Instructions by way of advice, for the intended Voyage to Virginia," in Arber, Travels and Works, p.xxxv.

Monacans had made the English more than a little nervous about exploring inland of the falls. When it came time to set sail upriver in the early autumn of 1608, Captain Newport decided to increase the size of the expedition to include "al the Councell, and 120 chosen men." However, it would seem that any worries about encounters with the inland enemies of the coastal tribes were unnecessary. The soldier who described the expedition had more to say about the lack of mineral riches than he did about encounters with the Monacans. He reported only that in their forty-mile trek past the fall line the English visited two Monacan towns, "the people vsing vs well nor ill: yet for our securitie wee tooke one of their pettie **Werowances**, and lead him bound, to conduct vs the way."¹⁰ This brief account has left scholars with more questions than answers concerning the culture of the piedmont Indians.

A few months earlier, however, John Smith had led an exploring party up the Rappahannock River which resulted in his gaining considerably more information about the natives of the piedmont; at least more information was recorded than had been on Newport's expedition. Upon reaching the fall line, the English were attacked by a group of Manahoac Indians. The natives eventually fled, leaving one of their

¹⁰John Smith, "A Map of Virginia with a Description of Its Commodities, People, Government, and Religion, 1612.", in Ibid., p. 125.

injured to be captured by Smith. Using an Algonquian guide as interpreter, Smith questioned the Manahoac. The Indian, named Amoroleck, related that he was the member of a hunting and fishing expedition that included the men and kings from several Manahoac towns, Hassininga, Stegora, Tauxuntania, and Shakahonea. The Manahoacs had come from their various towns to a hunting area near the fall line called Mohaskahod. Amoroleck explained that the kings of the different towns or tribes of Manahoacs which composed the hunting expedition were dispersed in separate groups with their respective tribesmen, some groups hunting and others fishing, and that all the groups would come together at night to camp at Mahaskahod.¹¹ In addition to being "a hunting Towne," Mohaskahod was considered by Amoroleck and his fellows to be the boundary area between the Manahoacs and the Nansatico, a coastal Algonquian tribe.¹²

Asked why his people had attacked the English, seemingly without provocation, Amoroleck responded that they had heard the English "were a people come from vnder the world, to take their world from them." The "world" to which he referred was that of the "Monacans" and the only other worlds he knew of were those of the "Powhatans" and the "Massawomeks." Geographically, his world extended to the

¹¹Arber, Travels and Works, p. 428.

¹²Ibid., p. 427.

mountains; he did not know what, if anything, was further west "because the woods were not burnt," meaning that the Manahoacs did not explore beyond where the woods had been burned from hunting and/or the agricultural practices of the Indians.¹³

Already relatively familiar with the Powhatans, Smith pressed the Indian further concerning the other two Indian nations he had mentioned. Amorolect's answers shed some light not only on some aspects of the piedmont Indians' way of life but also on various intertribal relations inland of the fall line:

The **Monacans** he sayd were their neighbours and friends, and did dwell as they in the hilly Countries by small rivers, liuing vpon rootes and fruits, but chiefly by hunting. The **Massawomeks** did dwell vpon a great water, and had many boats, and so many men that they made warre with all the world.¹⁴

The narrative went on to explain that the whole time Smith questioned the Indian hostage, the King of Hassininga who led the fishing party of which Amorolect had been a part was

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 427-428. The identity of the Massawomecks has not been established with certainty. The most commonly accepted interpretations identify them as either the Five Nation Iroquois of New York or the Erie of the Great Lakes Region. See James Mooney, The Siouan Tribes of the East, Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 22, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1894), p. 13.; and Bernard G. Hoffman, Observations on Certain Ancient Tribes of the Northern Appalachian Province, Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 191, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1964), pp. 191-245.

Figure 1



a: Captain John Smith's Map of Virginia.



b: Close-up View of Monacan & Manahoac Territory.

Taken from: Philip Barbour, ed., The Writings of Captain John Smith. vol. II (Chapel Hill: 1986), pp. 134-5.

searching for the other hunting parties to consult with their various leaders about what to do against the English.¹⁵

Newport's expedition to the two Monacan towns and Smith's encounter with Amoroleck and his tribesmen proved to be the only first-hand accounts of proto-historic piedmont natives that would be recorded. For whatever reason, almost nothing was mentioned about the Monacans visited by Newport in the account of the expedition, and the information Smith got from Amoroleck was admittedly acquired through the "filter" of an Algonquian interpreter. When neither gold nor a passage to "the other sea" were discovered in the first years of the colony, the settlers lost motivation to explore inland and became preoccupied with survival. Thus, the only additional information recorded regarding the piedmont Indians was that which the colonists got second-hand from questioning the coastal Indians.

In his "Generall Historie of Virginia," Smith added a few more details about the Monacans and Manahoacs than what had been recorded from his interrogation of Amoroleck. He also was able to locate their main towns on his famous map of Virginia (see Figure 1). He noted that the "chiefe habitation" of the Monacans was "Rasauweak" and that four other Monacan towns plus "other nations" paid "tributes" to Rasauweak. The four other Monacan towns he specifically

¹⁵Ibid., p. 428.

named were Mowhemcho, Massinacack, Monahassanugh, and Monasukapanough. In addition to the piedmont tribes Amoroleck had mentioned as allies, Smith listed the "Ontponeas", "Tegninateos", "Whonkenteaes", and "diverse others" as being "contributors" of the Manahoacs. All were "confederates with the Monacans, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, liuing for the most part of wild beasts and fruits."¹⁶

William Strachey, the Jamestown colony's official secretary, included a description of the Monacan and Manahoac in his "Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania," written in 1612, that matched Smith's almost verbatim. He also revealed that the colonists' limited knowledge of the interior was based only on a few short expeditions and information gained from the Indians.¹⁷ One further statement Strachey made concerning the difference between the country above and below the fall line continues to add fuel to present-day scholarly controversy regarding the culture of the Monacans in the early seventeenth century. Speaking of the land above the fall line, Strachey said that,

Poketawes, which the West-Indians (our neighbours) call Maiz, their kynd of wheat, is here said to be in more plenty then below...It is

¹⁶John Smith, "The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, & the Summer Isles," in Arber, Travels and Works, pp. 366-367.

¹⁷Strachey, Historie of Travell, pp. 33, 106-7.

supposed that the Low-Land, hath more Fish and Fowle, and the High-Land more number of Beasts; the people differ not much in nature, habit, or condicion...¹⁸

To the anthropologist, Strachey's statement presents a seeming contradiction to Smith's oft-cited description of the piedmont Indians as being "very barbarous" and subsisting mostly on animals and wild fruits. Was the subsistence economy of these piedmont Indians at the time of contact based on semi-nomadic hunting and gathering or were they horticulturalists who "differed not much in nature, habit or condicion" from the coastal tribes? Smith's records alone do not satisfactorily resolve the question. How could a people who were entirely dependent on the beasts and fruits of nature become sedentary enough to develop a society consisting of ranked towns and a system of tribute? For many years, scholars of the Monacan and Manahoac have ignored the apparent contradiction and simply interpreted some of the writings of Smith as evidence that the subsistence economy of the Virginia piedmont natives was based on wild resources obtained through hunting and gathering. For example, James Mooney in 1894 used Smith's records to support the theory that the piedmont natives were Siouan tribes who "were essentially a race of hunters, following the game...from one district to another, here

¹⁸Ibid., p. 34.

today and away tomorrow."¹⁹ He gave only lip service to Smith's description of each Monacan and Manahoac tribe as living in towns and ignored Strachey's comments about maize and the similarities between piedmont and coastal cultures altogether.

David Bushnell devoted considerably more effort to researching the geographical aspect of Smith's writings, collecting limited archaeological evidence of the various Monacan and Manahoac town sites.²⁰ Although seemingly confronted head-on with the question of whether these piedmont tribes were semi-nomadic or sedentary, Bushnell skirted the issue of subsistence with statements such as; "Fish and game, ever plentiful, could have been easily taken for food" near the town sites.²¹ Bushnell assumed there were enough wild resources to support population centers. However, he speculated that the villages of the Monacan and Manahoac were not as densely settled as those of the coastal tribes and had no large council houses. There was also a lack of evidence indicating whether the villages had been

¹⁹Mooney, Siouan Tribes of the East, p.6.

²⁰David I. Bushnell, The Five Monacan Towns in Virginia, 1607, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 82, no. 12 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1930); and The Mannahoac Tribes in Virginia, 1608, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 94, no. 8 (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1935).

²¹Bushnell, Five Monacan Towns, p.12.

palisaded or not.²²

Recent researchers have become more aware of the anthropological contradiction in earlier interpretations of Smith's and Strachey's writings and with the help of archaeological data they have been able to address it to some extent. The contradiction highlights the relativity of meaning and the risk that this relativity imposes on the interpretation of ethnohistorical data. For example, it is quite possible that Smith's record of Amoroleck's statement that his people and the Monacans ate "fruites" could easily have been a poor translation of the Indian's attempt to say that they ate maize or some other domesticated plants. After all, the Manahoac's descriptions had to survive a rough journey from presumably Siouan to Algonquian to English with much signing in between. Certainly the Algonquian would have preferred to portray his inland enemies as barbarians rather than as equals. Nevertheless, a combination of archaeological investigation done in the years since the early ethnographic monographs and reevaluations of ethnohistorical and earlier archaeological data has given current researchers further reason to believe the piedmont Siouans did in fact resort to horticulture for at least a part of their diet, giving them the opportunity

²²David I. Bushnell, Virginia Before Jamestown, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 100 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1940), p. 134.

to live in sedentary communities. However, because of various factors concerning preservation of the archaeological record, questions regarding the specific nature of those communities may never be satisfactorily answered. The villages of the protohistoric piedmont Indians were located on the floodplains of rivers and streams. Because of their proximity to the mountains, the rivers of the piedmont would, and still do, flood extensively on a periodic basis. The contours and extent of a particular patch of floodplain could be drastically changed or even completely eroded away in one flooding event, thus possibly destroying evidence of house forms, town layouts, and whether or not a village was palisaded.

The increased awareness of the poor state of preservation alone has served to fuel criticism of earlier theories about the piedmont tribes. Jeffrey Hantman has suggested that the lack of structural features on archaeological sites in the piedmont has in the past supported theories that the piedmont was never inhabited by population centers as dense as those in the tidewater. What others have ignored, however, is that, as Turner observed, the same lack of structural features is true of the tidewater and if it were not for the more extensive ethnohistorical literature relating to the Algonquians, there would be no evidence for their densely populated and

palisaded towns.²³

Other archaeological evidence seems to suggest that the protohistoric tribes of the piedmont were indeed settled in densely populated towns and did have societies with a level of complexity equivalent to that of the Indians of the Virginia tidewater. Although still very scanty, the regional archaeological data base is now complete enough for broad patterns to be recognized. Scholars disagree about specific categorization and seriation of pottery types,²⁴ but they agree that there was a major cultural change in the piedmont around 1000 A.D. which corresponds to significant changes in many of the native cultures all over North America, known to archaeologists as the onset of the Late Woodland Period. At about the same time the culture and trade networks of the great Mississippian Mound-Builders began to spread throughout the deep Southeast, the people of the Virginia piedmont began to move together into

²³Interview with Jeffrey Hantman, Charlottesville, VA, 3 May 1988; E. Randolph Turner, "Problems in the Archaeological Identification of Chiefdoms: An Example from the Virginia Coastal Plain," (unpublished paper on file with the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology, Richmond, VA, 1983).

²⁴See Clifford Evans, A Ceramic Study of Virginia Archaeology, Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 160, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1955); C.G. Holland, "Albemarle County Settlements: A Piedmont Model?", ASV Quar Bull, 33 (April 1978): 29-44; and L. Daniel Mouer, "A Review of the Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the Monacans" in Piedmont Archaeology: Recent Research and Results, ed. J. Mark Wittkofski and Lyle E. Browning, (Richmond: ASV Special Publication No. 10, 1983).

settlements on the rich alluvial soils of the river floodplains, learned to cultivate corn and squash, and began making and using various types of pottery containers. More significantly, at some time in the early stages of the Late Woodland, the Indians of the piedmont began to employ fairly complex methods of collective hunting and fishing to satisfy the needs of their nucleated settlements. And they started practicing a unique kind of secondary burial of their dead in which the bones were cleaned and collectively redeposited in layers on large mounds as part of a regional, periodic ceremony that may have involved the members of allied, yet physically and geographically distinct tribes.²⁵ Further, the collective hunting and burial methods would become traditions capable to some extent of surviving the cultural disruptions of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

The first hint in the ethnohistorical literature that Monacan society had a level of complexity higher than that of hunter-gatherers came from Amoroleck's description of the hunting and fishing expedition of which he was a member. His explanation that various kings from different tribes had divided into separate hunting and fishing groups with their men and that at night they all would come together at the hunting camp, combined with the English estimate that there

²⁵Interview with Jeffrey Hantman, Charlottesville, VA, 3 May 1988.

were four to five hundred Indians among all the tribes present on the hunting expedition, speaks of organization and leadership on a fairly large scale.²⁶

Archaeologists C.G. Holland and Randolph Turner have argued persuasively that a "buffer zone" existed between the coastal and piedmont tribes along the fall line where big game was plentiful and that a preferred method of hunting was the fire hunt. As Holland notes, this or any other type of communal hunting required a skilled leader or leaders in addition to a large number of men for the hunt to be a success.²⁷ The possibility that the fire hunt was used by protohistoric Indians of the piedmont is supported by Amoroleck's statement that his people did not explore where the woods had not been burnt and by descriptions of the earliest European explorers of the piedmont who told of the "barren Champion Lands" and "large dry Meadows" that would have replaced the sections of burned out forests.²⁸ If the Indians of the piedmont had moved down onto the river flood plains in the Late Woodland Period to use the fertile

²⁶Arber, Travels and Works, p. 427.

²⁷E. Randolph Turner, "An Intertribal Deer Exploitation Buffer Zone for the Virginia Coastal Plain-Piedmont Regions"; and C.G. Holland, "The Ramifications of the Fire Hunt", p. 135 & 136. See also footnote 4.

²⁸Edward Bland's journal of the Bland-Wood expedition of 1650 in Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, ed., The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674 (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1912), p. 118.

alluvial soils for intensive agriculture, the burned-out areas of the highlands would most likely have resulted from hunting activities and not slash-and-burn practices.

As in other Indian societies of North America, the sexual division of labor gave the men of the piedmont tribes the tasks of hunting and warfare. With much of their communal hunting activities taking place away from their communities in the fall line "buffer zone" near their traditional enemies, it is likely that hunting and warfare were often simultaneous activities. Powhatan's ready offer to send a war party against the Monacans disguised as a hunting party indicates the relationship between hunting and warfare in the fall line "buffer zone." The eagerness with which Amoroleck's group attacked the English while organized in a hunting and fishing expedition near the fall line suggests that the Monacans and Manahoacs also saw the two activities as intimately related.²⁹ The extent to which the organization and ranking necessary for communal hunting and warfare were pervasive throughout other aspects of the proto-historic piedmont societies is still argued by archaeologists.

Mouer believes that the combination of ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence indicates that the Monacans and Manahoacs had a segmentary lineage social structure; a

²⁹Arber, Travels and Works, p. 29 & 427.

regional confederacy of relatively autonomous communities that could periodically join together "for purposes of exploiting highly clustered seasonal resources, or more typically, for defense against a common enemy."³⁰ Thus, each town or tribe in the proto-historic piedmont would have had limited interaction with other towns, coming together only for large-scale hunts or in times of war. Ethno-linguistic differences would exist between the towns but would not be as great those between confederacy members and people living outside the piedmont. The piedmont confederacy also would have contrasted with the more highly ranked chiefdom of the coastal Algonquian tribes. Mouer sees differences in resource distribution between the piedmont and tidewater as the fundamental cause of the social differences: the "highly zoned, patchy environment" of the tidewater contrasts with the more uniform piedmont. He suggests that the more ranked societies of the tidewater resulted from pressure on the inland boundaries by enemy groups combined with competition for patchy resources within the tidewater.³¹

As evidence for his theory, Mouer notes, among other things, Smith's observations of mutually unintelligible languages between different piedmont tribes as well as an

³⁰L. Daniel Mouer, "Powhatan and Monacan Regional Settlement Hierarchies: A Model of Relationship Between Social and Environmental Structure", ASV Quar Bull 36 (January 1981): 1.

³¹Ibid., p. 9 & 18.

emerging archaeological pattern in ceramics of localized technologies combined with regional decorative motifs. Admittedly, there may have been a certain degree of ranking at least at the leadership level as attested by Smith's reference of tribes paying tribute to the "chiefest" town of the Monacans, but he sees a lack of evidence for the degree of social ranking found among members of the Powhatan Confederacy.

However, Jeffrey Hantman believes that the difference in social ranking between the two societies was not great. The diversity of ceramic technology does not necessarily suggest lack of cultural interaction between tribes of the piedmont, but could reflect different local materials. In addition, seeds of maize, squash, beans, and sunflower have been discovered in trash pits at several Monacan sites, suggesting that horticulture at least supplemented the "wild beasts and fruites" in their diet.³² This archaeological data resolves the apparent contradiction interpreted from early documents and indicates that even if the Siouans lived "chiefly by hunting," they were able to stabilize their subsistence economy with horticulture. Thus, Hantman feels strongly that by the protohistoric period the Monacan Confederacy had a social structure equivalent in complexity

³²Interview with Jeffrey Hantman, Charlottesville, VA, 3 May 1988; L. Daniel Mouer, "A Review of the Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the Monacans", p. 23.

to that of Powhatan's chiefdom, though with definite cultural distinctions. The piedmont culture is marked distinctively in the archaeological record by its pottery, which Hantman argues is relatively uniform from the Rapidan to the James rivers and from the fall line to the mountains. In addition, the complexity and uniqueness of piedmont society is represented by fourteen known burial mounds found mostly throughout the Virginia piedmont. A few of the mounds have been found in the valley and ridge area further west, which suggests to Hantman the possibility that the culture of the Monacans may even have crossed over the physiographic boundary imposed by the Blue Ridge Mountains. However, it is clear that this distinctive cultural trait was not shared by the coastal tribes. The Indians of the tidewater deposited the bones of their dead in ossuaries or, in the case of tribal "Werowances," the bones were laid on a scaffold in the western end of the tribal temple.³³ Hantman argues that the degree of social complexity signified by these mounds has for the most part been ignored by other

³³Christian F. Feest, "Virginian Algonquians" in Handbook of North American Indians, gen. ed., William C. Sturtevant, 15 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), vol. 15: Northeast, ed., Bruce G. Trigger, p. 262.

scholars.³⁴

The most famous of these mounds was excavated by Thomas Jefferson in 1780 in what is considered by most archaeologists to be the first scientific archaeological excavation ever done.³⁵ Although the exact site of the mound has not been determined, Jefferson's careful description of this mound located near present-day Charlottesville matches many of the characteristics of another mound on the Rapidan river in Orange County, partially excavated by Gerard Fowke in 1893 and currently proposed for more extensive excavation by Hantman.³⁶ Both mounds apparently represented the accumulation of episodic burial events. The arrangement of bones in the mounds suggested that the bodies had initially been placed elsewhere, the bones cleaned and then placed with the bones of other individuals, men, women and children, at various spots on top of the mound. The bones were then covered with earth so that over hundreds of years the mounds grew in height and circumference. Although no

³⁴Many of the controversies regarding Monacan society are the subject of ongoing research; consequently many of Hantman's findings have not been published as of this writing. Interview with Jeffrey Hantman, Charlottesville, VA, 3 May 1988.

³⁵Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, (New York: Harper and Row, 1964).

