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"WHO'S YOUR PEOPLE" – CUMULATIVE IDENTITY
AMONG THE SALYERSVILLE INDIAN POPULATION OF
KENTUCKY'S APPALACHIA AND THE MIDWEST
MUCKFIELDS, 1677-2000

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RICHARD ALLEN CARLSON JR.

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"WHO'S YOUR PEOPLE?"- CUMULATIVE IDENTITY AMONG THE SALYERSVILLE INDIAN POPULATION OF KENTUCKY'S APPALACHIA AND THE MIDWEST MUCKFIELDS, 1677-2000.

VOLUME I

By

Richard Allen Carlson, Jr.

A DISSERTATION

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Abstract

The Salyersville Indian Population is a composite of Cherokee, Saponi and "Old Virginia" Indian families that consolidated in the late colonial period to form a distinct Appalachian Indian population. The families have preserved their identity as an Indian people ever since. An analysis of this identity through time shows that Salyersville Indian identity is the product of cumulative historical actions guided by specific sociocultural processes that subvert notions regarding race, class, ethnicity, religiosity, or political affiliation. In this case, the effective operational definition of Indian identity is based on family relations that provide kinship links, social integration, cooperative efforts, sources of knowledge and emotional support. Highlighting the functional aspects of kin arrangements --articulated through and supported by interrelated family groups-- over time reveals that the economic and social cooperation of kin works to maintain the size and strength of the families. The operationalization of kinship acts to focus Salyersville Indian identity on a definition of "kin" which subsumes various attitudes about race and ethnicity that are encountered at specific times and under specific circumstances. By assigning kinship a higher priority than relations based upon religious, class or political affiliation, the Salyersville Indians have managed to keep their kin affiliations and thus their Indian identity, from being obscured over time. Family is the vehicle by which this cumulative identity as "Indian" has been maintained. That is because kinship is the only constant serving to define and maintain Salyersville Indian identity through time and space.

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Introduction

It was a hot summer day in July 1999. Here, on the banks of a beautiful southern Michigan lake, some 200 Salyersville Indians and their relations had gathered to celebrate their ongoing history and identity as a people. This was a particularly symbolic year for this annual gathering as Americans everywhere reflected on the past millennium. I was a bit nervous for, while having attended such reunions as a child, this was my first since returning to Michigan after a nearly ten year absence living in Washington D.C.. In addition this gathering was the "Garrett Cole Reunion", and was technically held for a different group of the families than the reunion my mother and aunt took us to in Charlotte, Michigan, when I was young. Many new faces always make me nervous, relatives or not. Now I attended this and other similar family gatherings not just as a relation, but also as an anthropologist and ethnohistorian with the ambition of writing a dissertation describing and explaining how the families have sustained an Indian identity through the past 300 years.

My anxieties were quickly calmed, however, after establishing my own kin connections with the elders in charge of the sign-in table at this particular gathering (no one can just walk right in). "Oh, you're the 'cousin' that is writing 'The Book'", was the response, "it is about time somebody did it". Word circulates fast among the Salyersville Indians and their relations. The significance of this shared kin-based identity was manifested in a unique way soon after my arrival. All the people in attendance grabbed hands in a huge outdoor circle and, as he does every year, one Salyerville Indian elder stood fast in the center. After giving thanks in prayer for being able to come together yet another year, he led the circle of relations in a striking chorus of the song "Will The

Circle Be Unbroken".

Like the "Garret Cole Reunion", the annual "Farish Cole Reunion" held some 50 miles away on the following day is also definitely a gathering of Indians and their relations. This may not be overtly apparent to the outside onlooker, with the exception of physical appearance and a few bumper-stickers and T-Shirts with phrases on them like "Proud to Be Cherokee". There is always some casual talk about "the old Indian claims" and more formal "business meetings" at such gatherings, but oral tradition still keeps alive stories of the "the time the government conspired against us"[1]. This is cited by some of the people as the main reason "we have kept quiet (on an official public level) ever since" the disappointing Court of Claims drama that occurred back at the turn of the century (see Chapter 9)[2].

In all the family gatherings I attended that summer their was a similar routine. As soon as the formalities of introductions, prayers and announcements were made, the table we had set up for working on what had become simply known as "The Book" was buzzing with activity all day. The elders especially consoled me in pursing the ambitious task that is this dissertation project. In the past decade, and in some cases much longer, a small number of Salyersville Indian elders, most women, had become involved in documenting the families' histories and genealogies. In doing so, many had unearthed the unpleasant characterizations written by 'Melungeon hunters' about them and their ancestors. Some were also puzzled over the inconsistencies of the 'racial' enumerations of the people in Federal censuses of the past century. A few had found their claims of a "Cherokee" identity rejected by both the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma, and the Eastern Band of Cherokee in North Carolina, and many Salyersville Indian elders remain

perplexed as to why help in working on their histories was not coming from those ends. One consensus among all Salyersville Indians seems to hold, that being, if any gains were to be made in documenting, explaining and interpreting the history and present condition of the Salyersville Indians in the near future, it would have to come from the people's own initiative and collective intentions. The result of these initiatives is, in part, this present work.

My own position as an anthropologist, and in addition as being a part of the people subject to this study, forced me to find a way to reconcile the different interests between the Dissertation and the Book. That is, the interest between the people and anthropology had to be balanced and harmonized. The people desired a clear story and good genealogies -- a document that reflected familiar names and experiences. We all hold a desire to correct false myths and stereotypes. As an anthropologist, I also wanted to know how the people managed to get to this point. That is, what has kept our Indian identity alive.

My choice to document our families' history from the position of anthropology was thus deliberate and appropriate. In anthropology, culture is key to understanding people. Anthropology seeks to form useful cross-cultural theory. That is, the discipline is concerned with what we can learn from one people that can help us understand the experiences and perspective of unrelated people around the globe. In order to better ascertain processes that influence the way people act, to find out why and how people do what they do, the people's perspective is of primary importance to the anthropologist. But anthropological inquiry also requires one strive for objectivity. That is, I must be true to the data as it come forth. That means being open to possible alternatives that may

contradict what my own family history suggests I might find. I had to be open enough to reconcile, negotiate, mediate these different interests and, in doing so, remain respectful to those ancestors-both my kin and of my profession--long past, those with us today, and those yet to come.

In everyday life, Indian identity is not a set of questions, nor is it any kind of 'realization', to me or my Salyersville Indian relations. There really is no defensiveness about being Indian while 'at home' among kin. But after moving long away from 'home' to Washington D.C., a decade prior to attending college, I quickly realized our Indian identity is often contested by people 'out in the world'. I found that even 'recognized Indians' in the city also felt this pressure (and sometimes, conversely, participated). Becoming involved in pan-Indian activities while living in D.C., I became aware of things like treaty relations, enrollment, 'Federal recognition'. I gained a much deeper understanding of racial stereotyping, and even the 'wannabe' phenomenon, as it seemed that nearly every white or black American claimed some long lost Indian ancestor.

As with most people, regardless of heritage, my own sense of genealogy and long term history was relatively shallow and fragmented prior to undertaking this work. As with most of my maternal kin, my idea of being of Indian heritage was, however, strong as I grew up, to be sure. But anthropology forced me to 'put my finger on it', and in doing so, the *concept* of identity became much more ambiguous that it often seemed. But even while exposing more clearly the ambiguity of people's identity. But this ambiguity can be clarified by ascertaining the how, when and why of any identities construction, and anthropology can provides new tools and new perspectives on how to describe, interpret and explain the people past and present condition. In line with most of my

academic peers, I have come to approach identity as being a social and culture construct. That is, identity is a processes, and not a given, not a natural entity, per se. Identities such as 'race' have only that meaning that we humans confer upon them, and is not a natural or 'pure' entity.

With time, I've come to see that it was the simple things I always took for granted, like the idea of family, that was key to being a Salyersville Indian. A friend of mine from a Potawatomi tribe recently told me that 'it took me till I was 40 to realize the importance of the little things' that supported his people's Potawatomi identity, and it took no academic training on his part to come to that conclusion. As this same perspective grew in me, it did, however, coincide with my graduate career. My choice to draw upon my own people to help me add to and enhance the study of identity in the discipline of anthropology, as well as my own family history and experience, and thus the rest of the my people's desire for 'The Book'. The result is this ethnohistory of the Salyersville Indians with an analytical focus that aims to explain how the people and their identity as Indians has persevered through time and space. As applied to this case, my approach to identity analysis is methodologically supported by Vanisa's argument that, because oral traditions themselves have a historiology of the past, they constitute a worthy hypothesis we should first test[3]. This is in line with Deloria's observation that "---every society has a sense of identity with a set of stories explaining how things came to being ...the stories are historically based on experiences that often serve as precedents for determining present and future action"[4].

A Summary of Salyersville Indian History

Today the Salyersville Indians persists a small but distinct population of people living around the old Michigan and Ohio "muckfields" and parts of Oklahoma and the east Kentucky Mountains. Their families came from Appalachia to the 'muck', a folk term referring to the vast peat bogs that once dotted the Midwest, in the early to mid 1900s in order to find seasonal work in the onion fields that then thrived there. For nearly two centuries prior to that time the people's ancestors had maintained their Indian identity while living in a distinct Indian community deep in the heart of Kentucky's Appalachia. The formation of that community occurred prior to the Cherokee removal era of the 1830s. During that time, a few expatriate Cherokee families attached themselves to the families of a band of Christian Saponi. The Christian Band of Saponi Indians was formed under the intense conditions of British colonialism and managed to persist through periods of immense social, political and economic changes during the 18th century. By the early 1800s, these citizen Indian families left their homes off the New River in the Mountains of the Virginia-North Carolina border region and ultimately formed the Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain, and Salyersville Indian Communities.

Following the Civil War, the people associated with these three interrelated Indian communities were enumerated as "Civilized (Self-Supporting) Indians" by the Department of Indian Affairs. However, when the Cherokee families of what was, by then, being called the "Salyersville Indian Population" in Federal censuses petitioned the U.S. Court of Claims in 1907 for rights they felt due them as "Eastern Cherokee", their applications were denied. Nonetheless, the asserted Indian identity of the Salyersville

Indian population remained even as the families strategically accommodated their lives to changes wrought by the coming of the coal, gas and timber industries into east Kentucky. The result was that, by the 1930s, many of the Salyersville Indians were joining their non-Indian kin and neighbors in seasonal migrations to labor in the muckfields of Michigan and Ohio tending onions. While seasonal migrations between the mountains and the mucklands continued for decades, by the 1960s most of the Salyersville Indians had taken up permanent residence in the North and had found ways to support their families other than through this type of labor.

Despite traveling a historical path through very different and changing geographic and social contexts, the families identified as Salyersville Indians have somehow maintained an Indian identity through time and space. But there has long been a deep misunderstanding of the complex social relations practiced by the Salyersville Indian families on the part of those not intimately familiar with the them. Generations of close associations with non-Indian mountaineers, and migrations and consolidations of peoples within, between and from outside the Salyersville, Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain areas has often led to a host of diverse external claims which have raised questions regarding the 'origin and status' of these related citizen Indian populations. The result has been a conceptual tangle of ill-defined identity categories that are used to support various explanations of their Indian identity.

Looking for "remnant groups" of "historic" tribal populations, the few early American ethnographers and other professional researchers aware of the Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain and/or Salyersville Indian populations concured, in part, with the people's own explanations by defining them as originating from "wasted tribes" and

"refugee" Indian families[5]. But true to the thinking of the times, these observers held assumptions about the nature of social and cultural assimilation that led them to conclude the people's still distinct and asserted 'Indianness' would soon disappear.

Just prior to the period when the prominent anthropologists, like James Mooney and Frank Speck, were speculating on the identity and fate of 'eastern Indian survivals', other outside observers were characterizing these three interrelated Indian populations as 'Melungeon' and this trend continues to this day. No confirmed etymology of this regionally specific label has been developed, but most contend the word stems from the French *melange*, meaning 'mixed'[6]. Regardless of its original meaning, by 1840 the Indians considered this local label as pejorative, and did not use it to identify themselves. Primarily a result of a few particularly influential publications that emerged from 1889 to 1891, the imposed Melungeon label is used in attempts to explain 'Melungeon origins'. These explanations are based on various conjectural histories supported by popular myths and legends regarding, in part, shipwrecked Phoenician sailors, the Lost Colony of Roanoke, Turkish mercenaries, the Welsh Chief Modoc, Pardo's 'Lost' Soldiers, and/or the Lost Tribe of Israel, all of whom were said to have 'took up' with Indian women to form the contemporary 'Melungeon' populations. These theories segregate 'Melungeon' identity from Indian identity, and instead hold the Stone Mountain, Greasy Rock and Salyersville Indian populations to be representative of many mislabeled 'marginal groups', or 'racial isolates', 'racial survival' or 'racial enclaves' scattered throughout the American Southeast. Implicit in these labels are sociological assumptions regarding 'the culture of poverty' and 'miscegenation'. Categories such as these are used to help explain away the persistence of people's Indian identity claims through hypotheses

focused on ideas about 'involuntary cohesion/forced endogamy', 'masquerading', and/or social, geographic and biological 'isolation and degradation'.

The conclusions of all these casual investigations regarding the Salyersville Indians and their relations from Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain are flawed, however, because they have: 1) employed synchronic race and class based concepts that ignore the ever-changing usage and meaning of imposed and asserted identities in social relations; 2) utilized constraining theoretical assumptions about assimilation that ignore or underplay the dynamics of cultural change; and/or 3) lack the historic and ethnographic data needed to support their suppositions regarding the very nature of identity itself--that is, identities are social constructed and culturally reinforced. Such assumptions only serve to misrepresent these people and their own identity assertions. For instance, many Salyersville Indians of past generations have indeed been exceedingly poor by modern mainstream American standards. But their experience has emulated what one prominent ethnohistorian has observed regarding another unrelated American Indian community that, while being "often desperately poor, theirs was never a culture of poverty, since they were always rich in relatives, (and) were blessed with a rich cultural heritage"[7]. A new set of questions and a new theoretical frame is needed to accomplish what previous investigations have not, that is, to describe and explain the dynamics that have sustained this long held, ongoing, self-asserted notion of Indian identity.

This study attempts to answer this basic question. As a first step, a detailed ethnohistoric database of the Salyersville Indian population was been assembled here in order to better elucidate, explain and describe the mechanisms and factors, such as class, race, ethnicity, kinship, and poltical and religious affilations, important to identity

formation and maintainence. A particular set of questions is then posed to guide the compilation and interpretation of this historic narrative to show how identity works in this case. Why do the people bother adhering to an Indian identity at all? What are the processes supporting the maintenance of identity in changing social situations? What accounts for the differences in identity articulations being imposed on, as opposed to, those being asserted by the people? What advises differing and changing ideas of race, class, religiosity, kinship, and other seemingly discrete categories in social relations? To what extent are these potential components of identity linked and reconciled? That is, how do they act against or serve to support internally held ideas of identity? How are differences in identity perceived by people and acted upon in everyday life? In addressing these issues, this study will hopefully contribute to the cultural and historical understanding of the processes that culminate in the formation, maintenance and dissolution of people's identities.

Kinship as the Culmination of Salyersville Indian Identity

This work is not as much about the present condition of the Salyersville Indian population as it is about how they have gotten to this point, and to delineate what processes culminate in the ongoing assertion of Salyersville Indian identity. Therefore, a theoretical frame is needed that can discern the primary factor or factors supporting identity in this case.

The history of the Salyersville Indians provides an opportunity to examine how identities are formed, maintained and/or manipulated. For instance, since the Salyersville

Indians are a politically 'unrecognized' Indian population by the Federal or any state government, there have not been 'official' restraints on the people or particular benefit incentive to decide who is or who is not a Salyersville Indian. There are no enrollment lists or official blood-quantum criteria. In Federally recognized tribes, both factors can and do simultaneously constrain and conserve Indian identity. Salyersville Indian identity has also persisted despite frequent out-marriages, interstate migrations, loss of languages, ongoing government indifference and externally generated lituratures that often ignore or contest the people's own claims. The geographic mobility and social flexibility typical of the people also quickly reinforces the premise that ethnicity does not rise from geographic or social 'isolation', for 'isolation' itself is relative and relational[8].

With these insights in mind, I thus choose to began this study by developing a framework by which to examine the issue of identity by addressing the socially constructed nature of identities through their social and cultural reinforcements. Concepts of self-identity must be tied to local dynamics as well as to the broader social contexts in which they exist. Emphasizing the variables of race, ethnicity, kinship, class and religious and political affiliations, this study aimed to devote careful attention to people's positions in regional production and political systems by addressing the impact and interaction of externally generated political and economic influences upon people's identity articulations. Building upon a generic vantage of political economy can "increase awareness of the resiliency of groups in imposed positions" by illuminating people's "different lifestyles and status displays of consumption"[9].

As research for this study progressed, it however became apparent that the Salyersville Indians' collective adherance to an Indian identity does not result solely, or

even primarily, from outside political and economic pressures to do so. Further complicating the issue, the persistance of Salyersville Indian identity also supercedes commonly imposed notions of "mixed" identities. Numerous criticisms have been asserted regarding the restricting criteria of blood quantum or lineal decent from "enrolled" ancestors that are too often prioritized in professional and popular dialogues regarding self-asserting Indian people who embrace a "mixed" heritage[10]. Conversly, the history of the Salyersville Indians also shows that Indian identity is neither necessarily assured or asserted just because one descends genealogically from an Indian ancestor.

Through the history reconstructed here, Salyersville Indian identity notably reveals itself to be the product of cumulative historical actions guided by specific sociocultural processes that subvert notions regarding race, class, ethnicity, religiosity, or political affiliation. I argue that the culmination of 'Indian' identity for the Salyersville Indians is instead a historically persistent cultural category defined through 'kin' relationships. This study is thus framed by testing the hypothesis that *family is the vehicle by which a cumulative identity as "Indian" has been maintained by the Salyersville Indian population for many generations.* A historical examination of this identity should show that *kinship is the only constant serving to define and maintain Salyersville Indian identity through time and space.* Similar anthropological observations support the viability of this hypothesis by concluding that internally shared concepts of identity are as "importantly shaped by their families' lives" as by "their lived experiences"[11]. Krouse, for instance, has demonstrated how, at least for American Indians caught up in urban situations, "kinship can serve as an identifier, overriding physical and cultural traits or lack thereof"[12].

The processes implied in this hypothesis make sense in a simple way. All Salyersville Indians grow up with a set of stories, a core of internally generated knowledge, and expectations about their Indian identity. Indeed, research from Hirschfeld[13], and more recently Lowe[14], has shown that children tend to develop models of kinship as a "natural community" where catagorically defined members of are kin group are defined by their typical actions and associations. In the case of the Salyersville Indian population, the adults do not deny their mixed-blood heritage to their children, yet their identity is still centered on an "Indian" interpretation. In everyday discourse with general outsiders, Salyerville Indian identity hinges on labels like "Cherokee", or more vaguely, "Hillbilly Indian" or simply "Indians from Kentucky"[15]. However, to those already familiar with the people, as well as amongst themselves, the identification of mutally familar family assocaitions ("Mom's a Cole"), the type of relationship one maintains with other kin, and shared stories and experiences combine as a markers used to identify those they know to be Salyersville Indians and those who are not.

Take my own case, for example. Achieveing a PhD. simply adds another dimension to a life that is already well known to the group. "Richie, yeah, he's Micky's eldest, the one who went to D.C. and did so well in school, now he's in college", and similar remarks come into play. Such dialogues show that first, I am "Micky's boy", "Edna's Grandson", or somebody's "cousin through so and so", and that I am viewed primarily in terms of my and my *Families* background. The people's concern with me is with my total life. Indeed, not only for the Salyersville Indians, but for most non-Indian mountaineers, a person is typically viewed in terms of their family background and reputation[16].

This study aims to show that such identifiers are reinforced and reaffirmed through a web of extended family networks that combine in overlapping kin groups in a manner which enables, sustains, and validates this Indian identity through time and space. From that, the following supporting propositions were developed by which to test this primary hypothesis: 1) *By highlighting the functional aspects of kin arrangements over time, I should expect to find that the economic and social cooperation of kin works to maintain the size and the strength of the Salyersville Indian families. I intend to show that this kinship network is articulated through and supported by interrelated family groups who have been aligned together since the 18th century. It should be found that it is this network that underwrites the people's own effective operational definition of Indian identity, one that is based on family relations that provide kinship links, social integration, cooperative efforts, sources of knowledge and emotional support.*

'Kin' and Identity

This reconstruction of Salyersville Indian history framed by the above propositions will show how this Indian identity has persisted through the generations. The suggestion of the primary influence of "kin" in defining Salyersville Indian identity however requires asking what comprises kin and how we know it when we see it working? An initial working definition of kinship of course entails "blood relations" and biological descent[17]. Researching and writing about a relatively small population like that of the Salyersville Indians must entail accurate and reliable genealogies. But in doing so, we must not confuse genealogy and decent with kinship, nor family with 'kin'.

My basic approach to kinship and identity is largely influenced by Halperin's case study The Livelihood of Kin: Making Ends Meet "The Kentucky Way" [18]. Based largely on the kinship studies of Schnieder[19] and Stack[20], her explanation of identity maintenance as practiced in an anonymous 'white Appalachia' context explores models of the inter-relationship of family, community and place to show their influence on identity. The priority of the people as they see it is that it is their responsibilty to provide for the needs of family members...to assure their well-being"[21].

Halperin's expanded political economy approach toward kinship deliberatly accounts for people's personal understanding of, and commitment to, 'culture'. The "Kentucky Way" is a cultural term defined by her informants as "the way we do things"[22] and this term is a completely meaningful and familar term to Salyersville Indians and their non-Indian mountaineer neighbors (although I've more often heard it expressed as 'The Mountain Way'). Halperin explains how this term designates a cultural orientation that is based, in part, on kinship obligations that ground *internally defined* notions of identity. She demonstrates how this works by revealing people's expectations and 'proper action' toward 'kin' as exhibited through their strategic manipulation of multiple livelihood strategies. The people in her study pursue livelihoods as members of extended kin networks *not* confined to households, bloodlines or residence. This helps families to cope with most any political or economic changes that may befall them. In other words, identity in that case is supported by *functional kin affiliations* based on standards of social and economic cooperation and benefit not typical in capitalist economies . Actively embracing the mutually reinforcing influences of culture and identity through the metaphor of kinship, this "complex family oriented mix of formal and informal

economies...reflect(s) a conscious attempt to promote stable relations"[23].

Power and self-esteem are both accessed and expressed through the cultural idiom of kinship, and this can reinforces internal notions of identity in a manner that "emphasizes peoples' victories over losses"[24]. Halperin defines "family" as "an extended network of people who are related by blood or marriage, that is, consanguines and affines"[25]. Similarly, a kinship group refers to an "organized, durable network" of bilateral relations "who may or may not reside in a given local or household[26]. In its simplest terms, a kinship group is then a system of organizing people who are related as 'Family' by descent and is constantly reconfigured through other culturally appropriate means sociocultural practices like marriage and adoption[27]. Kinship thus entails an organized body of "blood" and figurative relations extending through the past, present and future. While family refers to configurations of dyadic relations, 'Family' includes, but goes beyond, the nuclear family into simple and complex configurations of 2-4 generations of lineal blood relations and their spouses that may or may not share a household at a given time. Put another way, the "Cole Family" consists of dozens of families thus defined. That is, 'Family' is an extended network of people who are related by blood or sociocultural practices like marriage or adoption, and refers to 'kin' and kinship relations in a broad, bilateral sense.

But to maintain the kin group, the people must actively work to maintain certain obligations, expectations and associations with those relations. Genealogical descent does not necessarily translate into *functional kin associations*, for *tacit kin affiliation* is superficial. I may know that so and so is a "cousin" by descent and, being a blood relative, I may extend courtesies I would not otherwise. Indeed, until I was about ten or

so, I thought I had many more than four *biological* grandparents. To most Salyersville Indians, cultural terms like "Grandmother" or "Uncle" can have uses and meanings that extent past the consanguine. But time and distance (social, genealogical and geographic) both affect the strength of a kin group because only long term actions can maintain all that which a functional kin network can provide. That is, the network needs an active function to maintain itself, such as social and economic cooperation between families which can thereby connecting interrelated family groups. To show kinship in action, mechanisms such as economic obligation and reciprocation that link relatives through social practices in a kin network must be ascertained.

Families are capable of demonstrating great flexibility and resiliency despite external pressures by employing the functional mechanisms of obligation and reciprocation. In this study, obligation to 'kin' refers to that reciprocity between the families and the individuals known to be one's kindred and it is culturally required and socially reinforced. By reciprocation I am referring to the concept of generalized reciprocity, where the exchange of goods, services and support--material or emotional--between 'kin' (however defined) is not calculated, nor time or repayment specified, articulated, or even expected. In order to work, a functional kinship network must embrace not just a collection of individuals tied through genealogical descent, but "*communities* where every person is many persons"[28]. In the case of the Salyersville Indians, social and economic cooperation and long term obligation to 'kin' typically outweighs short-term obligation or economic advantages for self. For example, during the Thacker Coal Town years in the 1900s teens and twenties, or the following era of working on the Midwest muck fields, most Salyersville Indians undertook such work

'abroad' in large clusters of interrelated family groups. Such mechanisms have provided the means to maintain their large families and deal with changing social relations even in the most dire scenarios.

And while many people have 'dropped off' over the years, and have moved away and lost touch with the core of their Indian family relations, enough have adhered to commitment toward kin to retain the Salyersville Indians' distinctiveness as a group. Indeed, some outsiders still characterize us as a "clannish" people who "stick to their own"[29]. Many examples from Salyersville Indian history reflect this preference for particular associations within the population as a whole. For instance, before having ordained ministers of their own in the late 1800s, they used local non-Indian ministers and magistrates with whom they were long familiar to officialize their marriages. Yet, whenever a Salyersville Indian preacher or magistrate has come about at different points in time, records show they overwhelmingly would, and still do, use officials tied to them through kinship to perform that duty.

Unfortunately, popular opinion and professional perspectives in social sciences outside of anthropology too often neglect the issue of culture. An examination of the dynamic influence of kinship, both real and metaphorical, reveals how *culture* informs the way in which people interpret experience, influences how and what we see and do, and thus how we 'should' and do relate. Cultural influences on identities, material or otherwise, are realized and demonstrated through people's words and actions. The strength of enduring identities is always tied to commitments, devotions and beliefs held by the people themselves. While such factors may or may not qualify as objective criteria, their influences can be shown to help maintain different cultural orientations in,

and interpretations of, the same social reality by guiding the way people structure their lives[30]. Indeed, anthropology has long shown how two groups can remain distinct despite *or* through intense interactions by illuminating people's speech *and* actions 'on the ground'[31]. This basic Weberian use of the concept of social action denotes a set of acts plus their meanings[32]. *Action* thus defined allows one to better examine how difference is delineated and maintained not just from an objective necessity, but from people's *belief* that it is. An action oriented idea of culture is useful for this study since posing culture as a internally held notion of "the way we do things" puts cultural concepts like kinship, race or ethnicity in motion, and highlights their fluidity in social situations[33].

Still, the strength of any description and interpretation of the relationships between culture, identity and kinship should not obscure or ignore other internal *and* external influences on identity articulations such as religious commitments, political inclinations, or notions of race, class and ethnicity. In the Salyersville Indians' case, a singular focus on the economic manifestations of kin obligations, as demonstrated through multiple livelihood strategies, would still be too restrictive. Any framework used for studying the dynamics between kin and identity must be open to account for the influence of other factors as effecting people's identity articulations. The analysis of the data supporting my thesis is further guided by two supporting propositions: 1) *that the operationalization of kinship should therefore act to focus Salyersville Indian identity on a definition of family or "kin", which subsumes various attitudes about race and ethnicity that are encountered at specific times and under specific circumstances*, and 2) *by assigning kinship a higher priority than other potential affiliations such as those based upon religious, class or political affiliation, the Salyersville Indians have managed to*

keep their kin affiliations and thus their Indian identity, from being obscured over time.

Race, Ethnicity and the Salyersville Indians

Politically and economically generated social dynamics often deliberatly influence and constrain ideas of race, class and ethnicity and this has given rise to many complex issues and concerns regarding being Indian in the social context of the American Southeast[34]. For instance, Sider has shown how racial labels can nonetheless become a 'social fact' through a dialectic frame which links people, daily life and production. As used in southeast North Carolina, such labels qualify and quantify physical attributes and assumed, but not always asserted, notions of biological ancestry. In that case, the consequence of people's actions and interactions based on racial labels has created a stigmatized "caste-like" social structure that designates by exclusion. Sider's demonstration of how Lumbee Indian identity has strategically accommodated to these circumstances is one of many case studies reinforcing other's conclusions that "historical consciousness and self-representation" cannot be reduced solely to production or politics[35]. This is because economic and political activity is "always refined, reordered in cultural and situational terms"[36].

When poised as instances of political-economic positioning, the concepts of race, class and ethnicity can be revealed as being abstractions of the same social reality[37]. But identity categories are not all equal bases of affiliation, and the persistence of Salyersville Indian identity cannot be fully explained under economic or political positioning. To assume that it is primarily changes in economic prerogatives or political power that cause

history to happen is thus problematic. Identity analysis must avoid relegating notions of class positioning to social history, race to politics, and ethnicity to an equally ambiguous and unspecified realm of 'cultural affiliations'. Confusing or segregating class, race and ethnicity with history and culture restricts in-depth analysis of the latter two factors (and vise versa). A more open ended frame is needed in order to discern the potential range of internal and externally generated understandings accompanying the specific factors of race, class and ethnicity and their ability to both change and maintain and influence each other through time and space[38].

Take the case at hand. In this instance, the mixed racial and ethnic (in as far as ancestral 'tribal' affiliation is concerned) heritages of these citizen Indians has led many non-local outsiders to prefer using the externally imposed label of 'Melungian Indians' or 'Melungeon' (ie. mixed), to refer to *all* those families associated with the Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain and Salyersville Indian populations. Most popular and professional writers still accept the premise, generated in the 1800s, that 'Melungeon' history and heritage--biological and social--is forever lost to contemporary researchers. Such outsiders have thus downplayed the people's own assertions of being Indians in favor of emphasizing the possibilities of white, black, Portuguese, Phoenician, Jewish, Moorish, Turkish and/or Lost Colony ancestry among them (even though all mention that these potential old world ancestors must have 'taken up' with the Indians to bring forth the present population). The imposed use of the label of Melungeon show one way in which racial identity linked to an ethnic one, in this case, one that dilutes the people's own Indian claim without rejecting it. A poignant example is apparent in a 1947 *Saturday Evening Post* article focusing on the Greasy Rock population. Showing a photo of elder

Asa Gibson, the author wrote "were his ancestors Welsh warriors, Phoenicians or Survivors or Roanoake?...[Asa] say's he's 75 years old and an Indian"[39].

This study heeds other's who warn such racial grading projects, like restricting census mandates or the myths about Melungeons, structure reality through static concepts wherein "self-identity exists in a state of intellectual and emotional subservience to racism and colonialism"[40]. But a skewed emphasis on the influence of such externally imposed pressures can illuminate only a part of the relationships culminating in a durable and meaningful identity among the Salyersville Indians. For example, while the Melungeon label has been externally used as an 'ideological weapon' in attempts to subjugate their Indian identity on many occasions in print, this discourse has had little, if any, effect on the Salyersville Indians own perceptions or assertions regarding their Indian identity in their own daily lives[41].

In this study, the links between race, ethnicity and *place* also become apparent. For example, just when the Salyersville Indians and their Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain relations, were being cast as something other than Indian ("Melungeon") external views of the region were vigorously suggesting that its local 'white' population (which is usually homoginized as 'Anglo-Saxon' or 'Scots-Irish') was also somehow adversely 'different' from the rest of white America. By the late 1800s, mountaineers were being described by outsiders as descendants of 'scoundrels and criminals' who lived a 'backward' or 'primitive' lifestyle. These descriptions entangle concepts of race and class with culture, and culminate in derogatory ethnic descriptions of mountaineers. The internal impact of this is Salyersville Indian Newt Cole's statement to a Michigan Collage professor in 1941, in which he said "We Kentuckians don't like being looked

down on by the people of Stockbridge [Michigan]"[42]. As will become apparent, the imposed identification of "Hillbilly" as an ethnic and class and place based label has often complicated outsider's understanding of the Salyersville Indian identity and, in many ways, still does.

Today, there are no full-bloods left among the Salyersville Indian population. Although many rightfully call themselves "3/4", most Salyersville Indians are 1/2 to 1/4 by blood-quantum reckoning. Many asserting this Indian identity are even less, and look far more non-Indian by stereotypical racial criteria than others. The assertion of an Indian identity by a red-haired Cole, for example, thus suggests that race is not the primary link internally defining this Indian identity except in as much as "blood" links to Salyersville Indian kinship recognition.

That kin and blood link together as Indian in Salyersville Indian identity despite multiracial heritage is historically evident. In the 1908 Court of Claims investigations, for instance, most members of dozens of Sizemore families simply described themselves as being of "The Sizemore Race" of Indians, while using labels like "The Gourds" and "The Hawks" to distinguish the different branches of the "race" among themselves (see Chapter 9). While all the Sizemores acknowledged their mixed racial ancestry, they choose to emphasize an Indian identity.

Such illustrations show how internal attitudes regarding the kin group subsume race-based definitions of Indian. In the case of the Salyersville Indians, the kin group can and does often embrace several racial and ethnic criteria, such as Indian, white, black, mulatto, Scots-Irish, Spanish, Cherokee, hillbilly, and so on. A family may therefore include several racial or ethnic subsets. This observation thus lead directly back to

another major proposition of this study, that the operationalization of kinship acts to focus Salyersville Indian identity on a definition of family or "kin" that subsumes various attitudes about race and ethnicity that are encountered at specific times and under specific circumstances.

Kin, race and ethnicity alike are linked by notions of "blood", to be sure. But beyond the actual red stuff itself, such racial and ethnic categories are bound by internal and external definitions, that is, they are social constructions that are frequently subject to change. This is a concern in trying to determine to what extent notions of race and/or ethnicity act against or support a kin group over time. This ethnohistory clearly shows how the censuses and tax lists of the 1800s are, for instance, externally generated documents that employ racial definitions that often seem to act against the kin group by dividing it along different racial categories. For instance, in 1894, the Department of Interior admitted that in prior censuses most Salyersville Indians, as well their relations at Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain, were "enumerated as they looked (white, Indian, black, or mulatto)" by the person doing the enumerating[43]. Yet, in east Kentucky, the Salyersville Indians practiced the same "rights" as whites despite inconsistant racial classifications in the censuses. In Magoffin County, no enforced legal or social boundaries existed which have imposed isolation and segregation on this Indian population and thus they have not been subject to any local 'race-caste' system there.

Elements of larger socio-historical processes are crucial in considering the issues of race/ethnicity but only an examination of local relationships can show how they may or may not affect people 'on the ground'. In this case, these external census definitions, or laws based on them, did not affect the functionality of the kin network in everyday life.

The core of the kin group always remains a geographic and socially viable constant in the same censuses. The 1800s censuses, then, prove to really have nothing to do with the internal attitudes regarding "Indian" as the racial criteria employed in them are subject to change by both personal biases and legal mandates external to the Indians themselves.

Still notions of race clearly can both act against and support kin groups' various cultural and social attitudes serving to link notions of kin and blood. One notable example is two Salyersville Indian brother's problems when interacting with whites, Mexicans and Indians while in school, as each was subjected to different kinds of racial taunts because one brother is much lighter skinned than the other (see Chapter 15). But while ideas about race often act against the people's assertion of an Indian identity, evidence clearly shows that, in this case, the group still able to maintain and support itself over time. A historical example is again illustrated in the 1908 Court of Claims investigations described in Chapter 9. Those Salyersville Indians then interviewed by government representatives all admitted non-Indian blood, linking Cherokee and/ or to English, French, or simply "white" heritages. Susan Risner, an elder at that time, even explained how the Indian Howards had avoided removal and moved to east Kentucky "by reason of marriage with the white people"[44]. Most cleary self-identified as Indian and, as a group, labeled themselves by families, such as '...We Coles...the Sizemore Race...the Collinses'. And despite having their claims rejected in that event, a half century later, local non-Indians still referred to the Big Lick as the home of "The Cole Nation" of "Cherokee Indians"[45]. Like today, it seems that the Salyersville Indians themselves have never really had a problem reconciling their own non-Indian heritages under the families' overarching Indian identity.

Class, Religion, Politics, and other Factors.

The above examples begin to show some of the ways in which attitudes about race and ethnicity link not only with each other in people's notions of Indian identity, but at specific times and in specific circumstances, with certain political, class and religious attitudes and even place based associations. This is important to consider in the case study because anthropology literature shows that religion, politics and class create economic and social groups that may override kin groups as a source of economic and social cooperation. Because religion, politics and class can act against or support the solidarity of the kin group over time, the extent that they are *linked* to and influence kin-based social identity in this case must be ascertained.

The Appalachia context example itself provides a counterpoint for revealing what aids, sustains and/or underlies Salyersville Indian identity under such considerations. In this case, their Indian identity is tied to internal ideas and external stereotypes regarding "Appalachians', 'hillbillies' and 'mountaineers'. Indeed, in many popular and professional dialogues about 'hillbillies' and 'Melungeons' alike, the shared cultural features among them are often cast as being founded solely in class, dependency and poverty. Most contributors to the Melungeon literature, for instance, have echoed statements such as that there is "little cultural difference separating them from the white mountaineers ... only physical appearance and local tradition distinguishes them"[46]. Such race and ethnic based labels are often linked to, and thereby supported by, class based suppositions including irreducible political aspects. These insights thus lead to back to my final supporting proposition that, by assigning kinship a higher priority than other

potential affiliations such as those based upon religious, class or political affiliation, the Salyersville Indians have managed to keep their kin affiliations and thus their Indian identity, from being obscured over time.

For instance, this history shows how the local delineations of "Indian" and non-Indian "white mountaineer" families that existed in the mountains were retained by both even as they worked and settled on the Michigan and Ohio muckfields together. This is because internally shared histories mutually held between these Indians and their non-Indian mountaineers friends and nieghbors accompany extended 'family' identities like "the Coles", "the Gibsons" and "the Collinses". Despite experiencing great shifts in their geographic residences, social and political climate, and economic positioning, most Salyersville Indians would be able to hold tight to their commitments to kinship associations. This has and does enable them to sustain meaningful notions of Indian identity as family.

This success in preserving their families, however, has not been without some strategic accommodations to external pressures on the part of the Salyersville Indians. For instance, ever since the 1700s, linking a Christian identity to that of their Indian identity positively served to aid these families. And evidence subtly suggests that, when that changed, these citizen Indian simply moved.

Like political and religious influences, class positioning often links strongly together in external perception of Indian identity[47]. But in the case of the Salyersville Indians, class boundaries within the mountains, as with political ones, have not and do not undermine or even entered into the definition of Indian. And again, place stands out as a factor, this time linking with class and status. In the local context of Magoffin

County, the Salyersville Indians have continually cross-cut boundaries delineating laborers, paupers and tenants from local politicians and landowners. Even prior to moving to east Kentucky, those families moving to the greater Cumberland Gap region from the New River Indian community were cast by locals as being "friendly Indians" who were socially and economically "like the white people; there were good and bad among them, the greatest majority were upright, good citizens, and accumulated good property"[48]. Nonetheless, the ability to maintain their families on the mountain landscape waned in the early to mid 1900s. The Salyersville Indians, their mountaineer kin and neighbors, and the mountains themselves, would equally be subjected to intense exploitation by the mineral and timber extraction industries. Accompanying these changes arrived the aforementioned waves of newly published perspectives generated from people outside the mountains. As already stated, their tendency was to cast mountaineers and 'Melungeons' alike as being poverty stricken, 'backward', lawless, primitive, clannish, and superstitious.

The Salyersville Indians themselves, however, have not, and do not use class status indicators as "cultural identity markers"[49] to mark an Indian identity. As one elder told me of her family's experience in the mountains of Kentucky and the Muckfields of Michigan in the 1930s and 40s, "we were poor, true, but we did not mind so much because everyone we knew was poor, too. We had nothing to compare our poverty against"[50]. That the people remained wealthy in abundant kin relations throughout the hardest of times instead enabled them to pull through to the point where, again today, the Salyersville Indians cross-cut the many boundaries of class in modern society without disrupting the cohesiveness of the families themselves. Ideas of any common culture

between the Salyersville Indians and non-Indian mountaineers can not be reduced to class relations, or social status based on economic positioning.

Distance, Communication and Identity

As the above examples reinforce, Salyersville Indian identity seems to be the cumulative product of historical actions guided by specific sociocultural processes that go beyond, subsume, or operate independently of notions of race, class or ethnicity. I have alternately have proposed that these processes are grounded in the Salyersville Indian's ideas about and actions toward 'Family' or'kin'. That is, kinship relations are prioritized over these potentially divisive affiliations through the long term. To show this to be the case, and account for possible alternative(s), this study must examine the aforementioned variables of kinship, race and ethnicity, as well as religious, political and class affilations, as they are made apparent in the historical experiences of the Salyersville Indian population. Experience culminates in meaningful relations, and in this case, links action to a meaningful identity through space and time.

To best explain the variables that culminate in people's identities, in this case, further elaboration on some special theoretical concerns, that of *communication* and *time*, is merited. For one, the multiple meanings that have accompanied knowledge from and knowledge about the Salyersville Indians suggests that this study must account for how people can 'talk past' each other both deliberately and unconsciously. And it is easy to take for granted categories of affiliation without examining their changing usage and meaning through time and space.

Any study of identity should then be concerned with the simple fact that how people communicate and otherwise *relate* to each other can lead to either understanding or misinterpretation. Identity--that is, the manner in which people catagorize themselves, and others, as individuals and groups-- is, on one level, the product of identification. Identification in turn imputes the sociocultural process of *communication*, written as well as spoken.

Many anthropologists advocate for more theoretical attention to discourse in order to better show how culture and identity are accessed and expressed[51]. *Discourses*, posed as organized ways of talking about something, guide what is being talked about and can reify identity boundaries through the creation and maintainance of socially meaningful classifications of difference. The concern with discourse prompts identity analysis to incorporate an acute awareness of the complications involved in deciphering and explaining categories of affiliation that are used in people's everyday dialogues. Discursive influences can divert attention away from certain social, political and 'economic processes--either internally or externally generated-- influencing identity articulations. That is, discources can potentially draw attention toward certain associations of meaning, and away from others. For instance, semantic structuring often ties racial labels to economic 'achievements', which in turn affects social interactions. This dynamic can blur cultural identities into taken for granted assumptions as do the categories of 'marginal groups', 'racial isolates' or 'enclaves', for example[52].

The size and strength of kin groups also depends upon effective communication for the purposes of providing, in this case, *sources of knowledge*. Cultural and historical information dissemination features stem from people's place and participation in the

complex Salyersville Indian kinship network, such as the long standing and still common practice of children being raised by grandparents, or uncles and aunts, for at least part of the year. Flexibility and inclusiveness remain features of the Salyersville Indian families, and intrafamily "adoptions" remain a common feature. Three to four generation households have always been common among the Salyersville Indians and, even today, this is still frequently seen. Most still purposefully live but a few minutes drive from numerous immediate and distant consanguine and affinial relations. And through modern technologies in communication, including the telephone and e-mail, many can keep in more intimate contact with others living further away. There thus has always existed a broad, readily accessible network of kin to validate and reify one's Indian identity. True, in the modern context, the overt economic motivations and needs of past decades does not exist as strong as it has been in points in the past. But the value of kin remains strong, and loyalty to and prioritization of family continues. And it still takes a lot of work to keep the families together, such as in, for example, organizing today's family gatherings and church revivals. Kin needs the people to make things happen--call the meetings, find and rent space, spread the news, cook the food, and so on. And participants, too, must work to be able to set aside time for such Family obligations and commitments.