³⁶Gerard Fowke, Archaeologic Investigations in James and Potomac Valleys, Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 23, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1894); and Interview with Jeffrey Hantman, Charlottesville, VA, 3 May 1988.

exact dates could be determined, indications were that the Rapidan mound was begun at about the same time the piedmont tribes were thought to have begun living in communities on the river floodplains, around 1000 A.D.³⁷ Bushnell made the observation that the mounds stood near where ethnohistorical and archaeological data suggested two important piedmont villages had formerly stood; Jefferson's mound was near the site of Monasukapanough and Fowke's mound may have been associated with nearby Stegara, also located on Smith's map. The size and extent of both mounds suggested to Bushnell that Monasukapanough and Stegara were relatively important settlements.³⁸ However, it is entirely possible, even likely, that the mounds were not limited to use by the only those tribes who may have lived nearby. The large size of the mounds and the fact that they manifest secondary inhumation suggest that the burial ceremonies may have been collective rituals which periodically brought together allied Siouan tribes from great distances across the piedmont in order for them to redeposit their dead on the mounds.³⁹

³⁷C.G. Holland, Sandra D. Speiden, & David van Roijen, "The Rapidan Mound Revisited: A Test Excavation of a Prehistoric Burial Mound." ASV Quar Bull, 38 (January 1983): 30.

³⁸David I. Bushnell, Virginia Before Jamestown, p. 144 & 145.

³⁹Interview with Stephen Thompson, Williamsburg, VA, 5 December 1988.

Although, evidence of actual structures are lacking for piedmont sites, scatters of artifacts and refuse pits appear to substantiate at least the Monacan town locations on Smith's map. Additionally, Mouer notes that the "towns" were likely large stretches of river floodplain which were the focus of settlements that would change their exact locations as much as once every generation.⁴⁰ This information, combined with Amoroleck's description of communal hunting in which members of tribes throughout the northern Virginia piedmont were coming together to hunt at Mohaskahod and the theory of communal secondary burial ceremonies associated with the mounds, all present a picture of a society which was fairly sedentary yet not necessarily tied permanently to one locale. Different tribes tended to situate their communities within small areas of floodplain, though changing specific sites, for several hundred years. But at least the men were adaptable and familiar with a broad area. In times of stress such as hunger out of the growing season or threats from enemies, they apparently joined together with other tribes and consequently became familiar with a large range of the relatively uniform piedmont environment. The secondary burial ceremonies may have involved women and children as well, thus making the tribe as a whole familiar with the expanse of the piedmont.

⁴⁰L. Daniel Mouer, "A Review of the Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the Monacans", p. 24-25.

With the invasion of European diseases in the seventeenth century, massive and unprecedented depopulation probably occurred among the piedmont tribes. This depopulation was a cultural threat and a "stress" which elicited a traditional response, union with other piedmont tribes. Incursions of the "Massawomeks" and Five Nation Iroquois from the north became increasingly common in the seventeenth century, prompting the various piedmont Siouan tribes to join their allies further and further south. Because of the various barriers the fall line imposed on the English throughout most of the seventeenth century, many of these drastic cultural shifts occurred for the most part unnoticed by the colonists. By the time initial tentative explorations of a limited few colonists were made into the piedmont later in the century, the influential tribes of the Virginia piedmont were no longer known as Monacan and Manahoac. Instead, the English referred to the Saponi, Tutelo, Nahyssan, and Occaneechee when writing about piedmont natives with whom they visited. Indeed, the Occaneechee in particular became well-known to colonists in the frontier counties along the fall line as these two groups became key participants in an embryonic inland fur and skin trade.

CHAPTER II

RELATIONS ACROSS THE FALL LINE BECOME DISTRUSTFUL AND INDIRECT

...he certainly knew that the nations we were to go through would make us away by treachery.

--Edward Bland, 1650¹

...a great [tributary] Indian King called **Tottopottoma** was heretofore slain in Battel, fighting for the Christians against the **Mahocks** and **Nahyssans...**

--John Lederer, 1670²

If the English colonists in Virginia had any direct relations with the natives of the piedmont between 1608 and 1670, they have somehow escaped mention in the documentary record and the scrutiny of countless scholars of Virginia's colonial history. Despite indications of an official interest in inland exploration and trade throughout the mid-

¹Edward Bland's relation of a Nottoway king's warning to Bland and Abraham Wood on learning of their intention to explore inland through the land of the Meherrin and Tuscarora in Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, p.117.

²John Lederer on visiting the site, at the juncture of the North and South Anna Rivers, of a battle between a joint force of colonists and tributary Indians and a large group of inland Indians, whom he supposed were piedmont Siouans, in 1656; in William P. Cumming, ed., The Discoveries of John Lederer (University of Virginia Press: Charlottesville, 1958), p. 16.

seventeenth century, the lack of evidence for action on these proposals suggests that they never left the planning stage.³ Nevertheless, for years, historians have speculated that after the local tidewater tribes were relegated to tributary status in the treaty of 1646 and forts were set up at the fall line on four major rivers, exploration and trade to the interior, if primarily undocumented, was subsequently continuous.

The first documented journey inland after Newport's expedition in 1608 was that of Edward Bland and Abraham Wood in 1650. Though they did not encounter any of the Siouans native to the piedmont, the Bland-Wood expedition has been portrayed primarily as a foray along a well-beaten trading path. Thus, in this view, other less literate explorers and traders were already making undocumented trips inland to the Siouan tribes as well as to the Iroquoian-speaking Nottoway and Meherrin whom Bland and Wood visited.

Recent research by historian Alan Briceland on the Bland-Wood and later documented seventeenth-century inland explorations has resulted in a significantly different picture of the early Virginians' relations with the land and people above the fall line.⁴ Briceland presents a

³W. W. Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia..., XIII vols. (Richmond: 1809-23), vol. I: pp. 262, 377, 381, 422, 548.

⁴Briceland, Westward From Virginia.

convincing case that the Virginia-Carolina piedmont was largely unknown and very intimidating to Virginia colonists for most of the seventeenth century. Ironically, the primary evidence for Briceland's case is a reevaluation of the same material which previous scholars had seen as indicative that Virginians were familiar with the piedmont and its native inhabitants. Specifically, his data consist of the descriptions of the few isolated exploratory trips which were made above the fall line in 1650 and 1674 that shed the only feeble documentary light on the mysterious seventeenth-century world of the piedmont Siouans.

Until the 1670s, the fur and deerskin trade was limited primarily to the local Indians of the tidewater by governmental and economic constraints and by fear of the piedmont. The confusion and unfamiliarity Bland and Wood experienced in 1650 with both the land and people they encountered highlighted the uniqueness of their journey. Likewise, similar behavior on the part of the tribes they met reflected the inland Indians' inexperience with the English. According to Briceland, Bland and Wood only skirted the edge of the piedmont south of Wood's Fort Henry at present-day Petersburg.⁵ If trade had not yet begun with the tribes Bland and Wood encountered, surely the Siouan tribes further inland were well out of reach for the

⁵Ibid., pp. 28-91.

Virginians in 1650.

From the English standpoint, it was just as well that they did not have direct relations with the inland Indians at that time. Since the founding of the colony at Jamestown, the colonists had been led to believe that the Indians above the fall line were traditional enemies of the tidewater tribes. Thus, the English had been faced with a kind of diplomatic dilemma. Should they ally with the local tribes and risk impeding long-term plans by making enemies of inland tribes? Or would it be better to try to make allies of the inland tribes, as the Virginia Council in London had suggested in 1609?⁶

The course of events after the founding of the colony had decided the issue. By relegating the tidewater tribes to tributary status in the treaty of 1646, and by formulating a seemingly more sympathetic policy towards the Powhatans in subsequent years than they had had before 1644, the English had made a clear distinction, at least in their own minds, between "neighbour" Indians and "foreign" Indians. And, if traditional relations of enmity between Algonquian and Siouan still held true, the colonists had declared an alliance with the former and presumably had made

⁶Alden T. Vaughan, gen. ed., Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789, 7 vols. (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc., 1983), vol. 4: Virginia Treaties, 1607-1722, ed. by W. Stitt Robinson, p. 8.

enemies of the latter.⁷ Indeed, it is likely that the Monacans living at Mowchemco, later known as "Monakin Towne", just upriver from the falls of the James, were subjected to the wrath of the English, who waged war on all nearby tribes for two years after the uprising of 1644.

Documents dating to the mid-seventeenth century indicate the defensive and almost paranoid state of the colonists with regard to inland Indians at that time. Four forts erected at the fall line on the Pamunkey, Chickahominy, James, and Appomattox Rivers in 1645 and 1646 were to serve as bases of defense as well as of offensive forays against known nearby Indian towns "for cutting down their corne or performeing any other service vpon them."⁸ After the treaty was signed in 1646, the forts became instruments of the government's control over relations and trade with the remnant Powhatans. In the treaty, and again in 1656, the council declared "that no Indian come within our fenced plantations without a tickett" acquired at the forts. In addition, any freeman could trade with Indians provided that he did so at the established forts or "Indian

⁷W. Stitt Robinson, "Tributary Indians in Colonial Virginia", Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 67 (1959): 56; and Warren M. Billings, ed., The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century (University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1975), 226-230.

⁸Hening, Statutes, I, pp. 293, 315.

marts."⁹

The colonists' fear of inland Indians was even more apparent in an act passed several months earlier in 1656. Specifically, the council ordered Colonel Edward Hill to take one hundred men and as many tributary Indian warriors as possible to remove some seven hundred "western and inland Indians" camping near the falls of the James River. The council noted a potential of "greate danger" in allowing the Indians to settle near the falls of the James, "it haveing cost so much blood to expell and extirpate those perfidious and treacherous Indians which were there formerly." Though unclear as to the identity of these inland Indians, the act nonetheless reveals much about the English attitudes towards any Indians west of the fall line.¹⁰

Colonel Hill's expedition with Chief Totopomoy leading the tributary Indians failed to drive away the foreign Indians and suffered high casualties. Twenty years later, Colonel Hill's son admitted with shame that Totopomoy and most of the hundred or so Pamunkey warriors with him were

⁹Ibid., p. 415.

¹⁰The mysterious "Richaherian" Indians who were the object of the attack in 1656 have been variously identified as the Manahoacs, Nahyssans, and Cherokee. See Mooney, Siouan Tribes, p. 28; Bushnell, Manahoac Tribes, pp. 12-13; and Mouer, "A Review of the Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the Monacans", p. 30. However, John Lederer, who was told by his Indian guides that he had visited the site of this battle at the head of Pamunkey River, mentioned that the foreign Indians in question had been the "**Mahocks** and **Nahyssans**". See Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 16.

slain fighting for the English militia against the inland Indians.¹¹ The remnants of the tidewater tribes, who by mid-century were attempting to play the role of tributaries and allies of the English, clearly still considered "western and inland Indians" to be their enemies. Many of the English colonists, at least those in power who intended to keep order, felt the same way. While some colonists may have traded with the local tributary Indians at Fort Henry or other government-sanctioned fall line trading marts, neither the English nor the Powhatans had relations with the Indians of the piedmont at mid-century, all of which only served to intensify the fall line as a boundary of identity. At some level, the colonists and tidewater natives could identify with each other due to shared perceptions of those above the fall line as the common enemy.

On the other hand, the relentless tide of colonial expansion soon brought European influence to the piedmont, even though the inhabitants of tidewater Virginia had not yet reestablished direct relations with the natives above the fall line. As in other arenas of Euro-Indian cultural contact, the Indians of the piedmont would face three significant types of stress on their culture caused by the

¹¹William Maxwell, ed., The Virginia Historical Register, 6 vols. (Richmond: Macfarlane and Fergusson, 1850), vol. 3: p. 74.

growing presence of colonists from another continent.¹² Two of these stresses, disease and trade goods, had made inroads by the mid-seventeenth century. The third cultural stress, English efforts to Christianize and educate the natives, would not come for another sixty years.

It is likely that the first and most destructive of these stresses was an onslaught of epidemic diseases brought by the Europeans to which the natives had little immunity. Although there is no direct proof that the piedmont Indians were hit hard by these diseases, comparative population estimates and the observations of colonists in the early eighteenth century lend indirect, yet convincing, evidence that disease caused widespread depopulation among the Indians of the piedmont. James Mooney, in a critical review of John Smith's and William Strachey's population estimates for Virginia Indians, suggested that in 1607 that the Virginia piedmont Siouans numbered at least thirty nine hundred. By 1701, when the remnants of these tribes had

¹²The three forms of stress on native American cultures caused by the European colonization of North America noted by scholars were an influx of epidemic diseases; the introduction of European trade goods, some of which were particularly damaging such as rum and firearms; and European attempts at conversion and Christianization of the natives. See particularly Nancy O. Lurie, "Indian Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization" in Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History, ed. James E. Smith (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), pp. 33-60; and James H. Merrell, "The Indians' New World: The Catawba Experience", The William and Mary Quarterly, 41 (October 1984): 537-565.

situated themselves along trade routes through the Carolina piedmont, John Lawson estimated their total number at seven hundred and fifty, including some of the native Carolina tribes. He further remarked how recent smallpox epidemics had "destroyed whole Towns...without leaving one **Indian** alive in the Village."¹³

Considering the prehistoric contacts that seem to have existed through trade and warfare at the fall line buffer zone between the piedmont Siouans and the coastal tribes, the epidemics probably wrought their destructive changes on the world of the piedmont natives regardless of whether or not there was direct contact with the colonists. Thus, for the inland Indians who had almost no contact with tidewater inhabitants, it would have been hard to view the epidemics as a direct threat of the growing English presence. Instead, the catastrophic effects of the epidemics were felt as an environmental stress that caused the piedmont tribes to join together with their allies, albeit on an unprecedented scale.

These depopulations were not the only force driving the Siouan groups together. The piedmont natives began to

¹³James Mooney, The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 80, no. 7 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1928), pp. 1-2, 4-6; Merrell, "Catawba Experience", pp. 542-43; and John Lawson, A New Voyage to Carolina, ed. Hugh Talmage Lefler (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), pp. 17, 34, 232, 242.

receive increasingly frequent incursions of the Iroquois from the north. The double barrage of disease and Iroquois raids by mid-century began to drive the Siouans not only to consolidate but also to move farther south and west. The constituent groups' familiarity with each other through traditional hunting and warring alliances eased the process of tribal union. The relative uniformity of the piedmont reduced somewhat the anxiety and shock of having to leave a traditional location. Yet the strains of leaving traditional town sites and joining with other tribes undoubtedly eroded both local and regional cultural traditions.

To date, the only evidence to indicate the combined effects of disease and Iroquois raids on the piedmont Siouans before 1670 is the apparent changes in numbers and specific locations of tribes, especially in the northern Virginia piedmont, between Smith's observations in 1608 and those of inland explorers in the early 1670s. Even given a paucity of hard data, such undeniable changes as an absence of Siouan tribes in the former territory of the Manahoac Confederacy by 1670 have led some scholars to make fairly plausible hypotheses.¹⁴

¹⁴In 1670, John Lederer, on his third journey above the fall line, traversed the same region in which Smith had encountered Amoroleck and his fellow Manahoacs and Lederer found the region to be uninhabited. See Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 34-37 and 87-90; Bushnell, Manahoac Tribes, p. 10.

For example, James Merrell believes that as Siouan communities were ravaged by epidemics, the survivors joined allied communities nearby. Eventually, by the end of the seventeenth century, archaeological data suggest that native towns became mixed communities of people from tribes that had once been culturally distinct. Burial patterns within one community, a late seventeenth-century village on the Eno River in Orange County, North Carolina which was apparently home to both Occaneechees and Susquehannocks, suggest that a social structure that may have been traditionally divided into clans had gradually become replaced by one that was divided into "segments...defined by ethnic and linguistic affiliation, not by unilineal kinship ties."¹⁵ However, in the middle of the seventeenth century, there were likely still enough piedmont Siouans that tribal remnants could still join with others that they had traditionally participated with in trade, warfare, cooperative hunting, and communal burial ceremonies. The newly-formed multi-tribal communities would still be set apart from the outside world by such broad cultural characteristics as language, customs, and appearance. Yet they "would now occupy one

¹⁵H. Trawick Ward, "Mortuary Patterns at the Fredericks, Wall, and Mitchum Sites" in The Siouan Project: Seasons I and II, ed. Roy S. Dickens, Jr., H. Trawick Ward, and R.P. Stephen Davis, Jr., Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Monograph Series, no. 1 (Chapel Hill: 1987), p. 109.

site rather than many."¹⁶ Thus, in the case of the northern Virginia piedmont, it seems likely that tribes of the Manahoac Confederacy, perhaps ravaged by epidemics, may have moved south to join allied tribes of the Monacan Confederacy. David I. Bushnell cites place names and other indirect documentary evidence for just such a migration having taken place through the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁷

Despite sharing broad cultural traits, the Siouan tribes surely sacrificed certain localized aspects of their culture as they moved together. Stylistic variations in material culture, specifically ceramics, which archaeologists have attributed to localism of one form or another, probably became more homogeneous, though confirmation of this change awaits further research.¹⁸ The strains which tore at localism also disrupted regional cultural traditions. Communal burial ceremonies, associated with the large mounds of the piedmont, probably diminished in significance as tribes joined together on a more permanent basis, though individuals who could recall the importance of the mounds continued to visit them well into

¹⁶James H. Merrell, "'This Western World': The Evolution of the Piedmont, 1525-1725" in Dickens, Ward, and Davis, Siouan Project, p. 21.

¹⁷Bushnell, Manahoac Tribes, pp. 12-14.

¹⁸Mouer, "Powhatan and Monacan Regional Settlement Hierarchies", pp. 9 and 18; and Interview with Jeffrey Hantman, Charlottesville, VA, 3 May 1988.

the eighteenth century.¹⁹

Ironically, as the Siouans were migrating south and west within the piedmont, a series of circumstances began increasingly to bring the second of the three cultural stresses, European material culture, to them. However, at the time, trade goods such as firearms and hatchets did not seem to be a cultural threat at all. On the contrary, European technology, especially weaponry, would have been a necessity considering that the Iroquois were well-supplied with the same.

As the colonial population grew, the decreasing amount of available riverfront land continued to push new settlers and freemen to the fringes of the colony. In the 1650s and 1660s, one of the fastest growing areas was the Northern Neck; by 1674, it had almost one-fifth of the colony's population.²⁰ Although removing the governmental limitation on settlement north of the York River in 1648 eased the increasing demand for land, the growing number of tobacco planters strained the economy. Trade restrictions imposed by Anglo-Dutch wars in 1664 and 1672 and by the Navigation

¹⁹C.G. Holland, "Albemarle County Settlements: A Piedmont Model?", ASV Quar Bull, 33 (April 1978): 31; and Interview with Jeffrey Hantman, Charlottesville, VA, 3 May 1988. Thomas Jefferson noted one such visit in 1751 to the mound he later excavated near Charlottesville. Thomas Jefferson, Notes on Virginia, pp. 161-2.

²⁰John Sprinkle, "A Prelude to Rebellion: Indian-White Relations on Virginia's Northern Neck 1660-1676", Northern Neck of Virginia Historical Magazine, 35 (1985): 3992.

Acts of 1660, which restricted trade with the Dutch even in times of peace, served to worsen an economy already strained by overproduction. New planters in frontier areas such as the Northern Neck were hit hardest by these economic troubles and the motivation to find alternatives to tobacco production was strong.

At the same time, the English fur and leather industry was expanding by leaps and bounds. In 1664 New Netherlands was captured from the Dutch, giving England control of the Hudson River-Mohawk trade routes. This provided the English with a substantial supply of the much-desired beaver pelts from northeastern North America. In addition, technological advances in the English fur industry enabled England to become the leading European country in the processing of furs. Subsequently, England also began to produce more and more leather goods. Although the highest grade furs were supplied by the Indians to the north, it became increasingly apparent to the colonists that the best deerskins for leather came from the southern tribes.²¹ Ironically, it was the new settlers in the Northern Neck and not the colonists living further south, who were presented with opportunities to trade for these southern skins. In addition, the trade became an option at a time when the it seemed quite

²¹For a more detailed discussion of England's fur industry as it related to the Indian trade see Mary Theobald, "The Indian Trade in Colonial Virginia", (Master's thesis, The College of William and Mary, 1980).

lucrative compared to the instability and dim prospect of a sole reliance on tobacco production.

While colonists in the more settled parts of the tidewater closer to Jamestown were restricted by the government and fear of the hinterland to trade only with local tributary Indians, frontier settlers in the Northern Neck found themselves across the river from "foreign" Indians who had the capability of providing the prized deerskins of the inland southern tribes.

A number of tribal groups across the Potomac in Maryland had been a part of a larger trade network since before the arrival of the Europeans. Groups known to the English as Doegs, Piscataways, and Tauxenents, participated in a network of exchange between the coast and the interior that was controlled by the Susquehannocks from their strategic location in the lower Susquehanna River Valley. The establishment of European colonies in the Chesapeake and the incorporation of their trade goods into the pre-existing networks enhanced the importance of the middleman role played by the Susquehannocks.²²

Whether or not the Susquehannocks had always had trade contacts with the Siouans of the Virginia-Carolina piedmont is not known with certainty. However, the emerging picture from ongoing archaeological and ethnohistorical research

²²Francis Jennings, "Susquehannock" in Trigger, Northeast, pp. 364-366.

indicates that by the time the Susquehannocks had settled along the Potomac in the 1670s, they had become middlemen between Europeans and piedmont Siouans.²³ Much of the European end of this network, at least initially, consisted of the Dutch in New Netherlands and English papists in Maryland. But, as Virginia colonists began to settle close to the Potomac, they were increasingly tempted by the network that the Indian middlemen had developed.

This situation caused problems for Virginia's colonial officials: It meant an erosion of the precious control they had striven to obtain over relations between the colonists and the Indians in the years following the last war with the tidewater tribes in 1644. Although restricting trade and meetings with Indians to several specified locations had appeared to many colonists to be Berkeley's way of limiting the economic benefits to be had in the trade to a privileged few, controlling the random day-to-day meetings between colonists and Indians had minimized outbreaks of Anglo-Indian violence.²⁴

As difficult as it may have been to enforce the trade restrictions in the counties close to the government seat at Jamestown, it was virtually impossible to control

²³Ward, "Mortuary Patterns", pp. 89-90.

²⁴For a detailed analysis of the rise of Governor Berkeley's "de facto" monopoly over the Indian trade see Mary Theobald, "Indian Trade," pp. 19-20.

interactions between the colonists on the remote Northern Neck frontier and the "foreign" Indians near them. To make matters worse, the Indians involved lived outside the boundaries of the colony and were thus perceived as potential enemies by the government. Consequently, Governor Berkeley and the assembly attempted to control the situation in the Northern Neck through a series of acts in the early 1660s.

First, in 1660, the assembly restricted all trade with the Indians to those with a specific commission from the governor.²⁵ It is likely that few, if any, of the new colonists in the Northern Neck were issued commissions to trade with foreign Indians. Then, in 1662, the assembly was more direct in their effort to control trade across the Potomac. An act passed in March of that year is fairly self-explanatory in its justification of trade restrictions in the Northern Neck:

...it appearing that the Susquehannock and other northern Indians, in considerable numbers frequently come to the heads of our rivers...and alsoe affront the English and destroy their stocks and gett the whole trade from our neighbouring and tributary Indians; **it is ordered by this assembly...**that the honourable governour cause by proclamation a prohibition of all Marylanders, English and Indians (which they have already done to us) and of all other Indians to the Northward of Maryland from trucking, tradeing, bartering or dealing with any English or Indians to the southward of that place, and that by commission from the governour collonel Wood be empowered to

²⁵Hening, Statutes, II, p. 20.

manage the said businesse.²⁶

However, bartering with foreign Indians continued in the Northern Neck and the fact that it had been outlawed probably further strained relations with the Indians, both tributary and foreign, since those English who continued trading had little regard for the law and even less regard for the Indians with whom they traded. And Indians who had been cheated usually found a way to exact vengeance. The Indians were apt to seek revenge on the first English people or property they came upon after having been cheated, regardless of whether or not their victim(s) had been the perpetrator(s) of their mistreatment. Thus, the natives' reputation among the English was particularly bad in the frontier areas, especially those counties at the heads of the rivers.

Just as the Indians tended to sate their vengeance on the first available white man, the English frontiersmens had little patience for distinguishing friendly from unfriendly natives, especially when non-tributary Indians were involved. As illegal trading continued in the Northern Neck and the number of Indian "troubles" escalated, the assembly, in their impatience for ascertaining the details of each incident, declared in 1663 that if

...any Englishman be killed or hurt, or any wayes injured by any Indian, that nation or nations

²⁶Hening, Statutes, II, p. 153. Recall that Abraham Wood operated Fort Henry at the falls of the Appomattox.

nearest adjoyning where the murder or injury
shalbe comitted shalbe enjoyned to use their best
endeavour to bring in the Indian or Indians that
comitted the offence, or else they to be declared
the actors thereof and proceeded against
accordingly...²⁷

In addition, the assembly demanded hostages from both the tributary and foreign tribes along the Potomac to ensure their good behavior towards the English.²⁸

Why were the Indian troubles of the remote Northern Neck frontier of such great concern to the legislators in Jamestown? Among other reasons, the assembly saw that the trouble brewing with foreign Indians along the Potomac had the potential of sparking Indian aggression along the entire inland line of colonial settlement, from the Northern Neck to Fort Henry on the Appomattox. They had become aware by this time of the growing trade alliances between the Maryland Indians to the north and the Indians of the piedmont to the west and southwest. The "Doeggs" of Maryland, for example, had apparently confessed to recent murders on the frontiers and some had subsequently fled to the interior. The assembly enacted that the tributary Indians, with the possible assistance of the colonists, "...joyne and pursue the Doeggs who confessed to be actors in the first murthers to the Occanecheis and Monakins or to any other place where they have intelligence, they or any of

²⁷Hening, Statutes, II, p. 193.

²⁸Ibid.

them are."²⁹ This is the first mention of the "Monakins" since Smith had written about them in 1612.

Clearly the assembly was apprehensive about the alliance they believed had developed between the unpredictable Maryland Indians and the Indians of the piedmont. The combination of potential enemies to the north, west, and southwest of the colony was a dark prospect for a colonial government that already had to deal with heightening domestic social and economic tensions. In addition, the Virginians were concerned about aggression from the Dutch, who were also trading with the Susquehannocks. The governor and assembly wrote to the king and the Privy Council in 1666 expressing their concern that Virginia was surrounded by enemies, both Dutch and Indian.³⁰

Ironically, the growing Susquehannock-Siouan trade network was a response partly to the same English colonists who were so apprehensive of it. The Susquehannocks did not just provide the Siouans with English and Dutch trade goods in return for skins. In an effort to extend the network still farther southwest, the Susquehannocks helped to set up the Occaneechee Indians as secondary middlemen who could

²⁹Ibid., p. 194. Nancy Lurie notes that the Maryland Indians were often known collectively to the Virginians as the "Doegs". Nancy O. Lurie, "Indian Cultural Adjustment", p. 42.

³⁰Governor and Council of Virginia to King and the Privy Council, undated 1666/7, Colonial Office Papers, C.O. 1/21, ff. 109-112.

carry the trade inland.³¹ The Occaneechees, a Siouan tribe, were located on an island at the juncture of the Roanoke and Dan Rivers near present-day Clarksville, Virginia.³² From this strategic location they were able to control important native trade routes which paralleled the Appalachian Range leading from the coastal tribes to the interior via gaps in the mountains to the southwest. This southern avenue of trade became increasingly important to the Susquehannocks as the 1660s drew to a close. Their northern trade was dwindling due to the growing strength of the Iroquois, notably the Senecas, who wanted to gain control of the Susquehanna River Valley trade routes.³³ The Senecas preyed on the southern routes as well. However, the piedmont was far enough away from the Iroquois homeland that they were not as much of a threat as they were to the north. In addition, in this southern theater, the Susquehannocks had the support of the Maryland colony, at least from 1652-1674, and the natives of Maryland as well as their trading partners in the piedmont.³⁴

Ultimately, the Susquehannocks' shift to the south was not enough to maintain their supreme control over trade to

³¹Ward, "Mortuary Patterns", p. 90.

³²Mooney, Siouan Tribes, p. 53; Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 117-118; and Briceland, Westward, p. 116.

³³Briceland, Westward, p. 89.

³⁴Ibid.

the interior. In 1674, they were "invited" to move to an abandoned Piscataway fort on the northern bank of the Potomac by the governor of Maryland. However, in reality, the "invitation" was merely an attempt to forestall conflict between the Susquehannocks and the Five Nation Iroquois while the Maryland governor formed an alliance with the latter.³⁵

While the Susquehannocks' control of trade began to dwindle in the early 1670s, the Occaneechees gradually gained power and influence as the full weight of the middleman role fell on their shoulders. However, control of the inland trade did not pass from the Susquehannocks to the Occaneechees solely because of the weakening of the former. The Occaneechees' power, which historian James Merrell has noted was "out of all proportion to their numbers," was both gained and subsequently lost primarily due to Governor Berkeley's and Colonel Abraham Wood's efforts to initiate exploration west of the fall line.³⁶ Apparently, by the end of the 1660s, Berkeley had come to view exploration west of the fall line and the consequent establishment of contact with the inland tribes as important priorities on the

³⁵Francis Jennings, "Susquehannock", p. 365; Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1636-1770, 11 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1885-1912), vol. 2: pp. 429-30.

³⁶James H. Merrell, "Natives in a New World: The Catawba Indians of Carolina, 1650-1800" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD, 1982).

government's agenda. Much of his motivation was undeniably economic since he had been appointed as the representative in America for the British fur trading company known as the Hudson's Bay Company which was organized in 1668.³⁷ The founders of the company hoped to find a trade route to East India. However, the diplomatic need to gain first-hand knowledge of Indian and Spanish whereabouts west of Virginia also made exploration a priority for Berkeley.

In any event, the time was ripe to find out just how far west the "East India sea" and the "Spaniards who live behind our Mountains" were and whether or not "some Mines of silver" could be found. Indeed, Berkeley now felt that acquiring knowledge of the interior was so important that he offered to go himself if the party could be of "such a strength that shal secure me against al opposition whether of the Spaniards or Indians."³⁸

However, the contemporary view of North American geography which held that the continent was "but eight or ten days journey over from the Atlantick to the Indian Ocean" probably led Berkeley to play down his exploration scheme so as to avoid conflict with the Spaniards who were

³⁷F. B. Kegley, ed., Kegley's Virginia Frontier (Roanoke: Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938), p. 9.

³⁸Governor Berkeley wrote several letters to Lord Arlington beginning late in 1669 and into the middle of 1670 in which he mentioned his intentions to send an exploring party west of the fall line. VMHB, 19 (1911): 258-9, and 357.

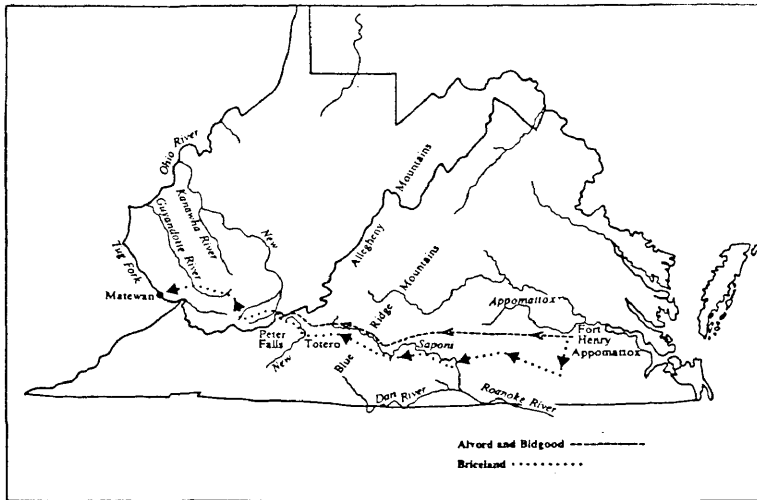
believed to be so close to Virginia.³⁹ As Briceland has suggested, it is significant that the first person to be given an official commission from Berkeley and then actually follow through on it was a German doctor, new to the colony, named John Lederer. If the German was captured by either the Spanish or Indians, his nationality might provide a screen of confusion that could prevent potential problems of the exploration party from escalating into troubles for the whole colony.⁴⁰

In the spring, summer, and early autumn of 1670, the adventurous Lederer made three exploratory journeys inland of Virginia's fall line boundary. From his three trips, Lederer came to know the general characteristics of the piedmont; the uniformity and expanse of its landforms and the locations and alliances of its people. His first and third ventures to the mountain sources of the York and Rappahannock Rivers made it clear that if the Monacan and Manahoac confederacies had ever been populous and controlled the northern Virginia piedmont, they had gone elsewhere by 1670. In his descriptions, Lederer made no mention of encountering native peoples between the fall line and the mountains, even though on his third journey he passed through the legendary Mohaskahod buffer zone/hunting ground

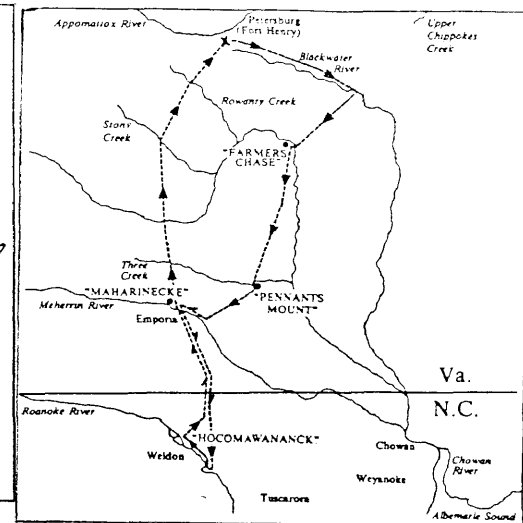
³⁹Cumming, Discoveries, p. 37.

⁴⁰Briceland, Westward, pp. 95-7.

Figure 2



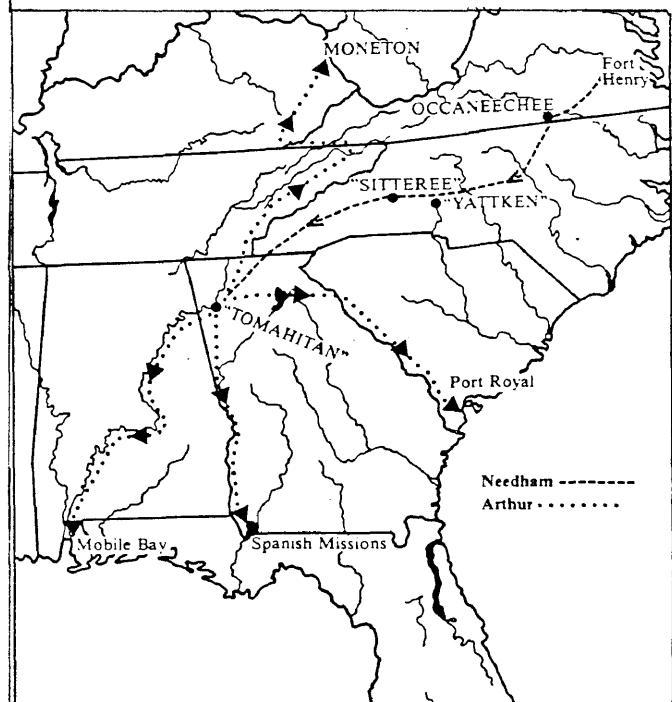
Route taken by Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam, 1671



Probable route taken by Bland-Wood party



Probable route taken by John Lederer



Route taken by James Needham and Gabriel Arthur, 1673-74

Routes of Bland-Wood, Lederer,
Batts-Fallam, & Needham-Arthur.

Taken from: Alan V. Briceland, Westward from Virginia.
(Charlottesville: 1987), pp. 31, 107, 134, 154.

and travelled near where Smith had been told the kingdoms of Hassininga (Amoroleck's people) and Tauxuntania were in 1608 (compare figures 1 and 2).⁴¹ Although it is not certain that Lederer's first and third expeditions to the Blue Ridge were officially sanctioned by the governor, Lederer mentioned having brought a "Marchasite" crystal back from his first trip as a gift to Berkeley.⁴² Thus, the governor was likely involved in some capacity and was no doubt relieved to learn how uninhabited the northern piedmont seemed to be.

However, Berkeley's real concerns lay to the west and southwest of the colony for that was where the "northern" Indians had their alliances with the potentially hostile "**Occaneecheis** and **Monakins**". It was on Lederer's second journey, in which he went to the west and southwest, that he fulfilled his role as Berkeley's undercover "foreign explorer". Whether by chance or keen foresight, Lederer travelled deep into the Virginia-Carolina piedmont, accompanied only by a Susquehannock guide, and visited a number of Siouan towns that apparently had not yet had direct contact with the English. More importantly, his various native hosts were friendly and he returned safely to tidewater Virginia with news that would forever change the colony's relations with the piedmont Siouans.

⁴¹Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 15-19 and 34-37.

⁴²Ibid., p. 17.

Thus, Lederer's journeys marked the end of a period in which the fall line had been an important cultural boundary to a primarily closed frontier. For the English, 1670 was a year during which they began to view the piedmont with slightly less fear and more eagerness for the unfulfilled potential that lay there and beyond. For the Siouans, contact with the German and his Susquehannock guide meant that the Christians were not all to be feared and the trade goods which had for so long been brought by middlemen might now be obtained more directly. And the Iroquois might not prey so heavily on a nation with such powerful allies as the Virginians.

CHAPTER III

THE SIOUANS AND ENGLISH MEET AGAIN

Could I have forseen when I set out, the advantages to be made by a Trade with those remote Indians, I had gone better provided; though perhaps I might have run a great hazard of my life...

--John Lederer, 1672¹

...but now begins ye tragicall scene of bad hap.

--Abraham Wood, 1674²

Lederer started out on May 20, 1670 with a Major Harris and twenty other Virginians, all of whom, excepting Lederer, held the belief that they could head home as soon as they got to the mountains. Berkeley must have forseen that the Virginians would tire of the enterprise before going far enough to accomplish anything: he gave Lederer a separate, "private" commission to carry on alone if need be.³

The company went twenty miles upriver from Colonel Stegg's plantation at the falls of the James to the

¹Cumming, Discoveries, p. 42.

²Abraham Wood's letter to John Richards of August 22, 1674 in which he describes the adventures of Needham and Arthur the previous year in Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, p. 215.

³Ibid., pp. 19-21.

"Monakins" at Mowchemco.⁴ Even though the Indians at Mowchemco were original members of the Monacan Confederacy, in the years after the Indian wars of 1644-46 the Mowchemco Indians, now called "Monakins," were so close to the English settlements that they were considered more "neighbor" than "foreign" in the eyes of the colonists. On the other hand, given their location outside the fall line boundary and their tribal affiliations, they probably did not even receive the minimal amount of trust that the English placed in the tidewater tribes after the treaty in 1646. For example, the Monakins were mentioned as possible accomplices to the murderous Doegs in 1663.⁵ The Monakins, perhaps more than any other Virginia tribe, existed in a kind of limbo with regard to their relations with the English throughout the seventeenth century, because their status as either neighbor or foreign Indians was never clearly defined. By the time Lederer and Harris made their way to Monakin in 1670, these Indians had assumed a kind of de facto tributary status to the English. In 1669, the Monakins were included on a list of tribes presented to the assembly that showed the numbers of "bowmen" in each neighboring tribe and the

⁴Ibid., pp. 19-21 and 76.