An exclusive focus on the symbolic boundaries that 'set groups off' in a given situation cannot account for long term influences on identities asserted by the people themselves. By the same taken, identity issues involve supporting sociocultural processes and historical concerns going beyond semantic constraints. The way in which people view the world is *not* always fully reflected in the way they talk or write. So this

dissertation's theoretical frame must attempt to more effectively explain and describe "the process by which experience is defined, ordered, organized and by which knowledge becomes the basis of public and private action"[53]. Distance can disrupt the flow of communication and therefore can disrupt functional links, in this case of kin relations underwriting this Indian identity. It is therefore important in this case to show how marriage patterns, residence trends, and other manifestations of the functional social and economic aspects of kin networks works to overcome potential problems accompanying geographic, physical and social *distance*[54].

Distance can also refer to *time* as well as social space and the factor of place (which I define as geographic 'space endowed with meaning'[55]. Rigorous attention to historical dynamics needed to fully account for the interplay of different external and internal criteria used to explain and maintain boundaries of difference in this case. To overcome bias in past representations of identity criteria based on race, class, ethnicity, kin, religion, and other factors, they must be deliberately tied to their specific historical dynamics and particular situational context. Only by illuminating the historical processes which act to focus people's interaction on specific identity catagories like race, class, or kin at specific times in specific circumstances can we see what it is that creates and maintians or otherwise affects Salyersville Indian identity through time and space.

Kinship links tie the generations across as well as above and below. With that said this discussion makes clear that kinship, however conceived, requires accounting for history theoretically and methodological. We can see kin working only by tracing it over time. In this case, the people's idea of what it means to be Indian remains embedded in the living historical narratives about who they are. What the Salyersville Indians told

government investigators a century ago still applies today, that their history was based on what "The Grandfathers always told us" (see Chapter 9). In at least the local mountain context, most neighboring non-Indians have also validated and reinforce the Indian identity as a family identity through time.

Adding the factor of *time* and a concern with *communication* to this framework allows this analysis to examine a wide range of changes in the overlapping uses and meanings of identity categories themselves, and not take for granted either external and internal notions of difference. Identity anaylsis must discern not only *how* people relate to each other, but also how things got that way. This can better illuminate *why* discrete identities are maintained despite changing participation and membership in the first place. Put another way, the *consequences* of the social uses of racial or ethnic labels, for instance, must be linked to a coherent explanation as to why this occurs, and how it came to be. Such labels themselves must therefore be seen as influences of the past on the present[56]. Historical experiences can expand or limit people's choices, and influence how meaningful notions of difference can change over space and time[57].

Ethnohistory and Identity Analysis

To show how kinship overrides, subsumes, or accomodates these alternative ideas of Indian identity based on race, class, ethnicity and political, religious and place-based affiliations in internally defining Indian identity in this case, this study's analysis will account for these variables as factors potentially influencing ideas of Indian identity as they have been made apparent while reconstructing a history of the Salyersville Indian

population. This study has thus remained particularly attentive to any discursive, social and economic boundaries generated *from within* as well as those *imposed upon* the group through space and time.

The history of the Salyersville Indians shows that ties of consanguinity have always been strong among the people and still are held in high regard. In this case, "kin" provides a living, symbolic and creative cultural resource that prioritizes the ongoing influence of past generations on one's perspective, actions, motivations and ideas. This idea of kinship is expressed by Salyersville Indians under the functional label of 'kin' and 'Family', includes not only one's own household unit, but a wide array of Indian and even non-Indian families. Anthropological literature has demonstrated how the *cultural idiom* of kinship can combine in complex arrangements of ancestral and contemporary affinial and consanguine ties, and other culturally defined "family" affinities extending far beyond genealogical links or households[58]. I intend to show Salyersville Indian identity is rooted in such a community network of functional "kin" relations. This contention leads back to the proposition that, in this case, long-term obligation and committment to kin thus supercedes short term obligations based on client/patron relations, political associations, and other culturally defined and social affirmed affinities. To subsume potential internal divisions based on notions of race and ethnicity, or to keep the families' Indian identity from being obscured by political, class or religious affilations, kinship must function on a level that goes beyond simply recognizing genealogical links in order to work.

To see if the data proves out my hypothesis and primary propositions, and thereby demonstrate kinship dynamics as being the primary factor informing the persistence of

Salyersville Indian identity, this study pays close attention to how the Salyersville Indians have organized and defined kin associations, as well as how they have defined and delineated other relations. By design, this kinship orientation must operate through historically informed, culturally embedded practices that guide actions of the individual, the family, and the group. To "see" kinship in action, this ethnohistory has sought data reflecting patterns manifested in sociocultural practices such as child rearing strategies, naming and marriage patterns, religious and political affiliations, evidence of social and economic cooperation, and residence and migratory trends. I have thus highlighted data showing the interpersonal exchange of social and economic resources, the organization of livelihood strategies and geographic communities, and any other evidence reflecting motivations based in obligations and commitments toward and a prioritization of "kin". Residence and marriage patterns, for instance, can be shown to represent certain meaningful aspects of social organization and group behavior. The ritualization of kin through activities like today's Family gatherings equally show the kin group continually working to maintain itself for its own benefit.

As time and space necessarily affects the composition of kin groups, any theory of kinship and identity must employ a methodology that accounts for history. In this case, the kinship relations of the Salyersville Indians cannot be demonstrated or explained without first understanding their historical context, for any articulation of these relations is the result of complex arrangements which are the culmination of past experiences. Historical data is needed to confirm the stability and resiliency of Salyersville Indian identity through time, and the methods and concerns of *ethnohistory* allow us to access and interpret this data.

Ethnohistory provides a broad investigative methodology needed in this case to illuminate the families' lived experience and thereby prove out this frame of kin, identity and time. The issue of how to access, interpret and represent the past brings up a special set of concerns. Because the bulk of the data used to construct this ethnohistory is documentary (that is, thoughts and descriptions recorded by particular people at particular times under particular circumstances), there are issues and concerns that go beyond those of an anthropologist's observations 'in the field' and defy explanations grounded solely on descriptions based on a 'ethnographic present'. To quote one prominent ethnohistorian, "interpreting the documentary record requires that the documents be understood in the temporal and cultural context in which the records themselves were produced"[59]. Cleland cites several crucial factors to consider when trying to bring out historical and cultural facts from documentary sources[60]. For one, the fractured picture they reveal is incomplete. They are further made difficult to interpret as they often are the product of issues and concerns different from the one being pursued by later readers. 'There is also the complication of trying to discern "the intent of persons long dead and the meaning of their actions" from written records[61]. Concerned with the multitude of issues involved with interpreting the documentary records, Cleland explains how

> ...we must contend with its biases. Like the written and oral statements of people today, those created in the past reflect the opinions and attitudes of their producers. Since any writer is a person of specific gender, age, ethnicity, religion, political persuasion, occupation, and life experience, these and many other factors color the way a person perceives the world

> and events around them. Naturally, these opinions will be reflected in the written documents the person produced. As a consequence these are no purely unbiased descriptions from the pen or computer of a human being; all written records contain biases. To be sure some accounts of the past are more objective than others, or put another way, the biases of some writers are just more obvious.
>
> Here we move from biases in the records themselves to biases of interpretation. Perhaps some records seem more objective because the modern historian happens to see eye to eye with the person who produced the records. Since a modern reader soon forms a view of the order and importance of past events by absorbing the content of documents, perhaps the historian comes to weigh some documents more heavily than others in interpreting the past.
>
> Biases in the documentary record as well as bias in interpretation are facts of historical interpretation. While we cannot rid ourselves of bias, it can be controlled...[62]

Cleland further explains that "there is an additional factor which sometimes effects the interpretation of the historical record, namely conditions where two or more different cultural traditions are involved. This is the domain of the ethnohistorian, a historical-anthropological specialist who is also sensitive to the cultural factors which influence the differential understanding of events"[63]. For example, the interactions occurring between a Salyersville Indian and a Michigan based Relief Agent would entail

cultural considerations that would differ from those typically held between a government official and a non-Indian. A Salyersville Indian's perspective regarding government authority for example draws on a long history of experience and cultural values that influences their actions and articulations of identity in such relationships.

To test the reliability of any historical work, one must also consider whether the researcher had aptly searched available data bases and whether the researcher has made any attempt to account for the biases contained in the documents or oral texts that were used. Perhaps the most difficult task for any academic is considering "alternative hypotheses which might as well be explained by the documents"[64]. The failure of any researcher to acknowledge the potential of such alternatives can impinge on his or her ability to construct an accurate rendition of historical events and people's culturally informed actions.

With these methodological concerns continually in mind, this study's theoretical frame intends to show that internally held ideas about and actions towards kin have always been, and still remain, the most important component in defining and maintaining Salyersville Indian identity for so many generation. By making kinship a higher priority than the potentially restraining but popular variable of race, class or ethnicity in defining what "Indian" means to them, this study will show how the Salyersville Indians have managed to cross-cut, undermine, and/or subsume the many race and class based suppositions regarding "Indian" identity in particular. That is, this ethnohistory supports the hypothesis that *culmination* of Salyersville Indian *identity* is a kin-based identity. Indian identity in this instance is a label for specific family histories, but is based on active interfamily associations. To show this to be the case and to show how kinship

serves to function to support identity in this case, I am going to follow the primary families that came together to eventually form the Salyersville Indian community in the mountains of eastern Kentucky and, after maintaining their population there for over a century, eventually began a decades long relocation to live and labor in the onion fields of the Midwest, where most of the people continue to reside to today. This ethnohistory will show that 'kin' is the constant element culminating in Salyersville Indian identity throughout it all.

Section 1, Chapters 1-4, will focus on a core of Christian Saponi families who sustained themselves as a group on the colonial frontiers of Virginia and North Carolina and, in the process, eventually aligned themselves with expatriate Cherokee families and a few other families of various tribal heritages to ultimately form three interrelated communities in Tennessee, Virginia and east Kentucky during the early 1800s. Section 2, Chapter 5-10, focuses on the latter of these communities, the Salyersville Indians, as they lived as "citizen Indians" deeply embedded in mountaineer society. Section 3, Chapters 11-15, describes the migrations of the Salyersville Indian families into Oklahoma and the Midwest muckfields, and ends with the present condition of the Salyersville Indians today. A brief bibliographic essay is presented at the beginning of the Acronym-Bibliography section in order to help the reader better discern the major sources that have been used to reconstruct this ethnohistory.

SECTION ONE

FROM THE MOUNTAINS, TO THE MOUNTAINS, 1677-1830

Chapter 1

The Saponi and Their Relations: Crisis To Christ, and Back Again

With the consent of the ex-Governor of Virginia, Alexander Spotswood, a small band of Christian Saponi Indians had been residing on Spotswoods private land holdings at Fox's Neck on the Rapidan River. They had lived here in the frontier county of Orange on the western fringes of Old Virginia at least since 1738. But not long after Spotswood's death in the summer of 1740, this band of Christian Indians had began having troubles with the local settlers[65]. In the spring of 1742, twenty-six of the Saponi men residing at the Fox's Neck village were in court defending themselves from vague accusations of "doing mischief"[66]. Now, less than a year later, Saponi men again found themselves arrested and brought before the court of Orange County held near Somerville Ford for "for stealing hogs and burning the woods". Names are preserved in court records show Saponi men named *John Collins, Alex Machartion, John Bowling, Maniassa, Craft Tom, Blind Tom, Foolish Jack, Charles Griffen, Little Jack, Isaac* and *Harry* as being among those arrested and brought in to face the charges[67]. Having had their guns seized, the men were taken before the court for trial "by precept under the hands and seals of William Russell and Ed Spencer, gentleman" under the charges of not only stealing hogs and burning the woods, but also "terrifying one Lawrence Strothers", who claimed he had been shot at and chased by the Saponi. The Saponi men were ordered held until bonded, after which they were ordered to leave the county. Interestingly, several white men were sympathetic to the Saponi's predicament and "went security on their bail bonds". The Saponi hunters were released, at which time they "openly declared their intention to

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depart this colony within a week" when their guns would be returned to them[68].

Who were these "Saponi Indians"? Where had they come from, why were they here, and where did they go? Historical investigations reveal that it was no coincidence that these Saponi were on Spotswood's lands in 1743, for the Saponi and the ex-Governor had been on intimate and friendly terms for nearly half a century. During the interim years, these Saponi families would strategically accomodate to the immense social, poltical and cultural changes accompanying the expansion of the colonies into their lives and lands.

Following the identity of the Saponi from documents recorded before this 1743 incident, it becomes clear that this band was previously a part of the composite Indian community that, some twenty-five years earlier, had flourished at the Fort Christanna Reservation down on the Meherrin River. This fort-trading post-reservation complex had been established by then Lt. Governor Spotwood, and even included a school for the children of the Saponi. The Christian band of Saponi was also the living legacy of the Saponi signers of the infamous Treaty of Middle Plantation of 1677. That agreement made between the Saponi and the Virginia colony marks the beginning of a long path of strategic accomodation on the part of the Saponi and allied bands and families as they began to stuggle to sustain themselves as a distinct Indian people. In this case, successful attempts at ensuring the persistence of future generations have been made via *strategic accommodations* to imposed outside pressures[69]. When the Fort Christanna Reservation tribes disbanded in 1730, new strategies and accommodations had to be made. The top priority for the refugees became the survival of their families. The Christian band of Saponi chose the path of Christianity, colonial citizenship, and private land ownership to

achieve that end, as did the few non-Saponi Indian families who would join them in the upcoming decades.

Prior to 1677, the Virginians knew very little about the Saponi and the other "wild" tribes living on the "backside" of Virginia, and they remained politically, economically and geographical peripheral to the Virginia colony. To this point, colonial contact with these tribes was mostly limited to a handful of Virginia traders like William Byrd, Abraham Wood and Cadwaller Jones who organized great "caravans" to bring trade goods among them, or to occasions when the tribes sent down emissaries for trade or diplomatic reasons to the settlements. Instead, the Virginians' experiences in Indian affairs were based almost completely on their problematic relations with the more numerous and politically centralized nations associated with the old "Powhatan Confederacy", its Maryland counterpart, the "Conoy (Piscataway) Confederacy", and the tribes and bands occupying the Eastern Shore. Nearly all of these Indian populations were grounded in horticultural or fishing based economies which promoted a more sedentary lifestyle and denser populations than the hunter/gatherer tribes such as the Saponi. By the end of the 17th century, however, the epidemics, warfare, loss of land, and subsequent political disintegration that occurred among these tidewater and eastern shore tribes would eventually lead the Saponi to come to dominate Virginia Indian Affairs. No longer dependant on, threatened by, or able to make a profit from the now decimated Tidewater and Eastern Shore tribes who clung to their ever shrinking reservations, the colony's attention now turned more concertedly towards the more powerful Saponi, Nottoway, Meherrin and other "wild" tribes at the frontiers.

The trade economy was a primary motivation in Indian-colonial interaction and

the relationship was meant to be beneficial to both. During the 1600s, the Virginians had remained mutually dependent on their Indian neighbors for both military and economic reasons[70]. Thus, interaction between the Virginians and local tribes was not always filled with conflict, nor was change wholly resisted. By the early 1700s and, in some cases much earlier, some Indians from that region had been deliberately choosing to align their futures and accommodate their lifestyles more fully with colonial society. One example is that of "*Robin*, a Pamunkey Indian" who petitioned the Virginia Council in 1709 to allow him to remain residing among the settlements[71]. Robin had been "bred" and instructed in the trade of Shoemaker as a youth in the Virginia colonies, and he was not pleased with being forced to return to "Indian Town" as per a recent order from the Pamunkey's Great Men that all their people do so immediately[72]. The Petition on his behalf stated that "he's like to be compelled to forsake the company & conversation of the English with which he is more Delighted than with the barbarous Customs & manner of Living of his own nation". So the Council agreed that Robin could "continue amongst the Inhabitants, and to exercise his trade wherever he shall find encouragement"[73].

Crossing the cultural and physical boundaries delineating English from Indian societies during the 1600s was not limited to Indians like Robin who had been educated among the English. Barker for instance cites figures taken from a Spanish minister who stated that, as early as 1612, some forty to fifty Englishmen had intermarried with local Indians in the tidewater region[74]. Barker points out that this would have meant that nearly ten percent of all the Englishmen in Virginia at the time had "taken up" with Indian spouses. Even a few mixed-blood men like *Thomas Rolfe* and *John Fox* rose to prominence in both colonial and Indian society through shared experiences gained from

informal education they gained from both English and Indian society. These skills allowed them to better negotiate between both ends of the spectrum of Indian-English interaction, and such knowledge was often absorbed by both their Indian and colonial relations.

By 1665, the ever changing geographic "Indian Boundary" within Virginia, excluding the small reservations for the Accomac, Pamaunky, Chickahominy and other tribes that lay within, was extended and set at the southern reaches of the Blackwater River, running up to the Appomattox Indian Town near Fort Henry at the falls of the Appomattox[75]. From the Appomattox Town, this "official" boundary line dividing Indian Country from the settlements was then run up to the Monocan Indian Town nearby Fort James, which was established on the James River back in 1645[76]. Lt. *Thomas Rolfe*, whose mother was a Pamunkey and father was a Englishman, was in charge of Fort James which sat on the ridge of the Chickahominy. Like Fort Henry, Fort James was a focal point for Virginia trade with "outlying nations" living south and west of this line like the interrelated Saponi, Tutelo, the Outaponi, and other affiliated Siouan speaking tribes, while to the immediate south lived the Nottoway, the Meherrin, the Nansemond, and a few other Iroquoian and Algonquin speaking tribes. But this line set, or rather reset in 1665, was useless within a decade, as tribes to the south were complaining that many settlers had drifted onto their lands south of the Blackwater River.

The Early Colonial Path of the Nassayn: Treaties, Trade and Tributary Nations

In the 1600's the semi-nomadic hunting and gathering bands that scholars often

dub the "Saponi confederacy" were a part of a myriad of loosley affiliated Souian speaking hunter-gatherer tribes whose interrelated bands called the Piedmont and the Eastern Appalachians their home[77]. Their overlapping ranges extended from deep in the Carolinas up into northern Virginia. In the south of this range lived the numerous Siouan bands associated with tribes like the Uchee and Wateree who were mostly later associated with the "Catawba confederacy" from the colonial perspective. In the middle of this range of the Eastern Souians lived the Occoneechi, Keyowee, the Eno, the Sara and a few other Siouan tribes. Occupying the northern portion of this range were the Monocan, the Saponi, the Tutelo and the Outaponies. But documents prove these primary locations were not necessarily exclusive, for these tribes' bands and families used the whole of this range. The Catawba affiliates could often be found residing far north in Virginia Territory, while the Saponi and Tutelo bands just as often could be found temporarily residing far south into the Carolinas. Linguistically all Siouan, these interrelated tribes reportedly could understand each other's language, although there was diversity among their speech. The Occoneechi dialect however was used by a number of Siouan and non-Siouan tribes as the regional "trade jargon" as well as a common "religious jargon". Nonetheless, while recognizing tribal distinctions and designations amongst themselves, in their own language all these Siouan speakers referred to themselves as "Nassayn", or "Yasang", roughly meaning "The Principle People".

The mobile hunting and gathering lifestyle practiced by these Siouan tribes ensured that their bands were widley scattered as was more typical of the hunter-gatherers of the Great Plains or the northern Great Lakes region. Their people's mobility contrasted with the more sedentary and horticulturally based Powhatan tribes, or the

fishing oriented peoples of the Tidewater and Eastern shore. The few surviving documents of the early colonists describing the Eastern Souian confirm the existence of multiple bands and mobile "towns" among thse various Siouan "Nations" throughout the 17th and early 18th centuries. For instance, in 1671, a few years prior to the Treaty of Middle Plantation, Virginia explorers Thomas Batts, Thomas Woods and Robert Fallen undertook an expedition from Fort Henry to explore lands beyond the Appalachian Mountains[78]. The entourage included as guides the "Great Man of the Appomatax" named *Percecute*, and *Jack Neasan* [Nassayn], a former Tutelo "servant" of Woods. In their travels, they followed "the Occonechi Trading Path" to the Roanoke and Saponi Rivers were they found both "Saponi Town" and "the Saponi West"[79]. The troop acquired a Saponi guide from one of these two divisions guided them past the Flanakaskies' town and on to the primary Tutelo town of that season "by a way nearer than usual", whereupon the party was "exceedingly civilly entertained" for three days[80]. Being late in the season when many bands are preparing for winter hunts, it is not surprising to find the Tutelo Town was situated "in a very rich swamp between a branch and the Main River of the Roanoke circled about with mountains" where game was likely in abundance.

During these early years, the Saponi's disposition toward their Virginia neighbors remained friendly. John Lederer, a German who had visited the Saponi in 1670, noted in his journal that they had "attempted to tie him to the tribe through marraige"[81]. While Lederer rejected the offer, undoubtedly other non-Indian traders gained access to Saponi trust through these means. Indeed, the Nassayn tribes remained tied together most importantly not through language, political labels or land use, but through complex kinship connections. From the Catawba north to the Monocan, nearly every Siouan tribe

undoubtedly could count relatives among the other tribes like the Saponi, the Sara, the Tutelo, and so on.

After nearly a century of hostile conflicts between most of the Virginia Indians and the Iroqious who harrassed them as "traditional enemies", many of the former had severely declined in number by the late 1600s[82]. Other powerful "foriegn" nations of Tuscarora, Cherokee and the "5 Nations" of Iroqious were however strong enough to present a real threat to the stability of the British colonies if provoked. But by no means were the Virignia Indians inconsequential to the political and economic well being of the colonists. For one, most of the Virginian tribes shared in the latter's fear of Iroquois incursions and they came to mutually welcome the other's support against the Iroqious threat. But in more than one instance, conflicts with the Iroquois complicated the Saponi's early friendly relations Virginia.

In 1673 or 1674, the interrelated Tutelo and Saponi had decided to move their primary towns down from the mountains to the "Three Islands" of the Staunton River because of Iroquois pressure. On one of these islands was the thriving and long established "ancient Towne" of the Occoneechi, another closely related Siouan tribe. This was indeed a strategic location for the consolidation of these three tribes. Not only did the islands provide a natural barrier to curb enemy attacks, but the infamous "trading path" to the Catawba and Cherokee Nations also crossed here.

By consolidating their people on the Three Islands, these three interrelated tribes had a temporary stronghold to repel Iroquois warriors from the north. But it would not be the Iroquois who would ultimately upset this stronghold of three sister villages. Instead, it would be a group of non-Indians who were spearheading an internal colonial

"Rebellion" in 1675. Although they had many other grievances, these colonial "rebels" under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon perturbed were not allowed on the "unsettled" hunting lands of tribes beyond the "Indian Boundary" like the Saponi and Tutelo. They also felt that the government authorities allowed those tribes too retain to much political and military power despite their "friendly status". Among the many controversial actions taken by Bacon's followers was the attack on the tribes living on the Three Islands of the Staunton River. Although loss of life was minimal, all three towns were burned.

The Crown rebuked this action against some of their best trading partners, and the English authorities quickly moved to reconcile with the aggrieved Saponi, Tutelo and Occoneechi. The tribes, however, spread back to the mountains after this attack, and there they tried to remain more distant from the Virginians until conflicts with the Iroquois would again push them east to the protection of Virginia at the turn of the century. The lessons of Bacon's Rebellion indicated to the Saponi, Tutelo and Occonecchi, as well as the colonial authorities, that a better political, social and economic framework was needed, in part, in order to keep the Crown's subjects from taking matters into their own hands during times of disagreement. The resulting manifestation of these concerns was that the Saponi would join with the other major Virginia Indian Nations in a Grand Council from which would emerge the 1677 Treaty of Middle Plantation.

The Treaty of Middle Plantation was the first the Saponi are known to have ever entered into with the English, and the agreement was to have lasting consequences for them and the other Tribes represented therein. Two Saponi leaders, *Mastegonoe* the "young King of the Sapponies", and *Tachapoake* a "Chief man of the Saponnies" signed for that tribe[83]. In return for their "acknowledged dependency to the King", and a yearly

tribute of 20 beavers skins to be paid to the Virginia Governor (a practice which some of the Powhatan tribes have continued to this very day), the Indian signatories were made certain guarantees. "Permanent lands" or reservations of six square miles were to be provided for the respective nations, upon which no English could settle within three miles. The tribes were also guaranteed usfruct rights, specifically meaning they were to "have their wonted[sic] convienences of Oystering, fishing...or anything else for there natural support" on "waste" and unpatended lands. Finally, the treaty promised the Tribes crucial colonial protection from "foreign Indians", and that "each King and Queen is to equally have power to govern their own people and none have greater power that another"[84]. With this Treaty, the Saponi and their relations forever changed the course of their people's lives in order to strategically accommodate to these difficult and changing times.

In the three years following the Treaty of Middle Plantation the social climate between the Virginians and the Tributary tribes still remained tense. This resulted in treaty council in 1680, and the new treaty is popularly known as "the Treaty of Middle Plantation Two". It merely reiterated the promises and agreements made three years prior. With these treaties, however, arose a new category or class of Indian Nations in the eyes of the Virginian authorities, that of "Tributary Indian Nations". This identifier would commonly be used by colonial Virginia after that time to distinguish "friendly tribes" bound by these particular treaties to Virginia, from "foreign tribes". "Friendly" tribes were thus not always Tributary Nations as the latter status was strictly applied to those who were parties to the 1677 and 1680 Treaties of Middle Plantation.

After 1680, the Saponi's interactions with the English remained relatively

peaceful. Still, constant friction with roving Iroquois warriors, frequent disease epidemics, and other factors contributed to a steady decrease in the population of all the Virginia "Tributary Tribes". Their people's dependence on European goods, however, continued to increase. By 1688, some of the tribes residing in the Indian Country south of the Blackwater River were petitioning to the Virginia assembly to allow colonists to come settle among them, and this request was granted[85].

The lands immediately south of the Blackwater were traditionally the home of the Nottoway, Meherrin, the Nasemond, and a few other Iroquoian and Algonquin speaking tribes and bands. But in 1691, the Governor of Virginia learned that the Saponi and the Tutelo had again left the mountains and moved east into this range where they established a new consolidated village south of the Nottoway River[86]. Their intentions appeared to be somewhat permanent, as the Governor reported that, unlike in previous years, the Saponi and Tutelo had planted corn. The Tutelo, and most likely the Saponi, were also reported to be hunting extensively on the south side of the Meherrin River in the territory of the tribe after which the River was named. The Meherrin, and their relations and allies the Nottoway were none too pleased, but they apparently were unable to do much about it[87]. Despite the grumbling of the Nottoway and Meherrin, the Saponi and Tutelo evidently felt that it was their best interests to be living closer to their Virginia allies.

The Saponi and Tutelo however would continue to move their villages back and forth from the mountains to the Roanoke-Meherrin Rivers area a number of times during the first decade of the 18th century. For instance, in the winter of 1700 the primary village of the Saponi was found far up the Yadkin River in the mountains of what is now North Carolina[88]. Ben Harrison, Ben Hix and others prominent colonists who moved into

the Indian Country south of the Blackwater knew that the "Tributary" status shared by most tribes living in the region did not mean that all the tribes were friendly towards one another. Indeed, some like the Nottoway and the Saponi had been at odds with each other for generations. And in 1709 Benjamin Harrison, who lived near the Roanoke on the southern fringes of Virginia settlement reported to the Virginia Council of renewed hostilities occuring between the Nottaway and Meherrin, and the Saponi and Tutelo who had returned to the area some time before[89]. Both the Nottoway and Meherrin were again making complaints about the Saponi and Tutelo coming onto their hunting lands. Later, some Nottoway were murdered, and this threatened to ignite a war between those tribes.

In order to help clear up this matter between these feuding Tributary tribes, in July of 1709 a council was held at Harrison's house[90]. Harrison tried to serve as moderator between the attending chiefs or "kings" of the Saponi, Nottoway and Meherrin. The Saponi were being accused of murdering some Nottoway and Tuscarora, the latter of whom had close political ties with the Nottoway and most lived in about a dozen villages not far south of the Nottoway in Carolina country[91]. The Meherrin, who were already upset at the Saponi and Tutelo for coming onto their hunting lands, were siding with their political allies, the Nottoway and Tuscarora, in requesting to be allowed a revenge killing or monetary retribution for the deaths. The Saponi slyly retorted that it had been the Tutelo, who were not present at the Council, who had committed the murders. The Nottoway however smartly informed Harrison that the "Toteros and Saponi were all as one people", and thus both tribes were to be held equally responsible[92]. The Nottoway delegates also told Harrison that this was not the first time that the Saponi "had betrayed the Nottoway to warn the Toteros"[93].

As the Virginia representative to the Council, Harrison also used the occasion the address all of the attending tribes regarding some ongoing grievances that had arisen between some of the frontier whites and local Indians. The delegates from all of the attending Indian nations blamed alcohol, deceitful trading practices, and the ongoing illegal acquisitions of their lands as the root of the troubles that they recently had with local whites. Harrison astutely reported to his superiors that he was convinced that "our people are as much to blame or more than ye Indians" for the troubles recently between them[94]. But to allay the settlers' fears, all local Tributary Indians were ordered to wear passes when traveling outside their towns and into the Virginia settlements.

Besides their occassional problems with local English colonists, and their ongoing fueds with the Nottoways, Tuscarora and Meherrin, border disputes with North Carolina also began to threaten the Saponi's political status as a Virginia Tributary Nation. The Lt. Governor of Virginia, Alexander Spotswood, was very much concerned with this latter issue. In the summer of 1710, the Governor informed the Council of Trade that the Saponi, the Meherrins and other Treaty tribes then living around the contested colonial borderlands were again petitioning for the reservation lands promised to be set aside for them in the Treaties of Middle Planation thirty years prior. The Governor was anxious that their lands fall within Virginia, and not be subject to Carolinia jurisdiction. Despite their problems a year prior, in 1710 one small band of Saponi had even set up a temporary village among the Tuscarora deep in that tribe's Carolina homelands[95]. The Virginians and Carolinians alike considered the Tuscarora a "troublesome" Nation, and the Virginians in particular did not want to lose the Saponi and their affiliates to either the Tuscarora as military partners, or to the Carolinians as trading partners.

Governor Spotswood was concerned that, because the promised Virginia reservations had never been set apart, the Virginia Tributaties living south of the Blackwater may have had a legitimate excuse to switch their allegiences to the Carolinias or the Tuscaroras. The Governor acknowledged that the most recent Indians petitioning for their reservation to be secured, the Saponi, had indeed kept their part of the 1677 and 1680 Treaties by ceremoniously bringing him, each year, the required tribute of three arrows for land and twenty beaver skins for protection. The Governor reported that the Saponi and their allies had, since the Treaties, "lived quietly under this government", and he doubted that North Carolina would honor the treaty "...if the disputed boundary ran about these Indian towns on the [illegible word] rivers", or would claim the lands reserved by those Tributaries as their own[96].

Inter-colonial rivalries remained an issue throughout the 18th century, and the Saponi found themselves caught in the middle of intra and inter colonial feuds over trade. So Governor Spotswood devised plans by which to curb the grievances among the Indians and his colonists arising from questionable trade practices and, at the same time, promote those of Virginia in inter-colonial competition. His most controversial action was to create the "Virginia Indian Company", which was a coalition of Virginia politicians, traders and businessmen. By this order, only members of that Company could trade legally and exclusively among the Tributaries as well as "foreign" Indian Nations. Therefore, membership in the Virginia Indian Company became the only legal means by which to be involved in the Indian Trade. And Spotswood himself held the largest "interests" in the Company, which annoyed many members of the Virginia Assembly[97]. And in another bold move, Spotswood would also allow educated Indians to

be admitted to positions of trust in the Company[98].

Governor Spotswood would also eventually convince authorities in London that a new fort and warehouse complex was required on the southern frontier by which legitimate trade could be conducted and controlled while the settlements could simultaneously be better protected. The fort idea also neatly coincided with the Saponi's most recent petitions for a definitive reservation and Spotswood suggested establishing the two in the same place.

Aiding Spotswood's in getting approval for these plans was the fact that, in 1712 and 1713, the powerful Tuscarora Nation fell into serious conflict with the Carolinians. The numerous towns of the Tuscarora extended up to the southern Virginia border. The people of both colonies were greatly unnerved by the actions of this formidable ally of the even more powerful "Five Nations" who lived far to the North in New York. Spotswood was convinced that the French were tying to persuade the Tuscarora to accept the Five Nations' invitation to join them in New York[99]. Further confusing things, the 'Carolinians were accusing Virginia traders of arming the Tuscarora in the first place[100].

At opening phases of the "Tuscarora War", many Virginians looked nervously at their Tributary allies to see what they would do. Nottoway leaders in particular were caught in a difficult position as they had long established political ties with the Tuscarora, and probably could count many relations among them. The Nottoway however would not choose to side with the Tuscarora and neither would the Saponi or the rest of the Virginia tributaries . Responding to an order to make a list of all Virginia "freemen that can bear arms" in the summer of 1712, Spotswood referred to the strength of the "9 Nations of Indians tributary to this Gov't", the Pamunkeys, the Chickahominies, the

Nansemonds, the Meherrins, the Nottoway, the Saponi, the Stuckanocks, the Occoneechi and the Tutelo, as together numbering 700 people with 250 fighting men. The Governor reported that they all were still "entirely subject to this government and live quietly on our frontiers trafficking with the inhabitants their skinns and furs"[101].

As the summer of 1713 came around, Spotswood continued to confidently report that there were no suspicions whatsoever of any of "our ancient Tributaries receding from their engagements" as they sent warriors who helped Virginia and Carolina militia and the few "neutral" Tuscarora to expel "unruly" Tuscarora from the colonies' midst[102]. In the fall of 1713 the Virginia government sent out a detachment of "50 tributary Indians" under the command of two Virginia traders to find a remaining contingent of these Tuscarora. Not wanting to follow their brethren to New York, they were found hiding in the mountains west of the Virginia settlements, and Spotswood thought he might be able to persuade them to sue for peace. The ragged detachment of Tuscarora were "...found dispersed in small parties at the head of the Roanoke River in miserable condition, afraid of returning to old settlements in North Carolina"[103]. The Tuscarora agreed to sent down two chiefs to negotiate with Spotswood, and with that the War finally came to a close[104].

At the War's end, most of the 13 Tuscarora bands would remove to New York at the invitation of the Five Nations. Only a handful of the bands previously associated with the old "upper towns" of Tuscarora would remain in the south. Virginia then made a treaty with these "neutral" Tuscarora, a second with the Meherrin and Nottoway, and then a third with the headman, or "The Hoonskeys" of now politically consolidated Saponi, Tutelo, Occoneechi and Stukanox. For the latter, the treaty renewed the pledges and rights stipulated in the 1677 and 1680 Treaties, and now offered the same Tributary

status of the neutral Tuscarora if they chose to stay in Virginia[105].

After the Tuscarora War, the Governor realized that he was obligated to aid the Saponi and their kindred now more than ever, and he pushed forward to secure the frontiers "with settlements of Tributary Indians" whose reservations could serve as buffers on the colonies frontiers[106]. Governor Spotswood had taken quite a liking to the Saponi in particular, and surviving records show that he favored them, for whatever reason, over the other Virginia Treaty tribes during his time in office. While the interests of the Virginia Indian Company would remain hotly disputed by members of the Virginia assembly, these recent conflicts gave the Governor the support he needed to finally establish a Fort and warehouse upon a strategically placed new reservation set aside for his loyal allies, the Saponi.

Establishing Junktapurse, Fort Christianna, and the Saponi Reservation

Toward the end of October in 1714, the Governor finally announced Fort Christanna's completion in the heart of the newly designated Saponi Reservation on the Meherrin River[107]. The Saponi and their relations, the Tutelo, the Occoneechi and Stukanox, all chose to politically and economically align their nations with the prerogatives of the Virginia governor in this venture. Captain Robert Hix and a garrison of a dozen other men all affiliated with the Virginia Indian Company were to occupy the post and run the warehouse. And, in conjunction with the Saponi, Tutelo and other Indian warriors living there, the garrison was to serve as Rangers to patrol the land between the Roanoke and Appomatox Rivers.

These tribes had recently established this new town at a peculiar bend on the Meherrin river resembling a "Horse's Head", which in the Saponi language was said as "Junktapurse"[108]. The location of the fort was set immediatly adjacent to the site of the Saponi town of Junktapurse. The corresponding reservation for the the "Sappony, Occonechi, Stukanox and Tuttero" was set to embrace a six mile square part of surrounding territory on the south side of the Meherrin River[109]. It was reported to the Governor that they had moved their primary village there because they could no longer subsist on the lands the Virginians had originally intended to secure for them "at the Forks of the James River"[110].

In 1732, William Byrd III recalled the configuration of these Siouan tribes consolidating at the Fort Christianna reservation. He described how "...each of these was formally a distinct Nation, or rather Several clan or Canton of the Same Nation, Speaking the same Language, and using the same Customs"[111]. It can be assumed that these distinctions remained during the early years of Fort Christanna and the Saponi Reservation. But at least in the perception of many non-Indians, these distinctions would quickly become blurred as they referred to the whole of the inhabitants of the reservation under the identity of "Saponi". In the first years of the Saponi Reservation, Spotswood commented that its inhabitants "prove useful friends" in these times of trouble, such as aiding colonial militias in the Yamassee-Carolinian conflict of 1715. Of all the Virginian Tributary tribes, the Governor reported that the Saponi "...are the most considerable Nation and are settled at the Fort...they are an increasing nation...and keep in awe our other tributaries who already stand in fear of them"[112].

Helping to ensure stable relations was also the fact that the Saponi and Virginia

still had another common enemy to contend with warriors from "The Five Nations" (Seneca, Oneida, Cayuga, Onondaga and Mohawk). In the spring of 1715, the Governor reported that he was worried about the Senecas attacking the Saponi[113]. As promised by treaty, the Governor boosted militia presence on the frontiers to better ensure the safety of both the Virginians and the Tributaries from Iroquois incursions. For these reasons and more, the Saponi and their relations living on the new Reservation became staunch friends of Gov. Spotswood. In a letter to Colonel Hunter written in March of 1715, the Virginia Governor reported that "The Saponi, a nation of all our Tributaries, are the best disposed to the English, and which I am more concerned to protect, in regard to their readiness to let their Children be bred up as Christians"[114]. The Governor claimed that a hundred children were attending the new school he established on the Saponi reservation. Although that statistic seems to be somewhat exaggerated, the Saponi were obviously willing to put their trust in Spotswood and this new strategic accommodation with the Virginians.

Governor Spotswood had long proposed to educate Indians in their own towns instead of enticing them to the Virginia boarding school. During the Tuscarora War, Spotswood had reported to the Bishop of London that the seventeen Indian children being educated at the "Indian College" near Williamsburg were indeed "doing well"[115]. But Spotswood thought this a token gesture, and he sought new ways to expand English educational influence among the Virginia Tributary tribes. He informed the Bishop that many tribes would indeed consent to send their children to school, but *only* if ministers and schoolmasters could be sent among them[116]. The Governor argued elsewhere that, by educating Indians in their own villages, Virginia could go far to "banage[sic] savage

customs in a generation or two" among the tribes where they could be made more "...useful as neighbors"[117]. But neither the authorities in London nor the Assembly in Virginia would heed Spotswood's repeated calls to support a school mission at the newly approved Saponi reservation. Spotswood however felt this so important that he announced he would fund a school and mission among the Saponi from his own personal funds until the government was willing to do so. There was really no precedent for his idea of establishing a school in Indian Country itself, so this was a bold new move in Indian policy on his part. As Spotswood perceived it, the colony's military and economic interests directly related to his long-standing conviction of wanting to "Christianize and civilize the Tributarys"[118]

A Visit to the Reservation: An outsiders perspective

In the early spring of 1716, the Governor and a sizable entourage of troops and traders participated in a three week excursion to refurbish Fort Christanna for the mutual interests of the Saponi and the Virginians[119]. One month later, the Governor paid another visit to Fort Christianna with a clergyman named Rev.John Fontaine. The latter fortunately would leave one of the few descriptive accounts of the Fort and the adjoining "Saponi Town" and its inhabitants.

The trip to the Reservation from Williamsburg, about eighty miles, took less than two-days travel by horse and carriage. Crossing the Nottaway River, the troupe found lodging at the residence of a prominent trader, William Hix, on Herrin Creek. Hix's house was considered the limits of southern Virginian settlement and from here the old

Trader still maintained intimate relations with his Saponi nieghbors. Hix and "several Indians" then guided the Governor to Christanna. Fontaine noted that Fort sat "conspicuously" on the southside of the Meherrin River and was surrounded by "several fine tracts of lands and plains called Savannas" that hugged the river[120]. Some of the surrounding land he noted were already "taken up" by speculators[121]. The land was "well-watered" and Fontiane noted that there were "a great deal of fish in this place"[122].

The Reverend learned that the "Saponey Indians" had a population of 200 men, woman and children who he stated "are always at peace with the English...and are protected by the English"[123]. The "Saponi Indian Town", called Junktapurse, Fontaine described as being "about a musket shot" from the Fort, lying on a plain paralleling the river. There he found a number of "houses" joined together in a large circle, with 3 passages about 6 feet wide by which one gained entrance to the center of town at which there was "a great stump of a tree". The doors of the houses all faced inward to the level "common". The houses he described as "pretty large". With only one door, they were walled by large square pieces of timber which, fixed together, stood about 3 feet high. These were covered with strips of oak or hickory bark that were held up "by a sort of rafters". Outside the town on the plain to the river, there were also "several small huts built with waddles in the form of an oven with a small door at the end of it". Plastered with clay, the "sideless" huts were just large enough to hold one person[124].

When the "Indian chiefs, or Great Men as they styled themselves" came to the Fort to meet the Governor in council, Fontaine perceived them as having the "power to act for the whole nation...[the nation] will stand to everything that those twelve men agree to as their own act"[125]. The Saponi leaders greeted the Governor by laying several

animal pelts at his feet, and requested an interpretor, "saying they had something to represent to him". Despite English friendship and influence, the leaders obviously took their Saponi identity seriously in political matters, for Fontaine was suprised to learn that "notwithstanding some of them could speak good English, yet when they treat of anything that concern their nation, they will not treat but in their own language, and that by an interpreter, nor will not answer any question made to them without it being in their own tongue"[126]. After calling up the proper interpreter, Fontaine wrote that:

> "...they stood silent for a while, and after they had spit several times upon the ground one of them began to speak and assured the Governor of the satisfaction they had of seeing him amongst them and assured him of the good will they had toward the English-- and that some of the English had wronged them in some things which they would make appear, and desired he would get justice done to them, and that they depended on him for it; which the Governor promised he would, and thanked them for the good opinion they had of his justice towards them. Whereupon they all made a bow and so sat down on the ground all around the Governor"[127].

The leaders also reported that a hunting party had been attacked by "Genito Indians" (Shawnee), and fifteen young Saponi men had been killed. The Great Men asked the Governor's assistance to retaliate until "they had killed as many of them". The Governor replied that he could not grant their request, but that he "would permit them to revenge themselves, and help themselves to powder and ball, at which they seemed

somewhat rejoiced". The Great men then told of being "cheated" the Saponi in some business dealing with a Virginian, and the Governor paid them a full reimbursement for their losses, "which satisfied them". The council ended with the Governor distributing presents to the Saponi leaders. Later that afternoon, the Governor and the Reverend got a show of Saponi military strength as warriors paraded by and a "war dance" was held, probably because the young men were excited upon receiving news that ammunition would be supplied them to permit a revenge raid[128].

During his visit, Fontaine recorded some interesting details concerning life at the Saponi Reservation. The "Great Stump" he observed that at the center of Junktapurse the Saponi informed him was "for one of their headmen to stand when he had anything of consequence to relate to them that be raised, he may be better heard"[129]. Of the Saponi women, Fontaine noted

> "They are very modest and very true to their husbands. They are straight, well limbed, good shape and extraordinary good features as well the men as the women. They look wild and are mighty shy of an Englishman and will not let you touch them. The men marry but one wife and cannot marry any more until she die or grow so old that she will not bear any more children. But when she hath done bearing, then the man may take another wife, but is obliged to keep them both and maintain them. They will take one another without ceremony"[130].

Fontaine also commented upon some of the more obvious Saponi childrearing

practices, such as the common intertribal practice of using cradleboards, and he remarked that this "is the reason I believe they are so straight, and so few of them that are lame or odd shaped"[131].

Fontaine spent a considerable amount of time conversing with the instructor of the Saponi Indian school, the Reverend Charles Griffin. Frustrated at the repeated denials from the Virginia Council to fund a missionary schoolteacher for the Saponi, Spotswood still personally employed the English clergyman. Fontaine found Griffin enthusiasticly carrying out his mission "to teach the Indian children and to bring them to Christianity". Besides for running the Fort's church, Reverend Griffin's work among the Saponi involved teaching their children to read the Bible and repeat "common prayers". He was also teaching broader skills in speaking, reading and writing English, and Fontaine noted he "hath had good success amongst them"[132]. One evening, Fontaine attended a common prayer reading and noted that the eight Indian boys participating "answered very well to their prayers and understand what is read"[133].

Besides religion and language, English influence also was apparent in Saponi architectue. But Fontaine's descriptions of the Saponi "houses" reveal that actually such English influences were yet minimal and superficial. Upon entering a few Saponi homes, he found that they still built open fires in the center of their houses. The pots and wooden utensils they used "they make themselves", despite the Saponi's favored access to Virginia Trade goods. Fontaine noted that most sat on the ground when inside. Covered with "bear and dearskins", the Saponi slept on matts made of bullrushes raised about 2 feet above the ground.

Fontaine also spent some time describing the subsistence economy of the Saponi

living at Junktapurse. This he described as being entirely based upon the men hunting and the women cultivating corn. The Saponi had no domestic animals, including dogs, but Fontaine noted that turkey and deer were bountiful here. The Reverend commented that the fishing here supplied plenty of fish that were "good and firm". Despite these plentiful resources, Fontaine still perceived the Saponi lifestyle negatively stating that, "they live as lazily and miserable as any people in the world"[134].

The day the Englishmen departed the Reservation twelve young Saponi men came ready with arms met them, and the "Old Man" who led them expressed his sorrow at seeing the Governor leave[135]. He stated that his warriors would guard the party safely back to the settlements. Fontiane noted that they so pressed upon the Governor "that he was forced to accept of it". Not wanting to insult their allies, the Englishman kept the company of the Saponi guard for about fifteen miles above the Fort. There, at the Nottaway River (where Fontaine noted the Nottaway Indians had "formally lived"), the Saponi turned back to their home, but not until the Governor ordered each Saponi guard to being given a pound of powder and shot as a token of his gratitude. With the protection of this benevolent "Great Father", these appeared to be good times for the Saponi people.

In 1716, Spotswood was reporting to the Bishop of London on the continued success of the school in operation for the Saponi, but desperately requested more funding[136]. And the Governor frequently made trips to the Saponi Reservation and the law officially "directing the Indian Company to take over the Fort later in December" was passed[137].

By the spring of 1717, it became apparent that Spotswood's attempts to maintain harmoneous relations between the Saponi and the Virginians were to have unintended,

but perhaps predictable, consequences resulting from increased interaction with the colonists themselves. Spotswood characterized the "frontier inhabitants" as "little concerned with religion" or law, and many freely disregarded laws banning them from selling liquor to the Indians[138]. Others cheated them in trade, while still others gave them problems when they hunted off the Reservation, even though that right was guareented them by treaty. But outside of the Reservation itself, there was little the colonial goverment could do to stop the actions of such unscrupulous colonists. With the relative security provided by the fort, colonists were increasingly interested in gaining land of their own in the area.

At the same time all this was occuring, war parties from the Five Nations again began to harass Saponi and Virginians alike. In April of 1717 Spotwood was back holding Council with the Saponi who were requesting that he investigate the murders of some of their friends and allies the Catawbas which recently occured near the Fort, apparently at the hands of Mohawk warriors. Major Wynne, one of the local county militia, was killed and two Catawba men were captured, but later escaped[139].

The Virginia Council announced that it would uphold its end of the treaty obligations with the Saponi by publicly declaring that the Virginians will "revenge" all attacks upon their inhabitants. They reminded the other colonies and the Indian nations of the north that "inhabitants" included those they considered Tributary Indians and were bound by treaty to protect[140]. But "Foreign Indians" such as the 5 Nations were not the only folks giving the Saponi and their allies troubles, however. Later that August, for instance, the authorities in Williamsburg received notice from Fort Christanna telling of a murder incident between the Meherrins and the Saponi. The colonial Council summoned

the chiefs of both nations to clear up the matter, but tensions between those tribes would continue throughout the decade.

In the fall of 1717, the Saponi would see yet another threat to their well being at Fort Christanna arise. Powerful independent interests were accusing Spotswood's enterprise, the Indian Trade Company, of monopoly and exploiting their ties to the Virginia Council[141]. And they succeeded in pressuring the Council to again open trade for Independent traders by passing legislation officially dissolving the Company as a government enterprise. The Company then become a independant operation with no funding or backing from the Virginia government or the Crown itself. This decision however did allow for the Company to continue "guarding, repairing and keeping the Indians students" of the various tribes held there, as well as those of the Saponi, "until decision can be made on how the Government will maintain it". The Council realized that dismantling this frontier outpost would "endanger Tributaries settled there from the Iroquois", and the Virginia Council therefore decided to make "allowances to continue the school until the General Assembly can decide whether a Fort is necessary for the security of the Indian students educated there". The Council felt that discontinuing the Saponi school "may give umbrage to the Indians as if all further care of them or their children was to cease"[142].

That maintaining good relations was of still mutual benefit to both the Saponi and the Virginia authorities became obvious as their relations with "foreign Indians" again turned sour. By the summer of 1718 the Tuscarora allied with the 5 Nations began to again "harass" the non-Indians as well as the Saponi living on this part of the Virginia frontier. At one point, the Iroquois even boldly delivered a message to the commanding

officer at Fort Christanna demanding that the Saponi living there be surrendered, or they would attack the garrison full on. The commander reported that the impending Iroquois attack never occurred because "...seeing Strength despite cutbacks made by the assembly ...[they] made a sort of Treaty with the Saponi forbidding hostilities between them"[143].

In the meantime, Spotswood rebuked the Virginia General Assembly's recent treatment of the Saponi. He took issue with the Assembly for breaking Virginia's treaty obligation to the Saponi by not outfitting the Fort fully in the first place[144]. The House of Burgesses instead claimed that the frontiers were "no better or worse secured" by the Saponi and the Virginia Company's presence at the Fort, and they argued that the Governor merely had private financial reasons for maintaining the Fort because of his interest in the Virginia Indian Company's "factory" that remained headquartered there[145]. Finally, on their own initiative, Spotswood and his partners in the Virginia Indian Company invested their own money and labor to "rebuild" Fort Christanna in the summer of 1718, and Spotswood allowed the Saponi families to relocate from Junktapurse into the Fort itself[146]. Spotwood defended this action by stating "I could not treate so inhumanely...a people so loyal to this government"[147].

By the spring of 1720, open lands around the Saponi reservation were being granted to members of the Virginia Indian Company, perhaps as reimbursement for the civic duties they had carried out there for half a decade in addition to their trading activites. Testifying to the greater security on the Virginia frontier since 1714, other men not involved in the Virginia-Indian trade network were at the same time aquiring land nearby[148]. In the meantime, the Saponi School came under the direction of a new teacher, while Reverend Griffin had been relocated to teach at the Indian boarding school at the

Collage of William and Mary[149].

Despite the "peace" made in 1718, in 1722 the Iroquois attacked against the Saponi, other Tributary tribes, and non-Indian frontier settlers in Virginia. So that summer the Virginia government acted to negotiate a new peace treaty with the 5 nations[150]. The new "peace" was not long lasting. The Journals of the Virginia Council from the winter of 1722/23 reveal that some local colonists were under the impression that the Iroqious were planning to "carry off the Tuscarora settled in North Carolina and Ye apprehension of the Indians Tributary to this Government are under that they also shall be forced away"[151]. The Council took action and ordered the county militias nearest the Saponi to defend that Tributary Nation and the children of other Tribes enrolled at the Reservation school. The tribes then living at Christanna under label "Saponi" were the *Saponi* proper, along with varying proportions of the *Occoneechi*, the *Stengenocks*, the *Meipotskis* and the *Tutelo*[152]. Although there is no confirmation, it is quite probable that remnants of the *Outaponis* of old Orange County were also found among them.

Intertribal and Indian-colonial relationships continued to further degrade in the next two years. One story in particular illustrates how personalities intervened in the politics of the complex relationships existing between Indians and colonists at that time. In November of 1724 the Virginia Council in Williamsburg read a deposition taken from Spotsylvannia County representatives against a Saponi Indian named *Sawnie* who had recently returned to Virginia from Canada[153]. Some of the councilmen apparently recognized Sawnie noting him to be the same man that had been captured two years prior by "French Indians". The "French Indians", possibly Ottawa or Chippewa, took their Saponi captive to their homelands in the north. Apparently Sawnie was either "adopted"

or made a "slave" by his captors. Regardless, in the summer of 1724 he was allowed to go Albany, "whence by the favour of Captain Collins...had the liberty to return to Virginia"[154]. While visiting the frontier Virginia town of Germanna upon his release, he was accused of threatening the inhabitants with incursions from his former captors, the "French Indians". Sawnie was arrested and was suspected of bringing covert messages from "enemy tribes" to Virginia. Sawnie defended himself by claiming that he was drunk when he "said those things at Germanna" and he flatly denied bringing such messages "to the Saponies or any other Tributaries". He was ordered held in prison "under suspicion" until "the Great Men of his Nation shall engage for his good behavior"[155].

More Virginia settlers were killed by Iroquois in the winter of 1725-1726 and, again, the Virginia Council worked through New York authorities to have the guilty parties delivered up for prosecution. The sachems of the 5 Nations replied to the New York authorities that, in this instance, it was indeed some of their warriors operating without their authority in conjunction with "some French Indians and Tuscaroras" who had committed the killings[156]. But the Sachems defended their warriors by repling that they had mistakenly killed the white Virginians while in pursuit of "enemy Indians". Indeed, the day after receiving this report from New York authorities, the Virginia Council received a message from Nathaniel Harrison who was in charge of the militia that worked in conjunction with the Saponi on their reservation down in Brunswick Co[157]. He reported that Tuscarora warriors attacked a party of Saponi hunting on the Roanoke River. Seven Saponi men were either killed or captured.

Nearly a year later, in April of 1727, the Great Men of the Saponi attended the

Virginia Assembly in Williamsburg to formally lay out several grievances[158]. Among other things, the Saponi still demanded satisfaction and aid from Virginia on account of their men being killed on the Roanoke last winter by the Tuscarora. They accused the "neutral" Tuscarora's *King Blount* of merely making excuses. The Saponi leaders proclaimed that they had always been friends of and faithful to the English and always upheld their treaty obligations. Therefore, they had thus far declined to take revenge the old way in order that the murderers could be properly delivered up to Virginia authorities. The Saponi ended their Council agreeing to return to Williamsburg in two months at which time they would all meet with King Blount to resolve the issue. The Great Men declared, however, that if Virginia did not bring the guilty to justice soon "the Saponi and their confederates" would take the matter into their own hands[159].

Ultimately the Great Men of the Saponi were forced into the latter option. Nothing appears in the June or July Council proceedings showing that King Blount ever appeared back before the Virginia council as planned. So the Saponi called upon their old allies the Catawba for support. And the Catawba came, causing much apprehension for the settlers that lived around the Christanna region. By August colonists from the Roanoke Valley reported that the area had recently been "infested" by a company of Catawbas[160]. The Saponi and Catawba warriors in alliance then became very active in seeking retribution, not only from the Tuscarora, but also from all regional Iroquoians like the Nottaway. Local settlers reported that the Catawba were expected to return with even more of their people and they erroneously suspected them of having "designed to take possession of Christanna Fort, where there are presently several"[161]. A few months later, the settlers repeated their complaints against the Catawba who had returned in

force. The Virginia Council called upon Colonel Harrison to "take measures to protect the people from those Indians"[162].

The Saponi choice to call upon the Catawba for aid was a mixed blessing. The Saponi had made some long lasting friendships with some Virginians that were important to their political and economic well being. The Catawba's recklessness was putting these old alliences in jeopordy. And now there had been recent changes in Virginia leadership. Spotswood had retired to his plantation near Germanna and could no longer look out for the Saponi's interests as assertivly as before. The new Governor, Gooch, would have less tolerance for "getting personal" like Spotswood had in Indian Affairs. Gooch would deal with the Saponi and other Tributary Indians much more sternly.

With Saponi and Catawba warriors temporarily confederated and now taking revenge upon their Indian enemies and, in the process scaring the settlers by their mere presence, the social and political situation went from bad to worse. Late in October there was an attack upon the the Meherrin Indians, now living in North Carolina, wherein they lost 12 of their men and the son of "Great Man *Robin King*" was taken prisoner[163]. The Meherrin leaders laid the blame on "the Old Occoneechy King and the Saponis" and, as they were Tributary Nations of Virginia, the Meherrin asked Carolina to call upon that colony for justice in the matter[164]. Virginia's President Carter however defended the Saponi action, stating that the disturbances on the Virginia- North Carolina border were merely the Saponi rightfully seeking retribution for the murder of some of their men the winter before. Colonel Harrison was ordered to take out his militia and "protect the Tributaries"[165].

Later that fall, the Nottoway, also a Tributary Nation of Virginia, confused the

issue further by complaining to Virginia authorities that the Meherrins had recently threatened them because they suspected the Nottoway of establishing political ties with the Catawbas. Yet, one of the Meherrin leaders, "*Chief Rogers*", stated he had no doubt of the Nottaways friendship toward them because "his mother's sister and her children had grown up with them"[166]. However, the Catawbas, who the Nottoway described as "to whom the Saponi are peaceably inclined" had returned again and, in alliance with the Saponi, not only attacked the Meherrins but also King Blount's Town of neutral Tuscarora. North Carolina authorities, while recognizing the Catawba as the primary participants in the hostilities of late, nonetheless held the Saponi and the Old Occoneechi leader as the responsible instigators of the whole affair[167].

Colonel Harrison called a council with the Saponi and their allies to readdress the matter. Harrison concluded that the Meherrin's "desire for revenge is groundless"[168]. Harrison did confirm that at least three Saponi warriors did participate on the attack of the Meherrin Town but that they had done so against the advice of their Great Men. The Saponi leaders said that they would have had the three warriors delivered up for prosecution but claimed that one died at the Roanoke and that the other two "fled" with the Catawbas deep into the Carolinas. Fortunately, word was soon received that the Catawba chiefs had promised to return the Meherrin boy they captured and this temporarily cooled the tensions amongst all concerned parties.

The winter of 1727-8 passed on with no incident occuring between these fueding Tributary Nations and their allies. But 1728 was to be an important year in the relationships between the Saponi and Virginia. The colony still considered the Saponi as an important and influential force on their western and southern frontiers[169]. The lack of

govermental support for operating the Fort and the Saponi School did not mean that Virginia meant to completely renege on their Treaty obligations of maintaining Reservation land for the Saponi. For example, in August the Virginia Council examined a petition from "Gentlemen" Benjamin Edwards who was requesting a grant of 2000 acres of land "formerly appropriated for the officers and men design'd for Fort Christanna, but now vacant through the slighting of the Fort"[170]. The Council board flatly rejected Edward's petition because " the said tract is within the bounds assigned for the accommodation of the Saponi Indians"[171].

But later that year a series of events would occur which would upset the long-standing alliance between the two political entities. That summer, serious trouble again erupted between some of the Tributary Nations. This time fighting occurred between the Saponi and the Nottoway. At the beginning of the summer two Nottoway men were killed near the Nottoway town. Soon after, the son of the head chief of the Tutelo was killed near his home on the Saponi Reservation in retribution[172]. Being of the old "royal family" of that Saponi confederate tribe, the Tutelo's death was an ominious sign of things to come.

The Virginia authorities summoned the Great Men of these three nations to Williamsburg to sort the matter out. The old Tutelo leader first came forward and claimed that the Nottoway leader *Hickory* had led the group of warriors that killed his son. A Captain of the local Virginia militia confirmed the story before the Council. The Nottoway, in turn, accused the Saponi of murdering their two men earlier that summer but denied the charges against them, claiming that Hickory was sick and disabled at the time of the attack[173]. Without further corroborating evidence, the Virginia Council was

indecisive but nonetheless ordered the "King" of the Nottoway and another of their Great Men to the Gaol until Hickory himself came before the Virginia Council. The Saponi leaders also denied that their warriors were involved with the deaths of the two Nottoway men, stating that two white men informed them that the Tuscarora had done the killing. The Board of Inquiry nonetheless arrested two of the Saponi Great Men, "*Tom*" and *Mahennip*, and also committed them to the public gaol in Williamsburg until the two white men could be brought in to verify their story[174].

The Governor of Virginia then set up a council with Great Men of the Saponi and Nottoway[175]. Hickory attended the council, but there is no mention of the Tutelo chief being present, apprently being instead represented by other Saponi leaders. During the Council, a Captain Thomas came forward to testify that, two days prior to the murder of the Tutelo "King's" son, he clearly recalled Hickory threatening to kill the old man's son. Hickory, Thomas said, had become well aquianted with the chief's son while the two attended the Indian College at William and Mary. Perhaps tensions between the two began while in school. Regardless, Hickory, while denying the charges against him, was ordered to the gaol at Williamsburg until a formal trial could be held[176].

A week later, the two white men that the Saponi had said could confirm their defense, a Ray and a Humphries, instead told the Virginians that the Saponi's accusations against the Tuscarora were groundless[177]. It was concluded by the Virginia investigators that some of the Saponi were guilty of the killing the Nottoway men. The Saponi leaders "*Tom*" and *Harry Irvin* (*Mahennip*) were ordered kept in the public gaol until the Great Men of the Saponi delivered those guilty of the act. Tensions were getting high, however, and the Council records show that another Saponi named *Pyah*, aka "*Pryor*",

was then committed to the gaol for threatening Colonel Henry Harrison himself[178].

Soon after, Captain Avent reported to the Virginians that he had heard words at the Council from some Saponi that they had declared revenge for the death of the old Tutelo chief's son[179]. More hostilities seemed inevitable. Then a planter named John Coffey who resided near the Saponi brought a slave referred to as "Negro Coffey" to Captain Tom Arent's house to relay some disturbing information[180]. Coffey stated that some Saponi had "told him about the white people". The Saponi supposedly threatened to seek vengeance upon them if their men were convicted of the charges against them regarding the killing of the two Nottoway men. Coffey stated that "*Great George*" told him that *John Sauna (Sawnie)*, and "a fellow named *Ben Harrison*", (apparently an Indian named after that white trader), went south to bring up one hundred Catawba warriors to protest the incarceration of the three Saponi men. The man went on further to state that the Saponi said that if *Captain Tom* was hung, they would take their wives and children over the Roanoke, and then return to "drive the whites and negroes to the James River"[181]. Coffey further claimed that the Saponi named *Tony Mack* similarly threatened that if Pyah was hung, he and the Catawbas would kill many English in return. Coffey relayed other disturbing messages, claiming that "*Saponi Tom*" had said that if his son Harry Irvin was hung, he and "3 or 4 others" would kill the Virginia Councilmen who ordered the hangings. The Saponi named "*Dick*" more forcefully stated that the Virginians had no right to come to the Fort armed and concern themselves "with their [the Tributaries] killing one another". Dick simply declared that, if the hangings went forward, "the English and Saponi will go to war"[182].

Obviously the Saponi felt their men innocent of the crime of murder charged

against them, for Saponi policy demanded they seek vengeance for the Saponi murders two winters prior upon all guilty parties. They warned the Virginians long before that, if they did not seek justice for them as stipulated in treaty, they would simply take care of the matter themselves. While no documentation has been found expounding upon the actual trial of the Saponi men, *Captain Tom* and *Irving* were found guilty of murder and were sentenced to death by hanging. But the Saponi reaction to the hangings did not go as Coffey warned. No war ever erupted between the old allies of Virginia and Saponi. The consequence instead was the beginnings of internal dissolution and factionalizion within and between the Saponi and "their confederates" the Occoneechi and Tutelo living on the Christanna Reservation. In November, the Virginians again received word " from *certain* Saponeys and neighboring inhabitants" that the Old Tutelo King, still grieving from the loss of his only son, was threatening "the lives of the Governor and other subjects of his majesty, and then go off to some foreign Indians"[183]. The Virginians promptly ordered Colonel Harrison to arrest the old Tutelo chief and put him in the public gaol at Williamsburg until further orders were given[184]. I have found no evidence that the old Tutelo headman was ever captured or incarcerated, and Colonel William Bryd would note the old man as dying in residence with the Saponi during the next two years (see below). The long honeymoon between the Virginians and their most prized Tributary Nation, those tribes that made up who they called the "Saponey", was most definitely over.

In the span of a generation, the Saponi had experienced great changes. From 1714 to 1728 the loosly affilated, yet closely interrelated, band level groups that were the Saponi, the Tutelo, the Occoneechi and a few others came together to form a powerful

consolidated entity as "Saponi". Friction with Iroqiouian tribes and a growing dependancy on trade helped push the Saponi into treaty alliances with Virginia. Classed as a "Tributary Nation" since 1677, efforts were made to "Christianize and civilize" the Reservation Saponi population. In order to expand their network of social and economic cooperation, the Saponi established alliences as well as fictive and real kinship links with non-Indian traders and polititions, such as the perception Governor Spotswood as their "Great Father". The Saponi also strengthened ties with the Catawba Nation as pressure from local and "foriegn" Iroqiouan tribes continued to threaten their families' well-being. But with the recent poltical and social tensions between the Saponi, the Virginians, and the local Iroqioan tribes on one hand, and growing alcohol abuse on the other, the Saponi's future now seemed uncertain. Nevertheless, in 1728, the Saponi were still touted by Virginians to be the largest and strongest of that colony's "Tributary Nations".

Chapter 2

The Saponi Diaspora and The Christian Band of Saponi

Ongoing friction with local Iroquoian tribes and local settlers, as well as disagreements between the Saponi and Virginia governments, would ultimately lead to the demise of the Saponi Reservation. With that, the "Saponi" factionalized and splintered back into separate "tribes" and bands and scattered back onto the western Virginia and Carolina frontiers. New strategic accomodations would be required to assure their families continued survival on the expanding colonial frontier. Some of the old Reservation families' continued down the path toward "civilization", and this means of accomodation would give rise to the Christian Band of Saponi.

The Borderland musings of William Byrd

In the spring and the fall of 1728, the governments of Virginia and North Carolina set out to survey those state's shared frontier borderline. Leading the Virginia party of commissioners and surveyors was William Bryd, the descendent of the famous old Virginia trader of the same name, and like many other ex-Indian traders who were part of the crew, he was long familar with the Saponi[185]. The Saponi named *Ned Bearskin* would also join the team on the latter half of the Survey. Byrd kept a journal of this expedition, which provides a rare glimse not only into the lives of the Saponi and neighboring tribes, but also of the social and economic conditions and perspectives of the colonists living on the Virginia-Carolina border at that time[186].

Because of his own influence in Virginia Indian Affairs, it would be insightful to

reveal some of Byrd's personal perspectives concerning the state of Indian-English affairs in general. For instance, Byrd speculated on the reasons for the continuing tensions between the peoples that have existed since the founding of the colonies. The main factor he saw as preventing lasting peace between them was that

> "...the Natives could, by no means, persuade themselves that the English were heartily their friends, so long as they distained to intermarry with them. And, in earnest, had the English consulted their own security and the good of the Colony-had they intended either to Civilize or Convert these Gentiles, they would have brought their stomachs to embrace this prudent alliance"[187].

Byrd's journal reveals an alternative motive for his nod on promoting Indian-English marriages during the 17th century. He reasoned that then, "the poor Indians would have had less reason to Complain that the English took away their Land, if they had received it by way of Portion with their daughters"[188]. This, Bryd thought, would have provided the English a more stable strategy of conquest, preventing bloodshed while at the same time promoting a loyal population. He further mused that "...nor would the shade of the skin have been any reproach at this day; for if a Moor may be washed white in three generations, surely an Indian might have been bleached in two"[189].

Byrd openly feared that by allowing such a policy amongst the colonists and traders around the Great Lakes that intermarraige "might give the French an advantage over His Majesties subjects". For instance, he specifically noted that the Church

"dissenters" that came to Virginia in the 1620's avoided the Indians, "...conceiving the same adversions to the Copper Complexion of the Natives...(they) would, on no terms, contract alliances with them, afraid perhaps, like the Jews of Old, lest they might be drawn into idolatry by those strange women"[190]. Byrd was shrewd enough to perceive that "had they been good Christians, they would have had the Charity to take the only method of converting the Natives to Christianity"[191]. Byrd concluded his speculations regarding his Virginia forebearers by writing "...whatever disgusted them I can't say, but this false delicacy creating in the Indians a Jealousy that the English were ill affected towards them"[192]. Interestingly, Byrd never comments on why the continued "aversions" persisted among the English colonists.

Upon further reflection, Byrd commented "I can't think the Indians were much greater Heathens than the First Adventurers"[193]. Indeed, Byrd also brought Rev. Fontiane on the survey, not to enlighten the local Indians, but to help turn "the white savage" or "arrant Pagans" to "good Christians"[194]. Byrd felt that the Reverend's presence "would be an act of charity to give the gentiles of that part of the world a chance to Christian both them and their children", or more bluntly, as Byrd later wrote, "to preach the Gospel to the Infidels there, and Christian their children"[195]. Byrd also noted the attempt to secure the border between the two colonies was generating concerns among non-Indians already living there. He noted that "some borderers, too, had a great mind to know where the line would come out, being for the most part apprehensive lest their lands should be taken into Virginia. In that case they must have submitted to some sort of Order and Government; whereas, in North Carolina, every man does what seems best in his own eyes"[196]. As the survey teams traveled farther inland, Byrd reported that "we constantly found the

borderers laid it to heart that if their land was taken into Virginia; They chose rather to belong to Carolina, where they pay tribute to neither God or to Caesar"[197]. Byrd also decried the "borderers" means of economy and subsistence,"especially in North Carolina" where he contemptously noted they raised Indian corn instead of tobacco and fruit orchards which he blamed on "laziness". Indian corn, he noted, "...is of so great increase, that a little pains will subsist a very large family with bread..."[198]. The "Log-Houses" used by the non-Indian borderers he found similarly unflattering.

Byrd had mixed opinions regarding the local Indians. While camped near the mouth of the Nottaway River, Byrd and his survey team companions were visited by three Meherrin men complaining how the Catawbas drove them from Virginia. Byrd had little sympathy, for he wrote "...but they are the less to be pitied, because they have ever been reputed the most false and treacherous to the English of all the Indians in the neighborhood"[199]. He noted that they still lived in fear of the Catawbas.

In another instance, Byrd and a few other ex-traders of the survey team would make a side trip up into Virginia in hopes of finding some "entertainment" in the Nottoway Indian town[200]. The "entertainment" the surveyors sought out among the Nottoway turns out to have been sexual in nature. Byrd wrote that despite the "charms of pretty Sally (Parker)" and Molly Izzard", two English women who lived nearby and "the smartest damsel in these parts...we could find it in our hearts to change these fair beauties for the Copper Coloured ones of Nottaway Town."[201]. The presumptuous Byrd would be disappointed, however. He wrote in that evening's journal entry that the Nottaway "offered us no bedfellows, according to the good Indian fashion, which we had reason to take unkindly"[202]. The following morning, however, Byrd found that one of the Carolina

noblemen had indeed spent the night with a Nottaway woman, apparently with her consent, because "curiosity made him try the difference between them and the other women"[203].

It is interesting to note that while Byrd seemed more than open to accept sexual favors from his Indian hosts, the Virginian refused to accept any material gifts offered by them. The daughter of the Nottaway's "*Prince James*'" for instance wished to send Byrd's wife a "fine basket", which Byrd "modestly refused, knowing that an Indian present, like that of a Nun, is a Liberty put out to interest, and a Bribe placed to the greatest advantage"[204]. Having reached their time limit for "entertainment" Byrd and his peers left that morning to "return to Christendom", which apparently was attained upon arriving at a Englishman's farm located four miles away.

From the tone of his writing it seems that Byrd was looking forward to meeting up with the Saponi Indians, which was not until the latter half of the survey. He devoted several pages reminiscing about their recent troubles, and Byrd favorably represented them. Byrd tied the recent demise of the Saponi in a large part to the overall failure of education efforts toward the Virginia Indians after the closing of the Saponi School at Christanna. And Byrd lamented the outcome of the present efforts being made towards those ends at Willaim and Mary College, and he noted

> "...the bad success of Mr.Boyle' charity has hitherto had toward converting any of these poor heathens to Christianity. Many children of our Neighborhood Indians have been brought up in the College of William and Mary...taught to read and write, and...carefully instructed in the

> Principles of the Christian religion, till they become men. Yet after they returned home, instead of civilizing and converting the rest, the have immediately Relapt [sic] into infidelity and barbarism themselves...and some of them made the worst of the knowledge they acquired among the English, by employing it against their benefactors. Besides, as they unhappily forget all the good they learn, and remember the ill, they are more apt to be more vicious and disorderly than the rest of their countrymen."[205]

Despite the recent troubles the Virginians had with the Saponi, Byrd neither placed blame or failure on their old School-master, Reverend Charles Griffin. Byrd described the teacher-chaplain of the old Saponi school at Fort Christanna as "...a man of good family, who by the innocence of his life, and the Sweetest of his temper, was perfectly well qualified for that pious undertaking"[206]. Byrd praised Griffen for his work on the Saponi Reservation, writing that "...he (Griffen) had so much the secret of mixing pleasure with instruction, that he had not a scholar, who did not love him affectionately"[207]. Indeed, some twenty years after his departure from them, one Saponi still carried on the Reverend's legacy by having adopted the christian name of *Charles Griffen*[208]. Regarding Griffen, Byrd thought that with "such talents needs must have been blessed with a Proportional success, had he not been unluckily removed to the College (William & Mary), by which he left the good work he had begin unfinished. In short, all the pains he had undertaken among the infidels had no other effect but to make them something more cleanier than the other Indians are"[209].

Despite all of the colony's attempts to change the religious orientation of the Indians in the past quarter-century, Byrd decried the "state of the poor Indian with respect to Christianity". Byrd felt that there was a surer way to accomplish these ends. From Byrd's point of view, there was

> "...but one way of converting these poor infidels, and reclaiming them from Barbarity and that is, charitably intermarry with them according to the modern policy of the most Christian King in Canada & Louisiana. Had the English done this at the first settlement of this colony, the Infidelity of the Indians had been worn out at this day, with their dark complexions, and the country had swarmed with people more than it does with Insects. It was certainly an unreasonable Niceity, that prevented their entering into so good-natured an alliance. All nations of men have the same Natural Dignity, and we all know that very bright talents may be lodged under very dark skin. The principle difference between one people and another proceeds only from the different opportunities of improvement. The Indians by no means are wanting in understanding, and are in their figure tall and well-proportioned. Even their Copper-coloured complexion would admit of bleaching, if not in the first, at the farthest in the second generation...It is strange, therefore, that any good Christian should have refused a wholesome, straight bed-fellow, when he might have had so fair a portion with her, as the Merit of Saving her soul"[210].

With the coming of September, the Virginia survey team regrouped at the residence of Mr. Kinchin located near the Saponi Reservation on the Meherrin River. Some members of the team lived in the area, including Charles Kimbell, the official Saponi interpretor, as well as Colonel Henry Harrison's[211]. While enjoying a taste of the rum that Kinchen supplied the team, Byrd and his companions awaited the arrival of the rest of the team, including Robert Hix, and Robert's father Captain Hix, who Byrd described as his "Old Friend". Both were long time traders to the Saponi. The elder trader only accompanied the troop a short way back to his house near the Saponi Reservation where Byrd would hire guides for the "wilder" territories that lay beyond. The crew evidently enjoyed Captain Hix's company and, before parting ways, Byrd wrote that "...he entertained us with one of his Trading songs, which he quaver'd[sic] out most melodiously and put us all in good humour"[212]. The Hix's lived near the famous "Moni-seep" Ford on the Roanoke River, so named from a Siouan Indian word, probably Occoneechi or Saponi, roughly meaning "shallow water"[213]. From Moniseep Ford it was only a short travel down the even more famous "Trading path to the Catawba" that led the Bryd and his crew to one of Major Robert Mumford's frontier plantations[214].

While encamped at Major Mumford's, Byrd sent Charles Kimball to the nearby Christanna Reservation to hire on some Saponi guides and hunters to accompany the team. Byrd had privately noted in his journal that the Virignia woodsman were "unfortunate Gunners". Kimball returned from Saponi Town with five Saponi "huntsmen" offering their services to the surveyors. Byrd decided that the services of only two of the Saponi would be needed and three of the Saponi men returned home. One of the two remaining men however fell sick before the company ever set out from

Mumford's plantation. In the end only one Saponi would accompany the troop. This man was known by the "hunting name" of *Ned Bearskin* and, in testimony to the hunter's services, Byrd would later note that "...this Indian, either by skill or luck, Supply'd us plentifully all the way with meat, Seldom discharging his peice in vain. By his assistance, therefore, we were able to keep our men to their business, without suffering them to straggle about in the woods, on pretense of furnishing us with necessary food"[215].

It is apparent that Bearskin spoke English quite well and required no interpretor to speak to the team members. As a consequence many of the names from rivers and creeks which the Saponi taught the surveyors remain part of the local landscape today[216]. The notes Byrd recorded from Bearskin also provide an invaluable anthroplogical source regarding Saponi beliefs and traditions for that time, at least as practiced and expoused by this Saponi man. For example, Bryd and the other Virginians found curious Ned's reactions whenever the Virginians choose to boil deer and turkey meat together in the same pot. Bryd recalled how...

> "Our Indian was very superstitious in this manner, and told us, with face full ofconcern, that if we continued to boil venision and turkey together, we should for the future kill nothing, because the Spirit that presided over the Woods would drive all the Game out of our sight, But we had the Happiness to find this an idle Superstition...yet our repeated experience at last, with much ado, convinced him".[217]

Some glimpses into the religious orientation of the Saponi during this time are

also most fortunately perserved in Byrd's Journal, adapted by Byrd from campfire conversations that occured between Byrd, Bearskin and the Virginia woodsmans. To Bryd's surprise, Bearskin elaborated on his beliefs "without any of that reserve to which his Nation is subject"[218].

Byrd presented the substance of Bearskin's religious philospohy as being "as much to the purpose as cou'd be expected from a meer State of Nature, without one glimse of Revelation or Philosphy". Byrd nonetheless noted that Bearskin's beliefs contained "The Three Great Articles of Natural Religion"; that being the supremacy of a all powerful Supreme being, a moral distinction between "good and evil", and the inevitable reciept of rewards and punishment in the afterlife for all people. Byrd percieved the Saponi's beliefs to be like that he understood of all Indians, in that "the Indian notion of a Future Paradise is a little Gross and Sensual, like Mahomet's Paradise. But how can it be otherwise, in a People that are contented with Nature as they find Her, and have no other Lights but that they recieve from purblind Tradition?"[219].

One interesting journal entry in particular provides a glimpse into how the differences between the Saponi and the Virginians were articulated at a personal level among friends who now found their worlds bound together. One stormy evening, Byrd recorded a dialogue he overheard outside his tent. Ned asked one of the Virginians what he thought made the noise of thunder. Byrd wrote that

> "the man told him merrily, that the God of the English was firing his great guns upon the God of the Indians, which made all the roaring in the clouds, and that Lighting was only the flash of those Guns. The Indian,

carrying on the Humour reply'd very gravely, He believed that might be the case indeed, and that the Rain which follow'd upon the Thunder must be occassion'd by the Indian God's being so scar'd he could not hold his water"[220].

A few days after that episode, that which decades prior originally bonded the Saponi Nation and the Virginians together as allies ironically made their presence known to the survey team as they approached the mountains, that being the Iroquois and the warriors of other "Northern Indians". Although they actually encountered none, their presence was felt and feared. Byrd commented, that at times, the Mountains ahead of them would become nearly obscured by smoke. The smoke however was not from "the Hazyness of the Sky, but from the firing of the Woods by the Indians, for we were now near the Route the Northern Savages take when they go out to War against the Cataubas and other Southern nations"[221]. Byrd elaborated at length about the fact that the Northern Indians still held an "implacable Hatred to those of the South"[222].

When Byrd and the rest of the crew parted ways with their hunter and guide Ned Bearskin back at Mumford's plantation, and Byrd wrote that "...we rewarded him to his hearts content, so that he returned to his Town loaden both with Riches and the Reputation of having been a great Discoverer"[223]. It appears as if the respect and admiration these Virginians had for Bearskin was mutual. Two nights later Byrd and the few crewman left remaining with him stayed at George Hix's farm on the Meherrin River, and there they received some unexpected company. Byrd noted with surprise that a Saponi delegation had arrived on horseback, which he remarked was a "most

uncommon Circumstance" as the tribe had only begun using horses in the past couple years. Byrd astutely reflected that this posturing was "certainly intended for a Piece of State, because the distance [from the Saponi Town] was but 3 miles, and 'tis likely they had walk'd a foot twice as far to catch their horses"[224]. Byrd described how

> "All the Grandees of the Saponi Nation did us the honor to repair hither to meet us, and our worthy Friend and Fellow Traveller, Bearskin, appear'd among the gravest of them in his Robes of ceremony. Four young ladies of the first Quality came with them, who had more the Air of cleanliness than any copper-Colour'd Beauties I had ever seen...The men had something great and Venerable in their countenances, beyond the common Mien of Savages; and indeed they ever had the reputation of being the Honestest, as well as the bravest Indians we have been acquainted with"[225].

Apparently, Byrd perceived the women as coming to provide a service. Byrd wrote of them that "...we resisted all their Charms, notwithstanding the long Fast we had kept from the Sex, and the Bear Dyet we had been so long engag'd in. Nor can I say the Price they sat upon their Charms was at all Exorbitant. A Princess for a Pair of Red Stockings can't, surely, be thought buying Repentance much too dear"[226].

The Saponi Diaspora, 1728-43

Coincidently, during the fall of 1728 when Bearskin was hunting for the Virginia survey team, a series of events began that would sour the Saponi and their confederate's

relationships with the Virginia colonial government as well as with each other. The death of the Tutelo chief's son at the hands of the Nottoway and the hanging of two Saponi men by Virginia authorities have already been described. But that was not to be the end of their bad fortune.

By the spring following Byrd's visit it was evident that the difficult times the Saponi had experienced in the past year were to continue. In March of 1729 Governor Gooch of Virginia notified the Lords of Trade that the settlers on his southern frontiers were worried about "the feud" that was apparently heating up again between the Saponi "and their confederates" on the one hand, and the Nottoways and Meherrin on the other[227]. The Spotsylvannia County militia was activated and sent south to Brunswick County in anticipation of war erupting between these Tributary Nations. A month later, the Virginia authorities received reports that the Saponi had notably failed to plant their corn fields that spring. The Virginians took this as a sign that the Saponi and their allies at Christanna were about to abandon their longtime residence on their Reservation, and the local colonists were anticipating troubles upon the Indians' departure. The Executive Council of Virginia promptly sent down a representative with an Interpreter to the Saponi Town to more fully investigate the situation[228].

Despite the predictions of the colonists, most of the Saponi were still at Christanna in June, although some families had already left to join the Catawba and/or other Tutelo now living far from the Christanna Reservation. Apparently, important events internal to the tribes and the colony had transpired for which we lack documentary evidence by which to fully interpret the situation that followed. That June Governor Gooch was reporting that a sort of "peace" had fallen upon the southern Virginia frontiers

due to the efforts of the "new Militia and officers". He confidently reported that the Tributary tribes residing there, who had recently been so "very turbulent and ungovernable", were "now so submissive"[229].

Testifying to this "submissiveness" was the Saponi reaction to yet another hanging of one of their people by the Virginians, this time involving one of the tribes "Great Men". The Saponi leader had gotten drunk and, in a dispute, killed an Englishman. The Saponi argued that being drunk was a valid defense by which to spare their leader capital punishment, reasoning that his state of intoxication "deprived him of his reason". They nonetheless peacibly delivered up the leader to the Virginia authorities. This time the Governor this time was careful to make arrangements so that Saponi representatives were at the trial in order to "help them understand the proceedings". The court then convicted and hung this Great Man of the Saponi. The Governor reported that there was no apparent sign of resentment amongst the Saponi, although the man was known to the Virginians to have been "held in high esteem" among his people. Although the event transpired with no further trouble, the Governor reported to the Lord's of Trade that he did not know how long the peace between the Saponi and the English would last.[230]

A few years later, William Byrd mentioned the same incident in his published Journal. With the benefit of a few years of hindsight, Byrd concluded that the Saponi population of Fort Christanna would have remained the strong and steady had not "...the White People in the Neighborhood...debauch't their Morals, and ruin'd their Health with Rum, which was the cause of many disorders"[231]. As for the reaction of the families on the Reservation regarding this latest hanging, Byrd astutely remarked that, "It was a

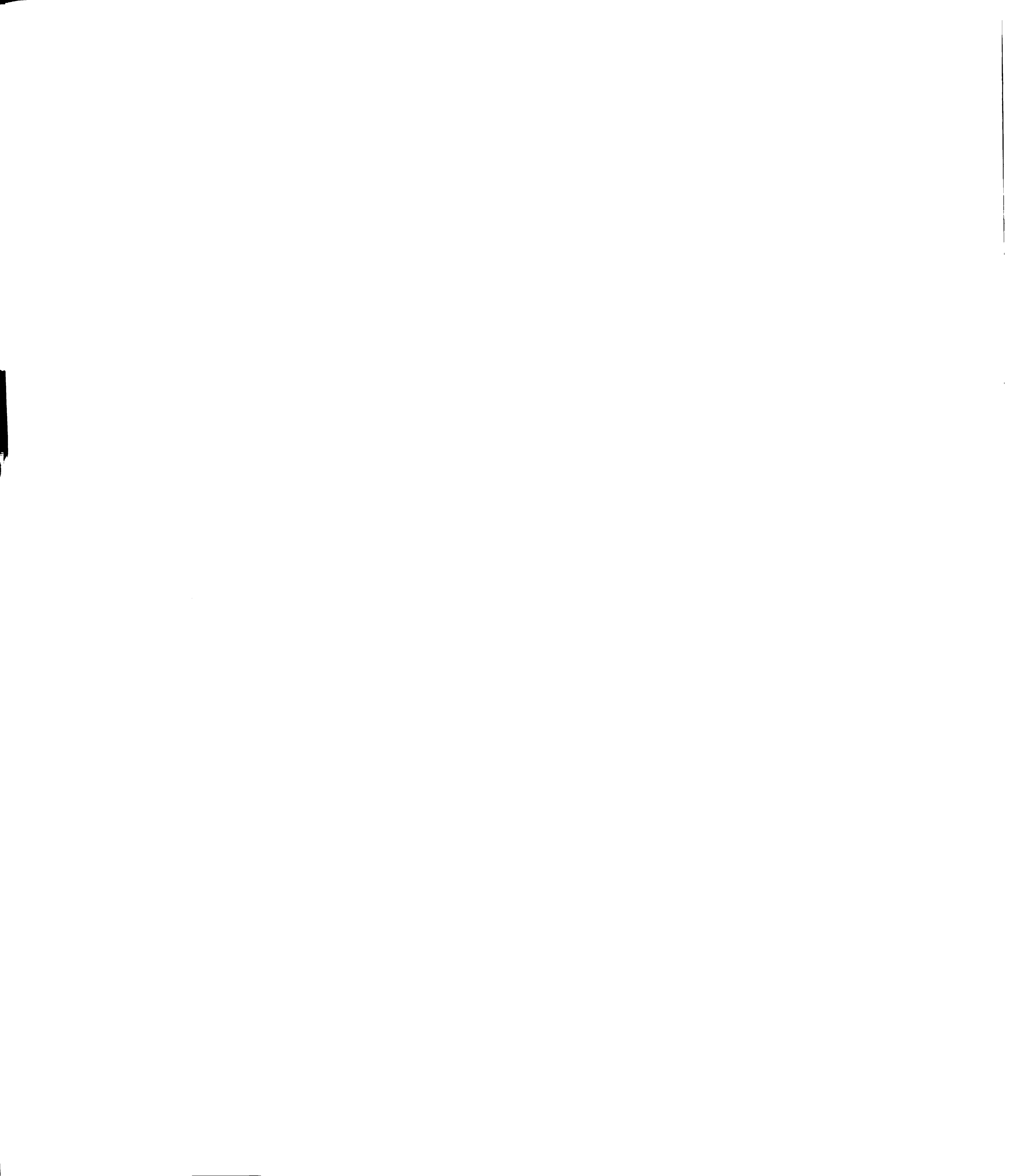
matter of great concern to them, however, that one of their Grandees should be put so ignominious a Death...The Saponnys took this Execution so much to Heart, that soon after quitted their Settlement and remov'd in a Body to the Cataubas"[232].