⁵Hening, Statutes, II, p. 194.

counties in which they lived.⁶ The tribe's friendly relations with the English by the spring of 1670 were evident in their welcome of the Lederer/Harris party with "Volleys of Shot" and their subsequent hospitality for two days.⁷ When someone in the English group asked for directions to the mountains, a tribal elder indicated two Indian trails, one that went northwest by way of a "Mahock" village and another that led to a "Nahyssan" village to the southwest as well as the mountains beyond.⁸

Who were the Mahocks and Nahyssans? The question spotlights a central problem of historical continuity in any study of the seventeenth-century piedmont Indians. The problem stems from the lack of direct contact between the piedmont tribes and English colonists in the decades after Smith's travels and before those of Lederer. Smith's lack of specific information adds to the confusion, as does a more general problem familiar to scholars of many other American Indian groups: one particular tribe could have

⁶The list mentions 30 bowmen in the "Manachee" tribe of Henrico County among a total count of 725 bowmen in all the neighboring tribes. The list was part of an act reinstating a bounty for wolf's heads by the government and asking for wolf's heads as tribute from all tributary tribes. James Mooney identified the "Manachee" as Monacans in 1894 and subsequent scholars have not disputed this interpretation owing to the location in Henrico County and similarity of the names. Hening, Statutes, II, pp. 274-5; Mooney, Siouan Tribes, p. 28.

⁷Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 19-20.

⁸Ibid., p. 20.

many different names depending on who was referring to that tribe. The tribal members used one name for themselves while their enemies used another. Added to the confusion in nomenclature are tribal shifts, migrations, and probable depopulations due to disease which occurred on a large scale during the decades when the English were not in contact with the piedmont Indians.

The result of the many gaps in the historical record of the piedmont natives is that while Smith had written about a number of towns allied into two confederacies, the Monacan and Manahoac, the only towns Lederer encountered in the Virginia piedmont had names not mentioned by Smith. Instead of Rasauweak, Mowchemco, Massinacack, Monahassanugh, and Monasukapanough, Lederer wrote of the Nahyssans, Mahocks, Sapons, Monakins, Mangoacks, and Akenatzys.⁹

Given the lack of concrete evidence, scholars have assumed that at least some of these native groups were lineal descendants of the tribes listed by Smith. In 1894, Mooney suggested connections between several of the earlier and later tribes based on phonetic similarities in the tribal names. For example, without the prefix "Mo" or "Mona," which Mooney saw as similar to the Siouan word for "country of," the tribal names Monahassanugh and Monasukapanough resemble in pronunciation, if not as much in

⁹Ibid., p. 10.

spelling, Lederer's Nahyssan and Saponi, respectively.¹⁰ Christian F. Feest more recently presented an alternative explanation of the locations of the Saponi Indians during the seventeenth century based on a careful reading of primary documents. He places them south of the James River before 1650 in contrast to Mooney's interpretation that they had lived near present-day Charlottesville at Monasukapanough.¹¹ Obviously, much research needs to be done before the specific geographical tracing of each piedmont tribe prior to Lederer's rediscovery of these people can be known with more certainty.

Yet, as Merrell observed in his study of the Carolina Siouans, the level of unity which tied the Siouan groups of the piedmont together makes it possible to "ascend to a more general level, leaving the confusion of narrow identities and specific locations beneath."¹² The cultural similarities between the different tribes of piedmont Siouan and their alliance against common enemies were enough for the Iroquois to call them all "by the collective name 'Todichroone'."¹³ If it is not possible to link directly each tribal group

¹⁰Mooney, Siouan Tribes, p. 27.

¹¹Ibid.; Christian F. Feest, "Notes on Saponi Settlements in Virginia Prior to 1714", ASV Quar Bull, 28 (July 1974): 152-155.

¹²James H. Merrell, "Natives in a New World", p. 14.

¹³Ibid., p. 45.

Lederer encountered with specific towns mentioned by Smith, it is nonetheless likely that Lederer's Nahyssans, Mahocks, and Saponis were remnants and descendants of tribes that had been a part of the so-called Monacan/Manahoac network.

Colonel Harris and his men were mindful of the legacy that previous Anglo-Siouan relations had left them. Their distrust of Indians in general, combined with a recent history of poor relations with the piedmont Indians in particular, made them wary of the old Monakin's directions to the mountains. Lederer, somewhat more neutral in his attitude towards the Indians than his English companions, was obviously displeased with the Virginians' lack of faith. He wrote that his **"English Companions** slighting the **Indians** direction, shaped their course by the Compass due West" so that instead of following one of two beaten paths, the party blazed a trail "over steep and craggy Cliffs" until arriving at the James River near present-day Bent Creek, Virginia (see Figure 2).¹⁴

By the time they reached the river, the English had had quite enough. It was fear that had driven them to pursue their foolish course due west and it was the same "fear of the Mahock Indian" that made them turn back.¹⁵ When Lederer made a move to continue, the rest of the group voiced their

¹⁴Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 20, 77.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 20.

strong opposition. However, when he produced his "private Commission...to proceed, though the rest of the company should abandon me," Colonel Harris gave him a gun and left him with, interestingly enough, one Susquehannock Indian, named Jackzetavon, to help guide and interpret.¹⁶ Why a Susquehannock Indian? The answer, given obliquely by Lederer in his "Instructions to such as shall march upon Discoveries into the North-American Continent," supports the theory that the Susquehannocks had earlier incorporated the piedmont tribes into their trade network. Lederer's advice undoubtedly came from his experiences with the Indians of the piedmont during his second journey:

When in the remote parts you draw near to an Indian Town, you must by your Scouts inform your self whether they hold any correspondence with the **Sasquesahanaughs**: for to such you must give notice of your approach by a Gun; which amongst other Indians is to be avoided, because being ignorant of their use, it would affright and dispose them to some treacherous practice against you.¹⁷

Lederer subsequently set out on a journey of discovery that would open the piedmont frontier for the English in Virginia. In fact, it is quite possible that if Lederer had not safely returned from his journey, the Virginians would not have dared venture into the piedmont for several more years. Colonel Harris was so convinced of the dangers of the piedmont, partly out of fear and partly out of a need to

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 40-41.

justify his failure to reach the mountains, that he assumed that Lederer would not come out alive. Safe in this assumption, Harris returned to the colony to exaggerate his own achievements and to denigrate Lederer. The combination of the bad reputation Lederer earned in Virginia for continuing his exploration inland "whither some [Harris and company] refused to accompany him"¹⁸ and the growing unpopularity of Lederer's benefactor, Governor Berkeley, helped minimize his otherwise significant role in Virginia's early colonial history. More specifically, Harris's behavior, and that of the other twenty colonists who returned with him, reflected the fear even colonists living near the fall line still had of the world further inland.

Perhaps those fears were justified. That is, if the English had continued with Lederer, the party would likely have had problems with the Indians, given the distrustful, racist posture of the English and the piedmont Indians' attitude towards outsiders. Lederer later wrote that a party travelling inland should consist of six to ten people, most of whom should be Indians, "for the Nations in your way are prone to jealousie and mischief towards Christians in a considerable Body, and as courteous and hearty to a few, from whom they apprehend no danger."¹⁹

¹⁸Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 39.

Lederer, in turn, had probably been given this advice by his Susquehannock companion. This advice coupled with a few trade goods which Lederer carried may have helped give him the courage to press on to the Saponi village. Lederer mentioned that the Saponis were members of the larger Nahyssan tribe. Although there is no specific mention of troubles with the Nahyssans in surviving colonial records, he noted that "they had been in continual Hostility with the **Christians** for ten years before."²⁰ Thus, he did not expect a friendly welcome.

Lederer and Jackzetavon arrived at the Saponi village, which he called "Sapon," in five days without seeing a single town or Indian along the way. The Saponis were at that time living on the northern bank of the Staunton River at its horseshoe bend southwest of present-day Charlotte Court House, Virginia.²¹ While the Saponis allowed Lederer to enter their town, they did not welcome him with open arms. They questioned him thoroughly concerning his journey

²⁰Ibid., p. 22.

²¹The apparent inaccuracies of Lederer's compass directions and distances combined with seemingly fictitious descriptions of the landscape have led many to be skeptical of his claims of discovery. However, Briceland has done a critical reevaluation of Lederer's descriptions by comparing them to known sites, distances and other nearly-contemporaneous explorer's journals and has found consistent, predictable errors in Lederer's compass directions and distance estimates. The locations in this paper are based on Briceland's careful analyses. Briceland, Westward, pp. 100-123.

and intentions. Apparently, the Saponis were satisfied enough by Lederer's answers and his trade goods that they treated him "with all imaginable demonstrations of kindness" and even invited him to marry into the tribe. The latter he politely declined, though he had to give his word that he would return to "Sapon" in six months so that the Indians would not take offense at his refusal to stay.

If the Saponis had been ravaged by epidemic diseases and raids of the Iroquois, the effects were not evident to Lederer. He noted that the countryside had "a very healthful Air, as appears by the age and vigour of the people." Further, any Iroquois incursions had not hindered the Saponis from taking full advantage of the resources in the area which made them "capable of producing many Commodities." Indeed, their production of "Commodities" so impressed Lederer that he predicted it "may hereafter render the Trade of it considerable." Before leaving "Sapon", Lederer learned of another Nahyssan town on the same river at which lived the "absolute Monarch" of the Nahyssans. Despite his desire to see the "King's Residence," he felt duty-bound to carry on with his exploration towards other Indian nations.²² Lederer followed the directions of one of the Saponis to the island town of "Akenatzy." The "Akenatzy" were undoubtedly the Occaneechee Indians at

²²Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 23-24.

Clarksville.²³

Almost everything Lederer had to say about the Occaneechees supports the notion that they had or were developing a fair amount of control over inland trade. The middleman role that the Occaneechee presumably inherited from the Susquehannocks was a tenuous and risky, if not doomed, part to play in the growing Anglo-Indian trade network. Indian nations that assumed such a role took a tremendous gamble and often lost. Although they could profit from their control over the coastal-inland trade, they simultaneously drew the attention of others who would seek to usurp their control and profits. Whether or not Lederer knew of the Occaneechees' rising influence in the piedmont and beyond, his description of them suggests their central, yet precarious, role in the Indian trade.

First of all, Lederer was struck by the importance of defense to the Occaneechees, more so than he had been by his visit with the Saponis. The Occaneechees lived on an island "in great security, being naturally fortified with Fastnesse of Mountains, and Water of every side." The current was so strong that he had trouble crossing the river. He further noted that the Indians grew enough corn so that they had a year's surplus to provide them in case of "Invasion from their powerful Neighbours." Indeed, the threat of warfare

²³Briceland, Westward, p. 116; see also footnote #26.

was so immanent that they had two kings, one of whom presided solely over "Arms" or warfare.

Lederer went on to tell of two different groups of Indian travelers who had each come great distances from farther inland "in quest of this Island of **Akenatzy**." One group consisted of four Indians who told Lederer in sign language that they were all that remained of a party of fifty. Lederer did not give them a tribal name but noted that they had travelled for two months and had crossed some large body of water in the process. The following day another group of five Indians arrived having travelled from farther inland. Lederer referred to them as "Rickohockans" and noted that they dwelt "not far to the Westward of the **Apalataean** Mountains."²⁴

Scholars have long speculated about the identification of the Rickohockans, who have been variously identified as the Cherokee, Westos, Yuchi, and Keyauwee.²⁵ None of these identifications has been satisfactorily proven. Yet, more interesting than their specific identity is the fact that the Rickohockans, like the four unnamed Indians, travelled from far inland to the Occaneechees' island. Further, the night after they arrived, the five Rickohockans were

²⁴Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 24-26.

²⁵These various identifications are summarized by Cumming, Discoveries, p. 120, except for the Keyauwee identification which was suggested by Briceland, Westward, p. 186.

surprised and murdered by their hosts, much to Lederer's chagrin. He and Jackzetavon sneaked away the next morning for fear of their own lives. Their fears may have been justified for it is quite possible that the murder of the Rickohockans had had something to do with Lederer's presence in the village and Occaneechee fears that a direct trade between the English and the inland Indians might have been arranged which would undercut the need for the Occaneechee middlemen.

If the murder of the Rickohockans was an Occaneechee attempt to defend their growing control of trade, they surely would have tried to murder Lederer if they had known of his intentions and subsequent travels. He and Jackzetavon headed out of the Occaneechee village travelling for the most part to the south and southeast. In the following two weeks, they eventually turned southwest, visiting six different Indian tribes in the piedmont region of present-day North Carolina before returning to Virginia.

Most potentially damaging to the Occaneechees' economy were several discoveries and observations Lederer noted which would have ramifications for inland trade. With regard to the goals of the expedition, Lederer found an area where the mountains "sink so low, that they are easily passed over."²⁶ This was near the Indian town of Sara which

²⁶Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 11, 28.

Briceland has located near present-day Chapel Hill, North Carolina.²⁷ The mountains changed course in addition to "losing their height," and Lederer would later note that the Rickohockans lay to the north of these westward-running mountains.²⁸

On June 26, Lederer arrived at the town of Ushery located near the juncture of the Deep and Haw Rivers.²⁹ Here he learned that "bearded men," whom he guessed were Spaniards, were located only two-and-a-half day's journey to the southwest. This information was enough to make Lederer turn back for fear of being captured and enslaved by the Spanish.

Though Lederer would later mention that he did not believe the "Indian Ocean" itself was just over the Appalachian Mountains, his opinion that a bay of that ocean stretched from "California...as far as the **Apalataean** Mountains," coupled with his supposed close brush with the "Spanish Mines," may have been enough to encourage other Virginians that the "India Sea" was close at hand. Also, Lederer's conjecture that the southern piedmont "undoubtedly" held many "rich Commodities and Minerals...which if possessed by an ingenious and

²⁷Briceland, Westward, p. 119.

²⁸Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 28, 32.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 30-31; and Briceland, Westward, pp. 120-121.

industrious people, would be improved to vast advantages by Trade", may have given those Virginians who were interested in inland trade enough incentive to pursue the idea.³⁰

Lederer returned to Virginia via a more easterly route, visiting only two Indian villages en route, a Tuscarora village on the Tar River and a town he called "Kawitziokan" on the Roanoke River.³¹ Finally, on July 18, 1670, he arrived at the Appomattox village near Colonel Wood's Fort Henry. His return to Virginia brought "nothing but Affronts and Reproaches" from the majority of the colonial population, thanks primarily to the rumors spread by Major Harris.³² However, some put the knowledge Lederer had gained to immediate use. It is probably not coincidental that in the four years after Lederer's second journey, three other documented explorations above the fall line were launched, and perhaps some undocumented trips as well.

The information Lederer had gathered was helpful not only to his contemporaries. Lederer provided some general information about the piedmont Indians and their habitat in two brief treatises, "A General and brief Account of the North-American Continent" and "Of the Manners and Customs of the Indians inhabiting the Western parts of Carolina and

³⁰Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 29, 32, 37-38.

³¹Ibid., p. 33; and Briceland, Westward, pp. 122-23.

³²Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 5, 33.

Virginia," which can help scholars come to a better understanding of Siouan culture and culture change in the piedmont during the late seventeenth century.

For example, he observed that the various Indian nations in the Virginia piedmont all spoke the same language, "though they differ in Dialects." Lederer was referring to the probable descendants of the tribes Smith had said were "confederates...though many different in language."³³ Thus, either Smith had not been perceptive enough to distinguish between mere dialectical differences and actual language differences or perhaps a universality of language had developed with the increased intertribal contact brought on by wars, disease, and enhanced trade networks.

Another piece of cultural information Lederer provided, which throws new light on earlier accounts, was hidden in his relation of one tribe's own version of their early history. The pre-contact Siouans had come into the piedmont over four hundred years earlier and had won control of the region from the "Tacci," who "were far more rude and barbarous, feeding onely upon raw flesh and fish, until these [Siouans] taught them to plant corn, and shewed them the use of it."³⁴ This relation not only supports Strachey's

³³Ibid., p. 9-14; and Smith, Travels and Works, pp. 366-67.

³⁴Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 10-12.

statement and the archaeological evidence that the piedmont Siouans grew corn,³⁵ but it also is reminiscent of one of the archaeological patterns which define the onset of the Late Woodland Period in the piedmont, the beginnings of corn cultivation.

Lederer wrote further that the piedmont natives used counters, hieroglyphics, and oral history to maintain tribal traditions from one generation to the next. They believed in one supreme god as the creator of everything and yet they worshipped a multitude of lesser deities who they thought were responsible for "the Government of Mankind."³⁶

They thought that the "Race of Mankind" originated from four women and subsequently their society was divided into four "Tribes...continued in the issue of the Females," which ordered, at the very least, who one could marry and where one would be buried. Marriage within one's "Tribe" was seen as incest and "abhorred," and burial areas were divided into four quarters, each quarter being set aside for the members of one of the four "Tribes." The context of Lederer's description suggests that, by "Tribes" Lederer meant clans within one society and not different Indian nations.³⁷ Thus, when Lederer visited the piedmont Siouans

³⁵See pp. 10 and 14 above.

³⁶Cumming, Discoveries, p. 12.

³⁷Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 12-14.

in 1670, communities were still intact enough to maintain a traditional social structure divided by matrilineal clans. In other words, the Siouans Lederer encountered were not yet the multiethnic communities that archaeologists believe the Occaneechee had become later in the century.³⁸

Although Lederer did not refer to any specific Indian nations when he summarized these "Manners and Customs," he did ascribe the cultural traits collectively to the "Indians inhabiting the Western parts of Carolina and Virginia." It is safe to assume that these traits were shared by the various piedmont Siouan tribes since Lederer had made a point in his journal of describing other traits that were more localized and thus unique to the individual nations he had visited.³⁹

Upon learning of Lederer's safe return to the colony, Abraham Wood was probably less intrigued with Indian cultural traits than he was with the fact that Lederer had visited a number of piedmont Indian towns and come back alive. Indeed, the German had left the tribes on friendly terms and even had written encouragingly about the possibilities of trade with these "remoter Indians."⁴⁰ Wood apparently lost no time in sending other explorers and

³⁸Ward, "Mortuary Patterns", p. 109.

³⁹Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 11, 22-33.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 41-42.

representatives of his trading interests to take advantage of what Lederer had learned. The first documented march inland following Lederer's journeys was that led by Captain Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam. On September 1, 1671, Batts, Fallam, Thomas Woods, an Appomattox Indian guide, and one of Abraham Wood's servants set out from the Appomattox village near Fort Henry with a commission from Major Wood to find "the ebbing and flowing of the Waters on the other side of the Mountaines in order to the discovery of the South Sea."⁴¹

Even though the Batts-Fallam expedition set out only about a year after Lederer's journey, several observations in Fallam's journal suggest that Wood had already sent people west to trade and explore prior before Batts and Fallam. Fallam noted that his group had travelled due west from the "Okenechee path" on their first day out, which indicates that the Virginians had established regular contact with the Occaneechees by the autumn of 1671.⁴² While Lederer had been apprehensive of visiting "Sapon" because "they had been in continual Hostility with the **Christians** for ten years," Batts and Fallam were welcomed to "Sapony

⁴¹Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, p. 184.

⁴²Ibid.; and Briceland, Westward, p. 125.

West" with the "firing of guns and plenty of provision."⁴³ They also found that a Portuguese servant of Major Wood's was staying at Sapony West when they arrived.

Fallam recorded in his journal having seen the letters "M.AN I" branded or scratched with coal on tree trunks at two different locations along the Indian path they followed towards the mountains. Clearly another English explorer or group of explorers had preceded Batts and Fallam. Further, when Batts and Fallam left a brand on a tree representing their benefactor, Major Wood, the design of the brand as indicated in Fallam's journal was: *AW* .⁴⁴ Allowing for the weathering of the symbols Fallam had seen en route and changes made during the printing of the journal, the "M.AN I" might have originally been "M.*AW* I" with the "M" for "Major." In this case, the letters Batts and Fallam had seen might have been left by an earlier undocumented Wood or Wood-sponsored expedition.

In any event, Fallam's attention to detail in his descriptions of the landscape indicate the lack of knowledge the colonists had of the country through which he and Batts travelled. In the one month that the expedition spent

⁴³Cumming, Discoveries, pp. 22-23; Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, p. 185. Briceland presents a convincing case that "Sapony West" and Lederer's "Pintahae" were the same town. Briceland, Westward, p. 116.

⁴⁴Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, pp. 186, 188, 191.

exploring, they went as far west as present-day Matewan, West Virginia, on the Tug Fork (see figure 2).⁴⁵ On the way out they passed through two other Indian towns besides those of the Saponis. Although Fallam did not record any observations of cultural distinctions among the tribes he visited as Lederer had done, his brief journal entries nonetheless convey that the "Hanahaskies" and "Toterass" were eager to have friendly relations with the English.⁴⁶ The party "received the like or better entertainment than from the Sapony's" when they visited the "Hanahaskies."⁴⁷

Four days later, on September 9, Batts and Fallam were "exceedingly civilly entertained" by the Toteross at their town near present-day Radford, Virginia. The Toteross agreed to take care of the party's horses and subsequently the group left on foot with a Toteross guide, the land beyond being too rugged to proceed on horseback. Ten days later when the group returned to Toteross, they found that their

⁴⁵Briceland, Westward, pp. 143-144.

⁴⁶The "Hanahaskies", who lived on Long Island in the Staunton River, have been variously identified as a tribe of Nahyssans by Mooney and as a tribe of Occaneechees, distinct from those living near Clarksville, by Briceland. Mooney, Siouan Tribes, p. 31; and Briceland, Westward, p. 126. The "Toterass" were the Toteross or Tutelo. Mooney, Siouan Tribes, p. 35; and Briceland, Westward, p. 126.

⁴⁷This quotation was, for unknown reasons, edited out of the edition of Fallam's journal which was reprinted in Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations. Thus see John Clayton, ed., "Explorations Beyond the Mountains," William and Mary Quarterly, First Series, 15 (1907): 236.

horses had been treated well and also learned that William Byrd I had been exploring nearby.⁴⁸

However, from the English standpoint, whether the Indians were friendly or not, the tribes west of the colony were too few and far between and the journey too rugged for inland trade in that direction to be very profitable. Thus, the unstated though real goal of finding inland Indians close to the colony with whom to trade was not realized by Batts and Fallam. On the other hand, Fallam's journal maintained the hope that the discovery of a "South Sea" or "Indian Ocean" was close at hand. Because the Tug Fork flows northwest, the explorers assumed correctly that it was not part of the Atlantic watershed. Fallam further noted that after setting up a stick in the river bank to measure the "ebb and flow", they "found it ebb very slowly." Although Fallam did not seem entirely convinced, indicating an unsatisfied desire to "make further tryal," his observation was enough to spur Wood into sponsoring further exploration.⁴⁹

In the spring of 1673, with renewed hopes of a discovery of "ye south or west sea," Wood sent two Englishmen, James Needham and Gabriel Arthur, and ten

⁴⁸Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, pp. 187, 192-193; Briceland, Westward, p. 140.

⁴⁹Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, p. 192.

Appomattox Indians southwest into the piedmont.⁵⁰

Subsequently, the Siouans gave indications that they were not pleased with the English attempts to explore inland. The native middlemen were especially threatened by what they perceived as a growing number of colonial explorers in the piedmont and beyond who would no doubt make contacts with tribes farther inland and thus rob the middlemen of their control over trade. When, in April 1673, Needham and Arthur made their first journey of that year southwest out of the colony towards the mountains, they were forced to turn back by the "unwillingness of ye Indians before the mountaines, that any should discover beyond them."⁵¹

However, when Needham and Arthur were sent out again in May of the same year, they were fortunate enough to meet a group of "Tomahitan" Indians who on their way from the mountains to the Occaneechees.⁵² Gabriel Arthur's later experiences with the Tomahittans proved them to be extremely well-travelled, ranging as far south as the Gulf of Mexico

⁵⁰The explorations of Needham and Arthur were described by Abraham Wood in a letter to his friend John Richards, dated August 22, 1674. In Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, pp. 210-226.

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 210-211.

⁵²Alvord and Bidgood identify the Tomahittans as the Cherokee, while Briceland believes the location of their town, which he places near present-day Rome, Georgia based on his reconstruction of Arthur's travels, was too far south to have been a Cherokee settlement. Thus, he refers to them simply as Tomahittans. Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, pp. 81-82; and Briceland, Westward, pp. 150-157.

and as far north as the Ohio River Valley.⁵³ Thus, as inland Indians eager for trade and willing to travel, the Tomahitans were exactly the type of Indian nation that the Occaneechees did not want the English to meet. On the other hand, Needham and Arthur saw the Tomahitans as being very beneficial to their goal of discovering a southern or western sea.

Since the Tomahitans were already in the piedmont, Needham and Arthur convinced them to send eleven of their party of about fifty back to Fort Henry with a letter of explanation for Wood while the rest waited, somewhat distrustfully, with Needham and Arthur as hostages at the Occaneechee town. When the eleven did not return from Fort Henry in due time, the Occaneechees instigated the already nervous Tomahitans into believing that the English had tricked them and, with Needham and Arthur as captives, the Tomahitans headed southwest towards their home. Despite the Occaneechees' efforts to disrupt the relations between the English and Tomahitans, the eleven Indians overtook the larger group before they passed over the mountains. Needham, Arthur, and an Appomattox Indian now had nearly fifty expert guides instead of captors who could lead them across the southern Blue Ridge to the unknown land and perhaps sea beyond the mountains.

⁵³Briceland, Westward, pp. 162-166.

Once the group arrived at the Tomahitans' town, the natives made it plain that they wanted to open direct trade relations with the Virginians. While Arthur stayed at the natives' town to learn their language, Needham returned after "a small time of rest" to Fort Henry, accompanied by the Appomattox Indian and twelve Tomahitans. There was also one other person in the group who was not at all pleased with the progression of events. An Occaneechee Indian named Hasecoll had accompanied the initial party of Needham, Arthur, and the Tomahitans from Occaneechee to the Tomahitan town and was now returning with Needham's small group back to Fort Henry. Hasecoll was known to the Virginians as Indian John. Since the English had their own name for Hasecoll, he must have been involved in trade with them and sensitive to the danger of the relations that were developing between the Tomahitans and the English.⁵⁴

Needham, Hasecoll, and the twelve Tomahitans arrived at Fort Henry on September 10 and rested for ten days. Wood paid Hasecoll for having provided food and protection for Needham on the previous journey. Hasecoll also received half-payment for agreeing to do the same again on the return to Tomahitan. He was told he would receive the other half on Needham and Arthur's safe return in the spring of the next year.

⁵⁴Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, pp. 211-215.

The group was outfitted with trade goods and subsequently headed for Occaneechee. Once there, they were joined by several more Occaneechee Indians "which was to see ye tragady acted as I suppose." They continued southwest through the towns of the Eno and Sara Indians without incident.

Just past Sara, however, one of the Indians, presumably an Occaneechee, dropped a pack of supplies into a river they were crossing. Wood later suggested that the Indian may have done it on purpose. In any event, Needham reprimanded the Indian. Hasecoll, apparently waiting for this opportunity and under pretense of defending the "accident," began provoking and threatening Needham. Hasecoll's provocation continued into the evening. Needham resisted taking any action against Hasecoll until after the group had set up camp, whereupon he finally tossed a hatchet at the ground near Hasecoll saying, "John are you minded to kill me[?]" This prompted what Wood later referred to as "ye tragicall scene of bad hap": Hasecoll picked up the gun he had been issued to "kill meat for them to eate" and shot Needham dead.⁵⁵

The Tomahitans in the group were understandably upset, fearing that the English would blame them and retaliate. To make matters worse, or perhaps to intimidate the Tomahitans

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 214-217.

further, Hasecoll cut out Needham's heart. Then he told the Tomahitans to hurry to their town and kill Arthur, assuming correctly that they would be too frightened to go the Fort Henry and report the incident.

Initially, the subsequent turn of events worked in Hasecoll's favor, and probably just as he had planned: the Tomahitans hurried home and the rumors that they had killed Needham travelled back to Fort Henry at a snail's pace. Wood finally began hearing scattered rumors of Tomahitan treachery almost four months after the fact.⁵⁶

Finally, on February 25, 1674, Henry Hatcher, an independent trader who had been making trips to Occaneechee for at least nine months, came to Wood with the news that Needham had definitely been murdered but he was not certain who had done it. He said that the Occaneechee maintained that the Tomahitans were guilty. However, he had seen an Occaneechee Indian named Indian John with Needham's "pistolls and gunn in his hande, as the Indian him selfe tould Hatcher."⁵⁷

Meanwhile, Wood would later learn that a king of the Tomahitans had saved Arthur from being burned alive by several of the natives from Needham's group who were attempting to carry out Hasecoll's design. The king

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 217-218.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 215.

promised Arthur that he would be returned to Fort Henry in the spring (of 1674). Until then, Arthur would accompany the Tomahitans on four far-ranging excursions, a raid on a Spanish mission in West Florida, another raid on an Indian town near the English settlement at Port Royal on the Carolina coast, a visit to the Moneton Indians just south of the Ohio River on the Big Sandy River, and a hunting excursion by canoe down the Coosa and Alabama Rivers as far as the Gulf of Mexico at Mobile Bay.⁵⁸ Finally, as promised, the king attempted to take Arthur back to Fort Henry as part of a trading venture that was also meant to set the record straight with regards to Needham's murder.

However, when the group reached Sara, four Occaneechees were waiting there to capture Arthur. Being outnumbered, the Occaneechees waited until dark and then created a false alarm of an attack on the town. Everyone in town fled into the woods including Arthur. He successfully escaped capture and pressed on up the trading path towards Fort Henry, carefully crossing Occaneechee Island at night. He finally arrived, much to Wood's relief, on June 18, 1674. The Tomahitan king and his men arrived a month later, having avoided Occaneechee altogether. Instead, after the incident at Sara, they had gone north to the Totero's town on the New River, then down the James River to the "Manikins" and

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 218-223; and Briceland, Westward, pp. 162-168.

finally overland to Fort Henry. In spite of the Occaneechee efforts, Wood and the Tomahitan king agreed to try to meet again in the fall to trade.⁵⁹

Wood was an influential Virginian by 1673. Eleven years earlier, the entire Virginia Indian trade had been legally, if not in practice, restricted to Wood's post at Fort Henry in an attempt by Berkeley to enforce some control on unbridled and dangerous trading with "Susquehannock and other northern Indians" by settlers near the fall line.⁶⁰ By the 1670s, Wood had grown wealthy enough to fund singlehandedly interior explorations and influential enough to gain a place on the Governor's Council.⁶¹ Since Wood was such a central figure in the Virginia Indian trade, it is likely that his opinions on matters of Indian relations influenced the opinions of many other colonists. Thus, if the Occaneechees had garnered a bad reputation in Wood's eyes--and the incidents surrounding Needham's murder probably did just that--then the tribe had gone a long way towards ruining their chances of developing a prosperous trade with the Virginians.

Apparently, the attention focused on the Occaneechees

⁵⁹Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, pp. 223-225.

⁶⁰Hening, Statutes, II, p. 153.

⁶¹Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, pp. 214, 226; and H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-1676 (Richmond: 1924), p. 307.

because of their control over trade had turned them into an "insolent," and paranoid people and changed their town into a nest of "vagabonds" and "rogues."⁶² Specifically, the Maryland Indians, who were seen as the cause of many Indian disturbances in the Northern Neck, were believed to have been harbored by the Occaneechees in 1663.⁶³ Thus, while the Occaneechees had played an important role in creating the potential for a thriving inland trade in Virginia, they had simultaneously helped to destroy that potential in their efforts to maintain control.

However, the Occaneechees were not the only source of tension associated with the growing inland trade. A large degree of dishonorable competition between colonists involved in the trade as well as a growing discontent with how the trade was being managed hastened the situation towards outright conflict. Wood hoped to set up regular trade with the Tomahitans to avoid the Occaneechees altogether. And yet he knew colonial conflicts of interest would be just as much of a threat as the Occaneechees were. In 1674, Wood hoped that the Tomahitan king, when he returned the following year, would "not [be] intercepted by selfe ended traders for they have strove what they could to

⁶²Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, p. 225.

⁶³Hening, Statutes, II, p. 194.

block up ye designe from ye beginning."⁶⁴

The intercultural tensions caused by the insecurities of the middlemen in the inland trade, combined with a similar cutthroat competitiveness among colonial traders, would only worsen after 1674. Less than one year later, one Northern Neck planter's unfair dealings with a group of Doegs with whom he was illegally trading escalated into several isolated outbreaks of violence between Northern Neck settlers and the Indians across the Potomac River. In order to provide for the "security of the County," Governor Berkeley ordered the militia to meet with the Susquehannocks and investigate the recent hostilities. The officers of the militia took the initiative of having a force of Marylanders meet them at the Susquehannocks' fort. On September 26, 1675, the various colonists arrived at the Piscataway fort that the Susquehannocks had occupied for only about a year. When five chiefs came out to meet with the English, they were led away and murdered. Then the colonists lay siege to the fort. The siege ended a few nights later when the whole tribe managed to escape into the woods. Subsequently, the Susquehannocks began a campaign of guerrilla warfare on the Virginia settlers living near the fall line. In January

⁶⁴Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, p. 225.

1676, thirty-six colonists died at their hands.⁶⁵

The frontier colonists grew increasingly irate with Berkeley's handling of the situation. Rather than send a militia into the piedmont on an offensive campaign to track the Susquehannocks, Berkeley opted instead for a defensive attitude: frontier planters were to group together and horsemen and foot soldiers would patrol along the fall line between garrisons at the heads of the tidewater rivers. If an enemy camp was discovered, the colonists were not to attack without first notifying the governor.

The plan made sense to the governor and the assembly. Berkeley based the policy of restraint on years of regulating relations between the colonists and the tidewater Indians. However, many of the frontier settlers were new to the colony and saw Berkeley's policy as one of favoritism. They believed Berkeley was trying to protect an Indian trade that he had progressively restricted to his supporters. In an effort to curtail the flow of guns and ammunition to enemy tribes, Berkeley had intensified control of the trade by limiting it to only traders with government-issued commissions. The frontier planters felt they had been abandoned by a corrupt colonial government that sacrificed protection of its people for the personal gain to be sought

⁶⁵More detail on this sequence of events which led to Bacon's Rebellion can be found in Wilcomb E. Washburn, The Governor and the Rebel, (New York: Norton and Co., 1957), pp. 17-39; and Billings, Old Dominion, pp. 232-235.

from a restricted trade.⁶⁶

In this tense climate Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., a young gentleman who had come to the colony in 1674 and taken up a large tract on the frontier, agreed to lead a large group of disgruntled frontier colonists who had had enough of Berkeley's policies. By May 1676, these colonists had learned from some Occaneechee Indians that at least some of the displaced and now fugitive Susquehannocks were camped near the Occaneechees' island town southwest of the colony. The Susquehannocks had been hoping to get aid in their conflicts with the English from their Siouan trading partners.⁶⁷

However, the Occaneechees, though not above killing Englishmen who attempted to bypass their control over trade, were not about to engage in a war against the entire colony upon whom their trade depended. On the contrary, by alerting the colonists of the Susquehannocks' location, they probably thought that they could further strengthen their control of the trade by simultaneously improving relations with the English and eliminating their former mentors. Little did the Occaneechees know of the recent tensions within the colony and the resulting anti-Indian fervor and need for a scapegoat among Bacon and his followers.

⁶⁶Sprinkle, "Prelude to Rebellion," pp. 3990-4004; and Washburn, Governor and the Rebel, pp. 25-28.

⁶⁷Washburn, Governor and the Rebel, p.43.

Intent on taking action, Bacon and his "volunteers" followed the trading path to the Occaneechees' island on the Roanoke River. Once there, the Occaneechee king offered to attack the Susquehannocks for the English. He noted that there was a small number of "Manakin" and "Annalectin" Indians, being held captive by the Susquehannocks, who could simultaneously fight from within their camp. Since the Monakins had been listed as tributaries only seven years earlier, it is likely that they had been captured defending the colony during the Susquehannocks' raids along the fall line.⁶⁸ The attack was successful and the victors returned to the Occaneechee town.

However, in a confusing turn of events, a subsequent fight broke out between the English and the Occaneechees, Monakins, and Annalectins during which Bacon's men killed most of the Indians. Contemporary accounts of the battle assign blame for starting the fight on different groups, depending on whether the author was one of Bacon's men, a commissioner assigned to investigate the incident, or an Indian.⁶⁹ Currently, the most convincing explanation, based on a thorough review of the available sources, asserts that

⁶⁸The identity of the Annalectins has not been established. However, being allies of the Monakins and Occaneechees, they were likely some Siouan-speaking tribe of the piedmont or fall zone. The Monakins had been listed as tributaries in 1669. Hening, Statutes, II, p. 274-275.

⁶⁹Washburn, Governor and the Rebel, pp. 43-46.

Bacon and his men wanted the furs and skins which the Occaneechees had acquired from both their trading and as plunder from their attack on the Susquehannocks.⁷⁰

Also, Bacon apparently demanded that the Occaneechee king give him the Monakins and Annalectins as captives, even though they were not captured enemies. Indeed, they were supposedly allies who had helped defeat the Susquehannocks. Thus, the king refused Bacon's demand and the disagreement escalated into a massacre by the English during which they killed men, women, and children and "regarded not the advantage of the Prisoners nor any plunder, but burnt and destroyed all."⁷¹ Bacon and his men returned to the colony with renewed faith in their cause and the optimism that they had sparked civil war amongst the Indians which would result in their extinction. This energy carried the frontier colonists into further clashes with peaceful tributary tribes and the colonial government in what would be known as Bacon's Rebellion.

By 1677, the rebellion was over. However, the associated clashes with Indians were the climax of a more gradual series of disruptions in the relations between the Virginians and the natives of the piedmont frontier. Just when it seemed as though the long hiatus in Anglo-Siouan

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Billings, Old Dominion, p. 269.

relations was coming to an end and a potentially active trade network was beginning to appear, the simultaneously volatile nature of the trade contributed to Bacon's Rebellion. Conflicting interests among different segments of the English colonial society on the one hand and between different native piedmont tribes on the other served to once again slow the rate of colonial expansion beyond the fall line. Although a limited number of Virginians attempted to pursue an inland trade after 1677, an act which was part of the treaty that followed the rebellion once again limited trade to established "fairs" at specified locations within the colony.⁷²

For the piedmont Siouans, the threats to their survival posed by the events of Bacon's Rebellion were merely part of a multitude of direct cultural threats they increasingly felt from the east and north. Depopulation by disease was no longer the only force driving allied, yet once-separate, tribes together, though the epidemics probably continued to take their toll, if not intensify. The growing involvement of European colonists throughout eastern North America in the fur and skin trade created shock waves among the tribes of the interior. Power struggles ensued among many interior groups. While the Occaneechees tried to maintain their middleman status, the Iroquois of New York had stepped up

⁷²Hening, Statutes, II, p.410.

the frequency of their raids into the Virginia piedmont. Thus, any piedmont Siouan tribes who had not been under fire from the Virginians during Bacon's Rebellion began to feel the increased pressure of Iroquois raids from the north. Again relying on the expanse of the piedmont environment with which they were familiar, Saponis, Toteris, Occaneechees, among others, moved their town sites to be closer to their allies--whether those allies were the colonial settlements or other Siouan tribes--and farther from the raiding Iroquois.

Indeed, the Iroquois would become the consistent thread throughout all relations between the Virginia colonists and the piedmont Siouans well into the mid-eighteenth century. They eventually made long-distance trade by Virginians into the interior risky and impractical; they continued to curtail the spread of colonial settlement above the fall line; and, in the decades following Bacon's Rebellion, they drove the Siouans further south into the Carolina piedmont closer to other allied Siouan tribes. Ironically, while Iroquois raids initially acted as a wedge to drive apart the Siouans and Virginians, the continuing raids eventually provided the stimulus to unite the two cultures in an experiment designed to ward off their common enemy.