By late in the summer of 1729, the Saponi and the confederated bands and families that remained with them finally departed the Christanna Reservation[233]. This abandonment of the Reservation would begin a diaspora of the people that once resided there. Comments later made by John Mitchell in 1755 stated that, in 1729, both the Saponi and the Tutelo had "removed father south upon the heads of the Pee Dee" at the northern end of what was known as Catawba territory[234]. Byrd also noted that the Saponi removed to Catawba territory that year. He explained that "this people is now made up of the Remnant of Several other Nations, of which the most considerable are the Saponnys, the Occaneches, and the Steukenhocks, who not finding themselves Separately Numerous enough for their Defense, have agreed to unite into one Body, and all of them now go under the Name of the Sappony"[235]. Notably missing from Byrd's list of allied tribes presently comprising the Saponi was the Metopenski and the Tutelo. The Metopenski were never very numerous in the first place, and through intermarriage probably were scattered among the Saponi, Tutelo and Occoneechi bands. The main body of Tutelo however would leave the intertribal alliance altogether. A French map published late in 1729 reveals that one faction labeled the "Sapon Nahisan" had removed far west from the extent of settlement far up on the headwaters of the Roanoke River[236]. This I interepret to be the disgruntled Tutelo and other Reservation families that joined them. Byrd however would recall the plight of one Tutelo that choose to remain with the Saponi who joined the Catawba.

"The Daughter of the TETERO KING went away with the Sapponeys, but being the last of her Nation, and fearing she Shou'd not be treated according to her Rank, poison'd herself, like an Old Roman, with the Root of the Trumpet-Plant. Her Father dy'd 2 years before, who was the most intrepid Indian we have been acquainted with. He had made himself terrible to all other Indians by his Exploits, and had escaped so many Dangers that he was esteem'd invulnerable. But at last he dy'd of a Pleurisy, the last Man of his Race and Nation, leaving only that unhappy daughter behind him, who would not long survive him".[237]

The Tutelo had however not become extinct as a Nation, but had permanently ended their poltical alliance with Virginia. For the next ten years they would wander up and down the piedmont and Appalachians, and evidence suggests that a portion of the Saponi also joined them. In 1732 and 1733, they entered into a brief "war" with the Shawnee and Conoy living north of the Potomac River, but in general the Tutelo kept aloof from the settlements[238]. By 1740, the Tutelo would accept the invitation to join their old enemies, the Cayuga, instead remaining among the colonies, or in the case of most other Saponi, the Catawbas from whom the Tutelo may have felt slighted following the chiefs daughter's death[239].

In the summer of 1730, the Virginia Council finally received word from some traders regarding those Saponi who had "joined themselves to the Catawba"[240]. The traders informed them that the Catawba desired to enter into a new treaty with Virginia.



The Council encouraged the treaty idea and invited the Catawba and Saponi leaders to the next general court to discuss the possibility. The Virginians stipulated, however, that "in case said Treaty should take effect it be insisted that the Catawba shall undertake for the peaceable behavior of the Saponi Indians" now residing with them.[241] However, it appears that no new treaty ever resulted from these negociations.

For the following two years, the Saponi remained closely confederated with the Catawba in the Carolinas. In the fall of 1730, Governor Gooch reported to England on the "fighting strength" of the Tributary Nations and he still counted among them the "Saponi and other petty nations associated with them", even though Gooch reported they were still living out of Virginia with the Catawaba. Interestingly, the Governor's report made no mention of the previous problems between the Saponi and Virginia authorities in criminal matters. Gooch instead blamed their removal as being caused by the Saponi "being disturbed by the Tuscaroras", although his collegue, William Bryd, also stated "that now their remain so few [the Tuscarora], that they are in danger of being quite exterminated by the Catawbas, their Mortal enemies"[242]. As for the Catawbas in 1732, Byrd remarked that, their population of more than 400 fighting men was spread through six towns on the Santee River in Carolina along a twenty mile stretch[243].

In the meantime, because the Saponi had technically severed their official ties with Virginia by moving out of the colony and off the lands reserved for them at Christanna, the Virginia Council interpreted the situation to mean that the treaty obligations between them and the Saponi were now null and void. By the winter of 1730, the Virginia Council had decided to sell off the reservation "formerly assigned for the settlement of the Saponey Indians"[244]. While mention is made that the members of the

old Virginia Indian Company were to be compensated for their improvements at the Fort, no mention is made of any compensations for the Saponi.

The Saponi remained elusive to the colonists in 1731, continuing their residential and political alliance with the Catawba in the Carolina "backwoods". The only record of the tribe that year emenates from South Carolina where the Catawba had long established friendly ties with colonial authorities. In that instance, South Carolina authorites complained about the Tuscarora harassing a small fort of colonists and "settlement Indians" located between Santee and Winayaws[245]. The colony's response was threatening that if the Tuscarora's *King Blount* did not deliver up the guilty Tuscarora and stop their aggressions, that South Carolina would bring "their allies" the Cherokees and the Catawbas down upon them. Some politically astute Tuscarora, however, quipped back that "those nations were at war with each other". The Carolina authorities retorted that the combined strength of the Catawbas and the Saponi who recently joined them made that confederacy "three times stronger than the Tuscarora"[246]. That fact the Tuscarora apparently did not dispute.

Yet, by the spring of 1732 most, if not all the Saponi had decided to leave their residence with the Catawba for reasons yet undiscerned. The Great Men of the Saponi petitioned Virginia asking that they may be able to settle back in that colony. The Saponi also forwarded a request from the Sara Indians, another Siouan speaking tribe from the mountains of Carolina, that they may be allowed to settle with the Saponi if the petition was granted[247]. This was granted by the Executive Council, and the Virginians even reaffirmed their previous treaty obligations with the prodigal Saponi by allowing them to choose a tract of land (not already settled) "to be equal in size to that formerly held at

Christanna", on either the Roanoke or Appamatox Rivers[248].

The Saponi promptly relocated back to Virginia, and in the summer of 1732 they built a temporary "Fort" very near the old Fort Christanna. There is no evidence if the Sara, or how many, joined the Saponi there at that time. It quickly become apparent, however, that the tensions between the Nottaway and Saponi had not abated during the Saponi absence from the region. That August the Saponi were attacked at their new village, and they blamed the Nottaway in alliance with some "foreign Indians" (Tuscarora) for the murders.[249] The Virginia executive council summoned the leaders of the Nottoways and Tuscarora to justify or defend the accusations, but they failed to appear at the council the following month. As the Tuscarora resided in North Carolinia, nothing could be done about their absence. However, as a Virginia Tributary Nation the Nottoway were another matter. The militia of Surry County was ordered to arrest the Great Men of the Nottoway and bring them to court. Finally, on October 28, leaders of the Saponi and the Nottaway were present before the Virginia Council. The Saponi complained that their people had been continually harassed by the Nottoway since returning to Virginia and the recent murders were only the culmination of numerous abuses. As for claiming that the Nottoways had indeed committed the recent murders, their story was reinforced by the testimony by a woman named Mary Tatum. She stated that right after the Saponi murders, she had spoken to the Nottaway named "*Jennings*", who boasted of his recent exploits while fighting the Saponi at the Saponi Fort. Tatum also testified seeing four Saponi prisoners at the Nottoway town who had been "taken from Colonel Mumford's plantation".[250]

The Virginians were obviously tiring of dealing with the ongoing inter-tribal

animosities, and Governor Gooch did not have the patience of his predessor, Spotwood, regarding these issues. The Virginia authorities arrested Jennings and another Nottaway and committed them to the public gaol, and then fined the Nottoway for not appearing in court when told to do so. But the Council then bluntly declared to both nations that "any more aggression by either tribe and they will be banned from Virginia"[251]. The Nottaway were further "punished" for entertaining parties of Tuscarora from North Carolina. The Virginia Council then warned the Saponi that they too would be similarly held responsible for the actions of the Catawba who had been frequently visiting the new Saponi village since it was established.[252]

Despite the relatively harsh action the Virginians took, the Saponi still found no respite from their enemies. That December the Virginia authorities were receiving reports that warriors from the Tuscarora and the Five Nations were "among the frontier plantations in Brunswick County lying in wait to cut off the Saponey Indians"[253]. The Virginians took action, publicly declaring that it was their obligation to do so "as the Saponie Indians [are] under the protection of this government"[254]. The Brunswick County and other area militias were promptly activated and ordered to find the aggressor warriors, especially any Tuscarora from New York without passports"[255].

Activating the county militias seemed to subdue the Iroquioan threat to the Saponi. However, a seemingly quirky and unpredictable twist and turn of events occurred the following year. The North Carolina Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Francis Pugh, notified the North Carolina Council that *Tom Blount*, "King of the Tuscarora", was requesting permission to have the Saponi come and reside with his people[256]. The Saponi's initial input regarding this proposal is unknown and the North

Carolina Board stated that they would agree to Blount's proposition only "as long as the Tuscarora and the Saponi do"[257]. Apparently a peace had been achieved between the Nottaway and Saponi via Tuscarora intermediaries. That summer, the Virginia Council crafted a "Treaty of Peace and Friendship" between the Saponi, the Nottaway and the "Nuetral" Tuscarora of North Carolina[258]. One of the Hix men then accompanied the Saponi delegates to the Tuscarora Town where another Council was held and the Treaty confirmed. Reporting back to Virginia, Hix claimed that some Saponi were seriously entertaining the idea of accepting Blount's proposal. Virginia apparently did not like the idea of having the Tuscarora coming into Virginia thinking that the Saponi treaty rights would somehow be applicable to them with this alliance.Virginia said that they would grant the request only under the condition that neither of the said Nations would hunt on patented Virginia lands, nor enter Virginia in groups of more than three persons at a time. The Virginians instead offered a compromise to prevent the Saponi from joining with the Tuscarora. They asked to Saponi to remain where they were "until Corn is Gathered" and then, if choosing not to join up with Blount's people in North Carolina, they could again attempt to find a residence between the Roanoke and Appomatox River where "a sufficient tract will be assigned".[259]

Unfortunatly, there is no indication as to whether the Saponi accepted Blount's or the Virginians offer, but they did eventually again leave Brunswick County, Virginia. Indeed, I have yet to find any documentary reference concerning the Saponi again until 1735, when two bands of Saponi and Tutelo are found in the mountains of North Carolina, far from the Tuscarora[260]. One era map also shows that a band of the Occonecchi had split off from the main body of Saponi, and by 1733 were living off the

Trading path where it crossed the Eno River or the Flatt River in North Carolina[261]. Bricknell's 1737 publication reported that in the year 1735 and/or 36, the band of Saponi closely associated with the Catawba was located on the Clarenden River (the west branch of the Cape Fear River) in North Carolina[262]. This "Sapona" village was some five to six days "over the mountains" far removed from colonial settlements. Bricknell also mentions that the "Totera" then had a village somewhere nearby this Saponi town, although deeper into the mountians. Of the people of these two villages, Bricknell wrote that they usually did not "make visits amongst us except to be their Traders who bring us skins and furs"[263].

The documentary trail of those Indians labeled "Saponi" leads back to Virginia following Bricknell's lead. In 1737, a reference to a band of Saponi shows up on an obscure land deed recorded in Amelia County Virginian[264]. A group of "Saponie Cabins", apparently still in use, were mentioned as marking the border of the lands of John Taylor (an absentee landowner then living in Surry County) and Alex Bruce. This Saponi community was located on a Branch of Winningham Creek, a Tributary of the Appomattox River. Here between the upper reaches of the Nottoway River and the Appomattox, the Saponi found themselves in the haunts of the now nearly extinct Appomattox tribe. Also nearby was the old Trading Post at the falls of the Appomattox operated by Colonel *John Bolling* from that prominent mixed-blood (English-Pamaunky) family. While the post was by this time defunct, the prominance of that mixed blood family in the area was not, and Bolling and the Saponi were mutual friends of Colonel Mumford[265]. It is likely that friendly ties between the Bollings and the Saponi were established here, as that surname name would be carried by some of these Saponi from at

least the late 1730s onward (see below).

How long these Saponi had been living off Winningham Creek is unknown, but it is notable that the Saponi had been offered land here in lieu of removing to the Tuscarora Town back in 1733. Regardless, they did not stay there for long. By 1738 a "Christian" band of Saponi had established a new village a lttile farther north on the personal lands of the now ex-Governor of Virginia, Alexander Spotswood, who had retired upon his plantation in neighboring Spotsylvannia County. Apprently the band had gained permission from him to reside on Fox's Neck of the Rapidan River in Orange County, not far from old Fort Germanna[266]. This Christian band of Saponi would be able to maintain residence here for some time in the company of their old benefactor.

From 1738 on, the Orange County Court records mention various petitions from *Alexander Maurchtoon*, *John Sauna*, *John Collins*, *John Bowling* and others, all of whom are described therein specifically as "Christian Saponey Indian(s)"[267]. The lack of documents excepting petitions from individual Christian Saponi seems to indicate that they remained relatively unmolested living in this part of Virginia for the next half decade.

However, the relatively peaceful existence of the Christian Saponi would eventually be upset. As evident from remaining documents regarding this band, these Saponi were no longer treated not as members of a Tributary Nation but more fully as "citizen Indians" by the Virginians. There were to be conquences to this. After the death of their old advocate, ex-Governor Alexander Spotswood, in 1740, complaints against the Christian Saponi began being forwarded to County authorities by local settlers. In 1740, a local farmer named William Bohannon complained that "26 of the Indians who inhabit

Fox's Neck" were " firing the woods". He also accused them of killing some of his free ranging pigs and he even went so far as to claim that he had "lost more pigs than usual since the coming of the Indians"[268]. The Saponi were called into court to defend themselves from these accusations of "doing mischief".[269] The following year later Bohannon again made similar complaints to the Orange County Court and this time he "believed that one of the Indians shot at him"[270].

The band's troubles would climax in the winter of 1743 when a number of the Saponi men had their guns seized and found themselves arrested[271]. The Saponi men named *John Collins, Alex Machartion, John Bowling, Maniassa, Craft Tom, Blind Tom, Foolish Jack, Charles Griffen, Little Jack, Isaac* and *Harry* were taken before the Orange County court for trial "by precept under the hands and seals of William Russell and Ed Spencer, gentleman" under the charges of stealing hogs, burning the woods, and "terrifying one Lawrence Strothers"[272]. Strothers had even claimed that he was shot at and chased by the Saponi in the backwoods. The Saponi men were ordered held in jail until bonded, after which the were ordered to leave the county. Interestingly, several white men sympathetic to the Saponi predicament "went security on their bail bonds", after which they were released and "openly declared their intentions the depart this colony within a week" at which time their guns would be returned.[273]

Christians, Citizens and Saponi

Late in the summer of 1743, Governor Gooch of Virginia reported that the "Saponies and other petty nations assocaited with them" had left Virginia and were again residing in the Carolinas with the Catawba[274]. But while many Saponi would forever

remain with the Catawba, that was not the path that the families of the Christian band of Saponi would maintain, and they were to remain separate and distinct from the two other aforementioned contingents of Saponi associated with the Catawba and the Tutelo in forthcoming years. More discussion is therefore required to understand this distinction between Christian Band of Saponi, the Tutelo Saponi, and the Catawba Saponi before further following the Christian band's path out of Fox's Neck.

On the frontier borderlands buffering Indian County from the colonial settlements of this era, social and cultural boundaries emanating from both sides attempted to separate the "savage" and "civilized", the "citizen" and the "foreign", and/or "Christian" and "Pagan". For instance, Byrd's aforementioned journal comments regarding the "borderers" he encountered in 1728 clearly show that some colonists placed both Indians and non-Indians in dichotomies with categories like of "infidels," "pagan," and "barbarism" based on their religious and other cultural practices that superceded racial differences[275].

It is likely that the Christian "Saponi" faction arose in the Christanna Reservation where some families first adopted that religion and the "civilized manners" taught them through various education and missionary efforts. But the aforementioned Byrd's diary also demonstrates that such colonial influences on most of the old Reservation families were minimal best. Further complicating the matter, the political events surrounding the 1728 hangings was likely another catalyst in promoting factionalization amongst the tribes, bands and families all called "Saponi" by Virginians while living on the old Reservation. And these issues did not necessarily hinge on one's "Christian" or more "traditional" orientations. For instance, recall the aforementioned occasion in 1728 when

"certain Sapponeys" informed the Virginians that the Tutelo chief and other Saponi were secretly entertaining the idea of taking the colonists to war. These "certain" Saponi stood in contrast to those who wished to go south with the Catawba and seek vengeance on the Virginians for the capital punishment imposed upon their relations in that year.

That the Christian Saponi would have not wished to go north to the Iroquois unless they rescinded their newly adopted faiths, makes some sense when the disposition of the Tutelo and the few Saponi who joined them there is examined. Colonial documents clearly demonstrate that the Tutelo tried to maintain a more traditional, conservative lifestyle while residing at Shamokin [276]. The same can be said for the political, cultural and social orientations of the Saponi who joined with the tribes, bands and families comprising the complex and diverse "Catawba Nation" in the Carolinas.

Furthermore, that Spotswood may have been picky about the "character" of the Indians he allowed to live and hunt on his lands at Fox's Neck would support the idea of the band he invited there as being perceived as being somewhat"civilized" by other local whites. The Orange County records also confirm that no interpreter was ever required in dealing with members of the Christian band when they found themselves in county court. This shows that English was competently spoken by at least most of the adults. It also shows that the old policy observed by Reverend Fontaine at Fort Christanna less than three decades earlier, that of strictly holding all political and ceremonial events in the Saponi language, was no longer in force amongst the Christian Saponi. Evidence therefore demonstrates clearly that the Christian band of Saponi band had established an identity distinct and separate from the Catawba Saponi or the Tutelo-Saponi refugees to Iroquois country from at least 1738 onward.

Those Indians who took on and retained the identity of "Christian Saponi" following the Fort Christianna years likely involved families not just from the "Saponi" tribe proper, but comprised folk from most, if not all, of the interrelated Siouan tribes and bands that resided on the old Reservation, including Tutelo, Occoneechi, and the other confederates[277]. That the Indians who came to be identified with the Christian faction would have retained the overall label of "Saponi" regardless of their specific tribal heritage is therefore not surprising. Such labeling would be consistent with the colonial governments habit of referring to all the tribes inhabiting the Christanna Reservation as "Saponi" while they resided at the Fort while knowing full well that the Saponi, Occonecchi and Tutelo in particular "retained tribal separateness"[278] . Except for the occasional reference to their different leaders such as "The Old Occoneechi King" or families like that of the "Tutelo King", it is only after the 1729 diaspora from the Christanna reservation that the records again recognize the distinct independent "tribal affiliation" of these confederate "Saponi" tribes. Regardless, from the late 1730s until the onset of the Revolutionary War, only those families known to have been associated with Orange County Saponi are identified as "Christian Saponi" in the records.

The identification of *Alex Macartion*, *John Collins*, *John Bowling, Charles Griffen* and other *individual* "Christian Indians" or "Christian Saponi" is clear from reading the Orange County Court records from 1738 to 1743. The English names adopted by the Christian Saponi and recorded in county records allows for that band to be more easily followed in the surviving documentary record than the other Saponi bands in the years to come. Indeed without the association of Saponi names of *John Collins*, *John Bowling* and the rest surviving in the Orange County records, ascertaining the tribal

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identification of this "Christian Sappony" band of Indians from the records generated in later years would be a nearly impossible task.

Before following the story of the Christian Saponi in records subsequent to 1743, some reflection upon the personal names of these known Saponi individuals is merited. First of all, a few particular names do not reappear with the Christian Saponi in future years. In particular, is not know with certainty what happened to the men named *Manincassa*, *Foolish Jack*, *Little Jack*, "*Isaac*", "*Harry*", and *Captain Tom* and *Blind Tom*. Admittedly, these men may have been disgruntled enough to have opted to move south to permanently join the other Saponi confederated with the Catawba or to join Tutelo brethren in Iroquois country. But their names cannot yet be connected to the names known within the Tutelo and the Catawba Saponi recorded in later years either. It is also plausible that these men later adopted the Christian surnames held by some of their relations. That there were extended familial relations between these men is indeed probable, and these "unknown" individuals may also represent ancestors of yet unconnected "Indian" families that later consistently show up in conjunction with the Christian Saponi, such as the "*Aicee/Sicee*", aka *Thomas* family, that became associated with the *Sexton* family name[279]. But what really happened to each of these seven men remains unknown and subject to conjecture.

How the other identifiable Christian Saponi of Fox's Neck, namely *John Collins*, *John Bowing*, *Charles Griffen* and *Alex MacChartion*, came by their English Christian surnames deserves further speculation. One source may be that their surnames were bestowed upon them as they were "baptized" by Reverend Griffin at Fort Christianna or subsequent ministers they encountered. Indeed, this practice was a common source of

"English" names among tribes throughout Indian Country. But there are other equally plausible explanations regarding how they may have acquired these names. *John Collins*, perhaps the most important of these men to influence the future of these Christian Saponi, may be the same as or otherwise related to *John Saunie*. While John Saunie is not listed amongst those who were arrested in the 1743 Orange county event, other records do show that he was living among the Fox's Neck community during the Christian Saponi's tenure there.[280] Recall that a *Saunie* was also known to frequent Orange County and the Germanna/Rapidan area even when the Saponi still lived on their reservation at far to the south at Fort Christianna. If they are the same person, the aging Saunie may have done what many Indians did when acquiring an English or Christian surname, that is, to take on the Christian name of a white that he liked, admired or otherwise respected. In the case of Saunie, the "Captain Collins" who freed him from his captivity among the "French Indians" some two decades prior very well may be the source of that Saponi's Christian name.

With the evidence available from written records made subsequent to 1743, it is also quite possible to surmise that *John Collins* is the son of "*Captain Tom*", for an elder named *Tom Collins* is shown living with John and the rest of the Christian Saponi in the years immediately following their expulsion from Orange County. If this is so, one might further *speculate* that "*Blind Tom*" is Tom's father. That the records may show "Tom" without any surname is not necessarily surprising, for it is well documented that throughout Indian country parents would often give their children Christian surnames different from their own, if they held any at all[281]. The Saponi *Tom Collins* later shown in conjunction with John is never shown with the title "Captain", but this could simply be

because his "Commission" was from the county and it was rescinded when the band was expelled from Orange County. However, the connection between Captain Tom and Tom Collins is still only speculation.

The appearance of the *Collins*, as well as *Bowling/Bolling*, surname may also represent the mixed-blood offspring of Indian/non-Indian liaisons is supported by the fact that, in the following decades, many of the Collins and Bolling Saponi would be regarded as "half-breeds" by outsiders. The original non-Indian ancestors of those falling under this label may have come from a member of the prominent English Collins family that lived near Rapidan at this time. During the 1730s and 40s, this large extended English family lived very near the Saponi at Fox's Neck, and included a Captain Joseph Collins as well as his brothers Tom, Billy and John[282]. Indeed, Captain Joseph Collins very well may be the same "Captain Collins" that negotiated Saunie's release from the "French Indians" back in 1722. That the Saponi Collins either adopted the name of or married into this Virginia family are the most probable sources behind the Christian Saponi acquiring the Collins name.

The potential sources for the other Christian surnames among the 1740s Saponi in Orange County are interesting as they show the range of ways in which Christian surnames could be procured by Indians. *Alex MacCartoon* for instance is clearly an English corruption of the Saponi name "*Machartion*" that appears in the records. Alex however unfortunately disappears from the records after 1743. It is quite possible that his descendants are among the "mixed-blood" *McCarty* and *McCarta* families that would come to associate with the Saponi Collins in the coming century. The Saponi named *Charles Griffen* is undoubtedly an example of "tribute" naming. His name clearly was

adopted by or given to this Saponi out of respect for their old Fort Christanna Schoolmaster of the same name.

The appearance of the *Bowling* name among the Saponi is a fascinating one, for it provides a interesting example of the ongoing consolidation and amalgamation of Indians and mixed blood people of Indian heritage from the mid-Atlantic to Appalachia during this time. The Saponi named *John Bowling* likely acquired his name during or before the Saponi's short residence in Amelia County back in the mid 1730s. There the Saponi were in the range of influence of the prominent mixed-blood Bowling family who had, for generations, run an Indian trading establishment at the Falls of the Appomattox. The Bowlings were a politically prominent and powerful family in Virginia throughout the 1600's and 1700's. The mixed-bloods of this large family had acquired their Indian heritage from the old Powhatan family line of the Pamaunky tribe, while their white relations similarly came from the "elite" of early Virginia society. Most of the Powhatan Bowlings would shed their Indian identity and would be accepted as "white" long before the mid-1700s. However, they did not try to "hide" their Indian heritage and, instead openly boasted of their Powhatan ancestry among the elite Virginia society in which they circulated[283]. Again, there are a number of possibilities as to the exact reason why the surname found its way among the Christian Saponi. Like Charles Griffen, it could be that the Saponi *John Bowling* was named in tribute to the relations of the mixed-blood trader named John *Bowling*. It is equally possible that he was the offspring of one of the Powhatan Bowling men and a Saponi woman. Regardless of how they were acquired, the Christian names of *Bowling* and *Collins* were now well in place among the Christian Saponi as they moved out from Fox's Neck.

The Christian Band as Colonial Citizens

That the Christian Saponi had been residing on Spotswood's land at Fox's Neck by his good graces, and not per treaty stipulation or on recognized reservation is certain. Exactly when and how the treaty obligations stemming from the 1677 and subsequent agreements with the Saponi were abolished, ignored or forgotten by Virginia authorities is not known. After 1733 no mention of the colony recognizing any treaty obligations to the Saponi appears in Virginia records. Regardless, by at least 1738 the Christian Saponi were being treated as individual "Citizen Indians" as opposed to the political entity of "Tributary" Indians with recognized independent governments with which the colony was forced to deal. The new status of being "citizens" meant being subject to a new set of colonial laws and authorities. For instance, the colonial government did not intervene in the Orange Court matters in the 1740s. Indeed, that court ordered the Christian Saponi only to leave the county, and not the entire colony.

As already stated, some, if not all, of the Christian Saponi went south to join their kin already living with the Catawba after being expelled from Orange County. But despite their previous troubles with the Orange County authorities, most of the families of the Christian band of Saponi would not remain far from that part of Virginia for long. Indeed, this generations old trend of their families going back and forth between the mountains of Virginia and the Catawba territories in the Carolinas would continue for a least another generation.

One local historian in the late 19th century wrote that local tradition among whites even at that late date then held that, following the 1743 trial, at least the family of "one old man...remained and long lived on the Gwin mountains below Rapidan

Station".[284] The Gwin Mountains lie just outside of Orange County's border in Louisa County. The writer unfortunately does not record the name of the "old man" or the family to which he was associated, but it was likely *John* or *Tom Collins*. Nonetheless, by 1745, most of the individuals associated with the Christian Band of Saponi could be found living back in this region of Virginia. Their choice to do so apparently was a strategic accommodation to their changing circumstance. The reader will recall that after the Orange County authorities jailed the Saponi men in the winter of 1743 several white men "went security on the their bail bonds". Apparently there were enough white friends who were influential enough to openly and successfully aid them in this time of crisis. That the Christian Saponi here would have interest in staying near the relative protection provided by their white friends as they may have still felt a greater threat from enemy Indians like the Iroquois while living away from the Catawba than from harassing whites. They too may have found that, as they were openly "Christian", they may have lost clout among the more traditional Saponi already living with the Catawba.

Whatever the reason, two years after the 1743 Orange County crisis, Christian Saponi families could be found living back in Virginia, just across the Orange County border in Louisa County in the mountains south of Rapidan Station. The Christian Saponi would reside in this area for some time and would be noted as "Nassayn" (Saponi for "The People") on 1749/50 era maps[285]. But some of the Christian Saponi again encountered problems involved with their status here as citizen Indians. Although old *John Collins* was not listed among them, in the summer of 1745, his relations *Sam* and *William Collins*, along men named *George* and *Thomas Gibson, Sam Bunch, Ben Branham,* and a few others were charged by the Louisa County court for "concealing

tithables"[286]. All the men pleaded not guilty. Why and how the charge was brought about, let alone resolved, is not known for certain.

The likely source for the charge however was Virginia Law that stipulated that, in addition to all adult males, all "Indian, Negro and Mullato" woman over 16 years of age were also tithable, unlike white woman of the same age (see below). It seems quite plausible that the tithables these men were "concealing" were their Saponi spouses or in-laws. The Christian Saponi may have felt they should be free from taxation as rightful heirs of the Tributary Nation. But apparently as far as the Virginia government was concerned, "Tributary status" no longer applied in the case of these citizen Saponi, and this being the case they would have now been subject to the Virginia Act of May 1723. The Act stipulated that "all free Negroes, mulattos or Indians (except tributary Indians to this government) male and female, above 16 years, and all wives of such Negroes, mulattos or Indians (except Indians tributary to this government) shall be accounted tithables; any law, custom, usage, to the contrary, in any way, notwithstanding" [287]. Since 1705, Virginia law also held that people who were Indian and white "to the third degree" were to be deemed "mulattos", while people of white and African heritage to "the sixty-fourth" degree were legally also classed as "mulatto"[288]. Social and economic barriers based on "race" labels would become a greater concern for these Christian Indians now that they had lost their political status as Tributary Indians.

Besides placing the Christian Saponi *Collins* family back in Virginia as tithable citizens, the 1745 tithe incident is notable in that it is the first mention of the *Gibson* and *Bunch* families who from this point forward in time would become consistently entwined with these Christian Indians in the documentary record. The Bunch surname also would

show up among Catawba in future records. The "white" Bunch and Gibson families were prominent in Louisa and Orange County affairs during the 19th century. Of the Gibsons, little is known of these men prior to their involvement with the Christian Saponi. Oral traditions emanating from the next century would claim that they were whites of "Spanish" or Portuguese" heritage (see Chapter 10), but no corroborating proof from this era has surfaced to refute or substantiate that claim. Regardless, as the next generation of Christian Saponi descendants reveals, at least as early as 1739 there had been at least one offspring of a "marriage" between a Saponi *Collins* and a member of the local "white" *Gibson* family[289].

Regardless, after 1745, these same interrelated families tried to stabilize their community in Virginia. By 1747 *Tom Collins* had even gained a recognized title to 186 acres of land in Louisa County, although how he acquired it remains a mystery[290]. Possibly he gained it from his white in-law, *Gilbert Gibson,* who also held adjoining property there in that year[291]. Gilbert appears to have been the father, brother, or Uncle of the aforementioned *Thomas Gibson*, who also had a small piece of land at this time. Also holding a small parcel of land near these men was the aforementioned *Samuel Bunch.* These properties lay down stream from the Gwin Mountains on Turkey Creek off the south side of the South Anna River, placing them at the northern extent of the lands owned by the "French" families of Monakin Town.

The Christian Saponi's residence on Turkey Creek would however be short lived. In 1749, the few Indian and mixed blood relations of Saponi John Collins holding property there would "sell out". This residence change may have something do with the fact that the elder Gilbert Gibson died around this time[292]. The death of this non-Indian

benefactor and affinial relation, in combination with the tax problems they experienced while living here, may all have motivated the move. Regardless, after Gilbert's death the Christian Saponi and their mixed blood relations who would temporarily split up. *Jordan Gibson*, *George Collins*, *John Bowling* and the "*Aicee/Sicee*" family would be among those Christian Saponi would stay in and around Louisa County mountains upstream the Anna from Turkey Creek on the Virginia frontier. Living there between the James and the South Anna during the 1750s, one map would continue to label them as "Nassaw" Indians (Saponi for "the people"[293]). The remainder however relocated back to North Carolina.

Whatever prompted the other's move to North Carolina, it occurred after Gilbert's death when *Tom Collins* sold his Turkey Creek land to a local white named John Powell[294]. Then Tom, along with *John* and *Sam Collins* and a younger *Tom Collins* would join *George* and *Charles Gibson* and *Sam Bunch* in moving their families south to the Flatt River, deep into the heart of North Carolina. Most would buy or otherwise obtain title to land here in a short time. And, in 1750, *Tom Collins* and the *Gibson* men were interestingly recorded as tithables among the whites on the Granville County tax list. The "full-bloods" *John* and *Sam Collins* would not show up on the tax list that year, even though Old John had somehow acquired title land on the Rocky Branch of the Flatt before 1751[295]. The difference in tithable status was likely tied to the personal prerogatives of frontier county officials as to how to label "citizen" Indians and their mixed blood relations.

Regardless, later in 1751 *Tom Gibson* received a notably large grant from the prominent "Earl of Granville" of 640 acres on the Flatt River adjoining *John Collins*

land[296]. How and why the arrangements with the Earl of Granville went forward is unknown. But the Christian Saponi's choice of resettling at Flatt River must be more than an interesting coincidence, for documents produced during the decade would show that these had settled among, or immediately adjoining to the remaining band of Occoneechi Indians who had removed here sometime around 1732. Furthermore, that their new land acquisitions hugged the Trade Path is probably not a coincidence, for the Trade business itself still remained important in the regional economy of whites and Indians alike. Indian Traders like Luke Dean, for instance, continued operations from the frontier town of Salisbury that would grow up around the Trading Ford during the years from 1758 to 1766. Ramsey notes that, up until the late 1750s, John Eaton, Ephraim Osborn, William Harrison and others colonists used the Trading Ford as a place to "trade with the Saponi, Cherokee and Catawba".[297]

It is obvious that many colonists had a hard time pinpointing the tribal identity of the "Christian Saponi" families while in Carolina. The largest Saponi contingent separate from the Christian Saponi were living with the Catawba on their Reservation at the time[298]. Mitchell's map also identifies the "Aconeechy" living on the Flatt River. Bowen's 1752 Map also shows the ancient title of Occoneechi was being applied towards the Indians living at the junction of the Flatt and Little River where the Trading Path crosses them[299]. Mitchell's well-known 1754/5 Map of North America, then adds to the complexity of the picture. He shows one band of Occoneechi where Bowen did three years prior at the mouth of the Flatt exactly where the Christian Saponi from Virginia settled in 1750. But Mitchell also shows yet another "Aconeechy Town" a dozen miles upstream at the headwaters of the Flatt. This leads one to interpret that the Occaneechi

Indian community at the mouth of the Flatt were actually the Christian Saponi, or a mix of these local Occaneechi and the emigrating Christian Saponi from Virginia, while the remainder of the Flatt River Occonecchi had moved to the headwaters of that River[300].

The cartographic division of the "Occoneechi" bands on the Flatt from one "village" in 1752, to two in 1755, coincides perfectly with the immigration of the Christian Saponi families from Virginia to the area. But the tribal identification of these Christian Saponi and Occoneechi becomes even more complicated following a sickness epidemic and a series of attacks on the Catawba towns to the southwest in 1753, which prompted a portion of the Catawba Saponi band to temporarily move into this part of North Carolina[301]. Primary documents cited by Tilley show that from 1753 to 1758 this band of about 30 Saponi were living just north of the Flatt River in Granville County. Their location was reported to be on the lands of William Eaton, and is thought by one local historian to be those lands Eaton held just north of present day Henderson[302]. Eaton was a prominent and famous North Carolinian and he cultivated and maintained friendly relations with both the Catawba and Christian Bands of Saponi while being vigorously engaged in the political, social and economic affairs of Orange and Granville County North Carolina. Unlike the Christian Saponi, these Saponi still required an interpreter when dealing with non-Indians, and William Eaton filled this position while the band resided there[303]. This fact demonstrates that the Christian Saponi and the band residing on Eaton's lands were indeed separate entities, as the Christian Saponi had not used an interpreter for more than 15 years.

With the limited data at hand it could be interpreted that the Saponi reported on Eaton's lands in the mid-1750s could actually have been the Occoneechi who are shown

on Mitchell's Map as living at the headwater of the Flatt River a few miles north of the Christian Saponi. Further strengthening this alternative hypothesis is the fact that no document uncovered thus far mentions the two tribal entities as existing simultaneously in either Orange or Granville Counties. If nothing else, this suggests that the ongoing alliances between these Siouan bands were confusing to non-Indians, and this confusion is reflected in the inconsistent way in which non-Indians categorized and labeled them.

Other examples also demonstrate this confusion. For instance, responding to a circular forwarded by Governor Dobbs requesting population figures from the North Carolina counties, Granville County authorities reported that "about 12 or 14 Sapona men & as many women and children" were living among William Eaton's regiment in Granville County in 1753-54, and that these Saponi had "newly come up from the Cherew (Sara) Town in the Catawba Nation"[304]. No returns were made for Orange County, possibly because the enumerations were done before the latter county was formed from the former in 1753. But another source confuses the issue even further. In a 1755 document citing figures used by the Governor's report, Moranvian Bishop A. Spangenburg claimed that 28 Saponi had "recently" moved to Granville County from Virginia[305]. Because Granville County embraced Orange County just prior to that Bishop's publication, it is clear that the Bishop was referring to the Christian Band of Saponi associated with *John Collins* and the rest, which Mitchell in turn labeled to be Occoneechi. Nowhere in the population returns of the Governor's 1754 and 1755 Reports were the Occonecchi reported, and this also again suggests that perhaps the Acconeechy of Flatt headwaters were one and the same Saponi reported in Eaton's regiment[306]. Unfortunately, without the discovery of further lists actually naming the

Indians comprising the Catawba band of Saponi, or Mitchell's second band of Occonechi, tying and tracking their members past this point in time is difficult at best. Not so, however, for the Christian Saponi who were no "citizens". Regardless whether the Christian Saponi were now calling themselves, or were being called "Occoneechi", "Nassaw", "Saponi", or another name, a new era awaited their Flatt River community the colonies again plunged into war, and the Revolution.

The Christian band of Saponi which emerged after the demise of the Saponi Reservation would come to face new problems and issues now that they were colonial citizens, and no longer considered a "Tributary Nation". They sometimes faced local courts and were taxed as "non-whites". This political link to race would continue to pose challenges to their families in the years ahead. In addition to linking their Indian identity to that of a Christian one, the half-dozen or so extended families of this band moved to enhance their social and political status and economic well-being by acquiring title to land. They also retained associations with other Indian groups, such as the Catawba and had extended or maintained friendly relations with particular non-Indian people, such as Colonel Mumford, Ex-Governor Spotswood, Colonel Bolling, the Gibsons, and the Bunches, sometimes even to the point of intermarriage. The Christian Saponi would manage to keep their families together as they jockeyed back and forth between the frontiers of Virginia and North Carolina from 1738 to 1750. Then, with the establishment of the Flatt River Community, a new chance to maintain a more stable and permanent community was at hand.

Chapter 3

Family Accommodations From the Flatt to the New River

From 1750 to the Revolution, the Christian Saponi families remained split between the Louisa County mountains in Virginia and the more distinct Flatt River Community down in North Carolina. At the latter location, the small group of interrelated families faced debt problems, yet managed to gain and maintain title to small parcels of adjoining land. The also expanded their kinship links to certain non-Saponi Indians and mixed bloods, like the Sizemores and Ridleys. The growing racial and ethnic diversity among them, and their citizen status, led colonial authorities to fluctuate in casting them as "white", "Indian" and "Molata" , at least for tax purposes. After the passing of the Proclamation of 1763, the Flatt River Indians would move to establish a new community in the mountains, located on the fringes of the Cherokee Nation and the Virginia and North Carolina frontiers. There, they would successfully sustain their families through the remainder of the century.

Shades of Citizenship

In the first half decade of their residence on the Flatt River, some of the Christian Saponi had accumulated enough capital to acquire a small, but important, group of land titles on the Flatt River. Besides his initial acquisition from the Earl of Granville in 1751, *Tom Gibson* had acquired two more grants for 250 acres on that River in the spring of 1752, bordering lands also recently acquired by *Tom Collins*, *George Gibson*, and an

Indian man named *Moses Ridley* (aka. *Riddle*)[307]. Previously that year, *Tom Collins* received a grant for a small parcel of land on Dial's Creek off the Flatt, and testifying to the communal relationship maintained by these families, his deed was witnesses by *Moses Ridley*, *Paul Collins* and *George Gibson*[308].

Documents such tax lists and court records reveal that, in the first few years on the Flatt, the people of Christian Saponi Band were enumerated the same as "white tithables"[309]. But soon after Orange County was formed from Granville in 1753, new county officials would sometimes choose to count the citizens Indian at Flatt River, not among the "white" tithables, but instead as "Molatas". Indeed, Virginia and North Carolina law stipulated that people of half Indian and half white heritage to be label "mulatto", while individuals less than half Indian, and the remainder white could be deemed "white" [310]. In Virginia, any person that was of 1/16 African heritage or more was to be recorded as "mulatto" regardless of the character of the remainder of their "blood-quantum".

The "Molata" label was first applied to the Flatt River Indians in North Carolina when a member of the Indian *Sizemore* family of Virginia first shows up in association with the Christian Saponi families. While the Sizemores apparently never lived for any extended period in Orange County, North Carolina, from after the Revolutionary War to contemporary times, a portion of this Old Virginia mix-blood family would be associated with the descendants of the Christian Saponi. This event occurred in the fall of 1753 a woman named Mary Torrington petitioned the Orange County court regarding "an orphan child, called Sarah Torrington". She claimed that the child was "taken from her in a forcible manner by a certain *Ephraim Sizemore* a mulata, and be bound to Miles

Parker"[311]. Yet, only three years prior Ephraim, along with *George Sizemore* and *William Joyner*, was counted among "an old Indian man's list" of Indian and/or mix-bloods families living at that time up in Lunenburg County, Virginia[312]. As this list was part of a county tax list, one may surmise that these men were counted as "citizen Indians" at that time, and no tribal identification was shown.

Unfortunately, as to why Ephraim was in this part of North Carolina and why he was interested in the orphan is unknown. But it is interesting to find that *Ned Sizemore* would be noted as "white" while living adjacent to *Moses Ridley* in 1755[313]. Like the rest of the Christian Saponi at Flatt River, the latter was recorded "white" in 1750, but was shown as "Molota" in 1755. This is interesting because Ridley himself had been on the first tithable list of Lunenburg County, Virginia, a few year prior where, as with the Sizemores, he was shown as "*Moses Riddle, Indian*"[314]. Such inconsistent racial labeling was only a precursor of the confusing manner by which these citizen Indians would be recorded in official documents in upcoming decades.

No longer counted among the "white" tithables as in their first few years of residence on the Flatt River, the 1755 Orange County Tax list reflects as "Molata" not only the "full-blood" Saponi *John Collins*, but also *Sam Collins* with another adult male "Molata" tithable in his household[315]. So too was *Tom Collins* and *Tom Collins Jr.* similarly classified with two more tithables. *Tom Gibson* was shown as "Molata" with two other tithable adult males, as well as were *Charles, George* and *Mager Gibson*[316]. Also shown as "Molata" were *Gideon* and *Micager Bunch*, apparently relations to the same *Sam Bunch* who lived with the Christian Saponi up at Turkey Creek in Virginia[317]. The final family thus enumerated was that *Moses Ridley* and, in this instance, "his wife

Mary" was also enumerated as a "Molata" tithable. However, it is notable that none of the others wives were enumerated at tithable. In other North Carolina counties, and perhaps in this one as well, the wives and daughters over twelve years old deemed to be non-white or not of an Indian nation still bound to the colony by treaty, were subject to taxation unlike white woman[318]. This suggests that, other than Ridley, all of these men's spouses were white or they were Indians that were deemed non-tithable by county authorities.

Regardless of these citizen Indian men's' wives' taxable status and perceived "racial" identity, one useful statistic can be pulled from this particular 1755 enumeration. This small band of citizen Indians and their mixed blood relations being counted as "Molatas" at Flatt River consisted of 11 households with 16 adult males. Living in a communal setting and not scattered as individual and families, it is also evident that their attempts to maintain themselves as a group had thus far been successful since their move here a half decade ago.

Seven Years of English, French and Indians at War

The change in the enumeration of these Christian Saponi on the Flatt River from the tithable status of "white" to "Molata" may be a reflection of the new county administration that came with the attitudes and policies of those establishing Orange County. As settlement slowly increased, the "woodsmen", traders and small farm families that neighbored the Christian Saponi were being replaced by a more assertive "planter class". As such, social and legal stipulations and segregations regarding "race" and "color" became more particular and numerous. The change in the tithable status of

the Christian Saponi seems to reflect this demographic and political change in the county. Not white but yet not, culturally speaking, "savages", the Flatt River Indians and mixed-bloods apparently fell between the county enumerator's cultural and physical definitions of "Indian" and "white", at least for tax purposes.

The change in the classification of these Christian Saponi men from the status of white tithables to Molata would also neatly coincide with new tensions on the frontier. A major conflict was erupting between Indians and colonists throughout North America as the French and English aligned Indian Nations with their respective sides in a new international war, later known as "the Seven Years War", or "The French Indian War". At the local level, there was increasing tensions between the Catawba and the whites in neighboring Rowan County. That the Christian Indians at Flatt River had intimate ties with the Catawba may have unnerved their neighbors as the Catawba began asserting their treaty rights in North and South Carolina more vigorously[319]. The Carolinians also looked nervously toward their more powerful Cherokee neighbors to the west.

In 1756, it appeared to many North Carolinians on the western frontier that peace with their immediate neighbors, the Catawba and the Cherokee, could be assured. That February, Peyton Randolph and William Byrd from Virginia helped negotiate a temporary peace with the Cherokee, and a similar conference was scheduled with the Catawba later that spring. But after attending a council with the chiefs and headmen of the Catawba held at Peter Arnett's house in Salisbury, North Carolina that May, Chief Justice Peter Henley felt "there will be war"[320]. The tensions between the Catawba and the North Carolinians resumed. As for the "peace" concluded with the Cherokee the previous year, by 1758 warriors from that nation were attacking Fort Dobbs at the western fringes

of Rowen County.

An interesting commentary on the disintegrating state of affairs between the English and the Indian nations is provided by none other than the previously mentioned Reverend Fontaine who had visited Fort Christianna and traveled with Byrd and Ned Bearskin decades before. In a letter dated March 30, 1757, he remarked that the colonists "ought to have intermarried with the Indians" more frequently, "thereby allowing their lands to be more easily obtained and more easily convert them to Christianity" and thus avoided the present conflict[321]. The French Reverend derided English colonial authorities for discouraging marital liaisons between Indians and whites. He also noted his concern with physical appearance by claiming that by that promoting such marriages the offspring would result in "Indian children as white at birth as a Portuguese or Spaniard"[322].

Both Indians and non-Indians who may or may not have wished to be involved were being pulled into this international conflict between the English and French empires. powerful of Indian nations in the eastern part of North America concerned the English colonists. This situation also undoubtedly unnerved not only the smaller bands and nations whose mere existence was precarious in times of "peace", let alone war, but also the many "citizen Indians" who lived within the colonies themselves. And to be an unidentified Indian floating around the colonial frontiers became more dangerous than ever. For example, contemporary historian Ramsey reports on how one time during the war a "party of volunteers" went out into the mountains of North Carolina and took "Indian scalps...at their own expense". Bringing their grisly prizes to the Rowan County Courthouse, these so-called "adventurers" were paid a hefty L100 bounty for them[323]. It is doubtful if many of these bounty hunters knew or cared about the tribal affiliation of

their victims. That the Christian Saponi chose to remain further in towards the settlement on the Flatt where they were personally known by at least some of the local whites is not surprising, for it was advantageous for their survival.

As for the Christian Saponi who remained back in Virginia, *John Bowling*, *Tom Gibson* and *Charley Collins* would serve in the Augusta and Louisa County militias (see below). No document yet confirms that any of the men from the Flatt River Indian community sent men into the county militias during this conflict. But oral traditions from their descendants as well as from whites who knew them state that they did[324]. Like their brethren up in Virginia, being "citizens" in North Carolina meant that the Flatt River Indians most likely served in the county militia. Much more research regarding the various Saponi bands military participation in the Seven Years War needs to be undertaken to distinguish exactly who served where and when.

One interesting piece of oral tradition concerning the French and Indian War survives among contemporary descendants of the Powhatan *and* Saponi Bowlings who are associated with the Stone Mountain Indian Community (see Chapter 4). According to the "family tradition" recorded in print as early as 1890, one of the Bowling boys, *Benjamin Bowling*, enlisted to fight for the Virginians[325]. The unit in which the young Bowling warrior found himself was attached to Washington's company during the infamous action led by General Braddock during the ill-fated Ft. Duquesne expedition of July 1775. During that great battle, Bowling watched as Braddock pompously and carelessly employed fatal battlefield strategies which, in the face of their formidable adversaries, caused the Virginians to be cut down in vast numbers. Bowling watched as Washington appealed to Braddock to retreat and regroup, but to no avail. As the story

goes, Ben, like Washington, felt his comrades at this point were dying needlessly as Braddock continued to order the troops to stand fast. If something was not done, Ben felt all his new friends and comrades in arms would die. The family tradition then relates that Ben "boiled with rage" seeing the slaughter needlessly continue. Thinking that Braddock "had gone mad", the young Bowling took aim and shot Braddock dead "in order to end the rash adventure", at which time Washington immediately took command and ordered a retreat[326].

Two summers after that incident, George Washington sent a formal written invitation to the Nottaway, the Tuscarora, the Meherrins and the Saponi to join with their militia in a new joint Indian-English campaign against the French and their Indian allies. All the tribes were called upon to send delegates to a conference to be held at Williamsburg in April of 1757[327]. The Saponi delegation however comprised only two persons[328]. It is likely that these Saponi came from the Catawba Saponi band that was known to be residing on Eaton's lands in North Carolina at that time. However, the delegates indeed may have been from the Virginia or Flatt River contingents of Christian Saponi.

Both during and after the war, the Flatt River Indians and their mixed-blood relations would find themselves in and out of the Orange County court for various complications, mostly from debts to local traders and merchants like Mike Synnot. As early as the spring of 1754, Synnot had *Tom Gibson* in court for debts owed him[329]. In the summer of 1756, an operator named Sam Benton had *Gideon Bunch* in court, and later that September, young *Charley Gibson* was also in court being accused of debt by John Dunnagan[330]. While the legitimacy of his claims is not confirmed, Synnot in

particular is noted in the records as having problems with local Indians. For instance, in the spring of 1757, *Captain Snow,* who the Orange County court described as a "friendly Catawba Indian" that either lived in or frequented the county, addressed the court to plead that "a horse now in possession of Michael Synnot was stolen from him a year ago"[331]. Synnot refused to give the man his horse back.

In the spring 1757, *Sam* and the younger *John Collins* were entangled in an unknown legal matter with a William Stroud. Men from the locally prominent Stroud family had the Collins men back in court that summer[332]. But it is also notable that some local whites, like John Carragan, would take the stand for the accused Indians in some instances. But some of the local non-Indians who dealt amiably with local Indians also seemed to have a hard time getting a fair deal from the Orange county government during these years. For instance, that same spring of 1757, a large diplomatic party of Catawba passed through Orange County on a political mission to Virginia[333]. Probably not coincidently, the delegates spent the night off the Trading Path Road at the farm of a prominent local white named William Reed who lived among or next to old Saponi *John Collins* and the other citizen Indians of the Flatt River community[334]. On their return trip from Virginia, the Catawba delegation would again stop for the night at Reed's farm. However, as was frequently the case when large groups of Indians passed through the settlements, after their departure many local whites accused the Indians of committing "damages" upon their properties[335]. The Orange County court appointed a committee to look into the accusations. While considering other's "damage" claims, the Court refused to reimburse Reed for "entertianing...dyating & feeding the horses" of the Catawba diplomats as was customary to do with political envoys of Indian Nations traveling to and

from their councils with colonial authorities[336].

Such events indicate that the Flatt River Indians had cultivated friendly ties with at least a few local whites and were not totally isolated amongst hostile colonists. Nonetheless, by the fall of 1757, Old Saponi *John Collins* was again being prosecuted for indebtedness to the trading partners "Cary & Welson", and these two entrepreneurs as well as others would continue to bring the citizen Indians on the Flatt in to court for the next two years[337]. Even the aforementioned war veteran *Benjamin Bowling*, who came down from Virginia to live at Flatt River after his stint in the Braddock affair, quickly found himself in court for some unrecorded reason[338]. Quite possibly for that exact reason, Ben immediately moved back among his kin in Virginia. Most of the rest would remain at Flatt River for a few more years with no major disruptions other than occasional debt problems. But by 1770, most of the Flatt River Indians had removed back to the mountains of Virginia. It appears that debts, stricter hunting and tax laws, in combination with the passing of the infamous Proclamation of 1763 and a growing non-Indian population around Flatt River, would all be factors that played a major role in prompting this move[339].

The Proclamation of 1763 was an interesting agreement, prompted largely by the successful inter-tribal organizational skills of the Ottawa leader, Pontiac. Following France's defeat in the Seven Years War, the majority of the Indian nations previously aligned with the French were now afraid that the English would totally disregard their own sovereign rights. So colonial authorities tried to satisfy the demands of the Indian Nations living in west of the Mountains following the War's end. According to stipulations set out at the Treaty of Paris (which no Indian delegates attended), one major

thing that the Proclamation accomplished was to set a boundary line dividing Indian Lands from the British colonies[340]. Most, if not all Indian leaders, however, were under the impression that the line was to be permanent. But Washington himself expressed the opinion that the Proclamation was merely a "temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians"[341]. The colonists' hope was that the line would help prevent "Indian Wars" in the near future[342].

As we shall see, the Christian Saponi would, like so many non-Indian colonists, take advantage of this new situation and the relative peace it would briefly bring to the Carolina and Virginia frontiers. The powerful and prominent Ani-Tsalagi, or Cherokee, for the time being were now on friendly terms with their eastern colonial neighbors despite the friction between them during the Seven Year's War. A new era of trade and diplomacy between the Cherokee and the British was underway. The Catawba, one of the largest nations that remained east of the Proclamation Line, had not fared so well during the war years. Compared to the Cherokee, the Catawba and their confederates were a relatively small population to start with, and the war and recent smallpox epidemics had taken its toll on adult Catawba males. Most of those who remained would eventually consolidate on the Reservation now guaranteed them by treaty in South Carolina on the North Carolina borders[343]. However, in 1764, a large contingent of "Catawba" who could muster 150 warriors were reported to be found wandering "on the frontiers" of North Carolina, and they too had made peace with the Cherokee and the colonists[344].

By the end of the 1760's, the old Christian Saponi families from the Flatt River Community and the old Louisa-Cumberland area of Virginia were began to bring their own tribal relations back together again. With the threat of the Iroquois now gone and

new friendly ties existing between the Cherokee and the Catawba and the colonists, the Christian Saponi strategically accommodated the situation by removing to the western fringes of colonial settlement. They would consolidate into a new community right at the New River boundary area between Virginia and North Carolina and the lands of the Cherokee Nation, technically beyond the "settler" zone. Here they would cultivate friendly relationships with the few "backwoods" white families that peppered the upper New River valley as well as with the Cherokee and Catawba who still used the area for seasonal hunting and gathering.

Exactly why and how the Christian Saponi would choose to relocate on these particular lands on the New River is unknown. Some speculation can be made, however. For instance, following the passage of the Proclamation of 1763, and possibly before, many of the Christian Saponi can be shown to have been well acquainted with some of the famous "Long-Hunters" of Virginia and North Carolina who frequented these lands. Oral tradition from both whites and Indians states that some of the Christian Saponi often 'traveled into the mountains with the Long Hunters. Some of these white frontiersmen are known to have been lived very near the families of Christian Saponi during the 18th century including James Mooney, Daniel Boone, William Cole, Robert Crockett, John Finley, Dr. Thomas Walker, and Abindingo Castile[345]. Some of the Long Hunters' families would stay aligned with the Christian Saponi and their descendants through marriage and residence throughout the next century. Maintaining this strategy of establishing and nurturing friendly relationships with their neighbors, be they Indian or non-Indian, would lead to important and lasting associations established from the Christian Saponi's new community at the New River.

Despite their debt problems back in the Flatt River community, somehow the Christian Saponi would again manage to procure land grants on the New River border area just prior to the Revolution. No records of sales have been found for most of the lands that the Christian Saponi were known to have owned on Flatt River. They may have lost them for taxes or other debts, or possibly abandoned them, or simply the sales transaction have not yet been found. Records show only that, in May of 1770, the elder *Tom Gibson* would sell the remainder of his the 606 acres to his relations *James*, *George* and *Joel Gibson*[346]. Tom would temporarily take his family briefly up to the New River where *John* and *George Collins* had begun establishing a new community. George apparently had never lived down at the Flatt River Community, staying instead in the Cumberland region in and around Louisa County, Virginia, until about 1767 when he later moved his family to the "Peach Bottom" region of the New River[347]. Frequented by white traders, hunters, and the occasional "backwoods" family of whites, the land chosen by the Flatt River Indian families was just outside the Indian side of the reset Proclamation line amended by treaty with the Cherokee that year.

By 1771, the Boutourt County, Virginia records show that there were at least nine adult, male, Christian Saponi, living on the New River including *John, George, Sam* and *Charles Collins*, and *Tom Gibson*[348]. It is apparent by the enumeration of the Saponi Collins men alone that the Christian Saponi families and their mixed-blood relatives were increasing in population. The adult men of this Indian population were considered tithable by Virginia law. But unlike the officials of Orange County in North Carolina, who imposed the status label of "molata" on them, the officials in Boutourt County would instead revert to enumerating these citizen Indians among the "white tithables".

The Virginia county would also make no attempt to tax their wives and daughters as had occurred in previous years.

The new community these Christian Indians formed on the New River placed the Saponi squarely back in the part of Appalachia where their families hunted and gathered some 70 years prior. An physically the land had not changed much. The flora and fauna available at the New River was much more abundant than back on the Flatt River or up in the Virginia Cumberland area. Elk, Turkey, bear and deer were still plentiful enough to contribute to sustaining the small but growing citizen Indian population. Corn did not grow well here, but well enough to supplement other garden crops and the gathering of nuts, berries and forest products. "Sugar camps" would also be used by the New River Indians and, as previously stated, some of the Christian Saponi men would use the area as a jumping off point for hunting excursions even deeper into the Appalachian mountains.

Children of the Revolution

However, the Proclamation of 1763 did little, if anything, to stop the pressure the colonists placed on the Indian lands west of the Proclamation line. By 1770, settlers, hunters, surveyors and miners were bleeding past the great Cherokee Nation itself, pushing into Kentucky and establishing "forts" and settlements down the Holston and Clinch River Valleys. "Settlement" on the part of the Virginians and the Carolinians usually first consisted of establishing a new string of frontier "forts" down the Valleys. Small by any standard, these complexes were not usually meant to be garrisoned by regular troops. These "forts" however were manned by settlers themselves making farmer and soldier one in the same. Those Cherokee and Shawnee who were astute

enough to foresee these forts as the precursors, if not the actual means, to the illegal usurping of their best hunting and gathering lands, continually harassed them. Alternatively, as the Cherokee Nation's boundaries shrank, many Cherokee would choose to take "individual reservation" and/or accept citizenship in North Carolina in response[349].

Some of these early frontier forts and the people who occupied them would later enter into the history of the Christian Saponi of New River. These would include the "fort" that the Moore brothers built in Castlewoods, not far northwest of the New River in 1769. In 1772, Mathias, Jacob and Henry Harmon emigrated from near Salisbury in North Carolina and established a defensive family compound on Carr's Creek off the Clinch River[350]. The most significant of such Forts to later Saponi history, however, would be "Blackmore's Fort" which was also established also in 1772. This fort was constructed on the lands acquired by Captain John Blackmore located at the mouth of Stoney Creek on the Clinch River[351].

Quite literally caught between Indian Country and the growing black and white population of the Virginians and Carolinians, the identity and social status of the New River Christian Saponi from the perspective of local white authorities would remain ambiguous and fickle both before and during the Revolutionary war years. One of the notable example of this ambiguity is reflected in the 1773 and 1774 "Delinquent Tax Lists" of Boteourt County and Montgomery County[352]. These list shows the names of over a dozen adult males of the Christian Saponi and families as residing primarily on "Indian Lands" off the New River and Reed's Creek. These included the elders *John* and *Sam Collins*, as well as their adult sons and other relations, *Charles*, *George*, *Lewis*, *John Jr.*, *Ambrose*, *Elisha*, *James* and *David Collins*[353]. As reflected by the list, *Micajah Bunch*

had also joined the band of Christian Indians emigrating here from the Flatt River Indian community, although some of the other Indian *Bunch*es had instead chosen to remove to the Catawba by this time. From the Cumberland-Louisa Region, at least one of the Saponi families descending from *John Bowling* was also enumerated as living on these "Indian Lands"[354]. Rounding out the lists were *Ambrose Hammonds*, who married one of the Collins Indian girls, as well as *Bill Sexton* [355]. Sexton had married an Indian woman of the family named "*Aicee/Sicee*" (anglicized to Thomas), and had settled among the growing community of Christian citizen Indians at here the New [356].

The status of the "Indian Lands" on which the Christian Saponi and their relations resided is unknown and potentially controversial. It might be assumed that the emigrates had settled beyond the 1763 Proclamation line. But this would be an error, for the Cherokee boundary was reset in 1767/8, and then again in 1770, placing the Cherokee boundary west of the entire New River watershed[357]. Additionally, if the Christian Saponi were being considered "squatters" on non-ceded Cherokee territories, then colonial law would have mandated that they be removed back into ceded lands, and thus they would not be openly taxed on Cherokee land[358]. Yet, neither the Virginians nor the Cherokee ever accused the Christian Saponi of establishing a squatter settlement in any document that I have found thus far. And indeed, as already shown by the existence of the family compounds called "Forts" located far to the west of the New River, taxable whites were living much farther west of the old Proclamation line and those set by more current treaties than were the people of the New River Indian community-- and none are noted in 1773 as living on "Indian Lands" like John Collins and the rest.

So what could be some alternative explanations for the status of these "Indian

Lands" on which the New River Indian were enumerated in 1773? It may be that the Virginians had made some sort of grant to the Christian Saponi on a "temporary reservation". If so, the "reservation" may have been made into allotments which, after a certain time, would revert to private property and thus taxable status. It may also be that the Christian Saponi as a group had made some sort of deal with the Cherokee government that may or may not have been recognized by Virginia. Indeed, as late as 1825, the Cherokee were asserting that they still held title to 200,000 acres here, which American authorities denied[359]. As tantalizing as these possibilities may be, they remain simply conjecture without further evidence. Regardless of the 1771 status of these "Indian Lands", no list after 1774 shows the Christian Saponi as residing on "Indian Lands", although the community stayed right where it was.

Dunmore's War would break out less than a year after the enumeration of the New River "Indian Lands", and the conflict would disrupt the friendly relations between the Cherokee and the English colonies, and the citizen Indians at the New River Community would have to take sides. Consequently, many of these New River citizen Indians would participate in county militias during that time. A list from the Draper Manuscripts, thought to reflect Captain Herbert's Company, reveals that one of the militia units comprised of the New River Indians, their mixed-blood relations, and numerous Virginia "backwoodsman" mustered into duty that summer[360]. Among this local militia unit was none other than Saponi *John Collins* and his son *John Jr*, as were *Lewis, Dave* and *Elisha Collins*. Also among the militia was *William Riddle,* as well as a *Charley Sexton* of the Virginia "Aicee/Sicee" Indian family.

These New River Indians in Captain Herbert's company comprised an important

part of the troops organized that summer under the Botetourt County Militia, and was one of many Virginia companies attached to Colonel William Preston's command as he was preparing to attack the Shawnee and their allies that summer[361]. But attacks by Cherokee warriors on Virginians living in the Clinch and Powell Valleys would alter Preston's plans. Men from Herbert's company were quickly ordered to the Clinch River and Powell's Valley forts to deflect any further attacks from hostile "Cherokee-Shawnee alliances", and were among the reinforcements noted as being placed at Fort Blackmore late that summer when Daniel Boone would serve briefly as "Captain" at the upon his return from Kentucky in 1774[362]. After a few weeks, when the immediate threat of Cherokee and Shawnee attacks on the Virginia forts subsided somewhat, Herbert's troops were pulled back from Fort protection duty and ordered to make their way up to the rendezvous with other units at Camp Union that September[363]. The troops then made their way to Pleasant Point where, at that great battle with the Shawnee and warriors of many other tribes, twenty men from Herbert's company alone would fall dead[364]. If any of the Christian Saponi serving in the unit were among the fatalities remains unknown.

With the end of "Dunmore's War", yet another fevered wave of war in the frame of the Revolution came crashing over the frontier. Indeed, Carolinians, Virginians and the Crown alike were long in the habit of conscripting both "citizen Indians" as well as enticing those from still recognized Nations such as the Catawba and Cherokee to join with their causes. So, by 1776, many of the men from the Christian Saponi would enter Continental service. But they would do so as individuals and not as a tribal entity[365]. Some would join voluntarily, while others would find themselves drafted. *Charley Gibson,* who was born back in Louisa (Cumberland) County Virginia in 1739, was

mustered out in Salisbury, North Carolina while he was still living at the fading Flatt River community[366]. For those Christian Saponi now living nearly 130 miles away on the New River, if they were living on the North Carolina side of the border, such as *Tom* and *George Collins*, they too would be required to muster out at the Salisbury courthouse, which was about equidistant from both communities[367].

When the war reached him in 1776, the young *Lewis Collins* was "not then a man of family"[368]. He was instead hunting and fishing on the waters of the Broad River down in the Catawba's North Carolina territories in Montgomery County. This grandson of Old John Collins was drafted and placed under Colonel Williamson's command when he went into town that year. His initial duties he later described as being forced to "march against the Cherokees on the South Carolina frontier". For reasons unknown he was transferred to another unit after one month and he served there until he was discharged in 1778. Now 24 years old, he made the long and hazardous journey back to his father's house in Virginia and rejoined his numerous relatives in the New River community. Then Lewis drafted again in 1781, and marched with General Green's troops to fight "at the high hills of Santee". Lewis would distinguish himself by capturing a number of British and Tories near Salisbury in Carolina[369].

During the Revolutionary era other Christian Saponi who were previously living outside the primary community at New River were choosing to rejoin their kin there. Many of the *Gibsons* in particular were slow to join the migrations to the New River, and the elder *Tom* and *George Gibson* still maintained their residences there after the Saponi *Collins*' and other affiliated Indian and mixed-blood families had left. Tom however would finally leave the Flatt in the early 1770's and, with a number of his relations, he

would eventually resettle out near Fort Blackmore after a short residential stint at the New River community. Then in late 1776, Old George would pass on[370]. Apparently he was the last link holding together the fading remnants of the Flatt River community for, within a few years following George's death, most of his relations would join with *Tom Gibson* in the mountains, while others scattered into Caswell and Guilford Counties in North Carolina[371].

Up at the New River community, many of the Saponi veterans from Lord Dunmore's War would find themselves back in service by 1776. The prominent *Collins* family in particular would send most of their able bodied men into military service. Old Saponi *John Collins* was apparently too old or otherwise unable to serve or perhaps had passed on by this year, but *David*, *Meredith* and *George Collins* all had joined Captain McDonald's company of local militia[372]. Meredith, who was only 16 years old, was, like most of his kin, employed as an "Indian Scout" while in his Virginia unit[373]. The youngest *John Collins* would also enter service in 1777, but for reasons yet unknown he was instead employed in Cox's militia unit [374].

It appears that there was some indifference, if not outright resistance, on the part of some of the New River Indians in allying themselves too closely with any side of this colonial struggle. For instance, *Elisha Collins* was harassed by the Americans for "refusing the oath of allegiance" in 1777[375]. An amusing story regarding these Christian Indians' political inclinations comes from *Joey Collins* recorded on a pension affidavit on behalf of a Salethial Martin in 1834. Joey related that "I was a small boy in 1780 when Captain Martin came to New River in Virginia and captured a group of Tories staying in a stone fort on the river. Among those captured were *Lewis Collins* and *David Gibson*

who escaped later that night. I am intimately acquainted with both men and I have often heard them tell of making their escape from Captain Martin"[376].

That these "Tory" and "American" aligned individuals came back together during and after the Revolution indeed further confirms the strength of *family* loyalties and allegiances amongst the New River Indians and their mixed-blood relations. The elder *Moses Ridley*, who remained back east after leaving the Flatt River Indian Community, was actually hung as a Tory[377]. Despite being labeled a "Tory" a year later young *Lewis Collins* was back fighting the British for the Americans. Elisha Collins also apparently changed his mind about taking the oath, or had it changed for him. He is shown as having served with *John Collins* in the Elk Creek militia in 1782. Lewis also is again recorded that year as being back with Captain McDaniel's Company of militia, which also included *Meredith*, *George* and *David Collins*, all of whom had served for a number of years now. Such seemingly fickle behavior suggests that for the Christian Indians living on the New River, loyalties were first to family, with the Revolution and/or the Crown being a secondary allegiance.

Later in the 1780s, as contests with the crown subsided and struggles with the Shawnee increased on the western frontiers, *Samuel* and all of the rest of the aforementioned Collins men would continue to serve as "Americans" in Osborn's company of militia. Osborn's company was notably well represented by other known Indians and their relatives from the New River community besides those from the prominent Collins family. *Billy Bowling,*, Moses Riddle's sons *Bill* and *Johnny*, as well as the "*Aicee/Sicee*" descendants. *Ben, Charles* and *John Sexton,* for instance, were all recorded among Osborn's ranks[378]. Their unit's primary duty was again to protect the

scattered "forts", like Blackmore's on the Clinch, and other settlers on the Virginia frontier as they had done during Dunmore's War.

Perhaps the most critical effect that the Revolution would have on the New River Indians when the smoke finally cleared would be the long lasting friendships they made with the whites with whom they served and protected along the Virginia/Carolinia frontier. People like Benedict Watkins, the Osbournes, the Poes, Joe Nickles, Captain Dotson and others would raise their families nearby the new communities that would be established by the New River Indians after the war. Showing the extent of their social acceptability among the white veterans they served with, later years show that many of these white families would approve of some of their daughter's and son's decisions to marry into this population of Christian Indians, and vise versa. In the decades to come, these friendly relationships with particular non-Indian families would prove to be an important factor in the continued the survival of the New River Indians as they struggled to keep their families strong and vibrant in this new United States.

New River Indian Land and Families

In 1903 a local lawyer from Hancock County, Tennessee named Jarvis published a brief history in the county newspaper regarding the Christian Saponi and other Indians and mixed-bloods who would migrate from the New River into northeast Tennessee and southwest Virginia at the turn of the century[379]. More will be said about Jarvis' article, and what he was reacting to, later in Chapter 10. But it is significant to note here that Jarvis' short newspaper article is the earliest printed history of these citizen Indians accurately relating their residence at New River. Jarvis for instance would recount that

"they were originally friendly Indians who came with the whites...from the Cumberland County [sic] and New River, Virginia", and that they "settled [the] area with land grants and muniments of title and settled the same time the whites did"[380]. Jarvis too would accurately recite and recall many of the early Indian ancestors of the Greasy Rock Indian population, who he described as being "*John Bowling*.... *Vardy*, *Ben* and *Solomon Collins*, *Shepherd Gibson*, *Paul Bunch* and the *Goodmans*, [the] chiefs and the rest of them"[381]. Reflecting on their character and culture at that time, the lawyer would claim that, by the turn of the century, "they had already lost their language and spoke English very well...[they] were like white people in that they had both good and bad citizens...[their] word is bond"[382]. In challenging those outsiders who by 1905 were erroneously speculating on the history and heritage of this Indian population, Jarvis would accurately conclude by asserting "they have left records which show these facts"[383].

Indeed, records show that the New River Indian community was flourishing after the Revolution was over. For one, there were still plenty of natural resources to go around for all, including the small scattered families of white backwoodsmen as well as the Catawba and Cherokee who also utilized this part of the mountains to hunt and gather at this time. The New River Indians would also successfully cultivate small plots of land. Focused on subsistence crops like corn, beans and squash, they supplemented this fare with hunting and gathering local resources. Every so often the individual families would move there homes around in the New River area in order to cultivate fresh soil and ease up their pressure on the local animal and plant population. By the War's end, this local migratory pattern would find most of the New River Indian families slowly working their residences further south towards the River headwater regions out of Virginia into North

Carolina jurisdiction.

The deeds recorded by the few whites acquiring land in this part of the New River watershed following the American Revolution confirm evidence of the local mobility of the Christian Indians living there. For instance, Ben Herdon's 1779 deed entry for land off the New noted it included "2 old cabins formerly belonging to *George Collins*" who had long since moved his family a few miles upstream[384]. Similarly, a deed entered by a William Lenoir made that same year for land on Rocky Creek records the land as being "below *Charles Collins'* old waste cabin"[385]. However, the few early land titles of the New River Indians may have had pertaining to the various plots of land they occupied remained ambiguous and open to contest. Occupancy, or even a formal land entry, did not guarantee ownership until a official deed was in hand. In some cases, this would eventually cause problems as some whites began entering deeds for lands still occupied and "improved" by New River Indians. In January of 1779, Ben Cleveland did just that to old *Sam Collins* and his neighbor Reubin Stringer[386]. But under the slowly growing pressures of land acquisition by whites, the New River Indians would necessarily and more assertively practice the American way of securing individual land titles. By 1779 some had somehow managed to acquire more stable titles to their land, as *Tom Collins* did for land on the headwaters of Beaver Creek[387].

Regardless of the various potential statuses of their early land tenure here, two important trends occurred among the New River Indians during their residence in the area. The first is the marked increase in their population caused by successfully maintaining large families and, in some cases, allowing non-Saponi Indian or mixed-blood individuals and mixed-blood families into their population such as the

aforementioned *Sizemores* and *Ridleys*. The second important trend was the increased number of frontier whites marrying into these families of these citizen Indians. The outcome of this trend would be that many of them would expand their congenial and affinial relations among the New River Indians and, in doing so, many mixed-blood children would be fully accepted into the social fold of the New River Indian families without be ostracized by their own families. In other cases, individuals or small family units from the New River Population would, within a generation or two, drift away with their non-Indian relations and their offspring would usually come to embrace the "white" identity of their non-Indian kin (see Chapter 4).

Through currently known historical documents, some generalizations about the New River Indian community during this period can be made. For one, the prolific and prominent Saponi Collins' families numerically dominated the scene. An 1782 Virginia tax list shows that county authorities no longer considered the New River Indians as residing on "Indian Lands". Instead, they were shown as "tithables", indistinguishable from the "white" tithables in the county. Among them were the elder families of *John, George, Lewis, Ambrose* and *David Collins*. Among the younger generation of their adult relations also tithed were *Aaron, Daniel, Martin* and *Meliton Collins*[388]. Rounding out the population of old Saponi families carrying the Collins surname at the New River community at this time were the elders *Tom, Sam* and *Charles Collins*, all of whom were living just south of the Virginia line into North Carolina jurisdiction.

In 1787, *Sam* and *Ambrose Collins* and their wives were living on the North Carolina side of the New River, right next to *George Collins'* household[389]. (Sam would not be shown in records following this year, indicating he probably died sometime soon

after the new year). Still, as late as 1793, a number of the Indians of the New River community still lived under Virginia jurisdiction, including *Charley Sexton*, *Macajah Bunch, George* & *Owen Sizemore*. Representing the Collins family were three living *John Collins*', as well *as Lewis, Militant, Benjamin, David, Absolom, Mahlon* and *Joseph Collins*[390]. The Collinses, however, had been joined by a few new non-Saponi Indian and mixed blood families carrying the surnames of *Cole, Clonch, Minor* and *Sizemore*. But by the mid-1790s, most of those living on the Virginia side would also drift down to the North Carolina of the upper New River watershed.

It is notable is that tax lists of the period show that many of the men were listed as owning horses and cattle at that time. Other documents from the era show that, during the 1780's, the Christian Saponi on the North Carolina side would also continue to gain title to modest parcels of land. The trend was peaked in following decade and, as they did so, they consolidated their individual land holdings into two tight geographic areas that could loosely be called "villages".

The first United States Federal Census taken in 1790 shows that *George Collins* headed the largest of these North Carolina "villages", which comprised at least 13 households of 82 people. Among the other adult men in this band were *Ambrose, Valentine* and *Vardy Collins*[391]. Also shown residing here were *Andrew* and *Jordan Gibson*. Also shown living among this New River Indian village in 1790 were people with new family names including *John Williams* and *Lenvil/Levin Cole*. These men and their relations would become prominent in the future of these citizens Indians. Of Lenvil, however, very little is known. What is known is that his daughter *Vashti* had married *Archibald "Archie" Gibson* who was also living in this village next to *Joel* and

Ezekiel Gibson. And cropping up among this first "village" was yet another new name, that of *Joseph Nickells.* Joe, the descendant of a fiery Irish immigrant, was associated with a "Irish-Cherokee" family of that name. The *Nickells,* would also become more prominent among this population of citizen Indians in later years. Finally, the young family of *Jesse Bolin* rounded out the population of this first village of New River Indians[392].

The second "village" or band of New River Indians was located just a few miles away down the New further into North Carolina. But the 1790 Census shows that it was comprised of only 4 "households" associated with the elder *David Collins*. David's own household embraced 11 people however, and with another 16 from the households of *Martin Collins*, *Dorothy Gipson* and *Andrew Moore*, the people associated with David Collins band's made a sizeable contribution to the overall population of the New River Indians[393].

The 1790 era data confirms that the population of citizen Indians residing there was still increasing by birthrate and the integration of outside Indian and mixed-blood families and individuals. The successful growth of this community centered around the old Saponi families and their new alliances made with Indians and mixed-bloods from other "tribal" backgrounds. The most notable in the future of this Indian population are the families of Cole, Sizemore, and Nickels, and to a lesser extent, the Moores and Williamses. As will become apparent, the integration of these non-Saponi Indian families would become thorough that the New River Indian community could be accurately described as a composite association of Indian people of diverse "tribal" backgrounds.

Despite their residence on the New River and use of the land there for nearly twenty years, it was not until 1791 that the New River Indians and their mixed-blood relations were able, or willing, to enter deeds to small parcels of land in any substantial number. But when they did, the prominent Saponi *Collins* again family dominated the affairs. The appearance of a new wave of deeds by men from that family in the court books of 1791, is cause for curiosity. Perhaps they were gained as benefits from military service, or perhaps there was a communal effort to acquire land in individual partials simultaneously. Whatever the reasons for the timing of the land acquisitions, five of the Christian Saponi, four of whom are known for certain to have served in the Revolutionary War, all entered deeds in the Wilkes County courthouse for 50 acre tracts on or near the New River on the same day. On July 9th, *Elisha Collins* entered a grant for 50 acres at the upper end of Turtle Shoals, "including improvements where said Collins lives"[394]. On that same summer day, *Lewis* and *Joshua Collins* also entered deeds for 50 acre plots at the mouths of Fall Branch and Cranberry Creek[395]. *George Collins* also entered a deed for 50 acres right on the New River that day, as did *David Collins* who entered a deed for 100 acres on Elk Creek[396]. Although the dates of his deed entries remain elusive, it is also apparent from County records that *Vardy Collins* was living near Sandy Island Ford with his family, apparently on land to which they held legal title that prior to this day[397].

However, it was not until 1796 that North Carolina would actually start receiving legal title to much of the land long entered by the Christian Indians on the New. Beginning this new procurement of land titles, at the end of that year *Tom* and *Vardy Collins* were granted a total of 250 acres by the state[398]. The following winter, *David*

Collins would be granted fifty acres, as would the young *Griffen Collins* who gained title to a plot on Elk Creek[399]. *Elisha Collins* received his grant until the following summer, right after *Tom Collins* chose to purchase an additional 70 acres with his own resources[400].

From this more secure land base that the New River Indians and their relations would continue to raise their families. That at least some of the New River Indians attended a church from a recognized denomination while living on the New is verified by the fact that, when they abandoned the community there to move west to Stone Mountain in the early 1800's, many would bring "letters of recommendation" from their old church. Unfortunately documents and descriptions of the peoples' everyday lifestyle during these years remains thin, but as trapping and trading remained a part of their economy based on their actions in later years, they likely did so at this time also. Tax lists show that a few owned cattle or oxen, but not many. The horses they were shown as owning were probably used for travel, and not for agricultural pursuits. The entire round of activities for the families was likely subsistence oriented, with the sharing of activities such as cultivating small garden plots, hunting, fishing and gathering. That they set out to the maple groves in the spring to their "sugar camps" is evident from later documents and it is likely that they traded much of what they harvested (see below). Likely too was social and economic cooperation and reciprocation on a need basis amongst the families that made up the New River Indian community. Although documentation is grossly lacking in detail regarding the day to day or season to season round of economic, social and political activities, it is evident that they were successful enough in their pursuits to allow the Indian population there to grow and remain healthy. Some even managed to generate

enough revenue to add to their holdings in the upcoming years.

But once again, times were changing. After the famous "Battle of Fallen Timbers" that was fought between the Americans and the Indian allies of the British in the summer of 1794, new factors would come to effect the future of the New River Indians and their relations and non-Indian neighbors. Indeed, the relative peace that ensued between the Americans, the Cherokee and the Shawnee following the Battle would precipitate change all over the colonial frontiers west of New River. The influx of settlers into the valleys in and beyond Appalachia now occurred on a scale not heretofore seen. Meanwhile, the New River Valley itself was also getting more crowed with non-Indians. Compared to the more modest frontier families that once peppered the landscape, relatively wealthy whites like George Reeves were quickly buying up the remaining lands in the valley and up its tributaries[401]. This surely came to constrain the New River Indians' ability to fish, hunt and gather wild resources, let alone move their crops fields which they needed to do every few years as they were quickly worn out in this mountainous environment.

The New River Indians' ongoing attempts to strategically accommodate these changing situations would change appropriately and successfully. For one, the New River Indians would take advantage of the peaceful atmosphere that fell upon the mid Appalachians. As early as the mid 1790s, a few of the New River Indians and mixed-bloods were frequenting the Cumberland Gap and Clinch Valley region adjacent to the remaining unceeded Cherokee hunting lands there. As a new generation attained adulthood, most of the New River Indians would eventually migrate to that region. However, as of the early 1790s, it would still be some years before most of the New River Indians would actually begin remove there. More immediate everyday issues kept

most of their attention on their lands and families at the New River Community.

It is notable that the New River Indians had successfully accommodated to the social and legal constraints and mandates of white frontier society. For one thing, they had few problems that made it to the local court systems. They apparently avoided the debt problems many accrued with local traders and merchants when living back east on the Flatt River. Conversely, subsequent records confirm that some of the New River Indians and their relations instead became quite notable in material wealth by frontier standards during the New River era.

Testifying to the adaptability of the New River Indians and their mixed bloods relations was their increasing willingness and ability to successfully negotiate aspects of American economic culture such as buying and selling land. This is evident in the numerous land transactions they continued to undertake during the first decade of the 19th century. For instance, in the winter of 1800, *Thomas Gibson* sold 100 acres of his land on Obed's Creek, while retaining the rest of his holdings[402]. A couple months later, *Griffen Collins* sold his 50 acres located on Elk Creek[403]. Late that spring, the Revolutionary War Vet *Ambrose Collins* entered a new deed for 200 acres of "good land" on the waters of the New River up to Three Top Mountain[404]. Also able to acquire title to "good and vacant lands" was young *Valentine "Tiney" Collins*. Tiney's entry was for 50 acres adjoining old *Joel Gibson's* land located on Brushe Ck[405]. And although he had sold his fifty acres on the Elk in the previous year later in the fall of 1800 *Griffen Collins* would recoup his holdings on the New threefold, entering a deed for 150 acres right on the Virginia border[406]. That winter, Griffen would also acquire another 60 acres of "vacant land" near *Dan Hoppers* residence on the Little River[407].

Throughout the early 1800s, the Saponi Collins families in particular continued buying and selling small plots of land. The old Saponi *Thomas Collins* for instance would, nearly every year he continued to live there, purchase a few more acres to add to his property holdings in the New River area starting from the year 1800[408]. *Ambrose Collins* also appears prominent in the local Land Records[409]. And important for maintaining the self-sufficient economy typifying both the Christian Indians and many whites living in the remote region, he acquired title to some of the "sugar camps" that the New River Indians had been using for some time past[410]. The most frequent name of the New River Indians in the county deed books is that of *Elisha Collins*, suggesting that Elisha was more confident in or otherwise able to buy and sell than most of his Indian relations [411]. They all did so, however, with resources gained in a manner that yet eludes documentation.

This data regarding the buying and selling of land testifies to the growing economic stability that the Christian Indians of the New River community had achieved in generations since removing from the Flatt River. As a consequence, their growing material standing likely positively affected their social standing with local non-Indians. There are strong suggestions for instance that there continued to be communal use of land held under these individual titles. But even as these Christian Saponi were more assuredly acquiring a stable land base, both the "good" as well as the "vacant land" around them was simultaneously being bought up in much larger chucks by whites with the entrepreneurial interests and economic resources to pursue them, or by tenants and squatters that cared little about titles. The result of this trend was that, by 1803, instead of acquiring lands solely from the state or Federal government, the New River Indians

and mixed bloods were forced to buy from private white landowners[412]. But person to person transactions did not intimidate or otherwise inhibit those New River Indians interested in buying a plot of land and their land dealings continued with their non-Indian friends and neighbors.

In the winter of 1803, *Tom Collins* received yet another deed for 100 acres at the head of Elk Creek, which county authorities noted included the important "sugar coves" located there[413]. However, despite the continuing trend to acquire and hold lands with recognized title, this elder of the New River Indian community evidently felt that a stronger measure of security for their families was required. A "Deed of Trust" for an unknown amount of acres at New River was made by the old Saponi *Thomas Collins* to a white man named Richard Gentry circa 1797[414]. Not coincidently, Gentry had been officer in Captain Herbert's Company of militia during Lord Dunmore's War, and the apparent trust and respect that this New River Indian had for this prominent white man was probably established during that time.

It is notable that putting land in trust with a prominent and influential white was a common tactic undertaken by Indian tribes, bands and families throughout Indian Country in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was a strategic tactic some tribes engaged in with dubious success as they attempted to find ways to successfully maintain a peaceable existence upon the lands they considered home. As independent nations, "wards" or "tributaries" of the colonial or American governments, or even as "citizen" Indians of the states they resided in, some leaders realized that their "rights" as "Indians" were subject to bureaucratic whims on many levels. Seldom however were the Indians interests protected as the Indians intended, so some tribes placed lands in trust with prominent

whites such as state governors, prominent missionary boards, or others[415].

Such may have been Thomas Collins motivation for putting this deed of Trust in Gentry's hand for the benefit of the entire New River Indian Population. However, without further documentation this tantalizing possibility remains only that. But recalling the difficult path incurred by his people during his and his father's lifetimes, the old Saponi man's deed of Trust to Gentry may also be an indication of the changing attitudes of whites towards the citizen Indians living at New River. For one thing, throughout the young Nation of the United States, rumors about removing all "Indians" east of the Mississippi were growing more frequent and forceful in national dialogues. Furthermore, the number of non-Indian settlers now inhabiting the upper New River and Yadkin valleys had increased dramatically since 1790. Many of these newcomers were more inclined toward pursuits that contrasted with the priorities of the few self-sufficient frontier families that had previously shared the region with the New River Indians[416].

By the late 1790, the number of non-Indian settlers in the area had even increased enough to justify the creation of a new county, Ashe. This meant tighter jurisdiction and supervision of the local citizens by county authorities. The New River Indians consequently experienced changes in their social and legal status in the state and county in which they lived. One indication of a change in the attitudes of the new wave of local whites towards their Christian Indian neighbors was that, at least on the North Carolina side of the New River valley, there was a change in census classification from "white" tithables in 1790 to "free colored" as reflected through the 1800 Federal Census of Ashe County[417]. Whether the New River Indians were even aware of the change of paper "color" identity reflected in this new census enumeration is unknown. Indeed citizen

Indians all over the state of North Carolina and Virginia were similarly enumerated among one of only two choices the 1800 Federal census gave the enumerators that year, "white" and "free colored"[418]. Among the New River Indian and mixed-blood families counted as "free colored" on the census that year included those of *Ambrose*, *Thomas*, *Vardy* and *Valentine Collins*. The families of *Andrew*, *Joel*, *Ezekiel* and *Archibald Gibson*, as well as his wife *Vashti Cole* were also thus classified by the enumerator that year[419].