CHAPTER IV
AN ANGLO-SIOUAN ALLIANCE

This people is now made up of the remnant of several other nations, of which the most considerable are the Saponis, the Occaneechis, and Stoukenhocks, who, not finding themselves separately numerous enough for their defense, have agreed to unite into one body...[Their enemies] made them glad to apply to this government for protection.

--William Byrd II, 1728¹

But the character they [the Saponis] have of being Stout fellows, and withall very friendly to our inhabitants makes me hope their settlement...will be some kind of Barrier against the Tuscaruro or any other Indians that might be suspected to annoy us on that side...

--Colonel Edmund Jennings, 1708²

Despite the belief of Bacon and his men that they had brought about the "utter Ruine and destruction" of the Occaneechees and other piedmont tribes in 1676, the various Siouan groups were able to survive the last significant Indian war in Virginia. However, the conclusion of Bacon's

¹Louis B. Wright, ed., The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 314-315.

²Jennings to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, September 20, 1708, Colonial Office Papers, C.O. 5/1362, p. 322.

Rebellion marked a turning point in the relations between the colonists and piedmont Siouans. Although there is evidence that the Occaneechee survivors of Bacon's attack continued to live at their island fortress until at least 1681, the control they had only recently acquired over inland trade was now lost.³ Further, the Saponis and Monacans officially became tributaries of the colony for the first time by signing the treaty of 1677 made at the conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion, though there is reason to believe that neither tribe actually signed that treaty in 1677. Christian Feest notes that the signatures of the Monacan, Saponi, Meherrin, Nansatico, Northern Nansemonds, and Portobago representatives were not included on the original copy of the treaty but were apparently added sometime shortly thereafter to a copy that had not been sent to London.⁴

Although the various Siouan tribes of the Virginia piedmont had, for the most part, weathered Bacon's Rebellion, the history of their relations and migrations in subsequent decades is shadowy at best. What is known with certainty is that, by 1700, at least the Occaneechees and Saponis had moved south into the Carolina piedmont, each establishing settlements along a trading path between Fort

³Colonial Office Papers, C.O. 1/47, nos. 36, 106.

⁴Feest, "Notes on Saponi Settlements", p. 152.

Henry and the Cherokee towns in present-day Tennessee.⁵

Feest has assembled documentary evidence, mostly indirect, which suggests a rough outline of the movements of these tribes before their migration south. While the Occaneechees appear to have remained at their island in the Roanoke River until the early 1680s, the Saponis settled at least two locations, both relatively close to the fall line, in the late 1670s and early 1680s. Geographical references and descriptions in early eighteenth-century land records suggest that the Saponis settled near the mouth of Saponi Creek on the Appomattox River in present-day Chesterfield County, probably during or just after Bacon's Rebellion. The implication is that they had moved closer to the English at Fort Henry to trade and to escape Iroquois raids.

However, a letter written by William Byrd I and references in later land records indicate that, by the early 1680s, the Saponis and the Toterós were living just north of the Meherrin River in present-day Greenville County.⁶ Apparently, this location was also only a temporary site in what proved to be a migration south into the Carolina piedmont. The Saponis and Toterós were clearly unhappy situated so close to the Virginia colonists, for the Governor's Council later noted in 1708 that they had been

⁵Lawson, New Voyage, pp. 51-6, 60-3.

⁶Feest, "Notes on Saponi Settlements", p.153.

tributaries since the Articles of Peace in 1677 but "upon some misunderstanding they withdrew towards the mountains."⁷ Also writing in 1708, Colonel Edmund Jennings mentioned that the Saponis had "removed Westward about twenty or twenty five years agoe," thus between 1683 and 1688.⁸ The year of the Saponi's migration out of Virginia is further narrowed to between 1685 and 1688 by the fact that they were mentioned by William Byrd I at a conference with the Iroquois in 1685 as having been the victims of an Iroquois attack in Virginia earlier that year.⁹

Likewise, the fate of the Monacans at Monakin Town in the last quarter of the seventeenth century is not known with any certainty. Presumably these were the same Monacans who signed the later copy of the treaty in 1677 along with the Saponis and others. By 1699, Monakin Town had been deserted by the Indians and the site became home to a group of exiled French Huguenots.¹⁰ However, Francis Michel, a Swiss traveller, visited the site in 1701 and apparently found that a small number of surviving Monacans "still camp

⁷H. R. McIlwaine and Wilmer Hall, ed., The Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1925-1945), vol. 3, p. 188.

⁸Jennings to Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, September 20, 1708, Colonial Office Papers, C.O. 5/1362, p. 322.

⁹Robinson, Virginia Treaties, p. 296.

¹⁰James L. Bugg, Jr., "The French Huguenot Frontier Settlement of Manakin Town", VMHB, 61 (1953): 366-7.

during the summer not far from their former home."¹¹ It is likely that the Monacans, situated so close to the expanding colony, suffered the depredations of angry colonists as well as epidemic scourges of European diseases. By the end of the century, many had either died or moved inland to join other Siouan tribes. There is an indication, both in Michel's journal and in a letter written by Nicholas Spencer in 1680, that William Byrd I, for all his involvement in the inland Indian trade, was particularly hard on the Monacans at Monakin Town, which was located about twenty miles upriver from a large tract of land Byrd acquired in 1679 at the falls of the James River. Byrd had actually been given the land with the condition that he maintain at his own expense a blockhouse and fifty armed men on the property as part of Governor Chicheley's 1679 policy to strengthen the frontiers against incursions of foreign Indians.¹² Michel mentioned that in the 1670s the Monacans had "inflicted some injury upon the Christians," perhaps in response to Bacon's having killed several of their compatriots in his attack on the Occaneechees and Susquehannocks. He went on to write that a "Colonel Bornn," by which the editor believes Michel mistakenly referred to Byrd,

...soon overcame them after some resistance and

¹¹William J. Hinke, "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701-December 1, 1701," VMHB, 24 (1916): 30.

¹²Hening, Statutes, II, pp. 448-454.

put all of them to the sword, without sparing any one. He also destroyed their settlement and whatever they owned...Those Indians who were not at home or escaped, still camp during the summer not far from their former home.¹³

On March 18, 1679/80, Nicholas Spencer mentioned in a letter to England that he did not believe Byrd had been justified in killing seven Indian men and imprisoning their women and children based only on suspicion after they had come to him regarding a murder of which their tribe had been accused.¹⁴ This incident suggests that Virginia colonists living near the fall line were far from feeling secure even in the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion. Indians, whether foreign or tributary, were perceived as much of a threat in the early 1680s as they had ever been.

The same Iroquois raids that prompted the Siouans to move so frequently also caused problems for the Virginians. Apparently, the raids had increased markedly due to French colonists living along the St. Lawrence River who encouraged the Iroquois to treat the English colonists with the same enmity they had for the Virginia Indians.¹⁵ However, the fact that the Iroquois were attacking both the English and the tributary Indians was not yet enough to unite the two

¹³Hinke, "Report of the Journey", p. 30.

¹⁴Nicholas Spencer to (?), March 18, 1679/80, Colonial Office Papers, C.O. 1/44, f. 131.

¹⁵W. Stitt Robinson, The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), pp. 69-70.

cultures against their common enemy. Clearly the English still maintained enough prejudice towards all Indians that the Iroquois raids, rather than prompting the English to turn to the tributaries as allies, caused the colonists to worry that the neighboring tribes could more easily rebel, given the weakened colonial defences. In 1681 Lord Culpeper wrote that the "tributaries may...prove as bad as bandits, and though unable to contend with us, yet in our present circumstances they have the power to ruin us."¹⁶

While most colonists were again afraid to venture above the fall line, or even close to it, a few continued to pursue an inland trade. However, with the power of the Occaneechees broken and their middleman role gone, it was now necessary for the Virginia traders to travel the four-to-five-hundred-mile trek southwest to the Catawba and Cherokee settlements. In this regard, two colonists stand out in the documentary record as having persisted in the inland trade despite increased Iroquois raids following Bacon's Rebellion, William Byrd I and Cadwallader Jones.

It is no coincidence that Byrd and Jones also shared the distinction of having both been given property at the fall line in 1679 on which to maintain a blockhouse and

¹⁶Lord Culpeper to Lords of Trade and Plantations, December 12, 1681, Document 319, in J. W. Fortecue, ed., Calender of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, XLIII vols. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1898), vol. XI, p. 156.

garrison of armed men. Byrd lived and controlled defence at the head of the James River, Jones did the same on the falls of the Rappahannock. Thus both men carried on the legacy of Abraham Wood who had died by 1682.¹⁷ Like Wood, Byrd and Jones were simultaneously militia leaders, owners of fall line property, and managers of inland trading operations. Also, like Wood, they did not run one-man operations. They hired employees and bought indentured servants to do the actual trading for them.

The trade had been restricted to established "fairs" and locations within the colony right after Bacon's Rebellion. However, by 1680, the assembly had declared that "henceforth there be a free and open trade for all persons att all tymes and places with our friendly Indians."¹⁸ Soon after, both Byrd and Jones were sending their agents, laden primarily with Indian shell money but also European trade goods, "about four hundred miles from here S.S.W." to engage with the Cherokees and Catawbias in what Jones referred to as "a considerable trade."¹⁹

As considerable as it may have been, this new trade was

¹⁷Briceland, Westward, p. 15.

¹⁸Hening, Statutes, II, pp. 410, 480.

¹⁹Cadwallader Jones to Lord Baltimore, February 2, 1682, in Fairfax Harrison, "Western Exploration in Virginia between Lederer and Spotswood," VMHB, 30 (1922): 326-327; Briceland, Westward, p. 171; and Theobald, "Indian Trade in Colonial Virginia", pp. 25, 58-61.

anything but easy. The southern Indians were no longer bringing their prized deerskins to the colonists. The colonial trader now had to take the trade to the Indians, travelling to their towns, on their paths, supplying only what they wanted, and, in general, playing by their cultural rules.²⁰ Because the distance to the Catawba and Cherokee towns was so great, the most practical method of taking goods and bringing back skins was to use packhorse "caravans" consisting of up to a hundred horses and fifteen men.²¹

Various letters Byrd wrote to his suppliers during the 1680s attest to the multitude of problems that made the inland trade a risky and often impractical proposition. The large pack trains were tempting prey to marauding Indians and probably other traders. And the raiders were not always satisfied with trade goods or skins alone: Byrd wrote of losing both men and horses as well.²² Even if the caravans arrived safely at the Indian towns, the danger was not passed. The Indians were apparently very choosy about the trade goods they would accept. Initially, the Virginia

²⁰Merrell, "Natives in a New World", p. 76.

²¹William Byrd II, "History of the Dividing Line", in Wright, Prose Works, p.308.

²²William Byrd to Thomas Grendon, April 29, 1684, and Byrd to Perry and Lane, May 10, 1686, in Marion Tinling, ed., The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia, 1684-1776, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1977), vol. 1, pp. 16, 59.

traders were merely fitting into what was still very much a native trade network: among the goods the inland Indians valued most in exchange for their skins were "roanoke" and "peake," two types of beads made from variously colored shells originating in Chesapeake Bay.²³ When the southern Indians began to accept European goods, they continued to reject items that were not of sufficient quality or desired style.²⁴

The loss of business due to Indian rejection of trade goods, and the risks of attack en route, likely prevented many colonists from participating in the trade. A merchant-trader like Jones or Byrd was forced into acting as a kind of cultural go-between, constantly trying to match the material desires of the Indians with the selection of goods provided on credit by his suppliers in England.²⁵ Indeed, Jones soon became a victim of the trade as a result of "over-stretched credit" and, by 1687, he had fled the colony.²⁶ Although Byrd managed to continue his trading

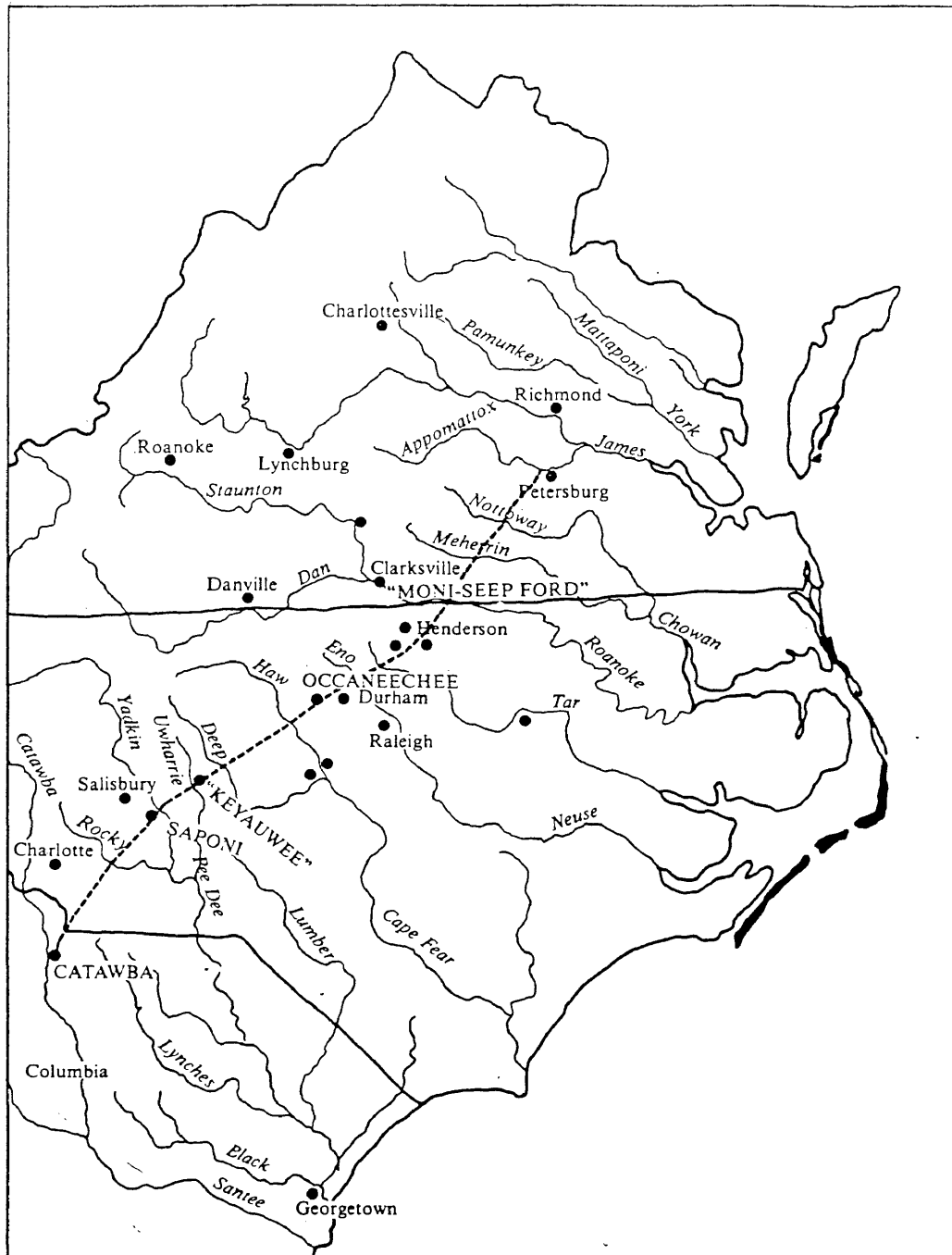
²³Jones to Baltimore, February 2, 1682, in Harrison, "Western Exploration," pp. 326-327; Jones to Baltimore, February 6, 1682, Colonial Office Papers, C.O. 1/48, ff. 115-116; and Tinling, Byrd Correspondence, vol. 1, p. 163..

²⁴Byrd to Perry and Lane, February 2, 1685, March 29, 1685, May 10, 1685, and October 30, 1690; and Byrd to North, June 5, 1685, March 8, 1686, and July 8, 1686, Byrd Correspondence, vol. 1, pp. 29, 30, 60, 143, 41, 57, 64; Robinson, Southern Frontier, p. 60.

²⁵Merrell, "Natives in a New World", p. 78.

²⁶Harrison, "Westward Explorations," pp. 327-8.

Figure 3



The Occaneechee Path, or Trading Path, ca. 1701

Taken from: Alan V. Briceland, Westward from Virginia.
(Charlottesville: 1987), p. 181.

operation through the turn of the century, few others were able to afford it for any length of time.

However, while the names of the traders changed over the years, the horse caravans continued to follow more or less the same set of paths south into and through the Carolina piedmont. Merrell notes that before the arrival of the Europeans, the primary routes of trade in the Carolinas ran between the coast and the interior.²⁷ However, by the turn of the century, the trail that paralleled the coastline, running from Fort Henry in Virginia southwest through the Carolina piedmont to the Indian settlements on the Catawba River, had become a major route of trade and communication for Indians of various nations and colonists from at least two colonies (see Figure 3). The route came to be known by several different names, each of which reflects the different meaning it had for the various people who used it. Many simply called it the Great Trading Path, while Carolinians often called it the Virginia Path, because it was the only viable overland route between the two colonies.²⁸

Many Virginians eventually came to refer to the route as the Occaneechee Path, which highlights an important role it played in shaping relations between the English and the

²⁷Merrell, "Natives in a New World", p. 90.

²⁸Briceland, Westward, pp. 180, 183.

Siouans of the Virginia piedmont in the last decades of the seventeenth century. This was not the same trail as the "Okenechee path" that Batts and Fallam had used on their first day's journey towards the mountains in 1671.²⁹ The path to which Fallam referred ran from Fort Henry to the Occaneechees' island at Clarksville; the turn-of-the-century Trading Path crossed the Roanoke, not at Occaneechee Island, but further east at Moni-Seep Ford. Why, then, was the latter also known as the Occaneechee Path?

Apparently, by 1681, the Occaneechees had moved their settlement to a location on the Eno River near Hillsborough, North Carolina, which made their's the first Indian town Virginians encountered along the route to the southern tribes.³⁰ It is likely that, at some time between 1685 and 1688, when the Saponis left their town near the Virginia colony "upon some misunderstanding," they also moved to a site along the Trading Path, namely, where it crossed the Yadkin River near Salisbury, North Carolina. Significantly, in describing the southern Indian trade in 1728, William Byrd II noted that the flat land on either side of the Yadkin was a common resting place for the traders and their horses before the last "threescore miles" to the first

²⁹Alvord and Bidgood, First Explorations, p. 185.

³⁰Colonial Office Papers, C.O. 1/47, nos. 36 and 106; and Briceland, Westward, pp. 180 and 186.

settlement of the Catawbas.³¹

Clearly the growing importance of the Great Trading Path in the 1680s was intimately tied to the locations where these two Siouan tribes chose to settle. Considering that the caravans had begun following the Path in the early 1680s, and that both the Occaneechees and Saponis were already in relatively close contact with the Virginians before migrating into Carolina, it is probably no coincidence that they decided to settle where they did along the Path. At the time, both tribes probably saw their respective moves as good solutions to a set of related problems. Even though the Siouans were officially on friendly terms with the Virginians and wanted to maintain their trade, close relations were strained. In addition, the cause of the strain, the increased Iroquois raids which encouraged anti-Indian attitudes among frontier colonists, was also a threat to the survival of the Siouans. By moving south into the Carolina piedmont, the Siouans probably thought they could escape Iroquois deprivations and problems with colonists while, at the same time, maintaining their important trade contacts.

Initially, the move probably served its function well. The relative uniformity of the piedmont environment eased the shock of adjusting to new town sites. Indeed, for the

³¹Wright, Prose Works, p. 309.

Saponis who had shifted sites frequently before their move south, the Yadkin site, where they were to remain for about twenty years, provided a relatively sedentary existence. Although the number of English traders from Virginia using the Trading Path gradually increased over the course of the next twenty years, the first person to document a visit to the Siouans along the Path was John Lawson in 1701. His observations support the notion that the move was, in many ways, advantageous to both the Occaneechees and the Saponis.