The old mixed-blood Indian *Ephraim Sizemore*, who had occasioned the Flatt River Indian community, as well as his relations *George* and *Owen Sizemore* had joined the Christian Saponi at the New River community by this time. All of the Sizemores were enumerated as "white", however[420]. We may take this to mean that Ephraim and the other Sizemores were apparently considered to be half or less "Indian blood". This suggests that the local enumerators of that Ashe County district were applying some sort of "blood-quantum" rule that year as to who was "white" and who was "free-colored" on this census. *Charles* and *John Collins* were among the few elders of that old Saponi family still living on the Virginia side of the New River at that time, and the county enumerators their showed them and their families as "white". The same was also done for the Virginia side families of *George, Paul, Malition, Ben* and *John Collins*, *George* and *Jordan Gibson*, and the *Coles*, *Clonches, Nuckolls*, and *Perkins*. But for whatever reason, most of the other New River Indians' names living across the state line in North Carolina were placed on the other side of a legal definition or boundary dividing "white" from "free colored" in the 1800 federal census mandated that year[421].

Another change of a different sort affecting the New River Community is also

reflected in the 1800 census, that being a considerable drop in the population of Indians and mixed-bloods living there as compared to 1790. Missing are the names and families of *Levin Cole*, and *Elisha*, *David* and *Martin Collins*, *Andrew Moore*, old *Tom Gibson* and a few others. These names represent the early migrant families from the New River Indian community that moved to specific points in the Clinch and Powell River valleys near Fort Blackmore and the Cumberland Gap. Most of the others at New River would soon follow these early migrants and would ultimately establish two new communities of citizen Indians. A small number of individuals and families of the New River Indians and mixed bloods would wander even further abroad, one result being that some mix-blood families previously associated with the New River community disappeared altogether as they willingly disassociated themselves with the primary communities of their Indian kin.

While their reasons for leaving the New River likely were partly a consequence of the increasing social and political pressures accompanying the growing white population of the area, the growing population of the New River Indians themselves probably was also an influence to find better lands on which to support their families. The opening of Appalachia after the Battle of Fallen Timbers provided that avenue. But regardless of the reason, these citizen Indians ability to simultaneously promote community mobility and stability would again proves to be a factor in preserving their shared Indian identity. As had proven successful for the old Saponi families in the past, voluntary removal would be a most successful strategic accommodation, allowing for the continued survival and cohesiveness of the families and the new lands they choose to sustain them far west of the New River.

The citizen Indians families who left the Flatt for the New River Community saw their population grow through increasing birthrates as well as by integrating a few "new" Indian families, such as the Cherokee Coles. Adjoining land acquisitions at the New helped maintain the social and economic cooperation within the group, and this community atmosphere contributed by enhancing the size and the strength of their primary families. A slight increase in the amount of intermarriage with whites also contributed to external confusion as to how to "racially" classify the people in censuses and tax documents. Politics and status were linked to being racially classified as "white" or "free colored" in these years and while the "friendly Indians" of New River were being taxed as "whites" for nearly 20 years, by 1800 the North Carolina authorities reverted to placing them under the socially and economically restrictive political definition of "free colored".

Chapter 4

Dissolutions and Consolidations: From New River to Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain and beyond the Cumberland Gap

As the non-Indian population around them expanded, the growing New River Indian population began to move towards the Cherokee hunting grounds near the Cumberland Gap. By 1805, these migrants would establish two new Indian communities at Stone Mountain and Greasy Rock. These families' flexible, bilateral system of kinship reckoning easily allowed for the Cherokee Coles and other specific non-Saponi Indian families to tie themselves to these families of citizen Indians. Together, these citizen Indians continued to overwhelmingly marry other Indians, and continued to live in clusters of extended family households. Local whites recalled that, by this time, these "friendly Indians" had lost their languages and were comprised of "half-bloods, full-bloods and quarter bloods". Not classified as "Free Colored" as they had been at New River in 1800, this locally recognized Indian identity did not inhibit them from buying land, voting, marrying whites, participate in non-Indian church hierarchies and county militias, privileges and rights not allowed "free blacks" at this time.

New Families and Old Indians

As already indicated, living at New River brought the Christian Saponi in significantly closer contact with other Indian and mixed-blood families from the Cherokee Nation and the Catawba Nations. Some Catawba, mostly mixed bloods, would maintain isolated homes along the New and Yadkin River watershed as they separated

from the Catawba Nation to make their own way as citizens Indians. One such family was the Catawba *Snows*, who had settled off the New River by 1790. Another local notable Catawba family was associated with the mixed blood hunter and trapper named *Wilburn Waters*. Raising a family in the mountains surrounding the New and Yadkin Rivers, his exploits during this era are prominent in the local history and folklore of the region even today[422]. However, these particular Catawba seemed to remain socially and residentially detached from the Christian Saponi of the New River Indian population. Others, like the *Sizemore*s and *Bunch*es, would go back and forth between the New River community and the Catawba Nation several times in their lives.

The "*Hale*" families, of either Cherokee or Catawba heritage, that later will be shown in association with these New River Indian families were among the "new" Indians who established relations with both the whites and the citizen Indians living around New River. For instance, an elderly white man recalled that when he was growing up around New River in the early 1800s,

> "there used to be some full-blooded Indians that stayed up here in the woods, and when we were boys we would go to work in the mountains, occasionally two or three Indians would come out of the woods, and father would make us something to feed them. We could not understand one thing they said, and we did not know their names. There was not a word said as to what kind of Indians they were. I got acquainted with one enough to know that his name was *Bill Hale*. He stayed in this country a good long while. I do not think he was a full

blood, but some of the others were. They stayed here awhile -- they seemed to stay in the woods. They just stayed here through part of the summer season..." [423].

Initial contact with the Cherokee was probably mostly in combat as the Christian Saponi fought alongside friendly Cherokee, or against anti-American Cherokee, while in the county militia units from the 1750s to the 1780s. It is equally plausible and probable that friendly relations were made with some Cherokee while both had individuals and families that ranged far and wide hunting, trapping and trading. Indeed, back in 1734, the Cherokee had made peace with the Virginia Tributary Tribes, specifically, "the Saponi, Tuscarora, Nottoway and other Indians living amongst the English"[424]. During this time, the Cherokee also proposed to establish a colony of their people "on a branch of the Roanoke" in the heart of the old Saponi-Tutelo territory in order to be able to have better access to Virginia trade goods[425]. It is unknown if that proposed Cherokee colony ever came to fruition. Regardless of the how, when and why, sometime in these years or immediately following the New River Indians developed friendly relations with individuals and families of what was still the most influential and prominent Indian Nation to the south and west of the New River community.

For the Christian Saponi families, the most important and lasting relations were made with two outside "Cherokee" Indian families in particular, the *Cole*s and the *Anderson*s. Little is known of these two families prior to 1790. Information culled from primary documents indicates that their families were part of the Cherokee population living in the part of the Cherokee Nation bordering Burke and Edgecome counties from

1760 to 1790. This area was ceded in 1791 and the lands then become part of Buncombe County under the jurisdiction of North Carolina[426]. Oral family histories taken and recorded in 1907 from some of the eldest Coles then living state that they left the Cherokee Nation at the that time[427]. The most prominent couple in the future of the Christian Indians however would be that of *John Charles Cole* and his wife *Cuzzie Anderson*. Soon after the 1791 treaty, that family headed to establish more permanent residences in the still unceeded Cherokee hunting grounds near Cumberland Gap and Powell's Valley, not far from Fort Blackmore and the American's other Clinch valley settlements . In the meantime, *Levin Cole*, likely John's brother or Uncle, had married into the New River Indian Community.

An interesting connection concerning the migrations of the Coles and Andersons from the Cherokee Nation to New River is that they coincide with the reappearance of the mixed-blood *Sizemore* families among the New River Indians. Sometime soon after the Revolution a number of the Sizemores had made their way west to the mountains adjacent to or among the lands soon to be ceded by the Cherokee in what would become Buncombe County, North Carolina[428]. Sometime just prior to 1800, the *Sizemore* families of *George* and *Owen* would move again and would be enumerated as living among the New River Indians. By that time, the Sizemore kinship and social networks had also extended among the Indian *Andersons*. One of the men who had removed to New River by 1800, *George "Goldenhawk" Sizemore*, for instance would later marry *"Swimp"* and *Sally* (*Perkins*) *Anderson*'s mixed-blood daughter *Sarah*[429]. Swimp himself was born in Grayson County in the New River valley although he spend most of his childhood in the 1792 cession territory of the Cherokee, and this suggests that some of the Indian

Andersons were at New River in the late 1770s, but as "citizens" of the Cherokee Nation. George Sizemore's father had likely emigrated with the Coles and Andersons and records from 1800 show that he had left Buncombe County and was recorded living off of the New River (see below). Swimp's family, however, did not stay long at the New River Indian community, and they would moved back to the 1792 cession lands of the Cherokee Nation before joining the Coles and other Cherokee families around the Cumberland Gap and Powell's Valley hunting lands still reserved by treaty. How and why the Christian Saponi and the Sizemores aligned with the Cherokee families of Coles and Andersons remains speculative without more information. Regardless, intimate associations between these families were fully established by 1800. The descendants of John and Cuzzie Cole in particular would greatly influence the perseverance of Indian identity in the old Saponi families with which they intermarried in the coming years.

John Charles Cole was said to be either a "4/3", or a "full-blood Indian, by his grandchildren and similarly these descendants claimed his spouse *Cuzzie Anderson* was also either "3/4" or a "full blood"[430]. The Cherokee names of the couple have not been preserved, and neither have those of their children. The only records preserving such identification regard their grandchildren. Their grandson *Hiram* was known by the Cherokee name "*Hiawassee*", and a granddaughter was known by "the Indian name *Pipe*" (as in Calumet), but only the English rendition of the name is preserved. A son of Pipe however went by the name of "*Chu-squah-tah-la-to*" in the Cherokee Nation when that part of the family removed to Indian Territory in the 1860s[431]. Regardless, John and Cuzzie raised their family on the eastern part of Cherokee Territory bordering the hunting grounds of the Catawba where a number of Cherokee-Catawba intermarriages were

occurring at this time.

This geographic Catawba connection brings up an interesting suggestion regarding the tribal heritage of this "Cherokee" couple. Complicating matters of tribal identification and assertions, this researcher has a strong suspicion that the Indian Andersons tied to the Coles and Sizemore were originally a "Catawba" affiliated family before settling down in the Cherokee Nation, or were a Cherokee family with "Catawba" heritage somewhere in the family system[432]. It is well documented that a significant number of Catawba intermarried, were adopted or otherwise were relocating from their residences in the Carolinas to the eastern part of the Cherokee lands by that Nation's permission from the late 1700s up until at least the 1840s[433].

That hypothesis that the Andersons which linked up with the Christian Saponi descend may have been "Catawba-Cherokee" is intriguing, considering that the Catawba had long since adopted the majority of the Saponi into their ranks. If Cuzzie was indeed actually Catawba and not Cherokee, this may partially explain the choice that she and her husband to remove from the core of the Cherokee Nation after the 1792 cession to join with the Christian Saponi. For one, their children would not have been "legally" Cherokee, by the traditional standards of the Cherokee still in practice at that time. Despite their father's tribal affiliation, the children of John and Cuzzie would be considered "Catawba" by traditional Cherokee reckoning because, until the 1820s, the Cherokee still remained a strictly matrilineal society. Children born by Cherokee men and non-Cherokee women were not directly affiliated with one of the seven clans and thus were not considered full members of Cherokee society.

If the Catawba-Cherokee hypothesis can be shown true, might explain why most

of *John and Cuzzie Cole* family ultimately removed to old hunting territories near Cumberland Gap. For one, their offspring would be without a maternal clan although they would not have wholly been without rights with their father's clan. While the hunting lands around the Gap were still unceeded, by the 1790 these lands remained isolated from the core of Cherokee population. In other words, like the status of the land there, while being Cherokee, was nearly as ambiguous as that of clanless children. But regardless of their status in the Cherokee nation, by aligning their family with those of the Christian Saponi, the Coles and Andersons would manage to maintain their "Cherokee" identity while simultaneously strengthening the "Indian" identity of the Christian Saponi they came to associate with in the century to come.

Elisha Collins was among the many New River Indians who, in the 1790s, began spending more and more time in the Clinch and Powell River hunting territories of the Cherokee. It is likely that many of the men of the New River Indian community, had previously familiarized themselves with the region through hunting expeditions as well as during their past militia service. One of the two primary locations that attracted the migrating New River Indians was the greater Cumberland Gap-Greasy Rock region in northeast Tennessee. The other was around Stone Mountain located a day's travel further up the Clinch and Powell River Valleys into Virginia.

Many of the men from the old Christian Saponi families from the New River Indian community would actually enter land deeds in the area 1790s, a few years before they actually moved there[434]. *Elisha Collins* was one of the first actually shown living there "permanently" in 1799, for he was recorded on the Grainger County Tennessee Tax List of that year[435]. However, he was shown living back at the New River community by

1800. Other New River Indians and their mixed-blood relations soon followed suit but with more permanent intentions. By 1799, *Levy Bolen* and *Ed James Sizemore* set up homes nearer the Clinch River across the ridgeline from Elisha's property in neighboring Hawkins County. By 1810, there would be at least seven more Indians and mixed-bloods from the New River community who would actually acquire title to land in both the Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain areas of the Clinch and Powell watersheds.

The New River Indians' establishment of these two new communities near Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain would occur relatively quickly once it began. Why they settled at these particular places at this particular time deserves further speculation in light of the area's recent history. There are some interesting events and circumstances that may give some direction in helping answer the question as to why the New River Indians and their mixed-blood relations relocated to this area. For one, they seem to have had some sort of familiarity with the area and its resources, which they apparently felt would be ample to sustain their families on their own terms for some time to come. Also important would be their favorable opinion of the social situation that their people would encounter with the whites and other Indians that also were scattered around the region at that time.

While trade diminished on the scale taken from the region in the late 1700s, in the early 1800s there were still plenty of deer, elk and other game into the area to help support a self sufficient family economy and even produce a little profit for some who still relied on hunting and trapping for extra resources. Greasy Rock itself, some twenty miles east of the Cumberland Gap on the Clinch River, was named in testament to the old trappers and traders that preceded the New River Indians in establishing a community here[436]. It is remembered that both Cherokees and non-Indians involved in the hunting

and trapping trade frequented this "rendezvous camp ground" for decades after this time. It is likely that some of the New River Indians had men who participated in these hunting excursions. It is also probable that the Cherokee *Cole* and *Anderson* families had been among the Cherokees who had long used this area for their fall hunting camps, and indeed, they many other Cherokee families continued to do so until the removal of the Cherokee Nation west of the Mississippi in the 1830s.

It is of little surprise to find that some of the non-Indian had been neighbors of the Christian Saponi when they lived both at the Flatt and New Rivers, and even back in the old Virginia Cumberlands. Such non-Indians were probably valuable allies to the Christian Indians as the non-Indian population continued to grow around them in the years ahead. Indeed, those few whites already living in the Greasy Rock-Cumberland Gap region were largely comprised of men that had served side by side with the New River Indians in Dunmore's War and the Revolution, or had found their homes protected by them, such as those at Fort Blackmore[437].

Other than Fort Blackmore, perhaps the most significant of these Forts to this discussion was Captain Joseph Martin's "Forts" set near the Cumberland Gap and Rose Hill, not far from Greasy Rock. Established in 1775 on Martin's Creek of the Powell River, the first "Martin's Fort" was bigger than most of the other similar Appalachian outposts, having at that time half a dozen cabins "tied together in s strong stockade"[438]. The so-called "Cherokee War" however broke out that following summer, forcing Martin and the Virginians to abandon their fort and involve themselves in the conflict. Martin was commissioned a Colonel and from 1776 to 1781, he engaged in many battles against those anti-American Cherokee that he dubbed "renegade Cherokees", or Chickamauga as

they were calling themselves. One of Martin's last engagements was against this Cherokee political faction was on June 1, 1781, when he led his men south to confront "some small towns below the Cumberland Gap". Of their Cherokee occupants he expected little, if any resistance and Martin reported to his commanders that he had "little doubt of the treating" for peace [439].

After the war, Martin was appointed to the position of Virginia's Commissioner of Indian Affairs as well as United States agent to the Cherokees[440]. Once, while vouching to Colonel Mathews of Martin's "good character", Colonel Christian asserted that Martin "understands the manners and dispositions of the Indian better than any other, and is held in great esteem by all ranks of them"[441]. Colonel Joseph Martin's reputation as a military leader, a diplomat and a trader was high among the Cherokee, both those pro-American and those not. Further strengthening relations, he wed a Cherokee woman known to whites as *Betsy Ward*, and they had at least one child together[442]. Martin also had a "primary" white wife named Sarah Lucas who was aware of and condoned her husband's marriage to Betsy Ward for its importance in maintaining good political relations with the Cherokee. A most interesting discussion of Martin presented by Reintjes which details Col. Martin's relationship with a total of five wives, three of whom were Cherokee, and by which he ultimately had twenty-four children[443].

Despite the hostilities between the Americans and the Chickamauga faction of Cherokee, neither Martin nor the Virginia authorities had any desire to drive the Cherokee from the Cumberland Gap and Powell Valley region. Martin first set up his Agency's headquarters on the Sacred Treaty Grounds at the "Long Island" of the Holston River, located some 40 miles from the Cumberland Gap and less than 20 from Greasy

Rock. Soon after establishing that Agency and Trading Factory complex, it was ascertained that Long Island actually fell in North Carolina jurisdiction and that state forcibly and successfully argued that the Virginians had no authority to be there. The Virginians, however, desperately wished to maintain some means of direct trade with the prominent and populous Cherokee nation and did not wish to have these profitable trade partners cut off from them by North Carolina. And this of course required a continued Cherokee presence in the area, even if only on a seasonal basis. Martin was thus limited in options as he attempted to find a new place to headquarter the Virginia Cherokee agency. In 1783, Martin was finally authorized to build the Virginia Indian Agency complex on his own personal property located about two miles from the Cumberland Gap on present day Indian Creek[444]. The Cherokee in the meantime had negotiated to retain a one-mile square reservation located a mile from the Cumberland Gap, as well as hunting and occupancy rights in the Powell River and Yellow Creek valleys[445].

Martin and Christian promoted moving both "the store and agency" to the Gap, because "the Cherokees best hunting grounds is down the Tennessee and up Powell's Valley to the Cumberland Gap"[446]. They argued that that location would more securely place the headquarters halfway between the fast growing white settlements on the Holston River and those beyond the mountains in the bluegrass of Kentucky. Promoting the move as beneficial to both the Virginians and the Cherokees, Martin concluded that the Cumberland Gap area "would be more convenient for their trade, and more safe on account of our own people"[447]. Concurring with Martin's idea, Christian asserted that Martin "could easily procure a number of families to join him next spring to build the Station in Powell's Valley", which proved true[448].

Despite all this effort, the Virginian's ability to maintain a Cherokee Indian agency at the Gap was no longer deemed practical at the end of the decade. In 1788 the agency was closed, and Martin would sell his personal interests there and retire back east. Without the watchful eyes of a nearby government agency to help look out for the Indian's local interest in the area, tensions grew between the increasing settler population and the Cherokee who still used the area at least on a seasonal family basis. Members of that tribe continued to hunt and gather in the Powell Valley lands because it was a right that was still guaranteed them by treaty[449]. At least until 1805, the "Indian Boundary Line" was still legally in effect, running up and down Claiborne County Tennessee and Knox County Kentucky. Extending through Powell's Valley through the Cumberland Gap and off the top of Poor Valley Ridge, the line irked some of the white inhabitants of the Yellow Creek settlements in Kentucky[450].

It is evident then that the Cherokee still had an interest here that the Federal Government felt was worth enforcing. For instance, in the fall of 1802 the Federal Government had to renegotiate a portion of the boundary because of a "previous discrepancy with the top on Cumberland Gap and Campbell's line" was now being hotly disputed by the Cherokee[451]. The Cherokee condemned the new white settlements on Yellow Creek, in particular, for being established illegally on their lands and there had been some attacks made on illegal squatters by Cherokee warriors. But, after some diplomacy, a new line was apparently agreed upon "to secure the Inhabitants of Yellow Creek from the Indians"[452]. The government evidently was aware that, "agreeable to Treaty Law", these particular Cherokee actions were oriented only towards those settlers they knew to be illegally trespassing. The Cherokee presence in and around Cumberland

Gap remained but, by the end of the first decade of the 19th century, the Cherokee families living here, like the *Coles*, were few. Instead, the Christian Saponi families from New River, would quickly come to dominate the Indian population of the Greater Cumberland Gap-Powell's Valley area.

A Few Minutes at the Stoney Creek Church

As previously mentioned, the other frontier "fort" that figures prominently in this migratory phase of the New River Indian population was that of Fort Blackmore. Located at the base of Stone Mountain on the Clinch River, it was about a half a days journey north of the Cumberland Gap in Virginia. By the late 1790s, the old "Fort" Blackmore was now really the name of a small village centered at the mouth of Stoney Creek at the base of Stone Mountain. The village now consisted of mostly white farmers, trappers and tradesmen. It would be by way of this settlement that most of the New River Indians would make their way south to the Gap and Greasy Rock. Some, however, would stay right at Stone Mountain. Indeed, the Stone Mountain Indian community would be the earliest post-New River settlement established by these citizen Indians.

Both confirming and contradicting the documentary record, Jarvis's aforementioned 1903 article recounts local tradition recalling the founding of the Stone Mountain Indian community by the New River Indians. Jarvis wrote that "some stopped on Stoney Creek...where the white emigrants with the friendly Indians erected a fort on the bank of the river...Ft. Blackmore, and here yet [1903] many of these friendly 'Indians' live in the Mountains of Stoney Creek"[453]. I have not yet confirmed is whether

any of the Christian Saponi or their relations actually helped to build the fort, or whether any were indeed living there at all in the first years of it's establishment. However the militia units in which the New River Indians served during Dunmore's War and the Revolution did frequent Blackmore and other area Forts in defensive actions, and it is more likely that the friendly ties between the non-Indians of Fort Blackmore and the "friendly Indians" were established during those years, if not earlier.

Regardless of the reason or the exact timing, it can be shown that some of the Christian Saponi and their relations from New River were well established on Stone Mountain by 1801. While other pieces of evidence show some families to have been here at least a decade earlier, this date is established through church documents surviving from the old Stoney Creek Baptist Church. These records deserve some elaboration, for they give a perspective of particular individual Indians in their struggle to maintain a Christian orientation.

From reading the church minutes themselves, this Primitive Baptist church at Stoney Creek was established by white inhabitants living in and around the Fort Blackmore-Stone Mountain area early in 1801[454]. No entries reflect the names of identifiable Indians from New River, however, late that year when *Valentine Collins* was shown as having been "received by experience", baptized, and made a full member of the church. On the same night *Nancy Gibson* was also "received by letter" into the church, confirming her previous association with the Baptist denomination while living back at New River[455]. The following month the fledging church finally consented to a "constitution", officiating its status among the regional Baptist Association[456].

Unlike Nancy Gibson, some of the Christian Indians from New River like

Valentine had apparently strayed from the Saponi band's Christian convictions prior to moving to Stone Mountain. As per church doctrine, in order to join or rejoin a particular congregation one had to have a sort of referral letter from the church one had previously attended, or be "reborn" through an "experience" with Christ himself. And only with the final step of water baptism would full acceptance into the congregation be complete. A candidate for church membership could also be only partially accepted into the congregation, as was Comfort Osborn that winter at the Stoney Creek church[457]. That is, one could be received by experience, but for one reason or another the baptism of the convert would be postponed until other church members scrutinized their Christian and non-Christian actions for a time. Such probationary periods were meant to weed out those candidates whose actions and convictions were not Christian in the eyes of the church's members. It is notable that the church found no reason to require a probationary period of Valentine Collins.

Apparently the New River Indians and their relations migrating to Stone Mountain would experience a sort of religious revival in 1802, and the little Baptist church would accept them with open arms. In February of that year, *David Gibson* "a backslider, received a relation of the work of God upon his soul", and was received as a full member into the Stoney Creek church, and *Eliza Gibson* was similarly received that April[458]. The following month, even old *Thomas Gibson* and *George Gibson*, and their wives *Rachel* and *Beter*, along with *Riley Collins* all were received by experience and baptized on the same occasion[459]. The following month, the Revolutionary War veteran *Charles Gibson* and his wife *Mary* followed the same path by being received by experience and baptized at the Stoney Creek church[460].

With these new Christian convictions being embraced by such prominent elders as old *Tom Gibson* and younger men like *Valentine Collins*, the number of New River Indians and their relations then joining the Stoney Creek congregation grew dramatically. Along with little *Tom*, *Henry* and *Reubin Gibson*, that July, *Mrs. Fanny Gibson* and *Vina Gibson*, as well as *Judith Moore* were granted full membership[461]. Also that month the church brought into its fold *Mary Gibson*, and she was received by "experience" even though she had brought a "letter" to confirm her previous membership in another church[462]. By the end of August, the experiences and baptisms of *Lecrecy* and *Spicy Moore*, with *Anna Gibson*, added three more adults from the New River Community into the ranks of the Stoney Creek congregation[463].

Valentine "Tiney" Collins apparently had gained some clout amongst the non-Indians of that congregation during that summer. Revealing a part of his array of social skills, the Saponi man was put in charge of finishing the boards and covering the roof of the new meeting place that was being built for the church[464]. The spiritually redemptive honeymoon that many of the New River Indians had with the other Stoney Creek Baptists would, however, be short lived. Unknown temptations ensued and, that November, both *Valintine* and *Tom Collins* were put "on censure" by the church elders. At the same meeting, *David Gipson* and Tom Alley, a local white farmer, were also cited to appear before the congregation to "explain themselves" for some unknown transgression[465]. The trouble these men found themselves in may have been related to the same event that caused *Henry Gibson* to be excommunicated at that same meeting[466]. *Valentine Collins* was "restored" to the church the following month, but *Tom Collins* remained on "censure" status[467]. That Saponi's position within the church stayed as such until

February, when the church leaders finally excommunicated him from the congregation for his "unrepentence"[468]. The same day the church lost Tom, however, *Clary More* was received into the Stoney Creek congregation.

This was still a time of geographic fluctuation for the Christian Indian families and their mixed-blood relations appearing at Stone Mountain. They still had kin remaining back at the New River Community, while other families from both the old New River community and some from the newer one at Stone Mountain however were simultaneously taking short trips into the Kentucky Mountains to hunt and gather. The largest number of migrants from the New River Indian community were beginning to settle down with more permanent intentions nearer Greasy Rock and Cumberland Gap. Less than a days travel downstream from Stone Mountain on the Clinch, the lands on the ridge and valley immediately west of Greasy Rock particularly attracted Christian Indians like *Vardy* and *Solomon Collins* and *Solomon Gibson*.

The Stoney Creek church minutes reflect part of the fluctuation of this Christian citizen Indian population between these points at this time. For instance, early in 1803 Indian and mixed blood members of the Stoney Creek Baptist Church like *Vina* and *Mary Gipson* had already requested and received letters of dismissal to enable them to join an associated Baptist congregation near Greasy Rock[469]. Like that at Stoney Creek, the primitive Baptist church on the Blackwater tributary of the Clinch, just below the Virginia line in Tennessee, appears to have been first started by a handful of "white" frontier families in November 1801[470].

In 1803 the migrations from Stone Mountain to and from Greasy Rock continued. That March, *Reuban Gibson* and his wife, as well as *Francis Gibson* and her two

daughters would request and receive letters of dismissal from the Stoney Creek church to take with them as they moved their families south to the fast growing community being established by their Indian relations near Greasy Rock[471]. The following month, old *Charley Gibson* and his wife, as well as *Valentine Collins* and his wife followed suit[472]. *Charley Gibson* and his wife would however return to Stone Mountain that fall, and would be reinstated in the little Stoney Creek Baptist congregation at the foot of the mountain[473].

Indeed, such back and forth migrations between this geographic division of the Christian Saponi and related families would be a pattern that would continue throughout the century. In the meantime, some individual Indians and mixed-bloods would rise in the ranks of church hierarchy. *David Gibson,* for instance, had risen to the position of a church elder by late 1803 [474]. Indeed, the most notable family to be associated with the Stone Mountain Community in these early years would be the numerous relations of the *Gibson* family, and they would stay active with this church for many years.

Whether church doctrine and kinship loyalties were in any way a cause of conflict among these Christian Indians or between them and unrelated whites is not known, but indeed the potential for friction was there. For example, one could be placed "under censure" for "dancing", "denying the name of a Baptist", or even excommunicated for "getting in a passion and swearing"[475]. For example, early in 1804, one white neighbor of the Stone Mountain Indians, Tom Marshall, was excommunicated for "a disorderly walk such as visiting and vain jangling and a constant loose carriage", while the elder Saponi *Charley Gibson* was once reprimanded for "getting drunk and swearing"[476]. The church leaders would, however, order the young deacon *Dave Gibson* to be the one to cite

Charley for his unknown "sinful" act, and Charley was later "restored"[477]. Yet, despite the strict rules that some like Charley found hard to follow, other relations of the Stone Mountain Indians would continue to migrate there and occasionally join the Stoney Creek congregation. Among them were *Elisha* and *Birtha Sexton* of the old "*Aicee/Sicee*" family and they were received by letter from another Baptist church in the spring of 1804. *Jeremiah Bolling* was also accepted into the church that summer but instead gained membership though "experience and baptism"[478].

1804 would be a difficult year for many of the Indians and their relations at Stone Mountain who tried to adhere to the doctrine and policies espoused by the Stoney Creek church. Some of the local Indians and their relations thus fell under the scrutiny of their Christian brethren from the Stoney Creek church. In the spring of 1804, *George Gibson* was excommunicated for having a "disorderly walk", probably because of drinking, while the following month *Spicy Moore* (whose husband appears never to have joined the church) was excommunicated "for going off with a married man"[479].

Reuben Gibson, who had been living down at Greasy Rock, particularly annoyed Stoney Creek church leaders in the summer of 1804. Reuben came back to Stone Mountain for the season and rejoined the Stoney Creek church under temporary status as a member of the Blackwater congregation. But that fall, the Baptist leaders at Stoney Creek would excommunicate him permanently for "preserving in wickedness such as cursing...and getting drunk"[480]. The church leaders were particularly chagrined at Reuben and even had ordered his mother, who lived at the Stone Mountain Indian community, to cite her son to appear to answer for his sins. Notes in the church records show the leaders were not pleased that he "lives at Blackwater congregation and had received a letter from

this church and keeps it and has joined another church", and so he was "permanently excluded from membership at this church". [481].

Still, records from 1805 onward show that many of those citizen Indians who stayed in residence at Stone Mountain would still continue to associate with the Stoney Creek church. Old *Thomas Gibson*, who had no intention of moving from the Mountain, was himself "resorted by incantation" to the church in 1805[482]. From the dearth of entries in the church minutes from 1806 on it appears that, for the most part, the Stone Mountain Indians remained stable members.

Some of the Indian's and mixed blood's temptation to stray from this Christian doctrine when away from the watchful eyes of their home church while visiting relatives elsewhere. For instance, early in 1806 the old Revolutionary War veteran *Charles Gibson* would get into trouble down at Greasy Rock while away from his home at Stone Mountain. "Several witnesses from the Mulberry Creek Church" (just west of Greasy Rock) would notify the leaders up at the Stoney Creek church that Charles had been in the small community at Mulberry "getting drunk, fighting and gambling"[483]. This report would in turn prompt the church leaders at Stoney Creek to excommunicate Charlie for his conduct and "iniquity" during his absence. But forgiveness was in the vocabulary of these primitive Baptists. Charlie returned to Stone Mountain that spring and the Stoney Creek church minutes report that he came before the congregation and "acknowledged being drunk and he said that was sorry for which the church forgave him"[484].

By 1807, as settlement in the region slowly increased, new non-Indian members were to continue joining the Stoney Creek congregation at a much faster rate than the neighboring Indians and mixed bloods. Also in this year, the church would expand its

ranks by receiving the first "black" members into their flock. They included a couple simply known as John and Eve who joined that November and a woman named "Sinnah" who entered the following month[485]. All three were received by "experience", but notably none were baptized at that time. This evidence of a mandatory "probationary" period for new "black" members also accompanies the first mention of any race or "color" labels in the church minutes and, not coincidently, it reveals the first implication of race effecting one's position and standing in this small Christian congregation. There is not one single instance in the church minutes of any racial or color classification written in conjunction with known individuals from the Stone Mountain or Greasy Rock Indian communities participating in the Stoney Creek church. In sum, the names of persons with African heritage were always shown with the label "black" next them in the church minutes, which was not the case with the local Indians.

Apparently citizen Indians and Indian mixed-bloods, up to this point at least, were considered to on an equal social footing with whites. Nor was any "probationary period" ever extended to new Indian and mixed-blood members who went through the mandatory sequence of experience and baptism. The minutes for instance recorded *Mary Sexton*'s acceptance into the church in that manner in the summer of 1808, as well as *John Gibson* who joined soon after[486]. The minutes clearly demonstrate that, unlike blacks, local Indians were treated no different than the whites of the congregation to this point.

Other restrictions that did not apply to whites or Christian Indians were also contemplated for the new black members. For years the Stone Mountain Indians had been able to "lay complaints" against any other member of the church for "sins and

transgressions". But the question arose among the congregation as to whether the new black members could do the same. When put to a vote in the summer of 1809 as to whether "a black brother or sister can be taken for a witness against a white brother or sister", they fortunately decided yes[487]. It is notable that, even after the integration of blacks into the Baptist church at Stoney Creek, entries in the church minutes still failed to accord any racial or color label to their Indian and part Indian members.

Despite the indications of the restricting racist treatments accorded to blacks, the little Stoney Creek congregation had, by 1810, congealed into a diverse group of worshipers. At least temporarily, whites, Indians and blacks here had entered into a Christian community alliance on a footing relatively more equal than allowed in most other places in Virginia or the surrounding states at this time. Indeed, as the church records show, by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Stone Mountain Indian population stabilized their relations with the surrounding settlers enough to allow for their permanent presence in the area for generations to come.

Summary Description of the Diaspora of the New River Indians

By the end of the first decade of the 19th century, the new symbiotic communities that these Christian Indians created at Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain had replaced New River as their primary locations. Some were even moving around in small extended family units to a few notable locales in the wilderness of the Kentucky highlands. Yet, it would still be at least another decade before the New River Community would totally dissolve. Having already described the beginnings of the Stone Mountain Indian

community, a summary description of the diaspora of the New River Indians in the early 1800s in now merited.

New River 1810-1820, White Top, 1820+

Joel Gibson would be the last of the New River community carrying that surname to leave the area. In the spring of 1805 he sold his 50 acres of land, and moved his family out to Stone Mountain[488]. Yet, five years later, a half dozen of the old Saponi Collins families remained on the New. Elder *George Collins* held back here and maintained a residence, living alone just across the Virginia line[489]. In 1809 the Saponi veteran had been entangled in a land dispute. Apparently some local whites were questioning his right to land he occupied and "improved" near Peach Bottom. While defending his claim he would testify that he had come into the area back in 1767[490]. One of the first of his people to migrate to the New River, the old Saponi would also be one of the last to leave.

George Collins was enumerated among the white population on the 1810 Grayson County Tax List, which gave the enumerator just two options in the "race/color" column of "white" and "black"[491]. In enumerating those New River Indians the North Carolina officials would follow suit. The result was that, unlike the previous census where most of the New River Indians on the Carolina side were counted as "Free Colored", those remaining there in 1810 were instead counted among the "white" population [492]. Perhaps as the community shrunk and the white population grew, the Christian Indians still living there became less able or willing to be distinguished as a distinct "Indian" population to enumerators. Regardless, those identifiable Christian Indians remaining at the New

included the families of *Elisha*, "*J*", and *Ambrose Collins*. All were still living on the lands purchased by or granted to these Saponi Revolutionary War Vets. Old *Thomas Collins* still clung to the New River land he deeded in trust to Richard Gentry. But most of his sons and daughters were grown and, with families of their own, had moved with the others on to Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain, or were spending more and more time in the Kentucky highlands. To this younger generation abroad, the New River was fast becoming just a memory.

Ed and *George* of the old mix-blood Virginia *Sizemore* family also lived nearby the few Saponi Collins families at the New in 1810[493]. Ed was a minister and made a favorable impression amongst the whites he preached to in the New River area[494]. These old men and some of their grown sons and daughters would remain here at least another decade, and some of their descendants would remain throughout the century. But most of the Sizemores including George Sizemore and the families of his three sons *George "Goldenhawk"*, *Ed* and *Owen* would eventually follow the path of the New River Indians to the Greasy Rock area.

By 1820 old *Tom Collins* was one of only two men from that prolific Saponi family that remained on the New. Ironically, he would pass on while still occupying the old trust lands, which he probably intended to be a tool in preserving the now defunct New River community of Christian Indians. His Indian and white in-laws of the Williams family, *Andrew*, *Methias* and *Charley Williams*, were still here in 1820. But, coinciding with old Tom's death, they too would remove to Tennessee. Old *Elisha Collins* also remained in the area. It is possible that, being the one Indian with the most acreage and land at the New, he did not want to part with his investments by moving west[495]. As for

the Ashe County census enumerator's choice of how to classify the few remaining Indians at New River in 1820, their choice again reversed, upsetting the idea that they were "indistinguishable" as their numbers shrank. With the exception of the Sizemores who were again shown as white, the Saponi *Collins* families and their *Williams* relations were listed as "Free Colored Persons" once again.

Before ending this discussion of the New River Indian population, it should be emphasized that the presence of the *Sizemore* and *Riddle* family mixed bloods would remain in the New River region. A brief review of their subsequent history in the area after 1820 suggests that citizen Indians and mixed-bloods had indeed become less welcome amongst the white settlers that now fully dominated the area.

By 1830, *Ned "Ed"*, *George* and *Owen Sizemore* had moved on to the Greasy Rock area. They all however left behind grown children who had married among the white population and whose families had conglomerated around White Top Mountain off the New River watershed in Virginia. There, they were joined by a few other mixed-blood families like the *Riddles*, and came in time to form a distinctive family based community[496]. Yet, while most were being consider "1/2" or less Indian by those non-Indians around them, during the remainder of the century they suffered more social abuse because of their Indian heritage than did their kin in Tennessee, Virginia and Kentucky. The evidence for this is demonstrated throughout testimonies presented by them to Court of Claims investigators in 1907[497].

In that year, descendants of Ed "Ned" and George Sizemore of White Top, and those of *"Doctor Johnny Gourd" Sizemore* associated mostly with Pilot Mountain to the east were among those of that mixed-blood population who reported their situation

numerous times to the federal government in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century[498]. For one, they spoke about the harsh treatment they received from some local whites because of the Indian heritage. *John Baldwin*, a White Top Sizemore descendant was one of many who in 1907 told the Special Commissioner of Indian Affairs tales of harsh treatment incurred as a result of their Indian heritage. During that year, some local whites also testified to the same Special Commissioner regarding old Ned Sizemore before he moved out to the Greasy Rock area. They all reported basically the same thing, that "people in the neighborhood recognized Ned as Indian...he talked English very well. He did not show any sign of white blood"[499]. But when asked by the Commissioner if he "passed as white, Indian or colored", Baldwin for instance claimed at that time that "My Grandfather, father and I were considered white people, but when people got mad at us they would throw up the Indian in our face"[500]. Indeed, dozens of the White Top descendants, then mainly associated with the surnames of *Perkins*, *Baldwin*, *Blevins* and *Osbourne*, reported how local whites "threw the Indian in our face" with disdain during incidents of negative legal or social confrontation. Dozens of similar testimonies confirm that the White Top band lived in a greater social climate that was unfavorable to those of Indian descent, even if they were recognized as being technically more white than Indian. Social pressures were such that, in 1896, their leaders, *J.W. Perkins* and *John Baldwin* again petitioned the Federal Government as well as the Cherokee Nation for permission to move as a body to Indian Territory, but the attempt failed[501]. Indeed, the choice of most of the other New River Indians to abandon this area by the 1820s for points west was probably in anticipation or a consequence of this social change toward people of Indian heritage.

The history of the White Top Band subsequent to 1820 remains outside the scope of this dissertation. However, throughout the century individuals and families from the "White Top Band" would retain associations with the other citizen Indian families that migrated from New River. Old *Ned Sizemore* himself, for instance, "did not farm much", but roamed the mountains from White Top to the Ohio River hunting and trapping until his death. As late as the mid-1880s the old Indian man continued spent part of the fall and the winter hunting in Kentucky and West Virginia, spending the rest of the year at his home near White Top[502].

Greasy Rock-Cumberland Gap 1800-1810

While the origins of Stone Mountain Indian community is technically a few years older, the most prominent community to be established by the citizen Indians emigrating from New River would be around the Greasy Rock and Cumberland Gap areas. As previously mentioned, it is quite probable that some of the New River Indians were frequenting the Greasy Rock and Cumberland Gap areas long prior, but it was not until 1799 when *Elisha Collins* and others began to enter deeds for a piece of land in the area.

Despite the removal of most of their towns farther south because of repeated Treaty cessions, the Cherokee had not completely abandoned the area either. Most Cherokees who still frequented this area did so on a seasonal basis, hunting and gathering on lands reserved for that purpose about the greater Cumberland Gap area. Among those few Cherokee that retained a more permanent residence in the area were the Cherokee *Cole* family, most of whom were now intimately associated with *Valentine Collins* and

the other New River Saponi families resettling here[503]. The sizable Cole family would also claim land rights in the Cumberland Gap hunting grounds stemming from some yet elusive deal they made with "the government" just prior to 1800 (see Chapter 9). Indeed, it may be that the Christian Saponi had been joining their Cherokee *Cole* relations on seasonal forays at the Cherokee hunting lands here for many years.

Ascertaining population numbers for the Greasy Rock Community of citizen Indians during the first decade of the 19th century is difficult at best, as we must rely on a compilation of a number of scattered sources to do so. Nonetheless, generalizations can be made. For one, the Blackwater Valley would especially attract the interest of Christian Saponi with the means to purchase land. By 1803, *Vina* and *Mary Gibson* were among the first of a number of Christian Indian joining that Baptist congregation after living for a short while up at the Stone Mountain Indian community[504]. As evident from the aforementioned Stoney Creek church minutes, from 1803 to 1805 other families emigrating from New River were ultimately making their way to the area around Greasy Rock and the Blackwater village via Stone Mountain. Among them were the families of *Ruebin* and *Charles Gibson*, *Valentine* and *Dicy Collins* and others. By the end of the decade, old *Charley Gibson* was also now living near Greasy Rock. *Tyre Gibson* was also living there during this time, but most of his siblings would remain with their father *Tom Gibson* back up at the Stone Mountain community. Also living among the Greasy Rock Indian population, mostly in the Blackwater Valley were Newman's Ridge, including *Jordan*, *Yearby*, *Shepherd*, *Royal* and *Jesse Gibson*[505].

By 1810 the Greasy Rock contingent of Indians and their mixed-blood relations consisted of a minimum of 30 interrelated "households" large and small clusters spread

out from Blackwater, down to the Rock and up and beyond the neighboring Newman's Ridge, and down the Clinch and Powell's watersheds into Grainger County below the Cumberland Gap. Primary documents also confirm Jarvis's 1903 article in which he stated that some of them had become "some of the best property owners in the county" soon after their arrival[506]. Indeed, by 1810 at least ten of their men owned land, including *Vardemon "Vardy" Collins* who acquired a deed to 100 acres at the mineral springs in Blackwater Valley across Newman's Ridge from Greasy Rock[507]. Other citizen Indian and mixed-bloods owning land here District included *Ben* and *James Collins*, *James Collins*, *Obediah Goodman*, *Shephard, Jesse* and *Tira Gibson*, and *Owen Sizemore*, while shown living in the district, but with no land, are *Henry Collins*, *John Denham*, *Jordan Goodman*, and *Yearby*, *Charles* and *Jordan Gibson*[508]. Representing the southern extent of the Greasy Rock population in 1806 *David Collins* and his son *Aaron* had joined with their Saponi kinsman *Griffen*, *Joseph* and *Dowell Collins* down off the Clinch River in Grainger County in Captain Dotson's Company[509]. By 1810 the nearly 60 year old *Lewis Collins* joined his son *Dowell* in Grainger, as had *Thomas* and *Conley Collins*[510]. Some of the Indian *Goodman* who originally show up among the New River Indians also followed the old Saponi families to their new homes here in east Tennessee by 1810, as had *Obadiah Goodman*. And while *Charley Goodman*'s family remained at New River in 1810, he too would ultimately join the other Indians and mixed-bloods in leaving the fast fading community at the New for Greasy Rock[511].

Although not counted here in my overall population estimate due to my inability to yet genealogically distinguish them, a number of the white and Indian *Bowlings* and *Bunches*. A few new names, the *Goins* and *Minor* families were also gaining residence in

and around the population strongholds of the Greasy Rock Indians by the early 1800s.. Elder thinks that the *Goins*, *Miners*, and *Bells* were mixed-blood or Indian families that came from one of the "The Trading Path tribes" of North Carolina and Virginia[512]. However, no evidence had yet come to light to prove any definitive previous tribal affiliation. Regardless, some of the *Goins'* and *Minors* would become a prominent part of the Greasy Rock population, particularly among the growing Blackwater village[513].

By 1810 old *George Collins* had also relocated to the Greasy Rock area from New River. One of the oldest members of that old Saponi family living at that time, George however put up a cabin on Newman's Ridge somewhat removed from the villages being established in Blackwater valley. *Ben Collins* was another elder of the community at this time, having been born back at the Fox's Neck Village of the Christian Saponi in the late 1730s. Other adult heads of household from that extended Saponi family also counted among the Greasy Rock community included his son *George Junior*, as well as *James*, *Valentine* and "*C.M.*" *Collins*. *Vardy Collins* had also made his way to Greasy Rock that year and Vardy was quick to establish "improvements" near Blackwater on Sycamore Creek[514]. *Vardy Collins* and his wife "*Spanish Peggy*" (*Gibson*) would economically and socially establish themselves as the most prominent couple among the Greasy Rock Indians, and they were highly respected among the local population of Indian and non-Indians[515]. Just across the Virginia line from Vardy's home, but geographically still within the sphere of the Blackwater village of the Greasy Rock Indian community, lived the family of *Mike Bolin* as well as those of *Martin*, *Absolom*, *Mitchell* and *James Collins*[516].

Although evidence shows that these Indian continued to marry other Indians of

their community, a growing number of Indian non-Indian marriages also undoubtedly helped to strengthen the security and stability of the Greasy Rock Community of Indians as the white population slowly grew around them. Captain Dotson was just one of the prominent local whites who maintain friendly relations with the citizen Indians settling the Greasy Rock-Cumberland area. Dotson was the local militia Captain of Grainger County, Tennessee, and resided there with his family below the Cumberland Gap not far downriver from Greasy Rock. In 1802, Old *David Collins* and his wife *Thompsey Posting* (apparently a "white" woman) were among the New River migrants that lived near Dotson. Testifying to the friendly social relations that these citizen Indians had amongst their non-Indian neighbors at this time, the Captain would witness his son Sol marrying David and Thompsey's daughter *Peggy*. The Captain's daughter Polly would later marry that Saponi man's son *Levi Collins*. As was happening around Stone Mountain, such white-Indian marriages would be openly recorded in county records. This seems to indicate that locally anyway, there was yet no negative social stigma for whites to marrying, or taking spouses from, this population of citizen Indians[517].

Beginning the spread through the Kentucky Highlands

Evidence demonstrates that, for over a decade prior to the War of 1812, many of the Christian citizens Indians at New River, Greasy Rock and Stone mountain were using there communities as jumping off places from which to travel back and forth into the mountains of eastern Kentucky to hunt, trap, and gather. And during the first decade of the 1800s, some had even settled the Kentucky wilderness on more permanent basis.

Two such early families previously associated with the New River Indian population in establishing permanent residence in the Kentucky highlands just beyond the Cumberland Gap were those of the Saponi *Jason Collins* and a family of the mixed-blood *Sextons*. Together with the "white" and "mixed-blood" families of John Adams, Ephraim Hammonds, Benjamin Webb, Ben Holbrook and A.Craft, the Caudills, Fields, Ingrams and a few others, these Collins and Sexton families would establish as small community in what is now Letcher County, Kentucky. Not coincidently, most of these white families they had known the Saponi from their residence at the Roaring River community that neighbored the New River Indian community. *Jason Collins* had even married into the large, prominent white family of John Adams.

In his book The Mountain, The Miner, and the Lord, the well-known 20th century writer and advocate of Appalachian issues, Henry Caudill, related a story of these citizen Indians migration into the area as he learned it from a descendant named *Betty Sexton Fields* in the 1960s[518]. At that time, Caudill operated as an Attorney in Harlan County, Kentucky. As Caudill tells it, one day Mrs. Fields came into his small county law office seeking aid regarding some neighborhood disagreement. This elderly woman Caudill described as being a "Melungeon", that is, a mixed-blood Indian associated with the old Christian Saponi families(see Chapter 10)[519]. Somehow during the course of conversations with this client, Caudill learned some of the oral traditions passed down through her family regarding the "early days". Mrs. Fields for instance told of how the citizen Indians came here with a "little band of settlers" who made their way into the headwaters of the Kentucky River "back in Indian times". These several families of whites and Indians had banded together "so they wouldn't be so lonesome" and for

"protection against the 'savages'". She recalled that family tradition held that a *Gibson* man associated with the New River Indians also accompanied this small company. Betty remembered her great-grandmother, who was a part of this original caravan, as being a "shape shifter", and also correctly mentioned her Indian forbearers as having served in the Revolutionary War.

Other New River Indian families would similarly make their way into other parts of the Kentucky highlands. Among the earliest of the old Saponi families to actually settle down permanently in the Kentucky Highlands was the Revolutionary War Veteran, *Meredith Collins*[520]. By 1796 Meredith was among those Christian Indians living at or near Stone Mountain with *Tom Gibson* and others from New River. But sometime prior to 1810, the Saponi move from Stone Mountain into what was then the eastern portion of the then expansive Floyd County, Kentucky. Meredith would live on for many decades, and would rise to prominence in the local social affairs of this frontier region while having sired children by both white and Indian partners[521].

Other people associated with the old New River Indian community, like the large families of old *Levin Cole* and his son-in-law *Archibald Gibson*, had also moved deep into this part of the mid-Appalachians between 1795 and 1805. But those two particular families opted to stay for only a short time before moving west to the Mississippi. Other Indians and mixed-bloods also came up into Kentucky from Greasy Rock or Stone Mountain for a short spell before choosing to return. For example, in 1808 *Tom Collins* married *Hannah Williams* up in the Kentucky hills and would register their marriage in Floyd County, Kentucky before moving back amongst the Greasy Rock Indian population by the year's end[522]. Some of the Saponi *Bowling* families long associated

with the Christian Saponi would also settle in the Kentucky mountains near Cumberland Gap after a short stay of a few years at the Stone Mountain and Greasy Rock communities. Some of the elders of these Bowlings would receive military pensions for service in the Revolutionary War, and it may be that this is how many citizen Indian gained small land titles in this part of the mountains[523].

As far as this dissertation's focus on the yet to be formed Salyersville Indian population is concerned, perhaps the most important of the old Saponi relations that would make their way into the Kentucky mountains early on would be that of *Valentine* and *Dicey Collins* and about a half-dozen related families who joined them in seasonal excursions there. These included members of the large extended Cherokee family of *John* and *Cuzzie Cole*. But in contrast to their relations now fully settled around Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain many miles to the south, that contingent of citizen would not fully settle down and congeal into any permanent community of Indians for some time yet.

By 1812, the New River Indian population was split between the fast fading New River community and the two new ones centered around Stone Mountain and Greasy Rock where natural resources and a sufficient arable land base were both available to them. The kinship network tying these communities together was supported by a dozen or so interrelated "families" that would remain the primary families identified with these communities throughout the century. Strengthening this network socially and economically, these citizen Indian continued buying land and maintained participation in local civic and religious affairs and other institutions as social and legal equals to whites. Some, however, were "marrying off" into the white population while other families began a habit of sojourning into the Kentucky highlands from Greasy Rock and Stone

Mountain to hunt, trap, and gather for a season or more.

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"WHO'S YOUR PEOPLE?"- CUMULATIVE IDENTITY AMONG THE SALYERSVILLE INDIAN POPULATION OF KENTUCKY'S APPALACHIA AND THE MIDWEST MUCKFIELDS, 1677-2000.

VOLUME II

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SECTION TWO

AMERICAN INDIAN FAMILIES IN A NEW KENTUCKY HOME, 1800-1908

Chapter 5

Melangian Indians and an Interloper at Vardy's Springs

From 1813 to 1830, the large citizen Indian population around Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain was typified by extensive intermarriage between the primary families which were represented by Saponi, Cherokee, and other tribal heritages. This composite Indian population thus began to be referred to as "Melungeon Indians" as a consequence of this mixed tribal heritage. By 1840, however, this external label of "Malungeon" was no longer linked to the tribal or ethnic diversity, but was more overtly tied with attitudes regarding mixed "racial" heritage. Used with more derogatory applications, this latter use of the label "Melungeon" would neatly coincide with the national climate of the Indian removal era and the passing of strict new state laws restricting the rights of Indians, blacks, and people of mixed racial ancestry.

The relatively quick establishment of the Stone Mountain and Greasy Rock Indian communities would be interrupted by yet another international conflict, and some would be drafted into the East Tennessee militia during the war of 1812. Both *Griffen Collin Sr.* and *Jr*, as well as their kinsman *Jordan Collins* can be shown to have served[524]. The elder Griffen Collins was drafted, but discharged for "inability" probably due to his advanced age. His son would continue to serve in Colonel S. Bunch's company of East Tennessee Militia volunteers, placed under General Jackson's command[525]. Also noted by local whites as having served with distinction in the War were their Indian neighbors named *James Collins*, *Mike Bolin* and *John Bolin* "and others not quite remembered"[526]. Serving with the same unit was young *George "GoldenHawk" Sizemore*, who lived near Greasy

Rock with his kinsman George and Owen during this period[527]. Future research will likely show that many more men from the Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain Indian communities served in the War than are mentioned here.

During the War of 1812, other Indians and mixed-bloods moving to Stone Mountain from Greasy Rock or elsewhere also continued to be admitted to the Stoney Creek congregation through letters from other churches[528]. Despite the potential and real conflicts individual citizen Indians had with the Baptist church, some devout Christian Indians living at Stone Mountain, like old *Tom Gibson,* remained strong in the faith and in good graces of the Stoney Creek church. Undoubtedly his example and that of those like him contributed to the fact that other related Indian and mixed-bloods would occasionally continue to choose to be "received and baptized" into the church. However, others did maintain that path. For instance, in the winter of 1808, *Jesse Boling* and his brother, who lived in Powell Valley a considerable distance from the Stoney Creek church, had requested that some church deacons to "try for fellowship next month" to reconcile some "transgression" on the part of Jesse. Apparently Boling was disgusted with some matter involving the church, and when church leaders approached him, they "found him in the spirit of War", and no reconciliation was reached at that time[529].

Still, it is apparent that, despite the fact that many citizen Indian now shunned the Stoney Creek church, the population of Christian Indians at Stone Mountain itself nevertheless remained stable. In 1810, the band consisted of at least the families of elder *Tom Gibson* and his aging son *Tom Jr*, as well as his son *Bryce Gibson* and the families of 15 or so other Saponi families with the names of *Gibson, Sexton, Bowling, Cole* and *Collins*[530]. Among the other Indians living among the Stone Mountain Indian population

that year was Cherokee *John Jackson "Jack" Cole* who had "taken up house" with *Katy Gibson*[531]. This young couple never did formally marry, nor did they choose to become members of the Stoney Creek church. As for attending that Baptist church, neither did any from the Indian *Dale* family, who, according to oral history, descended from a Shawnee boy who was captured by Saponi warriors during the French and Indian War and was raised among the Christian Saponi back in "Old Virginia"[532].

"Composite" is an appropriate term to use to describe this overall Indian population because it now represented multiple tribal heritages and histories through the families of *Cole*s (Cherokee and maybe Catawba), *Collins* (Saponi), *Bowlings* (Saponi and/or Powhatan), *Sizemores* (Southern Virginia tribe, non-Saponi), *Dale* (Shawnee-Saponi) and a few other families now deliberately culturally and socially aligned together. Sometime before 1813, and perhaps long before, some of the whites of the Clinch and Holston valley settlements also recognized this diversity of tribal heritages among the local Indians and had started employing the label "Malungian", a local derivative of the French word "*melange*", to describe the community of Christian Indians at Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain[533]. More revealing is a map of the region made in 1820 which labels the Greasy Rock Indian Community as the "*Malungian Indian Village*" [534].

The first documented used of the word Malungian toward the Greasy Rock population is found in the aforementioned Stoney Creek Church Minutes. The particularly interesting entry also seems to indicate that some of the stricter white Baptists held some contempt for those Indians and mixed blood people around Stone Mountain and Greasy Rock who did not adhere to their standards of Christianity. .

Brother Kilgore, a white, was moderator for the service on September 26, 1813 when the church secretary recorded that a white woman, a Mrs. Kitchen, had approached the congregation and

> "complained against Susanna Stallard for saying she harbored them Melungins. Sister Sook said she was hurt with her for believing her child and not believing her, and she won't talk to her to get satisfaction, and both is "pigedish", one against the other. Sister Sook lays it down and the church forgives her".[535]

It seems from this entry that those Indians and mixed-bloods at Greasy Rock and Stone mountain who had fallen from grace with the Baptists were excluded from associating with those Indians and whites adhering to the Christian lifestyle mandated by the Stoney Creek church. Supporting this hypothesis is the fact that a number of people from the Stone Mountain Indian community still remained full members of the Stoney Creek Church. They would stay in good standing with that congregation for years to come, and never does the minute books refer to any of them as "Melungins". Among them were *Elisha* and *Tabitha Sexton*, *Lucy Moore*, as well as *John* and *Annie Gibson* and *Nancy Gibson*[536].

Still, why the church labeled some of their Indian congregation's kinsmen as "Melungins" is undeterminable with such little data[537]. However, the way in which the label Melungin is used here does not necessarily show that it was employed in a derogatory or even racial manner. It is notable for instance that never once is any

individual labeled a "Melungin" in the church records, even when a member was locally known to be of "1/2" of more Indian parentage. Indeed, I have yet to find the word "Malungin" being again applied until the appearance of a 1820 Map identifying the Vardy area of the Greasy Rock community as the "*Malungian Indian Village*"[538]. Even in negative social instances, such as when old Thom Gibson's son *Tyra Gibson* was prosecuted in Lee County for some unknown crime in the fall of 1821, the person writing the court records found no need to label him "Indian", "Melungin", "free colored" or otherwise. Nor did they do so when they recorded that Vardy Collins had traveled up from the Greasy Community to provide what was then a hefty $200.00 for Tyra's bail security[539]. Free people with African heritage, however, are always noted in the same county and church documents as being "black", "negroe" or "mulatto".

That leaves the possibility that the "Melungins" harbored by Sookie may have been singled out only because they were considered "backsliders". The crime of "harboring Melungins" then had nothing to do with racial segregation, but everything to do with religious orientation and lifestyle. This action instead was likely a consequence of church doctrine that mandated that until the "transgressors" repented they were not allowed to affiliate with the church or church members lest other members be tempted to transgress.

Despite the cryptic reference to "Melungins" in the Stoney Creek Church minutes, all the evidence recovered thus far confirms Jarvis' later statement in his 1903 article that the "friendly Indians" who settled Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain from Cumberland and New River were, socially speaking, treated by local non-Indians "...like white men, with both good and bad characters....."[540]. And that whites counted among that citizen

Indian population "full bloods, half bloods and quarter bloods" at that time is also notable[541]. These statements about their "blood quantum" may help to reveal the motivation behind the confusion evident in census enumerations counting these Indians and mixed-bloods among the white or various "free colored" divisions offered on Federal censuses of the time. For instance, in 1830 at Greasy Rock, the Indians and their mixed blood relations would be enumerated there as "Free Colored"[542]. Recall that, in the two censuses prior, the citizen Indians living in and around Greasy Rock, Cumberland Gap, Stone Mountain were unilaterally recorded among "white" heads of household, even when their direct relations were being enumerated as "Other Free Colored Persons" back at the New River at the same time. Probably not coincidently, the 1830s would see the climax of the "Indian Removal" frenzy being promoted by the Federal and state Governments in this region of the United States, and State laws being passed at the time also reflect that attitudes toward Indians and their mixed blood descendants remaining in Tennessee in particular were changing for the worse (see following chapter).

Regardless the reason, the enumerators of the 1830 Federal Census placed most the citizen Indians into the ambiguous category of "other Free Persons". But the enumerators would choose not do so unilaterally. Comparing genealogical notes to this census, it seems as if the enumerator employed some sort of "blood-quantum" formula to determine who would receive a "white" designation, and who would be counted among the "other free" population of the county. Still, some broad statistical statements can also be deduced for this year's enumeration of those who, were now being called "Melungin Indians" by some local whites.

The 1830 censuses reveals that the population of citizen Indians centered at and

scattered around Greasy Rock and the Cumberland Gap had grown dramatically since its inception some thirty years earlier, despite numerous recent out migrations to the Kentucky Highlands by prominent families at this time (see next chapter). The 1830 enumeration of the citizen Indians then living in these counties thus requires close examination. By far the largest community founded by the old New River Indian migrants, the Greasy Rock population dominated the valleys and hollows on and west of Newman's Ridge. Greasy Rock itself was now a small town populated primarily by whites at this time. The Indians instead resided in three small "villages" and in scattered household clusters north, south and west of that point. The enumerator recorded here 43 Indian or mixed-blood households as "Free Colored", living in a contiguous community that dominated the landscape on Newman's Ridge, Painter's Creek and Blackwater valley[543]. Among them was *Vardy Collins*, who lived in the northern part of Blackwater Valley where a small village had developed around the mineral springs at the foot of the Ridge. Among Vardy's immediate neighbors here were the families of *Tim Williams*, *Betsy Mullins* and *George Goen*. The younger *William Nichols* still lived there at this time, but he soon would take his family to Kentucky to join *Valentine Collins* who was already living there. The homes of *Allen* and *Simon Collins*, as well as those of *Jordan* and *Jordan (Jr) Gibson* and three other related *Gibson* families sat in or very near this village later known as "Vardy's Springs", and later, "Vardy".

From Vardy, the homes of the Greasy Rock Indian community spread from Blackwater and Panther Creek south down the ridgeline about 15-20 miles into Grainger and Claiborne Counties into the shadow of Cumberland Gap. Up on the ridge not far from Vardy's village lived an "Irishman" "*Hair Lip*" *Jim Mullins* and his wife *Clarah*

Martin. Jim is said to have been a trader before retiring among the Greasy Rock Indian community (see Chapter 10). Living in households spreading south from Vardy were a number of the Saponi Collins families, including *Levi*, *Millenton*, *Martin*, *Ed*, and the two *Ben Collins'*.[544] Further south down the valley and Newman's Ridge from Vardy was another cluster of 15 households of Indians and mixed-bloods labeled as "Free Colored". Among them was old *Charley Gibson*, who was one of the oldest members of the Greasy Rock Community. Having been born in Louisa County, Virginia, Charley was a living witness to the many changes experienced by these Indians in the past century. Living around the old Saponi elder were the *Joe, Andy, Sherod* and *Esau Gibson* families. Also here were the households of *Wyatt*, *Andrew*, *John* and elder *Solomon Collins, Sam Mullins, Jim Moore* and *Jim Moore Jr.*, as well as two "white" woman, *Polly Nichols* and *Rachel Bunch*, both of whom were raising their mixed-blood children amongst their late husband's kin[545].

A number of other Greasy Rock Indian families are show in the 1830 census as living scattered elsewhere in Hawkins county, either in isolated households or in small clusters of extended family relations. Only occasionally are they shown as "Free Colored". Shown as "Free Colored" were *Betsy Jones*, *James* and *Harvey Collins*, *Henry Mosely*, *Hardin Mosely*, and two *Goodman* families lived in a cluster of homes on Painter's Creek was also sometimes referred to as a "Indian Village" by local whites[546]. Living at the other end of Newman's Ridge, closer to old *Charley Gibson*, were the families of *John*, *Michael* and *Dicey Boling*, all of whom were also enumerated as "Free Colored". Similarly described were the nearby families of *John* and *Zach Minor*. Living more isolated among the county's white population were the families of *Fountain Goin,*

Tom and *Solomon Hale*, *Burton Cold* and *Charley Bear*[547]. All were recorded as "Free Colored". *George, Ned, Ned Jr.* and both *Owen Sizemores*, who lived with *Abija* and *Swimp Anderson's* families somewhat removed on the Virginia-Tennessee border, were however all shown as "white", as were the clustered households headed by *William, James* and *James Collins Jr*, and *John Fish*[548].

Also part of the overall Greasy Rock Indian population, but geographically located farther down the Clinch Valley into the jurisdiction of Grainger County, was the "Indian Creek Indian village" and a few other isolated households of citizen Indians and mixed-bloods. As with their counterparts in Hawkins County, the enumerator for Grainger in this year also chose to change the Indians' census classification from the "white" column to the "free colored" catagory. Among them was the old Revolutionary War vet *Lewis Collins* who lived at Indian Creek. Also shown as having permanent residence here were the four households of *Dowell, Condly, Encey* and *Hardin Collins.* Living nearby were the households headed by *Allen, Moses* and *Joseph Collins*, as were the families of *Larkin, Griffen* and *Levi Collins*[549].

In 1830, the elder *Griffen Collins*, the 1812 War Vet, lived closer to Bean Station. Living nearby Griffen were two small, but significant, clusters of related Indian families carrying the *Bolin*, *Goans* and *Denham* surnames. Here, *Phillip Denham* notably was one of the few men shown living with a white woman thus far. Two other identifiable Indian mixed-blood houses shown elsewhere in Grainger County, away from Indian Creek, were those headed by *Peter Jones* and *David Goan*[550].

Rounding out those people of the Greasy Rock Indian population who were enumerated as "free Colored" in the 1830 census were those few families living closer to

Cumberland Gap in the jurisdiction of Claiborne County. The most notable would be that of Cherokee "*Jack*" *Cole*, who had moved down from Stone Mountain since the previous federal census. Like most of the Cherokee Coles, Jack moved frequently between Cumberland Gap, Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain and the Kentucky highlands. Also living nearby among the white population was elder Tom Gibson's son *Bryce Gibson* and his wife *Fannie Green* as well as the family of *David Denham*. As were most of the local citizen Indians, both families were enumerated as "free colored", in this year[551].

The 1830 censuses are revealing in that they clearly show the Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain Indian populations were not "disappearing", nor had they been "assimilated" into the white population. On the contrary, these communities were not only a stable, but were growing. The increase in numbers, coupled with the social and economic prominence of Indian men like *Vardy Collins* and *Tom Gibson* ensured that the people did not fade from the landscape, but were a permanent feature. However, some of these citizen Indians and mixed-bloods were not content with remaining among these two new communities. The less populated Kentucky highlands that lay to the north and the west would entice many of their families to form yet another sister community there.

During the 1840s and 50's some of the Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain Indians and mixed bloods continued to work their way north into the Kentucky highlands. At the same time, their Kentucky relatives continued to come back down to Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain for visits, and some even returned on a permanent basis. One notable example was Billy Cole's brother Jack. By 1840, *Jack Cole* again had left Kentucky and returned to the Coles' old haunts in the Powell Valley outside Cumberland Gap and

Greasy Rock. The aging Cherokee set up living quarters for his family next to, or on, the lands of aging Nancy Martin, a few miles northeast of Blackwater valley in the area of the old Virginia Indian Agency established for the Cherokee living and hunting there some 70 years prior. His sister *Louanna* also lived here, although her son *Charley Cole* (aka. *Charley Campbell*) would soon "run away" from his mother to live with his Aunt and Uncle *Billy* and *Cuzzie* (*Collins*) *Cole* up in Kentucky[552].

With the typical inconsistency that the reader may now be getting used to, while *Jack Cole*'s Indian relations up in Floyd County, Kentucky were being shown as "white" on that county's census, Lee County officials chose to count Jack and his family as "Free Colored" in the 1840 census. However, his sister *Louanna*, and other Greasy Rock Indians, like *Griffen Collins,* who lived inside the Lee County line were instead shown as "white" on the same census. Perhaps the exception here with Jack occurred because he was known to continue to legally assert his family's land "rights" as Cherokee, which was still a volatile issue in this part of Appalachia considering the Cherokee Removals were completed only two years prior[553].

Besides hunting and trapping, or simply to visit relatives for a spell, there were other reasons for these citizen Indians of Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain to take trips up to Kentucky. For example, some made some extra revenue by hauling "army goods" from Tennessee and the Cumberland Gap north to Ohio in 1835 and 1836[554]. Also mentioned was the social and legal importance of owning recognized title to a piece of land and for those coming into east Kentucky with more permanent intentions, land could be easily and cheaply acquired. But perhaps another underlying motivation for the frequent family migrations was that these citizen Indians may have been unnerved by the

changing attitudes many Americans had concerning the besieged Cherokee Nation to the south of Greasy Rocky. Indeed, despite the nature of their "civilized" status and independent government and economic institution, nothing could stop the forced removal of nearly 14, 000 Cherokee from their Appalachian homeland from 1835 to 1839. And the Cherokee Nation was only one of many Indian groups targeted by the Federal Government for removal to the so-called "Indian Territory" west of the Mississippi. This surely must have caused anxiety amongst Cherokee Coles and hundreds of similar families who, politically speaking, had disassociated with the Cherokee Republic by choosing to remain outside the Nation in favor of becoming citizens of the states in which they lived[555]. This targeting of the "civilized" Cherokee must have unnerved "citizen" Indians even though the policy was not directed towards them.

The implications of the Removal policy on a national scale must have somewhat concerned all citizen Indians at Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain, and in east Kentucky. The era of change was probably made more uncertain in that those few old Saponi who could recall the Flatt River and New River community days were passing on. Perhaps more importantly, so was the generation of whites who recalled and respected the services many of the old Saponi elders gave to their white neighbors during Dunmore's War and other times of crisis. Instead, the large valleys near Stone Mountain and Greasy Rock were beginning to fill with white families and faces who had no knowledge, let alone sympathy for these "citizen" Indians. Furthermore, many such valley whites found their "white mountaineer" neighbors just as quaint, exotic and/or irksome, as their Indian ones.

Thus, while the Floyd County contingent of citizen Indians remained under the

radar of popular media, their relations living back at the Greasy Rock Indian Community were beginning to attract some unwanted attention from curious outsiders. There exist telling examples of the potentially threatening attitudes held by some regional whites towards the Greasy Rock Indians, or "Malungain Indians". No matter how socially adept men like *Vardy Collins* had become in strategically accommodating to the political and economic structures of white frontier society, or even what they may have thought of their Indian or mixed-blood heritage, they were still considered by their non-Indian neighbors to be part of an identifiable, and thus potentially targetable, Indian population. Local deeds, for example, of newly in-migrating whites buying land adjacent to the settlements of the Greasy Rock Indian population still saw fit to record that they were buying land adjacent to "an Indian Village". As late as 1837, the Hawkins County Land Books, for instance, recorded the survey of James Livesay for 500 acres of land as bordering "on an Indian Village on the waters of Painters Creek on the North Side of the Clinch River"[556].

Perhaps the most threatening indications of the precarious legal and social situation potentially facing these citizen Indians are reflected in the changing laws and statutes enacted toward limiting the legal rights of Indians and "other free persons of color" on the State level during the removal era. For example, the 1820's saw a new flurry of State law inhibiting the rights of all Indians, be they Cherokee or not, located within state boundaries. In 1834 for instance, the Tennessee State Convention passed the following act:

"...*Resolved,* That free persons of color, including Mulattos, Mustees and

Indians, were not parties to our political compact, nor were they represented in the Convention which framed the evidence of the compact, under which the free people of the State, and of the United States, are associated for civil government; nor are they recognized by our political fabrics as subjects of our naturalization laws; but on the contrary, are, by the Constitution and laws of the United States, wither as property, or as being within the scope or meaning of court provisions relating to naturalization and citizenship; and hence their supposed claimed to exercise of the great right of free suffrage, is, and shall be, only not recognized, but prohibited"[557]

Tennessee had always had such restricting laws. The 1834 Act was simply a reassertion and reinvigorations of these conventioneers' adherence to their forerunners principles of the racial subjugation and segregation. The earliest such law in that state, enacted in 1794, for example reads, in part:

"...That all Negroes, Indians, mulattoes, and all free persons of mixed blood, descended from Negro or Indian ancestors, to the third generation, inclusive (though one ancestor of each generation may have been a white person) whether bond or free, shall be taken and deemed incapable in law to be witnesses, in any case whatever, except against each other"[558].

Indeed, Kentucky, North Carolina and Virginia all had similar laws, but the 1830s

brought in new flurry of laws restricting the rights of Indians in these states coincided with the height of the Indian Removal craze. To receive acceptance as "white" as far as taxing, voting and other issues were concerned would have social benefits for "citizen" Indians and their mixed-bloods relations during this tense time. During the 1830s, the southern states of Mississippi, Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama in particular were anxious to rid "their" borders of the independent sovereign Nations of Indians that remained politically strong, held large amounts of land, and large populations., such as the Cherokee, the Creek, the Choctaw and Chickasaw. North of the Ohio River, federal and state authorities were similarly targeting the Shawnee, the Ottawa, the Pottawotomi, Miami and many Indian people for removal west. However, many other smaller tribes and bands were not officially targeted for removal. For instance, in his 1825 address entitled "Plan of Colonization West of the Mississippi", President Monroe elaborated extensively on the "benefits" of the Removal policy, but stated that the Removals of the "eastern Indians...is not intended to comprehend the small remnants of tribes in Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia and South Carolina"[559].

But it was still probably the Cherokee Removals that most worried the Indians and mixed-bloods from Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain, and east Kentucky both because of their relatively close proximity to the Cherokee Republic as well as the fact that they had "adopted" the Coles and possibly other Cherokee individuals into their overall population. Recall too that for some time now they had been locally referred to as "Malungian Indians". As previously suggested, this label was likely originally a reflection of the fact that by the early 1800s, the different Indian and mixed-blood families now living together at Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain and the Kentucky

highlands embraced the diverse heritages of Saponi and Cherokee, and to a lesser extent Catawba and other tribal heritages from the *Sizemore*s, the *Goins* and *Minors*, the latter of whose original tribal affiliation remains unknown. With such a diverse background represented in their communities' families, there came a change in the way some whites came to perceive them.

Considering the pressures being placed on the Indians throughout the eastern Untied States at this time, it is of little surprise to find that that many of the Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain Indians and mixed-bloods continued to opt for more thoroughly accommodating their families and their lifestyle in which they lived in line socially, politically and economically with the overall county social structures. Church affiliation was but one of these strategic accommodations, and their ongoing participation in the mixed Primitive Baptist congregations with local whites and some of their slaves at Stoney Creek and Blackwater are good examples. Some of the old soldiers still living among the Greasy Rock Indians and their relations elsewhere also applied for Pensions during the 1830s[560]. These actions may also be indicative of their attempts to more firmly establish themselves as "citizen" Indians in the minds of the whites around them.

The potential threat to their "citizen" status from the aforementioned new state laws prohibiting Indians and mixed-bloods from voting, testifying against whites, and so forth would, in the end, have little if any effect on segregating these citizen Indians, nor would it weaken their social standing amongst their immediate white neighbors. These "race/color" boundaries set forth in the state legal-political arena proved to have been meaningless when applied toward the Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain and Floyd County Indians as they were not adhered to by non-Indians at the county political level. As for

the Greasy Rock Indian in particular, documents show that some of the more economically well off Saponi men like *Vardy Collins* continued to participate in county politics, while he and others continued to vote, to testify against whites, and so on. After Hancock County was cut from Hawkins County in the winter of 1844, the proportion of Greasy Rock Indians and mixed-bloods participating in county politics actually increased (the villages would fall under Hancock County jurisdiction). This social acceptance of the Greasy Rock Indians as "equals" on the legal-political level was undoubtedly partly due to the fact that some of their men *Shepherd Gibson* were now some of the most economically successful individuals in the new small mountain county of Hancock[561]. Evidence overwhelmingly indicates that, in the case, the restrictive laws enacted by the state of Tennessee toward Indians, blacks, mixed bloods and other people classified as "free colored" were malleable and were most often ignored altogether by white Hancock countians. The opinions and perspectives of many of the Valley whites surrounding Hancock County however were not as favorable.

An early Traveler and Tales regarding the "Malungeon" Indians

Regardless of the attitude of whites within Hancock County toward their Indian and mixed blood neighbors, many whites outside the new county did indeed forward sour opinions towards the Indians and mixed-bloods living there. The clearest indicator of this it that the earlier designation of the Greasy Rock Indians as "Malungian Indians" would , by the 1840s, come to be used as a derogatory epitaph by some regional valley folk who disliked their Indian neighbors. Furthermore, the term "Malungian" was no longer being

used just to designate the mixed tribal background of the Indian population at Greasy Rock (indeed, if the label ever was restricted to that population). Instead the label was now being more broadly used by many non-Indians used to designate any presumed racially mixed Indian derivation found in the regional citizen population[562].

An early example of the broader use of the racial label Malungeon is forwarded in a series of newspaper articles written during the volatile and heated debates preceding the Whig/Locofoco presidential campaign of 1840[563]. A campaigning contingent of "locofo" or "Locos" from Virginia were passing through the populous valleys in northeast Tennessee, some 50 **miles west of Greasy Rock,** promoting their candidate. With them was a man apparently of Black and Indian heritage. A political party newspaper from Jonesborough, Tennessee, simply titled *The Whig*, would openly state their crass opinions regarding the Loco's choice to include this man among their campaign speakers, and rebuked the them for traveling with this "Melungeon" political advocate.. The editor of the paper labeled the mixed-blood "an impudent Melungeon from Washington Cty[sic]", and it refused to identify him by name, although it did name the other "Locos" in the party. Instead, they contemptuously dubbed him "a scoundrel who is half negroe, half Indian, who has actually been speaking in Sullivan in reply to Combs". General Combs, a local advocate of the Whig campaign, was reported to have "declined the honor of contending the Negros and Indians---said he had fought against the latter, but never met them in debate!"[564].

As *The Whig* articles indicate, many whites from larger towns like Jonesville did not care for a free citizen Indian or mixed-blood population in their backyard, although there was not much they could do about it except throw around rumors and innuendos

regarding the history and character of the people. Exactly when the racial interpretation of "Malungian" began to be derogatorily applied toward the mixed-tribal population at Greasy Rock is uncertain but as *The Whig* articles indicate, it was in place as such by some non-Indians by 1840. That this overlapping usage of the identifier Malungian, from the specific designation of the mixed tribal village at Greasy Rock to any Indian or mixed blood people remaining in the southeast, was developing right on the heels of the Cherokee removal period in Tennessee is probably not coincidental.

In another newspaper article published in 1848 and reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* a year later under the title "The Malungeons", is a early example of how the derogatory Malungeon label would be used in print for generations to come[565]. As this article demonstrates, the term was used to implicate and distort interpretations regarding a presumed racial, and not tribal, intermixing of the people associated with the Greasy Rock Indian population in particular. The impressions created by this local color writer from the Virginia town of Jonesville would feed, and was fed by, erroneous stereotypes of these citizen Indians and their mixed bloods relations living at Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain, and elsewhere[566]. This travelogue description mixes fact with fiction, myth with reality, and thus must be carefully digested with particular attention to context, and the potential bias of an amused outsider. The Jonesville writer's perspectives however are useful as they reveal some of the notions held by some whites not personally familiar with Greasy Rock Indian Community. Their history as a people, and their social standing outside of their immediate circle of white neighbors in Hancock County, who perceived them more favorably, would be adversely effected by the images presented in this article to this day.

Due to this lasting effect, this Jonesville writer's willingness to forwarded erroneous facts and descriptions should become obvious to the present reader in the article's telling of their "history" as a group cited below. His representations when compared to what has been gathered from primary documents for instance reveals the gross ignorance probably shared by many whites in the Valleys outside Hancock County regarding the complicated past of the Greasy Rock Indians and their mixed-blood relations. For instance, in the year the *Littell's* article was published the population of Indians and mixed bloods comprising the greater Greasy Rock Community was large, over 200 people including such aforementioned notable characters as *Vardy Collins*, *Solomon Gibson*, and *John Bowling*. As previously mentioned, these old Saponi men were prominent in the county's social, civic and economic affairs. In 1850, Vardy alone was assessed with $1500 worth of real estate, which made him somewhat of a "wealthy man" by local standards of the day, and he even operated a small "Mineral Springs Resort and Hotel". Vardy also emulated the "heightened" social status of whites in that he employed the only "free black" man in the county, John Woodson, as a servant[567].

But if enhancing their "civilized' status through economic and material or religious means was the intentions of Vardy Collins or others, the anonymous author of the article in *Littell's* would undermine that accommodating image. His representation is centered on his brief visitation to the Indian village at Blackwater Springs (aka. Vardy's Springs), where he stayed in old Vardy's public resort and Hotel. In a few strokes of the pen, his descriptions and assertions undermined the "Christian" and "civilized" characteristics of the community that Vardy and some of the others tried so hard to outwardly maintain. Touting his rendition as "no Traveller's story", but instead as "a

correct geographical and scientific history of the People", the Jonesville writer of the *Littell's* article introduced his readers to the Greasy Rock Indians by describing

> "Blackwater Spring is situated in a narrow gorge, scarcely half a mile wide, between Powell's Mountain and Copper Ridge, and is, as you may suppose, almost inaccessible. A hundred men could defend the pass against even a Xerxian army. Now this gorge and the tops and sides of the adjoining mountains are inhabited by a singular species of the human animal called Melungeons. The legend of their history, which they carefully preserve, is this. A great many years ago, these mountains were settled by a society of Portuguese adventurers, men and woman, who came from the *long-shore* parts of Virginia, that they might be freed from the restraints and drawbacks imposed upon them by any form of government. These people made themselves friendly with the Indians, and freed, as they were, from every kind of social government, they uprooted all conventional forms of society, and lived in a *delightful* Utopia of their own creation, trampling on the marriage relation, despising all forms of religion, and subsisting upon corn (the only possible product of the soil) and the game of the woods. These intermarried with the Indians, and subsequently their descendants (after the first advances of the whites into this part of the state) with the negroes and whites, thus forming the present race of Melungeons"[568].

Note that no mention of their previous residences at New River or Flatt River is made, nor of their previous identification as Saponi or any other tribal designation. Instead what is notable in this introduction is not only the writer's downplaying of the people's Indian identity and heritage, but his preference to speculate on their assumed non-Indian ancestry. The mention of Portuguese heritage here is the first I have found concerning the Greasy Rock Indians and their mixed-blood relations. However, both their Indian and non-Indian "characteristics", both physical and cultural, would become the subject of much debate at the end of the next century. The notion of "a society of Portuguese adventures" founding the population would be most popular. The unfounded claim, however, has been made of numerous unrelated Indian and mixed-blood populations remaining in the American Southeast[569].

Yet, there is perhaps a grain of truth in the report of some Iberian heritage being connected to the some of these Indian families. There is some weak but growing evidence, that perhaps some of the *Gibsons* and *Goins* who intermarried with the Christian Saponi families of Collins and Bowling prior to or during the Flatt River community days embraced some Iberian heritage[570]. *Vardy Collins*' wife for instance was known as "*Spanish Peggy*" *Gibson*, and this is confirmed by multiple sources[571]. The existence of Spanish or Portuguese heritage among this small population of Indians would not be out of sync with the history of the colonial American Southeast, for it is well documented that some Spanish traders and miners had long maintained friendly and intimate relations with many Southeastern tribes. In the 1835 census of the Cherokee Nation, nearly 100 people were enumerated as "mixed Spanish and Cherokee"[572]. But the erroneous idea of the so-called "Melungeon" Indians as wholly descending from a "lost"

Portuguese community of ex-Pirates and Spanish adventurers would be accepted by many whites and blacks as fact. The *Littell's* version of the claim would provide fuel for the romanticisms and exaggerations that would come to pervade outsider's perception of the Greasy Rock Indians and their relations at Stone Mountain and up in the Kentucky highlands.

As for intermarriage with non-Indians, a bit more should be said. As with all Indian tribes and bands, these citizen Indians had their own "immigration" and "adoption" standards regarding who they let into their community. Such indigenous policies however ran directly against the grain of the segregation standards being set by powerful white authorities sitting in the state Capitals and valley plantations. While no intermarriages with blacks have been confirmed to have occurred prior to the 1870s, it is known that there had been many marriages among whites in the past few generations. Some whites of course disapproved of such relationships, but there was little they could do to prevent them. Many whites and blacks alike would come to resent the fact that these citizen Indians could still successfully "preserve their identity" while being so inclusive (see Chapter 10). As the *Littell's* articles shows, many resented that fact all the Greasy Rock Indians and mixed-bloods were "privileged voters in the state in which they live, and thus, you will perceive, are accredited citizens of the commonwealth"[573].

Fortunately , this writer did not directly speculate further in the "history" and "origin" of the Greasy Rock Indians. However, as mentioned before, the Jonesville writer would spend the night at "Old Vardy's" hotel at the springs[574]. He would describe his stay in some detail and, in doing so, would make insinuations regarding their "culture" and "character". *Vardy Collins* for instance is described sarcastically as being

the "chief cook and bottle washer" of the community, and the writer gained the impression that the old Saponi was "really a clever fellow". Yet, no matter how civilized these Indians saw themselves to be, the writer forwarded erroneous claims such as that his hosts "are almost without any knowledge of a Supreme Being", and that they were "behind their neighbors in the arts"[575]. The Indian village at Blackwater Springs (aka. Vardy's Springs) was described as being a modest assemblage of "several rude log huts". The inhabitants he characterized as being "...brave, but quarrelsome; and are hospitable and generous to strangers". He nonetheless wrote that they "have but little association with their neighbors, carefully preserving their identity as a race, or class, or whatever you may call it; and are in every respect, save that they are under state government, a separate and distinct people". The writer was obviously aghast that they, like so many country folk, be they Indian or otherwise, were "comfortable walking around with no shoes, stockings or coats". He would conclude from his brief visitation that "...they are, without exception, poor and ignorant, but apparently happy"[576].

It is interesting that the *Littell's* inadvertently noted the Indians' continued attempts at maintaining a self-sufficient lifestyle. The writer described for instance that "their implements of husbandry are chiefly made by them of wood". He noted too that they used oxen instead of horses for their agricultural pursuits. Like many American Indians they apparently preferred to reserve their horses for the purposes of hunting and traveling only, which for many was an equally, if not more important and secure pursuit than mountain agriculture or husbandry[577]. Indeed, with the exception of Vardy and a few others, most of the Greasy Rock Indians lived a humble lifestyle with a family based economy centered on hunting, trapping, gathering, and crop gardening. Despite the

growing non-Indian population in the broader valleys in the south and east of Hancock County, game still remained plentiful in the mountains as did the fish in the Clinch and Powell Rivers. Bartering and trade remained the primary means of exchange among the people and with their immediate white neighbors. Throughout the 19th century, traders would continue to visit the Greasy Rock Indian villages in the late winter months in order to get the first crack at the hides they accumulated through the season[578]. Some were so involved in the fur trade business that they had entered into partnerships with local Hancock and Hawkins county whites in order to conduct business with tribes as far way as Arkansas[579].

The *Littell's* writer also noted that the "Melungeons....married by established forms", but in a more typical Indian style wherein "husband and wife separate at pleasure, without any reproach or disgrace from friends". However, other data does not support his claim that they were "remarkably unchaste", as least not any more than the non-Indians who surrounded them. However, the Jonesville writer did note that "the want of chastity on the part of the females is no bar to their marrying" as it would be in the more typically gender repressive white communities[580].