In early January 1701, Lawson left Charlestown, South Carolina, journeying inland to the Catawbass, then northeast along the Trading Path as far as the Occaneechees. Finally, he turned towards the coast, finishing his trip at the mouth of the Pamlico River after two months of travel. According to Lawson, the Saponis, in particular, had come to take full advantage of the Trading Path as an artery of communication and a means of building a solid relationship with the Virginia traders. Upon arriving at a town of the Waxhaws, some seventy-five miles south of the Saponi settlement, Lawson mentioned that a representative of the Saponis came the same day to meet with the Waxhaws "about some important Affairs."³² Several days later, when Lawson reached the Catawbass' town, he met a Virginia trader named John Stewart who had resided there for four months trading and, on

³²Lawson, New Voyage, p. 42.

receiving word that Lawson was coming, had planned to join him in travelling up the Path back to Virginia. With the Virginian was yet another Saponi, who, Lawson noted, "attended Stewart." When Stewart's seven horses got away and returned to the Catawba town the first night out, the Saponi and "one of our Company...went back for the Horses."³³

Lawson's subsequent descriptions of his visits to the Saponi and Occaneechee towns suggest the degree to which the Siouans had benefitted from their earlier decision to move south. "Sapona" stood on the "fertile and pleasant Banks" of the Yadkin. "Nor could all Europe afford a pleasanter Stream," the river bank "proving as rich a Soil to the Eye of a knowing Person with us, as any this Western World can afford." Not far west lived the Toteros, who apparently had also moved their settlement into Carolina. Lawson's journal went on to mention an abundance of "Buffaloes, Elks, and Bears, with other sort of Deer amongst them, which strong Food makes large, robust Bodies." A large beaver population in the river provided the Saponis with an additional stock of furs to trade with the passing caravans.³⁴

Despite fairly frequent contact with English traders on the Trading Path, the Saponis still retained at least some of their native cultural traditions. One of their "Doctors"

³³Ibid., p. 49-50.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 51-5.

showed Lawson a hut full of "medicinal Drugs," explaining from what local plants they were made and how they healed. The Saponis had several sweat lodges near the river which they frequently used for their traditional method of sweating out muscle and joint pains. Lawson was also very impressed with the chief's "Art of Conjuraton" which appeared to have calmed a severe wind storm that blew down the palisade around the town and, as he believed, "would have blown us all into the River, together with the Houses."³⁵

The Occaneechees also seemed to be doing quite well since their move to the Eno River site. The countryside in which they lived and their situation on the Trading Path had apparently worked to their advantage. Some Virginians whom Lawson's group met coming down the Path mentioned that "they had never seen twenty Miles of such extraordinary rich Land lying all together" as there was near the Occaneechee town. The Occaneechees also had plentiful game, immediately offering their guests bear and venison. Indeed, the wealth of the Occaneechees impressed Lawson more than that of the other tribes he had visited, "no Indians having greater Plenty of Provisions than these."³⁶

And yet the news was not all good. As far south along

³⁵Ibid., pp. 54-5.

³⁶Ibid., p. 61-2.

the trail as the Catawbias, Lawson began to see signs of the Iroquois raids that were becoming ever more frequent, even in South Carolina. At both the Saponi and Occaneechee towns there were abundant signs that neither tribe had escaped the Iroquois for long by moving south. All the towns along the Path from the Saponis north were palisaded and kept "continual Spies and Out-Guards for their better Security." Just ten days before Lawson's arrival, the Saponis had captured five Seneca raiders. The recent raids had prompted the Saponis to consider moving together with their allies, the Toteris and the Keyauwees, in order to "become more formidable" to the Iroquois. Indeed, by the time Lawson had gotten to the Occaneechees' settlement, the caravan he had met coming south from Virginia warned him to change his plans of going to that colony because of Senecas in the area. Considering that this advice came from a party "well armed and numerous," Lawson took the warning seriously and turned towards the coast to finish his journey.³⁷

Recent archaeological research, at what is probably the Occaneechee town site visited by Lawson, not only substantiates his observations of a constant Iroquois menace, but also reveals other concurrent threats to the survival of these Siouans and their culture. A cemetery, which lay just outside the town's palisade, holds evidence

³⁷Ibid., pp. 49-50, 52-3, 53-4, 55-6, 60-1.

that at least two of those who had been buried had met with violent deaths. One individual had been scalped while another had apparently been shot, at least twice, once in the thigh and once in the hip.³⁸ There is also evidence that many of the bodies in the cemetery had been buried within a short period.³⁹ When compared with burials associated with prehistoric and protohistoric Siouan sites in the Carolina piedmont, the Occaneechee cemetery contained a higher percentage of younger individuals, aged between twenty and forty years. Thus, the historic Occaneechee presumably faced a higher level of stress and competition than their ancestors due to "increased warfare and hunting, and the presence of European-introduced diseases."⁴⁰

Other aspects of the burials lend support to the hypothesis that increased environmental stresses had forced the Occaneechees to join other natives to form a multiethnic community by the time they were living on the Eno River. At least two individuals had been buried on the opposite side of the town from the cemetery. The method of burial of the two separated burials was markedly different from those in the cemetery. The former had a "shaft-and-chamber" form

³⁸Ward, "Mortuary Patterns", pp. 97, 101.

³⁹Ibid., p. 105.

⁴⁰Homes Hogue Wilson, "Human Skeletal Remains from the Wall and Fredericks Sites", in Dickens, et. al., Siouan Project, p. 138.

typical of other piedmont Siouan sites, while the cemetery graves lay in "straight-sided, rectangular pits," obviously dug with European tools.⁴¹ Interestingly enough, the cemetery mortuary patterns appear to have more in common with the typical form of burials associated with historic Susquehannock and Delaware sites than they do with prehistoric piedmont Siouan sites.⁴² Analysis of the morphology of the skeletal remains at the Occaneechee site also provided data suggesting that the community had been multiethnic. The remains from the Occaneechee site have a more diverse range of skeletal morphology when compared to older Siouan sites, leading the archaeologists to believe that the Occaneechee population had a more diverse gene pool than the relatively uniform gene pools represented in the prehistoric sites.⁴³

Thus, the problems which the Siouans continued to have with Iroquois attacks in Carolina are corroborated by archaeological research which, in turn, indicates the legacy of tribal depopulations caused by disease that also followed the Siouans south. However, as if these strains were not enough, the Siouans began to suffer a whole new set of

⁴¹H. Trawick Ward and R.P. Stephen Davis, Jr., "Appendix B: Summary Report of 1986 Federicks Site Excavations", in Dickens, et. al., Siouan Project, p. 307.

⁴²Ward, "Mortuary Patterns", pp. 85-9; and Ibid.

⁴³Wilson, "Human Remains", p. 139.

problems while Lawson visited them and soon after that contributed to their decision to move back to Virginia. A large part of this motivation to move was that their main link to Virginia and to a supply of trade goods, the traders who came down the Trading Path, began to be sharply curtailed shortly after the turn of the century. The cause was a bitter intercolonial rivalry that developed in the last quarter of the seventeenth century between the Virginia traders and traders based in the relatively young colonial town of Charlestown, South Carolina. The Charlestown traders were especially protective of their trading interests because it was Carolina's primary commercial interest, whereas in Virginia, the trade followed tobacco and beef exports in economic importance. In addition, the Carolinians used Indians to haul their goods, which was more expensive than the Virginians' method of using horses. Thus, the Virginia traders were often able to sell goods of higher quality for lower prices than were the Carolinians.⁴⁴

The increasing numbers of Virginians and Carolinians who entered the trade by the turn of the century only intensified the rivalry. Beginning in 1698, the Carolina assembly began a series of attempts to eliminate Virginians from the competition by imposing prohibitive legislation. While the Board of Trade in London struck down each

⁴⁴Theobald, "Indian Trade," p. 66.

succeeding law, the Carolinians took advantage of the lag in communications between the mother country and the colonies to enforce their annulled laws and levies by seizing the Virginians' trade goods.⁴⁵

While the Siouans living along the Trading Path saw the number of caravans from Virginia and their supply of trade goods begin to slacken, it is likely that, by the early 1700's, they also began to be pestered by Carolinian officials asking for tribute and by Carolinian traders whose tactics were somewhat less attractive than those of the Virginians. According to William Byrd II, the Carolinian traders lived among the Indians and sought to "exercise a dictatorial authority over them," unlike the Virginians, who tended to trade for skins and then move on. In addition, they attempted to cheat the Indians and abused their women.⁴⁶ By 1707 Carolina officials operated as far north as the Meherrin tribes on the southern edge of the Virginia colony, taking Indian prisoners to force the natives, who claimed to be tributary to Virginia, to pay tribute to Carolina.⁴⁷ Undoubtedly, the underhanded traders were not far behind, or even ahead, of the officials.

The combination of increased Iroquois raids, weakened

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 67-9.

⁴⁶Wright, Prose Works, p. 311.

⁴⁷Robinson, Virginia Treaties, p. 150.

trade connections, and the presence of Carolinians finally drove the Saponis to move north and request land and a reassignment of their tributary status from the Virginians in July 1708.⁴⁸ The Siouans' petition was honored and they were assigned a plot of land on the Nottoway River near the Trading Path. Colonel Edmund Jennings wrote soon after to the Board of Trade informing them of the decision and referring to the Saponis as having the "Character...of being Stout fellows, and withall very friendly to our inhabitants."⁴⁹ The attitude of Virginia officials appeared to have changed somewhat from the distrust they had had for all Indians, tributary and foreign, when the Saponis had last been in the colony some twenty years earlier.

Part of this change was no doubt due to the friendly relations with the Saponis that the Virginia traders had experienced in those two decades. Because some of the men involved in the trade were influential figures in the colony, namely William Byrd I, the reputation of the Saponis had probably become known to those on the council. However, a large part of the council's motivation to accept the Saponis so warmly had to do with the Virginians' recent relations with other tribes, both tributary and foreign.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 158-9.

⁴⁹Jennings to Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, September 20, 1708, Colonial Office Papers, C.O. 5/1362, p. 322.

While the Five Nation Iroquois continued to cause problems for settlers on the western frontier of the colony, colonists living south of the James River were beginning to fear attacks from the powerful, Iroquoian-speaking Tuscaroras.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, though they had never been the foundation of the colony's defence, the tributary Indians living within the colony had nonetheless been at different times in the seventeenth century useful during confrontations with hostile foreign Indians. As late as 1695, Colonel Byrd and Colonel Hill had requested the council to let them supply some tributaries with ammunition and join in a pursuit of some "strange Indians," the tributaries "being more Expert in the woods" than colonists.⁵¹ However, by the end of the century, the population of tidewater Indians had diminished so much that their usefulness in defence was extremely limited, and this at a time when inland defence was once again a priority. Thus, into this situation came the Saponis, a tribe with thirty able bowmen willing to settle at the increasingly volatile southwestern edge of the colony.

Other piedmont Siouans were soon to follow, probably driven north by the same motivations that had caused the

⁵⁰The murder of a colonist by a band of Tuscaroras in New Kent County in 1707 prompted the council to ban trade with them the next year. Robinson, Virginia Treaties, p. 158.

⁵¹McIlwaine, Executive Journals, I, p. 333.

Saponi to seek the aid of the Virginians. In 1710, Eno Will, representative of a group of Shackori, Adshusheer, and Eno Indians, all piedmont Siouans who had lived together near the Occaneechee on the Eno River, asked the council to accept his group as tributaries and grant them land south of the Meherrin River. One year later, the "Great men" of the Saponi, Occaneechee, and Stukanox Indians asked permission to live together near the Trading Path on the north bank of the Meherrin River.⁵² The Stukanox may have been descendents of the Manahoac tribe that had lived at the town Smith referred to as "Stegara."⁵³ The Toterros reappeared in Virginia in 1712, requesting tributary status and permission to settle with the Saponis and Occaneechees. And, in 1715, the Sara Indians also sought to join the Saponis' settlement "as soon as the Senecas leave their area."⁵⁴

The Siouans clearly had their own reasons for moving closer to the Virginians. They saw the protection and trade goods that the colony could provide them as necessary to their survival. At the same time, the Virginians' fear of hostile Indians had kept them, to a large extent, from settling above the fall line. Thus, the Siouans felt they could live on the eastern fringe of the piedmont and not

⁵²McIlwaine, Executive Journals, pp. 240, 296.

⁵³Mooney, Siouan Tribes, p. 18.

⁵⁴McIlwaine, Executive Journals, pp. 310, 397.

have to worry about colonists settling too close. In other words, the Siouans were hardly passive pawns of the colonial government. They were active participants in a set of relations who intended to use an alliance with the English to satisfy their needs.

Colonial officials sought to use the Siouans to satisfy Virginia's needs as well. Indeed, in a colony where the slavery of both blacks and Indians had become accepted, a racist plan to place groups of minorities on the inland frontier as a buffer against hostile Indians had been instituted at the turn of the century.⁵⁵ In 1697, Governor Andros wrote that the dwindling tidewater tribes would not be useful unless they "could be encouraged to Settle in Numbers on some good place on the Frontiers forty or fifty Miles from the English."⁵⁶ The French Huguenots who settled at Monakin Town in 1700 were separated from the nearest English plantation by twenty-five miles of "wilderness," in which one needed to carry a gun for protection, according to the Swiss traveller Michel.⁵⁷

Before the return of the various Siouan tribes to Virginia, few tributaries were willing to live on the

⁵⁵Edmund Morgan, American Slavery-American Freedom, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1975), p. 337.

⁵⁶Andros to Council of Trade and Plantations, July 1, 1697, Colonial Office Papers, C.O. 5/1359, p. 121.

⁵⁷Hinke, "Report of the Journey", p. 121.

frontier of the colony and to defend the English. Thus, when Alexander Spotswood came to Virginia in 1710 with lofty goals of quieting the frontiers and encouraging westward expansion, the Siouans soon became an important part of his vision. Also important to Spotswood was what would prove to be the third major cultural strain the Siouans would have to face as a result of European colonization, the education and conversion to Christianity of the Indians. Spotswood was moved to take action when, in December of 1713, a tribe of Tuscarora Indians, who had remained neutral in the recent Tuscarora Wars in North Carolina, asked to become tributaries of Virginia. This prompted Spotswood to draft a plan whereby the various inland tributary tribes could be used to defend the frontiers.

Specifically, he proposed to the council in January 1714 that the tributary Tuscaroras be settled between the James and Rappahannock Rivers with twelve English living among them "to observe them;" the Saponis, Stukanox, Occaneechees, and Toteris be placed with a fort, a missionary, and fifteen men near the forks of the James River; and the Nottoways and Meherrins, who complained that the English were settling too close to their towns, be settled on the Roanoke River also with twelve English observers among them. The Nottoways and Meherrins "would serve as a good Barrier to the Inhabitants against the Southern Indians, whose incursions are now most to be

dreaded."⁵⁸

However, by March, Spotswood was forced to modify his plan. The Tuscaroras had decided to return to North Carolina, "haveing made a peace with Collo. Pollock and Collo. Moore" of that colony. Thus, Spotswood proposed that the Siouans be placed on the Roanoke and the Nottoways and Meherrins settled between the Roanoke and James Rivers.⁵⁹ The plans were finally put into action, with further modifications, by October 1714. By then, the Nottoways and Meherrins "had represented...the impossibility of their being able to Subsist on the Land intended for them in the fork of James River, by reason of its barrenness," and a group of Protestant German immigrants had arrived in Virginia, giving Spotswood another minority group he could settle on the frontier as a buffer. The final arrangement had the Siouans settled on the south side of the Meherrin River in present-day Brunswick County in the shadow of an English fort called Christanna. The Nottoways and Meherrins were also situated near Fort Christanna, instead of the James River, though they were to live on the opposite side of the Meherrin from the Siouans to prevent friction between the two nations. The Germans were placed, with another fort, on the Rapidan River as a buffer for the northern edge

⁵⁸McIlwaine, Executive Journals, III, pp. 363-4.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 368.

of the colony.⁶⁰

Unfortunately for Spotswood, both the Nottoways and Meherrins soon made plain their dissatisfaction with English plans to relocate them.⁶¹ Indeed, of the three Indian groups involved with Spotswood in the treaties of 1714, only the Siouans appear to have been satisfied with the arrangements in the end.

Fort Christanna subsequently became Spotswood's sole hope for achieving a multitude of goals he had set for the colony and his private interests. Mostly because of the recent Tuscarora War in North Carolina, the inland Indian trade had slackened considerably and many of those who continued to attempt a trade had resorted to cheating the Indians out of frustration with the high prices and risks involved.⁶² Spotswood felt that the trade could again be stimulated and made more beneficial to all parties involved if it was restricted to members of the "Virginia Indian

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 376.; and R. A. Brock, ed., The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710-1722, II vols. (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1882-1885), vol. II, p. 70.

⁶¹McIlwaine, Executive Journals, III, pp. 395-6, 397-8, 407, 408.

⁶²A table which compared the quantities of skins imported into England from Virginia in three years before the Tuscarora War and the three years immediately following showed, for example, that the number of "half drest Buck" skins had decreased from a total of 49,469 in the years 1699-1701 to 10,680 in the years 1713-1715. See Colonial Office Papers, C.O. 5/1317, f. 178; and Brock, Letters, II, p. 99.

Company" headquartered at Christanna. By an "Act for the better regulation of the Indian Trade," Spotswood acquired a twenty-year monopoly over the trade for the Company, but opened membership to anyone who invested a minimum of fifty pounds.⁶³

Fraudulent practices had, in turn, strained relations with both tributary and foreign Indians, adding to the need for increased defense of the southern frontier. Spotswood also felt strongly about the need to educate and convert Indians to Christianity. By civilizing the Indians, Spotswood felt that they would come to appreciate the English way of life, making them "good subjects and useful neighbours."⁶⁴

In fact, he could not understand the lack of success the English had had for the previous hundred years in converting the natives. Typical English excuses that the tributaries were too few and still declining were hard for Spotswood to understand considering what he saw as an increasing number of tributaries.⁶⁵

From both the English and Siouan standpoints, the plan was successful while it lasted. Descriptions of the operation at Fort Christanna by two colonial visitors mirror

⁶³Brock, Letters, II, p. 89; and Theobald, "Indian Trade", pp. 79-80.

⁶⁴Brock, Letters, II, p. 57.

⁶⁵Ibid., I, p. 126-7.

Spotswood's enthusiastic portrayals in his letters to various British officials. In several letters written in 1715 and 1717, Spotswood remarked on the success of his plan in quieting Indian troubles on the frontier and in satisfying the Saponis.⁶⁶ By 1716, Charles Griffin, a lay elder whom Spotswood had hired to educate the Indian children at the fort, had apparently done well in his duties. John Fontaine, an Irish Huguenot who visited the fort in April 1716, reported in his journal that Griffin "hath had good success" teaching the Saponi children "to read the Bible and Common Prayers, as also to write, and the English tongue."⁶⁷ The Reverend Hugh Jones, who visited the fort and Indian school the next year, related that there were seventy-seven children studying under Griffin and that "These children could all read, say their catechisms and prayers tolerably well."⁶⁸

For their part, the Siouans were clearly satisfied with the arrangement. Although they continued to be harassed by the Seneca, the English fort provided a measure of protection they had not had before moving to Christanna. Further, the friendly relationship the Siouans now had with the governor made it relatively easy for them to obtain the

⁶⁶Ibid., II, pp. 108-9, 114, 228.

⁶⁷Edward P. Alexander, ed., The Journal of John Fontaine (Williamsburg: 1972), p. 91.

⁶⁸Jones, Present State, p. 59.

arms and ammunition the men needed to defend themselves from the Senecas while hunting.⁶⁹ As for the most potentially disadvantageous aspect of the arrangement, the attack on Siouan culture posed by Spotswood's and Griffin's efforts to educate and convert the children, the Siouan response ironically reflected a certain confidence in the superiority of their native culture. Hugh Jones noted that the adult Indians wanted no part of the education for themselves,

...for they thought it hard, that we should desire them to change their manners and customs, since they did not desire us to turn Indians: however, they permitted their children to be brought up in our way; and when they were able to judge for themselves, they were to live as the English, or as the Indians, according to their best liking.⁷⁰

The Indians viewed the participation of their children in the school as a necessary part of maintaining good relations with the Virginians. However, they also probably felt that the education would help their children, not by converting them wholly to the English way of life as Spotswood intended, but by making the young Siouans better able to survive and, ironically, to preserve their native culture in the face of an ever-increasing English presence in their world. After all, the adoption of new language or new elements into their own language was not new to the Indians at Christanna. In 1705, Robert Beverley had noted

⁶⁹Alexander, Journal, p. 93.

⁷⁰Jones, Present State, p. 59.

the widespread use of an Indian "lingua franca" which "is said to be that of the Occaneeches."⁷¹

The comments of several colonists many years later regarding the end results of Indian education in Virginia attest to the fact that the Indians agreed to education to satisfy native goals and not as an admission of English superiority. In 1728, William Byrd II noted that, upon completing their education, the natives "immediately relapsed into infidelity and barbarism...And some of them, too, have made the worst use of the knowledge they acquired among the English by employing it against their benefactors."⁷² The English naturalist Mark Catesby made similar comments in 1771.⁷³ Indeed, the distrust which the Siouans at Christanna had of the English was evident in the natives' refusal to speak English when meeting with the governor:

Notwithstanding some of them could speak good English, yet when they treat of any thing that concerns their nation, they will not treat but in their own language, and that by an interpreter, nor will not answer to any question made to them without it be in their own tongue.⁷⁴

While Spotswood's Christanna experiment seemed as if it

⁷¹Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill: 1947), p. 191.

⁷²Wright, Prose Works, p. 220.

⁷³Jones, Present State, p. 12.

⁷⁴Alexander, Journal, p. 93.

would provide the Siouans with the ultimate key to their cultural survival in the wake of so many radical changes in their environment, in the end it only hastened them towards virtual disappearance. In November 1717, under pressure from independent traders who had been hurt financially by Spotswood's trade monopoly, the Executive Council disbanded the Company and thus cut the financial support for the upkeep of Fort Christanna.⁷⁵

The location of the Christanna settlement, in close proximity to the English, had provided the Siouans with the military protection upon which they were dependent. With the removal of the protection provided by the fort and its garrison, the Siouans' location suddenly became the most basic threat to their cultural survival. The Christanna Indians were now easy prey to Iroquois war parties, the former now widely separated from their powerful Siouan allies, the Catawbass, who lived several hundred miles south in the Carolina piedmont. In addition, the proximity of the Christanna settlement to local allies of the northern Iroquois, the Nottoways, Meherrins, and Tuscaroras, made the Siouans' new situation even worse. Finally, the buffer of protection that the fort and the Siouans had provided for the English had made the country near the settlement safe for increased development by the colonists. The land around

⁷⁵McIlwaine, Executive Journals, III, p. 456.

the natives' settlement at Christanna, which Fontaine observed in 1716 to be separated from the outermost English plantation by at least fifteen miles of untracked wilderness, was being assigned to various colonists as early as 1720.⁷⁶

As the 1720s progressed, the Nottoways, Meherrins, Tuscaroras, and Iroquois increasingly pestered the Christanna Siouans with isolated acts of violence. The Nottoways, Meherrins, Tuscaroras, and local colonists also began to turn colonial officials against the Siouans by registering complaints and demands for justice regarding various crimes the Saponis had allegedly committed.⁷⁷ While Virginians settling near the Siouans "debauched their morals and ruined their health with rum," one colonist had even met with the Senecas and "desired them to fall on the Indians Settled at Christanna and offered them Powder Lead & c for that purpose."⁷⁸

By 1729, the Siouans had had enough and moved south to join the Catawbases.⁷⁹ Although some of the Christanna Indians

⁷⁶David K. Hazzard and Martha W. McCartney, "Fort Christanna Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey," (unpublished paper on file with the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology, Richmond, VA, 1979), p. 42.

⁷⁷McIlwaine, Executive Journals, IV, pp. 76-77, 80, 126, 132, 152-153, 185.

⁷⁸Wright, Prose Works, p. 315; and McIlwaine, Executive Journals, III, p. 511.

⁷⁹McIlwaine, Executive Journals, IV, p. 209.

returned to Virginia asking again to become tributaries in 1732, within a year the Siouans had dispersed in several different directions.⁸⁰ Clearly none of the migrations had satisfied all of the factions of which the Christanna Indians were composed. Some joined the Tuscaroras and, consequently, the Six Nation Iroquois; some rejoined the Catawbas; and a substantial number apparently remained close to their ancestral home in the Virginia piedmont, virtually disappearing into backwoods multiethnic communities in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains.⁸¹

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 303.

⁸¹Merrell, "Evolution of the Piedmont", p. 26; McIlwaine, Executive Journals, IV, p. 303; and Peter W. Houck, Indian Island in Amherst County, (Lynchburg: Progress Printing Co., Inc., 1984), pp. 35, 56, 112.

EPILOGUE

[The] Saponys...live in peace amongst us
but lead in great measure lives of wild
Indians.

--Governor Fauquier, 1763¹

Although there can be no doubt that the European colonization of North America eventually caused the virtual disappearance of Virginia piedmont Siouan culture, the relationship was indirect. Unlike the coastal tribes who were either physically exterminated or gradually acculturated into tidewater colonial society, the piedmont Siouans appear to have resisted acculturation by the English until their sheer lack of numbers forced some to join rival or allied native groups and others to become assimilated into a multiethnic, backwoods society on the physical and cultural fringes of the colony.

The piedmont Siouans had traditionally been a remarkably adaptive people. Ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence suggests that the different tribes from time to time participated in cooperative warring, hunting, fishing, and secondary burial activities. These activities required the members of different tribes, each of

¹Governor Fauquier of Virginia replying to a list of queries by the Board of Trade, 1763, Colonial Office Papers, King's Manuscript 205, B.M. 2, f. 266.

which had their own localized dialects, ceramic traditions, and leaders, to work together, often travelling many miles from home to do so. The piedmont Siouans' contradictory cultural personality--locally distinct subcultures which nonetheless shared enough traits to bind them into one broad culture group--helped them "maintain their traditional cultural systems in the face of devastating pressures."²

The stresses placed on Siouan culture by European colonization were primarily indirect. Epidemic diseases probably struck the Siouans, for the most part, prior to direct contact with the English. Unlike the natives on the coast who believed that European religions were superior because of the Englishmen's immunity to disease, the Siouans did not have the direct contact with the English to help them make such assumptions. Increased assaults by the Iroquois were not associated with the colonial presence, though the raids were an indirect effect of colonization farther north. Trade goods also came to the piedmont initially via native middlemen and were incorporated into traditional cultural systems without substantially modifying those systems.

Thus, although the piedmont Siouans were among the first Virginia natives to be assaulted not only by disease and European material culture, but also by English attempts

²Ward, "Mortuary Patterns", p. 110.

at education and religious conversion, the Siouans still absorbed only those aspects of colonial culture that they found useful in the context of their native culture. The settling of the Siouans at Christanna was by no means an example of their acculturation to the English. The decision was very much a mutual one which satisfied the needs of both cultures, each in its own way.

The main threat to Siouan culture was depopulation. Even so, decreasing numbers at first only caused the Siouans to rely on traditional inter-tribal cooperation. Allies became single communities, often with little loss of localized distinctions. As late as 1715, Spotswood regarded the various Siouan tribes at Fort Christanna as "being a people speaking much the same language, and therefore confederated together, tho' still preserving their different Rules."³ Even when tribal distinctions became hazy, the Siouans hung on to regional piedmont traditions and resisted English acculturation. In 1728, a Saponi Indian from the Christanna settlement named Bearskin accompanied William Byrd II and several other commissioners from Virginia and North Carolina while they surveyed a boundary line between the two colonies. In his journal, Byrd recorded many instances which reveal Bearskin's persistent faith in his native beliefs. Bearskin pleaded with the camp cook not to

³Brock, Letters, II, p. 88.

mix turkey and venison in the same stew because it would cause bad luck in hunting. In fact, there were several examples of cultural borrowing on the part of the English from the Siouans. Backwoods colonists, so-called "woodsmen," apparently ate like Indians, with no concept of eating a little at a time to make a given supply of food last for a long time. Byrd noted the use of "fire-hunting" by both Indians and English.⁴

In 1730 and again in 1743, Saponi Indians, who had apparently moved to Orange County near Spotswood's community and house at Germanna after their dispersal from Christanna, were accused of "firing the woods," presumably to hunt.⁵ In 1751, Thomas Jefferson observed a small party of Indians visiting the burial mound near Charlottesville which he later excavated, suggesting that the religious significance of the mound had not been lost after the physical dispersal of the Siouans.⁶

When some piedmont Siouans finally joined other Indian nations such as the Catawba, Tuscarora, and northern Iroquois, the motivation was probably an attempt to preserve native lifeways. Whatever cultural differences may have

⁴Wright, Prose Works, pp. 116, 118, 244, 246, 249, 259, 278, 288, 292, 294, 299.

⁵Jones, Present State, p. 167; and W.W. Scott, A History of Orange County Virginia, (Richmond: Privately printed, 1907), p. 56.

⁶Jefferson, Notes, pp. 161-62.

separated the Siouans from the other nations some of them eventually joined, the distinctions no doubt seemed slight when compared to the vast differences that separated Indian and colonial cultures. Others who remained in backwoods communities in Virginia probably felt the same way. However, the declining numbers of Siouans combined with the need to belong to some kind of community eventually diluted the remnants of Siouan culture in the backwoods enclaves as well. Miscegenation with the remnants of other local tribes, runaway slaves, and white frontier settlers, and the later classification of non-reservation Indians in Virginia as Negroes snuffed out the last vestiges of a unique piedmont Siouan culture.⁷

The circumstances of Siouan contact with the colonists and their traditional adaptability had helped them to resist acculturation to a large degree. Unfortunately, whether the survivors joined other, more populous, Indian nations or formed isolated communities in Virginia, their lack of numbers forced intermarriage with descendants of different cultures and assimilation that even the Siouans could not prevent. Nevertheless, the role that Anglo-Siouan relations played in the development of the piedmont frontier, while quite nearly ignored, was undeniably influential. The ultimate irony in the history of Virginia's inland Indian

⁷Houck, Indian Island, pp. 28, 54, 56, 58, 70-80.

relations is that the piedmont Siouans, who had played a large part in the colonists' fearful image of the country above the fall line for most of the seventeenth century, eventually provided the buffer of protection that paved the way for colonial settlers to move into the piedmont, thus shifting the "frontier" farther westward and hastening the near-extinction of piedmont Siouan culture.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Alexander, Edward Porter, ed., The Journal of John Fontaine: An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia, 1710-1719. Williamsburg: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972.
- Alvord, Clarence W. and Lee Bidgood. The First Explorations of the Trans-Alleghenny Region by the Virginians 1650-1674. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clarke Company, 1912.
- Arber, Edward and Bradley, A. S., eds., The Travels and Works of Captain John Smith. Edinburgh: Privately printed, 1910.
- Barbour, Philip, ed., The Writings of Captain John Smith. III vols., Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1986.
- Beverley, Robert, The History and Present State of Virginia. ed. by Louis B. Wright, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947.
- Billings, Warren M., ed., The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975.
- Brock, R.A., ed., The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710-1722. II vols., Richmond: Collections of the Virginia Historical Society, New Series, 1882-1885.
- Clayton, John, ed., "Explorations Beyond the Mountains," William and Mary Quarterly, First Series, 15(1907): 234-241.
- Cumming, William P., ed., The Discoveries of John Lederer with Unpublished Letters by and about Lederer to Governor John Winthrop, Jr. Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1958.
- Fortecue, J. W., ed., Calender of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies. XLIII vols., London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1898.

- Harrison, Fairfax, ed., "Western Exploration in Virginia Between Lederer and Spotswood," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 30 (1922): 323-40.
- Hening, W.W., ed., Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619 [to 1792]. XIII vols., Richmond: Privately printed, 1809-1823.
- Hinke, William J., ed. & tr., "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701-December 1, 1702," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 24 (1916): 1-43, 113-141, 275-288.
- Jefferson, Thomas, Notes on the State of Virginia. New York: Harper & Row, 1964.
- Jones, Hugh, The Present State of Virginia. ed. by Richard L. Morton, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956.
- Kegley, F. B., ed., Kegley's Virginia Frontier. Roanoke: Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938.
- Lawson, John, A New Voyage to Carolina. ed. by Hugh Talmage Lefler, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1967.
- Maxwell, William, ed., The Virginia Historical Register. 6 vols., Richmond: Macfarlane and Fergusson, 1850.
- McIlwaine, H.R., ed., Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, 1622-1632, 1670-1676. Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1924.
- McIlwaine, H.R. and Hall, Wilmer, eds., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia. 6 vols., Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1925-1966.
- Proceedings of the Coucil of Maryland, 1636-1770. 11 vols., Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1885-1912.
- Strachey, William, The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania (1612). ed. by Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund, London: University Press, 1953.
- Tinling, Marion, ed., The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia, 1684-1776. 2 vols., Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1977.

Vaughan, Alden T., gen. ed., Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789. 7 vols., Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc., 1983. Vol. 4: Virginia Treaties, 1607-1722. ed. by W. Stitt Robinson.

Wright, Louis B., ed., The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover: Narratives of a Colonial Virginian. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Briceland, Alan V., Westward from Virginia: The Exploration of the Virginia-Carolina Frontier, 1650-1710. Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1987.

Bugg, James L., Jr., "The French Huguenot Frontier Settlement of Manakin Town", Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 61 (1953): 359-94.

Bushnell, David I., The Five Monacan Towns in Virginia, 1607. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 82, no. 12, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1930.

_____, The Manahoac Tribes in Virginia, 1608. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 94, no. 8, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1935.

_____, Virginia Before Jamestown, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, vol. 100 (whole volume), Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1940.

Dickens, Roy S., Jr.; Ward, H. Trawick; and Davis, R.P. Stephen, Jr., eds., The Siouan Project: Season's I and II. Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Monograph Series, no. 1, Chapel Hill: 1987.

Evans, Clifford, A Ceramic Study of Virginia Archaeology. Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 160, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1955.

Feest, Christian F., "Notes on Saponi Settlements in Virginia Prior to 1714," Archaeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin. 28 (July 1974): 152-155.

- _____, "Virginia Algonquians," in Handbook of North American Indians. gen. ed., William C. Sturtevant, 15 vols. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978. vol. 15: Northeast. ed. by Bruce G. Trigger, pp. 253-70.
- Fowke, Gerard, Archaeologic Investigations in James and Potomac Valleys. Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 23, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1894.
- Hoffman, Bernard G., Observations on Certain Ancient Tribes of the Northern Appalachian Province. Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 191, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1964.
- Holland, C. G., "Albemarle County Settlements: A Piedmont Model?" Archaeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin, 33 (April 1978): 29-44.
- _____, "The Ramifications of the Fire Hunt," Archaeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin, 33 (October 1979): 134-40.
- _____; Speiden, Sandra D.; and van Roijen, David, "The Rapidan Mound Revisited: A Test Excavation of a Prehistoric Burial Mound," Archaeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin, 38 (January 1983): 1-42.
- Houck, Peter W., Indian Island in Amherst County. Lynchburg, VA: Progress Printing Co., Inc., 1984.
- Jennings, Francis, "Susquehannock," in Handbook of North American Indians. gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, 15 vols., Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978. vol. 15: Northeast. ed. by Bruce G. Trigger, pp. 362-7.
- Lurie, Nancy O., "Indian Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization." in Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History. pp. 33-60, ed. by James E. Smith, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1959.
- Merrell, James H., "Natives in a New World: The Catawba Indians of Carolina, 1650-1800." Ph.D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1984.
- _____, "The Indians' New World: The Catawba Experience," The William and Mary Quarterly. 41 (October 1984): 537-565.

- _____, "'This Western World': The Evolution of the Piedmont, 1525-1725," in The Siouan Project: Season's I and II. pp. 19-28, ed. by Roy S. Dickens, Jr.; H. Trawick Ward; and R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., Research Laboratories of Anthropology, Monograph Series, no. 1, Chapel Hill: 1987.
- Miller, Carl F., A Re-evaluation of the Siouan Problem with Particular Emphasis on the Virginia Branches/Ocaneechi, Saponi, and Tutelo. Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 164, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1957.
- Mooney, James, The Souian Tribes of the East. Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 22, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1894.
- Morgan, Edmund S., American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia. New York: W.W. Norton & Co. 1975.
- Mouer, L. Daniel, "Powhatan and Monacan Regional Settlement Hierarchies: A Model of Relationship Between Social and Environmental Structure," Archaeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin, 36 (January 1981): 1-21.
- _____, "A Review of the Archaeology and Ethnohistory of the Monacans," in Piedmont Archaeology: Recent Research and Results. pp. 21-39, ed. by J. Mark Wittkofski and Lyle E. Browning, Richmond: ASV Special Publication No. 10, 1983.
- Robinson, W. Stitt. "Tributary Indians in Colonial Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. 67 (1959): 49-64.
- _____, The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1979.
- Scott, W. W., A History of Orange County Virginia. Richmond: 1907.
- Sprinkle, John, "A Prelude to Rebellion: Indian-White Relations on Virginia's Northern Neck 1660-1676," Northern Neck of Virginia Historical Magazine, 35(1985): 3990-4004.
- Turner, E. Randolph, "An Intertribal Deer Exploitation Buffer Zone for the Virginia Coastal Plain and Piedmont Regions," Archaeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin, 32 (July 1978): 42-8.

Ward, H. Trawick, "Mortuary Patterns at the Fredericks, Wall, and Mitchum Sites," in The Siouan Project: Seasons I and II. pp. 81-110, ed. by Roy S. Dickens, Jr., H. Trawick Ward, and R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Monograph Series no. 1, Chapel Hill: 1987.

_____ and Davis, R. P. Stephen, Jr., "Appendix B.: Summary Report of 1986 Fredericks Site Excavations," in The Siouan Project: Seasons I and II. pp. 303-308, ed. by Roy S. Dickens, Jr., H. Trawick Ward, and R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Monograph Series no. 1, Chapel Hill: 1987.

Washburn, Wilcomb E., The Governor and the Rebel. New York: Norton and Co., 1957.

Wilson, Homes Hogue, "Human Skeletal Remains from the Wall and Fredericks Sites," in The Siouan Project: Seasons I and II. pp. 111-140, ed. by Roy S. Dickens, Jr., H. Trawick Ward, and R. P. Stephen Davis, Jr., Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Monograph Series no. 1, Chapel Hill: 1987.

UNPUBLISHED THESES, MANUSCRIPTS, AND INTERVIEWS

Hantman, Jeffrey, Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA, Interview, 3 May 1988.

Hazzard, David K. and McCartney, Martha W., "Fort Christanna Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey," Unpublished paper on file with the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology, Richmond, VA, 1979.

Theobald, Mary M., "The Indian Trade in Colonial Virginia," Master's Thesis, The College of William and Mary, 1980.

Thompson, Stephen M., Archaeological Project Center, The College of William and Mary, Interview, 5 December 1988.

Turner, E. Randolph, "Problems in the Archaeological Identification of Chiefdoms: An Example from the Virginia Coastal Plain," Unpublished paper on file with the Virginia Research Center for Archaeology, Richmond, VA, 1983.

MANUSCRIPTS AND UNPUBLISHED RECORDS

Colonial Office Papers from the Public Record Office in Great Britain. Reports on the collections and microfilm copies of many of the records compiled by the Virginia Colonial Records Survey in the manuscripts collection of Alderman Library, The University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

VITA

Joseph Benjamin Jones

Born in Wellesley, Massachusetts, 7 January 1961. Graduated from Fox Chapel High School in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, June 1979. Received B.A. degree in Geology with a minor in Anthropology from Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, May 1983.

In August 1986, the author entered the College of William and Mary as an M.A. candidate in the American Studies Program with a concentration in Early American History/Historical Archaeology.