The most curious part of this writer's dialogue however is his description of his attendance at a "dance" held at Vardy's Village at Blackwater. As the Jonesville writer described the event, in attendance that evening was "a sprinkling of the natives together with a fiddle and other preparations for a dance"[581]. The writer then gives a dubious and questionable account of an interaction between two of the participants that he choose to identify under pseudonyms. The representations he would forward here would prove to be critical ammunition in perpetuating and embellishing later myths and stereotypes

regarding the Greasy Rock Indians, such as their supposed drinking habits, habitual petty thievery, and the meaning of the label "Melungeon" itself. Because of its later influence on outsiders perspectives regarding the Greasy Rock Indians, this part of the *Littell's* requires repeating here in full. In this passage, it is described how...

> "The dance was engaged in with right hearty good will, and would have put to the blush the tame steppings of our beaux. Among the participants was a very tall, raw-boned damsel, with her two garments fluttering readily in the amorous night breeze, whose black eyes were lit up with an unusual fire, either from repeated visits to the nearest hut, behind the door of which was placed an openmouthed stone jar of new-made corn whiskey, and in which was a gourd, with a 'deuce a bit' of sugar at all, and no water nearer than the spring. Nearest to her on the right was a lack, lantern-jawed, high-cheekboned, long-legged fellow, who seemed similarly elevated. Now these two, Jord Bilson, (that was he) and Syl Varmin, (that was she) were destined to afford the amusement of the evening; for Jord, in cutting the pigeon-wing, chanced to light from one of his ariel flights right upon the ponderous pedal appendage of Syl, a compliment which this amiable lady seemed in no way disposed to accept kindly. "Jord Bilson", said the tender Syl, "I'll thank you to keep your darned hoofs off my feet". "oh, Jord's feet are so tarnel big he can't manage 'em all by hisself", suggested some pacificator near by. "He'll have to keep 'em off me", suggested Syl, "or I'll shorten'em for him".

"Now look ye here, Syl Varmin", answered Jord, somewhat nettled at both emarks, "I didn't go to tread on your feet, but I don't want to be cutting up any rusties about it. You're nothing but a cross-grained critter, anyhow". "And you're a darned Melungeon". "Well, if I am, I ain't a *nigger-Melungeon*, anyhow -- I'm *Indian-Melungon*, and that's more 'an you is". "See here, Jord", said Syl, now highly nettled, "I'll give you a dollar ef you'll go out on the grass and fight it out". Jord smiled faintly and demurred, adding- "Go home Syl, and look under your puncheons and see ef you can't fill a bed outen the hair of them hogs you stole from Vardy". "And you go to Sow's cave, Jord Bilson, ef it comes to that, and see how many shucks you got offen that corn you tuck from Pete Jomen. Will you take the dollar?" Jord now seemed about to consent, and Syl reduced the premium by one half, and finally came down to a quarter, and then Jord began to offer a quarter, a half, and finally a dollar; but Syl's prudence equalled his, and seeing that neither was likely to accept, we returned to our hotel, and were informed by old Vardy that the sight we had witnessed was no 'onusual one. The boys and gals was jist having a little fun". And so it proved, for about midnight we were wakened by a loud noise of contending parties in fierce combat, and rising and looking out from the chinks in our hut, we saw the whole party engaged in grand melee; rising above the din of all which, was the harsh voice of Syl Varmin, calling out - "Stand back here, Sal Frazer, and let me do the rest of the beaten of Jord Bilson; I hain't forgot his hoofs yit". The mellee closed, and we retired

again, and by breakfast next morning all hands were reconciled; and the stone jar was replenished out of the mutual pocket, and peace and quiet ruled were so lately all had been recrimination and blows"[582].

If nothing else, this article indicates that in the case of the Greasy Rock Indians living at Vardy's Village, despite generations of attempts to peaceably maintain a "civilized" image, they could not changed the derogatory lens through which many non-Indians would continue to perceive them.

The Floyd County contingent of the citizen Cherokee and Saponi Indians would, in contrast to their kin back at Greasy Rock, mostly remain underneath the radar of media scrutiny until the following century. There, they were able to go about their daily affairs without this unwelcome interference from anonymous outsiders carelessly and publicly speculating about their history and origins, and may be why some families from Greasy Rock and Stone Mountains would continue to join them in the 1850s.

During the period that The Whig and the Littell's article were published, there continued to be a substantial number of families and individuals who migrated both out of and back into the Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain Communities from the various points in Kentucky that attracted them. A review of the 1850 Hancock County census for instance records that at least forty-four people, mostly Indians and mixed-bloods from the Greasy Rock Community as well as a few whites, had been being born back up in Kentucky. *Sally Gibson*, *John Bowling*'s wife *Levisy Gibson*, *Clarah Collins* (*Hiram Gibson*'s wife) were among the adults shown as having returned to Tennessee from Kentucky by 1850[583]. The birthplaces listed of some of the children at Greasy Rock also

confirms that some families were still making relatively short term forays into the Kentucky mountains and returning home to Greasy. Having children born both in Tennessee and Kentucky in varying sequences were for instance the families of *John Collins*, *Morris* and *Susan Collins*, and *Solomon* and *Laura Sexton*. Beside these old Saponi families, the Cherokee *Jack Cole* and his family were also back in the Cumberland Gap-Greasy Rock by the time the *Littell's* article was published. From this time until his death, Jack would prefer to remain living as a tenant in and around the old Cherokee hunting lands just to the west of the primary Greasy Rock settlements like Vardy's village[584]. In the meantime, Jack's nephew *John Cole* and his apparently "white" wife *Francis* (Bowman) had moved to the Kentucky side of the Cumberland Mountain, and like his uncle Jack remained there for many years[585].

It is also clearly evident that despite the scattering of such Indian and mixed-blood families to and from Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain, and east Kentucky, many would continue to travel to one of the "sister" communities apparently in order in order to find Indians sources from their own "tribe"[586]. That a small but significant number also continued to marry into prominent white families indicates that the majority's desire to marry other Indians was not was not a matter of social isolation or forced racial segregation as some writers would suggest later at the turn of the century. The citizen Indian population in east Kentucky was far from "disappearing", and on the contrary, would grow as the century progressed.

Despite their attempts to cultivate a "Christian" and "civilized" image through church membership, participation in county civic affairs, maintaining land ownership, and even operating a hotel and resort, some outsiders perception of these citizen Indians

was not favorable. No longer treated as classificatory whites as they had prior to 1830, some non-Indian instead cast them as "Free Colored" and "Melungeon" and described them as "poor, ignorant drunkards" with "no knowledge of a supreme being". Some chastised them for being inclusive enough to also marry non-Indians and vote as "privileged citizens" and yet continuing to "preserve their identity". But even the derogatory *Littleton's* article of 1848 shows that these citizen Indians still emphasized the "Indian" component of their identity and other documents such as deeds describing the "Indian Village" near Greasy Rock shows that other whites concurred. Indeed, most whites living in close association with these citizen Indians ignored state and Federal laws restricting the rights of Indians. Many Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain families also felt safe and secure enough to move in an out of the adjoining Kentucky mountains in small family groups, a trend that would grow throughout the early 1800s.

Chapter 6

Finding Contentment in Kentucky

The citizen Indian population associated with Stone Mountain and Greasy Rock had grown in the 1820s and 30s, so much so that some whites around them noted different "clans" among them, and noted the intense family relations between their primary families. The primary family names, like "The Collinses", "The Gibsons" and so forth became social identifiers that, locally, linked them to their Indian identity. These interrelated family groups were supported by a kinship network connecting the families at Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain, where their land titles and position among whites was positive and stable. But there were a growing number of families who preferred spending more and more time in the Kentucky mountains and often spent a season or more there in small family groups. Valentine Collins' band of Saponi Cherokee was among those who maintained this practice and it would be those families who, by 1840, had finally set the roots of what would come to be known as "The Salyersville Indian Population".

As early as the 1790s, and probably earlier, some of the New River Indians had been embarking upon seasonal forays into the Kentucky mountains west and north of the Stone Mountain and the Cumberland Gap. By 1810, there were a few families of these citizen Indians who could be found for most, if not all year, in the Kentucky highlands. There would be, however, no mass migration of the New River Indians into Kentucky as there was into Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain.

During the nineteenth century the Cherokee *Coles* and a number of the Saponi *Collins, Bolling* and *Gibson* families in particular would move on from the Clinch and

Powell watersheds into the Kentucky mountains. Over time they would align geographically, socially and culturally with mixed-bloods and other "citizen" Indian families such as the those of old *Billy Nickels*, *Sam Perkins*, *Goldenhawk Sizemore*, *Berry Brown*, *Bill Hale*, and others. In doing so, they would simultaneously strengthen and diversify the "melange" of tribal heritages found amongst this population of citizen Indians. Together they would unforeseeably establish what would be one of the most distinct, yet ignored and neglected Indian communities in the mid-Appalachians, the Salyersville Indian population.

Before following these Indian families' path into Kentucky, we should first revisit the question of why the Cherokee Coles in particular might want to follow a path away from the Cherokee Nation in the first place. One could weakly surmise that the Coles' choice to move from the nation had something to do with their assumed "Christian" convictions or their perceived "civilized" lifestyle. But such assumption would be in error, as Christian Cherokee and Cherokee mixed bloods of many denominations were not uncommon in that populous Indian Nation by the end of the eighteen century. I suspect the answer lays more clearly made on another issue, that of the kinship connection highlighted by John Cole and Cuzzie Anderson's marriage prior to their linking up with the Christian Indians from New River. Recall the suggestion made in Chapter 4 that *Cuzzie Anderson Cole* may not have been Cherokee at all, but instead was a "Catawba" Indian.

If Cuzzie can ever be proven to have been "Catawba" and not Cherokee, then an interesting circle would be completed. This would suggest some sort of ongoing association, or reconnection, between the other Saponi band that fully integrated with the

Catawba Nation by the Revolutionary War and the Christian Saponi of New River. If that proves to be the case, then the Cole's choice to disassociate with the Cherokee Nation in favor of aligning with the Christian Saponi and the rest of the "Malungian Indians" was, quite possibly, connected with Cherokee tradition and law itself. Traditional practice of maternal clan reckoning was the foundation of Cherokee identity and rights[587]. Therefore, a marriage between a Cherokee man and a non-Cherokee woman, be she Catawba or Irish or African etc., would complicate the Cherokee's status of their offspring. Basically put, if one's mother was not Cherokee, then one did not have a proper Cherokee clan by which to identify, and thus was limited in rights and claims under a Cherokee identity.

With regard to the relationships of "clan", band, community and family as practiced by the Cherokee, the kinship practices and identity reckoning of the Christian Saponi by the late 1790s contrasted sharply with the still strict matrilineal descent rules of the Cherokee, and probably always did. At this point virtually nothing is known about any "traditional" Saponi clanship organization by which we can make comparisons with the 19th century populations at New River, Greasy Rock, or Stone Mountain. However, some ethnologists are convinced that the Catawba and Saponi alike were also originally matrilineal, and in the 1700s went bilateral, while others are convinced there has always existed a bilateral system among them[588]. Since the old Siouan tribes were originally focused more on hunting and gathering in small bands and were less inclined to agricultural pursuits, it seems likely that their clan system was patrilineal. Regardless, it is likely that any 'traditional" clan system that may have existed among the Christian band of Saponi prior to the New River era was probably highly modified and much different from what existed only a generation or two prior. However, enough

demographic and genealogical evidence is known to show that, by the time they reached New River in the late 1700s, a flexible bilateral descent reckoning was being practiced amongst those Christian Indians. This is consistent with what Speck_describes existing among the Catawba and Tutelo descendants in the early 1900s[589].

Evidence demonstrates that the Indians and mixed-bloods of New River continued to practice a distinctive kinship patterning throughout the 1800s, and into the next century. The possible existence of modified "clan" associations amongst the Christian Saponi even after they went to Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain attracted the attention of a visitor to the Greasy Rock community in 1890. This visitor, a Ms. "Will Allen" Dromgoole, would publish the most elaborate descriptions of the early kinship reckoning and naming practices existing among the people of that community during that century [590]. Although her interpretations are of questionable reliability and are somewhat misleading (see Chapter 10), the paucity of similar information from the same time period makes this description stand out.

Of those Greasy Rock Indians she called "Malungeons", Dromgoole wrote that "their characteristics and instincts are still Indian, and their customs have lost but little of the old primitive exclusion and seclusive abandon characteristic of the sons of the forest"[591]. As for how she characterized the kinship distinctions, Dromgoole claimed that "it is only of very late years the Malungeons have been classified as families...originally they were tribes, afterward clans, and at last families"[592]. Of the first of the New River Indian families credited with establishing the Greasy Rock Indian community, Dromgoole wrote that

"they were called the 'Collins Tribe', until having multiplied to the extent it was necessary to divide, when the descendants of the several pioneers were separated, or divided into clans. It was only one of those natural splits, gradual and necessary, which is a sure result of increasing strength"[593].

As Dromgoole understood it, the "first tribe" took its name from the Collins families, "or as they call it '*Collinses*'". As the 19th century progressed, they came to distinguish branches within the "Collinses" by the various male headmen who, early on, had settled permanently around Greasy Rock. Dromgoole claims they did so by "adopting the first Christian name of the head of a large family connection or tribe"[594]. Similar to the anthropological conception of a clan originator, those who for instance descended from "Old *Ben Collins*" came to be known to be of the "Ben Tribe" of which Ben of course was the headman. Those who descended from "Old *Sol Collins*" were similarly known to be of "The Sol Tribe". The pattern also apparently carried over to those Greasy Rock Indians who had married non-Indians, but not unilaterally. For instance, by Dromgoole's time those who descended from the union of a daughter of elder *Solomon "Sol" Collins* and *Jinsey (Goins/Gwin)* and the son of the Irish trader were locally known as being of "the powerful *Mullins* Tribe"[595].

Dromgoole also claimed that, "after a while, with an eye for brevity, doubtless, the word tribe was dropped from ordinary everyday use"[596]. The family or "clan" factions at Greasy Rock instead became known simply as "The Bens", The Sols", and so forth. That these kinship identifiers had nothing to do with geography, and everything to

do with lineage is apparent from her discussion, although she herself often confused the two methods of identification. Dromgoole also described the geographic nomenclature that some local whites used to distinguish geographic "subpopulations" comprising the overall Greasy Rock population in the late 1800s, that being the "Ridgemanites, the Indians and the Blackwaters". The latter group she claimed was reputed to be more "mixed-blooded" than the populations of the other two subgroups but, as will become apparent in later chapters, that particular assumption was erroneous.

Still, using the "Ben Tribe" as an example, Dromgoole attempted to describe how the late 19th century "clans" among the Greasy Rock Indians came to be distinguished through unique naming practices. She wrote that *Ben Collins*' children were distinguished from the children of *Sol* and *Vardy Collins* by prefixing the Christian name of either the father or mother to the Christian name of the child. Ben's children therefore were locally known as *Edmund Ben*, *Singleton Ben*, *Andrew Ben*, *Mitch Ben*, and so forth. The same method extended into the next generation. The sons of *Mitch Collins*, aka. "*Mitch Ben*", were therefore known locally as "*Levi Mitch*", "*Morris Mitch*", and so on. These later generations grew in size and proportion to the point that the extended families became known as "The Ben Clan, the Sol Clan, the Mitch Clan" and so on. Dromgoole claimed that nearly every prominent elder who headed a large lineage "was recognized as leader of the clan that bore its name"[597].

Dromgoole failed to show how this naming pattern fit with the other primary family names in the Greasy Rock Community, like *Bowlings, Bunches, or Gibsons,* with the exception of identifying the "Shep Tribe" with the descendants of *Shepherd Gibson.* However, regarding "the Collinses", Dromgoole emphasized that it was important that

they still "always had the father's Christian name attached" to their own[598]. But despite appearances, the "clans" reflected through this method of naming actually distinguish the different maternal lines associated with the major families of the Saponi Collins in particular. Furthermore, Dromgoole's own description demonstrates that this naming practice was not necessarily restricted to the paternal side of one's linage, although it seemed to favor it. She noted for instance that before marriage a woman would be locally known by her father's Christian (first) name but, after marriage, took that of their husband. She described how *Jack Collins's* wife was known as "*Mary Jack*", and that his son was known as "*Ben Jack*". When Dromgoole met her in 1890, she found that *Calloway Collins'* wife was known amongst her people as "*Ann Calloway*" and not *Ann Collins* as she was on censuses and other county and state records. Adding to the complexity of this naming practice, Dromgoole traced Calloway's descent through old *Ben Collins* as an example for her readers. Ben Collins' son *Jordan Collins,* for instance, was known among the Indians as "*Jordan Ben*". Jordan in turn married "*Abby Sol*". Their son, *Calloway Collins* (who she described as a "full-blooded Indian") however was locally known not as "*Calloway Jordan*", but as "*Calloway Abby*" after his mother[599].

Unfortunately, county court documents and similar data seldom reflect anything but the "proper" paternally inherited Christian surnames of the Greasy Rock Indians in the early 1800's. With no local newspaper articles, memoirs or other supporting sources, it is presently impossible to confirm the extent to which this naming practice described by Dromgoole actually occurred. It should also be noted that Dromgoole's use of the words "tribe", "clan" and "families" also differs from both the anthropological as well as the present legal-political use of those terms. Yet, however dubious, Dromgoole's work does

demonstrate that a bilateral reckoning system did persist among the citizen Indian population of Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain.

This flexible but particular means of family identification allowed the New River Indian migrants to distinguish family identity among their growing populations. This practice also aided in enhancing the inclusiveness of the Indian identity of the old Saponi families as they married other Indians, mixed-bloods and non-Indians. By doing so on their own terms, a separate and distinct Indian identity could be maintained despite marriages to people outside their own interrelated "clans". That the "Saponi" identity was itself lost or fading from memory by this time is probable, but the families themselves were not. And with the inclusion of the Cherokee *Cole*s and a few other previously unassociated Indian and mixed blood families, these citizen Indian families would remain resilient and strong enough to maintain a viable presence. Strong enough to prompt Dromgoole to write in 1890 that, in the early part of the century, that "they claimed to be Indians and no man disputed it"[600].

By adding the component of community to Dromgoole's description of the kinship relations beyond just the Greasy Rock settlements at Newman's Ridge and Blackwater, the extent to which their different "bands" or communities of could and would maintained intimate relations increases significantly. In the first few decades of the 1800s, the Christian Indians and their mixed-blood relations traveling in and out of Kentucky from the Cumberland, Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain would continue to do so spread out in small clusters of interrelated nuclear families with few exceptions. And there movements within that part of the mountains also remained frequent. But in true "band" style, records demonstrate that those citizen Indians would, for instance, travel

back and forth between these points to court prospective Indian or mixed blood spouses from their own "tribe". For example, it can be shown that *Valentine* and *Dicy Collins'* daughter *Biddy Collins* married Cherokee *John Cole*'s son *Billy Anderson Cole* down in Greasy Rock even though Billy maintained residence up in Kentucky at that time. Valentine's family resided among the Greasy Rock community at the time, as did Billy's sister *Louanna Cole*[601]. Further demonstrating the interconnections maintained between these bands or communities of Christian Indians is that John and Cuzzie's eldest son *Jack Cole* was simultaneously living up with Tom Gibson's band at Stone Mountain in 1810, and while here he would sire a child with *Katy Gibson*[602]. Indeed, the mobile yet symbiotic kinship alliances that were being nourished between these particular Cherokee and Saponi families were strong enough to allow each to maintain their families' Indian identity via mutual social and economic support from these different geographic points.

Into the Kentucky Highlands

With this discussion of the relationships between kinship and community now said, it is easier to understand how and why, by the turn of the 18th century, the Cherokee *Cole*s had banded together with the Saponi *Collins*, the *Sizemore*s and other New River Indians through residence and intermarriage. Together their families converged on the old Cherokee hunting grounds around Cumberland Gap, Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain. Now some looked to the Kentucky wilderness, where they would find a few other previously unrelated citizen Indian families also searching for contentment.

John Wireman, who was tied to the Indian *Sizemore* families, was one of many

citizen Indians who established himself early in the Eastern Kentucky mountains. John was described as a "half-Indian" by whites that knew him and, like many of his peers, John walked the "civilized" path and had entrepreneurial inclinations. Sometime before 1783 he had erected a small water mill on Beaver Creek in what would later become the greater Salyersville-Prestonsburg region of the then expansive Floyd County. It is said to be the first of its kind in the region. In that year, he sold his mill to a white man named Reuben May and moved back to Tennessee. John, however, returned to Floyd County a few years later[603].

The "Irish and Indian" family headed by *Joseph Nickells* also removed from the New River area to Kentucky around the time *Levin Cole* and *Archibald* and *Vashti (Cole) Gibson* and *Ezkial Gibson* did in the 1790s[604]. The *Nickles* preferred the Red River Gorge area, some thirty miles west of "Wireman's Mill". Some of his other Indian as well as non-Indian Nickells kinsmen would reside among the Greasy Rock Indian population until at least the 1830s[605]. Following the pattern of many of the mixed-blood families of early Appalachia, most of the descendants of *Joe Nichols* and his brothers notably would choose not to marry Indians or mix-bloods. Geographically however they would remain in close alliance with other members of the Nickells family who would continue to do so in the century to come. The most notable of those would be the descendants of *Billy* and *Betty Nickells.* Most of Billy and Biddy's children would choose to marry among the Cherokee *Cole*s and the old Saponi families of *Collins* and *Gibson*. By 1810 these families were well established in the Kentucky hills, and Billy and Betty could be found living next to Billy's kinsmen *Isaac* and *Thomas Nickells* on the Red River, in what was then Floyd County[606]. The prolific extended family of "Indian Nickells" that would arise

from these early alliances would prosper here in the mountains throughout the century. They would also watch many of their affinial "Arish" kinsmen rise to prominence in the local counties in which they resided, occupying important positions in the political and economic structures in the counties in which many of these "civilized" Indians would permanently settle.

Sometime after 1794, the family of *John Charles Cole* and *Cuzzie Anderson Cole* had removed to Cherokee hunting reserve around the Cumberland Gap. By 1805, John and Cuzzie Cole's children had come of age, and records confirm that they frequently fraternized with the old Saponi *Collins* families living around the Cumberland Gap, Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain areas. Their son, *Billy Anderson Cole* would marry *Rebecca "Biddy" Collins*, the daughter of *Valentine Collins*, soon after the latter's family relocated near Greasy Rock after living at Stone Mountain[607]. Then, around 1805, the young Cherokee-Saponi of Billy and Biddy had moved deep into the northern reaches of the Kentucky highlands. Records indicate that the families of Billy and Biddy Cole, like others of that Cherokee family, would move frequently within the unsettled areas of the Kentucky mountains, maintaining contact not only with the Christian Saponi families, but also with the Indian and mixed-blood *Nickles* and *Gibsons* on Red River, as well as the *Perkins*, *Howards*, *Wiremans* of the Upper Licking and Sandy regions[608].

The Cherokee *Cole*s and those Christian Saponi families they banded with in the Kentucky wilderness practiced a more mobile lifestyle than many of those families choosing to remain back at Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain. Early censuses, tax lists and other documents reveal that, as the former moved frequently from place to place, they did so in small "household" clusters of extended family relations. As of 1810, it

would be some time before the Kentucky Indian families consolidated into any contiguous permanent "Indian" community as large, as stable, or as distinguishable as that at Greasy Rock or Stone Mountain.

During this time, many of the Christian Saponi families from Greasy Rock, like *Vardy* and *Peggy* (*Gibson*) *Collins* and *Solomon* and *Jinsey (Goin/Gwin) Gibson* were buying and extensively "improving" land up on Newman's Ridge that towered over Greasy Rock, and in the Blackwater and Sycamore valleys they lay beyond it. It may be that the stability of Indian land titles back at the Greasy Rock community provided assurance and a back up in times of trouble for those citizen Indians' relations moving about in the Kentucky highlands. Many likely doing so however probably never really did intend to "settle" there permanently. The subsistence methods practiced by the citizen Indian families, that of hunting and gathering, combined with limited horticultural practices, could proceed mostly uninhibited in Kentucky. Utilizing the area's natural resources complemented a mobile style of planting the same small tract for a few years. The ability to take care of one's own was based on family and community cooperation and consent.

To add context and a broader understanding to the discussion of these Indians families' migration into this region, some elaboration on the social and geographic characteristics of the region is merited. In 1805, east Kentucky was practically "unsettled" by the official definition of 2 settlers per square mile[609]. Towns, if they could be called such, were few and infrequent, although by 1810, small neighborhood communities of non-Indian settlers were interspersed throughout the remote but extremely fertile valleys and hollows. Anti-American Cherokee and Shawnee Indians

also kept a presence in the area until the late 1790s, the most notable being the village on nearby Mud Lick Creek in present day Johnson County [610].

After the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, most Americans looked beyond the hills to the bluegrass and Ohio for potentially promising permanent settlements, and saw the mountains as forbidding and hostile. A few whites, however, did find the expansive mountain wilderness as comforting and inviting. By 1795, some 70 families lived "strung out in a thin line of cabins hastily erected" along the Big Sandy watershed of the Floyd County area[611]. In 1795, another cluster of non-Indian settlers could also be found centered around the Auxier family's "fort" at "Blockhouse Bottom" some miles north of Harmon's Station, another small compound established in 1793[612].

Non-Indian settlement on the nearby upper Licking watershed followed a similar pattern beginning that same decade. By 1800, "settlement" there consisted of a small string of cabins leading from "Licking Station", previously called "Prater's Fort", and up the Burning Fork where white families like the Praters, Patricks, the Adams and others could be found[613]. These families' homes, not coincidently, followed the main Indian road that ran up Burning Fork and down Middle Creek toward the aforementioned Big Sandy settlers and Harmon's fort[614]. During the time of early white settlement, the bend of the Licking just below the bend of the State Road Fork very near Prater's Fort was covered in an immense tract of switch cane that grew green all winter and attracted large numbers of elk, buffalo and deer. Early pioneers said that elk were more plentiful on the headwaters of the Licking that anywhere else in Kentucky at the turn of the century[615].

Despite the unsettled nature of the lands in Eastern Kentucky, much of the better bottom lands were quickly claimed by absentee speculators and entrepreneurs who staked

out tens of thousand of acres at a time. Therefore, many citizen Indians and non-Indians alike were cultivating and otherwise operating from small land bases throughout the mountains were initially forced to "squatt" in the fertile mountain valleys and hollows. For instance in the fall of 1808 the Floyd County court issued orders to the local justices of the peace that "all of those delinquent persons on Haw's list who returned 'no property' are to be issued and said person's tried for vagrancy"[616]. As state and county government grew stronger, so did some landowner's ability to assert themselves over squatters as well as legitimate tenants. For large landowners like Wm. James Mayo who did choose to live within a practical distance to their vast mountain holdings, they often extracted their rent from there tenants in the form of trade and barter of furs, labor, or sometimes though "corn rights"[617].

Still, enforcement of such laws in such a large area with such a small population continued to be hard to enforce in the early years. One could easily pick up one's family and move somewhere else in this vast wilderness if their right to live in a particular place became contested. Another option in avoiding such problems was to purchase a small tract from they could live and carry on hunting in the vast unsettled lands around them. Indeed, land did not cost much in the mountains, especially after many eastern absentee landowners realized that they were not going to make the profits off their investments as they thought they were. A few good furs were often enough to provide ample resources to buy a small tract of land or, if preferring to remain tenants, to easily pay the rent. For example, family tradition regarding the Bailey family associated with this region recalls that old John Bailey, who was born in Hawkins County, Tennessee, in 1799, had "swapped a rifle gun and a pair of buckskins for all of Gun Creek and Puncheon", on the

upper Licking River watershed[618]. Even well into the twentieth century one could find that, in some places, a man could trade a good horse for some acreage on which to put a house and plant some corn[619].

Still, despite the fact that land was cheap and abundant, a tenant class would grow to become a factor in the mountains quite early on. By the 1820s, it became more common for some local landowners to require some kind of part-time labor on the part of their tenants. One such early landowner was John Gardner. He had both tenants and slaves work his tobacco and commercial ginseng operations nearby Licking Station. Slaves would never be common in this mountainous part of Kentucky, however. As a result, throughout the 19th century a tenant labor force would become even more critical to the interests of the few entrepreneurial landowners living in the area needing labor.

Many of the citizen Indians who came into this area from the Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain communities were long sensitized to the social stigma attached to being a "tenant" as apposed to a "landowner". The Saponi Collins and Gibson family for instance had been grappling with this problem ever since the 1740s. What they had learned since that time was that, no matter how small ones land holding may be, having recognized title to land placed one in better social, political and economic standing in American society.

It is not surprising to find that some of the Collins and Gibsons from Greasy and Stone had acquired deeds to small tracts of land in the Kentucky highlands prior to 1820. In October of 1816, *Nick Gibson,* for instance, acquired a small 50 acre grant in Floyd County[620]. Earlier that year, the Revolutionary War Veteran *Meredith Collins* would acquire 50 acres, possibly from veterans benefits, on Shelby Creek in Floyd County,

which soon would become part of Pike County[621]. The following year, *Ezekiel Collins* would acquire 69 acres on the Caney Fork of Beaver Creek some **50 miles** north of where his kinsman Meredith now lived[622]. Meredith himself was able to purchase another 69 acres on Shelby Creek the following winter from William Mayo, and his neighbor and probable kinsman *Booker Mullins* also purchased land from Mayo on the Shelby that day[623]. South of Floyd County, much closer to the Cumberland Gap and the Greasy Rock community, citizen Indians were also acquiring small tracts in Knox County, Kentucky[624].

It is apparent that, by 1820, many citizen Indians now living in east Kentucky were content with staying right there. *Meredith Collins* for instance was satisfied with staying permanently on the lands on which he settled his family in Floyd County. Meredith, better known as "*Meriday*", was an ambitious man and was apparently quite respected by the local whites amongst whom he chose to settle[625]. Meredith's ambitions went far beyond the subsistence oriented mobile life-style that characterized the Indian kin. As early as the summer of 1819, Meriday was attempting to tap into the mineral wealth of the highlands and that year he entered into a deal with a local man named William Tackett, "to form a partnership to try for Salt Water"[626]. And, by 1820, Meredith would be recorded as holding a slave (see below).

Acquiring individual property rights and other socially recognized symbols of "civility" and economic success were perhaps deliberate means by which many of the Christian Saponi and other citizen Indians attempted to curtail some whites negative attitudes regarding "free persons of color". For one, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia were slave states, and strict laws restricting the rights of non-whites were common. This put the local citizen Indians in the precarious legal and social position of being both

"free" and non-white. Early Floyd County documents for instance reveal potential dangers of being a "free person of color" with which local whites were unfamiliar. For instance, in the summer of 1817, the Floyd County authorities ordered John V. and William Grant, described as "free persons of color", to appear before them "to prove they were born free and ordered certified"[627]. Apparently no similar requests were made of any of the *Coles*, *Collins* or other identifiable Indians and mixed-bloods moving from Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain living in Floyd County at that time. Indeed, this may be one indication of why the citizen Indians chose to remain in relatively close residence with the white families and friends they knew prior to their emigrations into the Kentucky hills, such as the Adams, the Patricks and Caudills.

As already shown, in the early decades of the 19th century, the citizen Indians from Greasy Rock, New River and so forth were caught between, in the view of Federal census takers, the categories of, White Men and "Other Free Colored Persons". Kentucky enumerators would prove no exception to this. The first two censuses of the large, but sparsely populated mountain county of Floyd reflect the malleable categories and accompanying attitudes regarding "color" and "race" held by some of the whites dominating county politics at this time. In 1810, all the citizen Indians and their mixed blood relations from Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain residing in Floyd County were, for instance, recorded as "white tithables". However, in 1820 the county conversely recorded them among the only other option available by which to racially identify people in these census, that being the broad and ambiguous label of "free persons of color"[628].

As for the change in their classification to "other free persons" in the 1820 Census, it may have been caused merely by the whim of the enumerator. However, it may

have more to do with the fact that the population of Christian Indians from Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain now living here had increased considerably since 1810, making them a much more distinctive element in the mountain county. But complicating this hypothesis is that fact that the much larger population of Indians and mixed-bloods at Greasy Rock, which included brothers, sisters, aunts and uncles of the Floyd County contingent, were all enumerated as "white' in the previous tax lists known from Hawkins and Granger Counties[629].

Regardless of the reason behind the change in the racial classification of the citizen Indians and mixed-bloods in Floyd County from 1810 to 1820, the latter provides an interesting overview of that growing population. It shows that the most sizeable group was the band headed by *Valentine "Tiney" Collins.* Their small settlement consisted of no less than forty-one people headed by three familiar characters from the old New River Indian community. Those were *Zach* and *Martin Gibson*, and *Valentine Collins* who himself headed a "household" of 25 people that probably spanned 3 or more generations[630]. All were recorded as "free colored". Two more "free colored" families, known from other sources to have been of Indian and or Indian and white decent but whose past tribal affiliation is unconfirmed, were shown living with or adjacent to Tiney Collins band. Those were the families of *John Mosley* and *William Allen*[631]. Also nearby lived the now numerous descendants of the aforementioned white and Indian *Nickells* families. All of the Indian Nickells were, however, recorded as "white". This suggests that some sort of blood quantum rule was possibly being applied by the enumerator(s) in helping them decide how to delineate the "white" from "free colored" population. Further evidence of this is *Thomas Howard*, who lived very near Valentine Collins' band.

Tom is known from other sources to have been either 1/4 or 1/2 Indian, but he was also shown as "white"[632]. Although not shown as permanent residents on the Floyd County census that year, other records show that family of *Billy* and *Biddy Cole* also spent much time here with Valentine's band as they traveled back and forth between Floyd County and Cumberland Gap[633].

In a different company whose jurisdiction was closer to Prestonsburg was recorded another small cluster of identifiable Indian families from the Greasy Rock and New River Indian communities who were recorded as "free colored" families on this Floyd County census. This contingent was headed by old *Obadiah* and *Polly* (*Castile*) *Moore,* and included the families of *Andrew Moore* and a mixed-blood named *James Steele* who is suspected, but not proven to be, descended from the Pennsylvanian turned Catawba Trader of that same surname[634]. Like all the other citizen Indians and mixed-bloods being recorded in the 1820 Floyd County census as "free colored", these families of Moore and Steele had all been shown as white in the previous decade's enumeration[635].

That blood quantum played a part in the various enumerators choices holds some merit by looking at the Indian mixed-blood *Perkins* families in that year. The sizeable Perkins family descended from *Samuel Perkins*, who settled here prior to 1799. Sam had married a white woman and, by 1820, some of their offspring were beginning to raise large families of their own. Sam Perkins' "Indian" identity is well confirmed with corroborating sources, but his tribal heritage is not. By 1900, most members of the family asserted that he was a "Cherokee", but other evidence suggest, that Samuel may have instead descended from a trader named Perkins and a Shawnee woman[636] . But like the mixed-blood Nickels, only certain segments of this prolific family would continue to

marry or otherwise remain intimately associated with other local Indians as the 19th century progressed. Those who did would become intimately associated with the Cherokee *Coles* and old Saponi families of *Collins* and *Gibson*. In 1820, one of these families included the household of *Lewis Perkins*. Lewis lived on 122 acres he purchased on the Rockhouse Fork of the Kentucky River[637]. This land near or adjacent to where *Archibald* and *Vashti (Cole) Gibson* and a few other citizen Indians and mixed bloods lived up on the Red River at that time, including the families of *Jim* and *Betsy* (*Hopper*) *Gibson, Jim Collins* as well as those of *Ezekiel*, *John* and *William Gibson*[638]. All however are shown as "white" taxables with twenty one people enumerated among their households. Yet, Lewis Perkins' father *Steve Perkins*, and his brother *George,* who lived on the other side of the ridgeline from those Gibson and Collins families were instead enumerated as "free colored", even though all had been recorded as white on the 1810 census[639]. Interestingly, only two years later, these Perkins men were instead recorded across the county line as "white" taxables on the first Lawrence County tax list in 1822[640].

A few more 1820 examples show how malleable the line between "white" and "free-colored" was in the Kentucky mountains when applied to the citizen Indians and their mixed-blood relations as a whole. On the other side of the expansive Floyd County, the aforementioned *Meredith Collins* and his wife, as well as the old vet's son *Bradley Collins* and his wife, were also all recorded as "free colored" in 1820[641]. Close to Merideth now lived *William Gibson* and *John Sexton*, both of whom the enumerator instead choose to record as white. Living just a little further away and instead shown as "free colored" was the family of *Berry Brown* who, like Meredith, had been recorded as

"white" in the previous census[642].

A few more unidentified "free colored" families that lived very near the aforementioned *Meredith Collins* and *Berry Brown*. These people were scattered among the households of *John V.* and *William Grant*, and their neighbor *Charles White*[643]. Of these three "free colored" families of Grants and Whites I know very little at this time, except that they show up as "white" in later censuses. But these families had something else in common with the old Saponi and his neighbor Brown other than their "free colored" classification on this census. That is, all five of these "free colored" men were shown to be slaveholders. Meredith Collins was listed holding two slaves, while Berry Brown, the Grants (who previously had to prove their own freedom)and Charley White were shown with one each. Whether these slaves were of Indian and/or African descent is unknown, as well as what their names were and how it came to be these men acquired them in bondage. Notably this is also the only instance I have found of any of the Christian Saponi owning slaves, but some of the mixed-blood Sizemores in Floyd County would also come to hold slaves in the 1840s and 50s (see below). One might speculate that, as with his other entrepreneurial endeavors, Meredith Collins' exception as being a Saponi slaveholder was possibly a reflection of his attempts to raise his status high among these whites in this frontier society. Regardless of the means or motivation, by 1830, neither Meredith nor the rest of these five "free colored" slaveholders were shown as retaining any slaves.

Interestingly, all of these citizen Indians shown as "free colored" in the 1820 census would, in 1830 and 1840 censuses, instead be again recorded as "white" by Floyd County enumerators. Besides blood quantum, other equally subjective reasons

undoubtedly influenced the enumerators changing decisions and how to racially classify the Floyd County Indians during these decades. Hearsay of neighbors, the particular bias of each company's enumerators, or the assertions of the people themselves as to whether they were Indian or not may have also played a part. The only thing that can be said for certain in this regard is that in choosing between the racial classification of "white" versus "free colored", some enumerators made vastly different choices in enumerating the county's Indian and mixed-blood inhabitants from decade to decade, and from place to place.

Expanding the Network of Kentucky Kin

As early as the 1820 and 30s, another identity peculiar to the region was being forged, that of the "white mountaineer". It would be with these self-described "mountaineers" that the citizens Indians would continue to forge kinships links and friendly relations, as they had done since the New River days. With large families being maintained by both the citizen Indians and the mountaineer neighbors, kinship ties between some of their families would be established and maintained well into the next century in diverse and complex manners. In the wilds of east Kentucky, these links and relations could be called upon for economic, social and political support when and if required by the citizen Indians. For this dynamic, there fortunately does exist substantial documentation to aptly demonstrate. And from that, some general claims about the people's everyday lifestyle during this era can be made.

Between 1820 and 1840, the few expansive mountain counties like Floyd that

made up eastern Kentucky had established a large enough white population to justify carving new counties from their jurisdictions. One 1825 map shows only two towns in this expansive county at that time, those being Burning Springs on the upper Licking, and Prestonsburg some 15 miles east down the Middle Creek were it meets the Big Sandy[644]. But, by 1840, the white population here had stabilized to a mere 2-6 people per square mile, and would remain that way until the early 1900s. For the citizen Indians, this meant they still could frequently relocate as they continued to exploit the natural resources of this "wilderness". Many of the white mountaineers also led this style of life, and these shared cultural orientations would prove to aid the citizen Indians. For one, they could maintain this lifestyle without locally suffering the negative social stigmas attached by non-Indians elsewhere regarding so-called "Indian" traits of hunting, gathering and sustainable horticulture economies.

That the Indian and mixed blood Saponi families were usually legally treated the same as "white" citizens by early mountain county authorities is apparent. For example, sometimes white children would be apprenticed to these citizen Indians and mixed-bloods. An early example of this occurred in Knox County was in 1805, when a young white boy named Jeremiah Clayton was apprenticed to *Billy Collins* "to learn farming" until Clayton reached twenty-one years of age[645]. Apprentices of Indians and mixed-bloods to non-Indians of course also occurred. For example, young *Hilleriah Collins* was apprenticed out in 1807 to a white man named James Bryant by order of the Knox County Court to learn blacksmithing until he reached twenty-one years of age[646]. But, as Bryant was a local man, Hilleriah was not sent away from the local community where his kin lived. Evidence that his apprenticeship was not meant to single out or harass the

citizen Indians was that some of the *Bryant*s living here would concurrently marry into the small Saponi Collins contingent of families in Knox County[647].

It is notable that, even during the tense years of the national Indian removal policy period of the 1830s and 1840s, there is no indication of legal or social pressure to disproportionably apprentice or "bind out" any of the children of the citizen Indians or their mixed-blood relations living in the Kentucky highlands, or for that matter those remaining down at Greasy Rock or Stone Mountain. This is important to note because this was happing to many other Indians living elsewhere in the eastern United States before, during and after this period[648]. The general acceptance by most whites of the Saponi *Collins* and *Gibson*s, the Cherokee *Cole*s and other related families as equals in the legal sense would continue to be demonstrated throughout the highlands as others separately made their way into eastern Kentucky from the Stone Mountain or Greasy Rock Indian communities.

Of all the small scattering of families of related citizen Indians from Cumberland, Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain who were choosing to settle east Kentucky on more permanent basis, one contingent in particular would be particularly assertive of their identity as Indians in the coming century[649]. In the 1820 and 30s, their community of extended families hugged the up in what was then the Lawrence-Floyd County border area. The large extended families of *George Collins Senior* and *Junior*, and young *Charley Collins* were among the first in this area. By 1831, *Valentine Collins* had even managed to gain and hold title to 2000 acres of "3rd rate land" on Catt's Creek[650]. But the Indians and mixed-bloods being attracted there would comprise far more than just the old Christian Saponi families[651]. This Collins contingent, for instance, quickly came to

associate with aforementioned the mixed-blood families of *Steven* and *George Perkins* and *Billy Nickels*[652]. The jurisdiction of Lawrence County, cut from Floyd and Greenup counties in 1822, was also the northern extent of the range that the Cherokee Coles continued wandering through during the 1820 and 1830s[653]. Providing one of the earliest private Cherokee Cole land titles, *Billy Anderson Cole*, who was married to *Valentine Collins'* daughter *Biddy*, is found on the 1831 Lawrence County Tax list as owning 50 acres of "3rd rate land" adjoining Valentine's on Catts Creek[654].

How Valentine in particular gained the resources to make him one of the largest resident landowners in this rural mountain region remains elusive. But that the Collins and Cole families were using this land not for commercial agriculture, but more as a base from which to continue hunting, trapping and subsistence gardening, is apparent for two reasons. One is that both before and after 1831, Valentine would purchase and sell every few years as soil or flora and fauna became exhausted. Secondly and perhaps more telling, is that "3rd rate land" here in the mountain usually amounted to tight ridges and hollows not conducive to large-scale agricultural pursuits. Still, that these Indians had land they could legally call their own is notable.

Corroborating documents show that, during the 1830s, old *John* and *Cuzzie (Anderson) Cole*, and the families of their sons *Jack*, *Wilson*, *Ezekiel* and *Billy Cole* would continue to journey back and forth in this rather large range from Catts Creek down to the Cumberland Gap[655]. For instance, in 1833, *John* and *Cuzzie Cole* had returned to the Cumberland Gap area from Kentucky. That year, Grandmother Cuzzie would die back among the Greasy Rock Indian Community, where her kinsman *Swimp* and *Abija Anderson* remained[656]. Soon after Cuzzie's death, her widower *John Charles*

Cole returned to live with Billy and Biddy amongst Valentine Collins band of Christian Saponi, where he would die some years later[657]. The families of *John* and *Cuzzie Cole's* daughter *Louanna*, and the family of their son *Jack Cole, however* would retain a more permanent residence around the Cumberland Gap-Greasy Rock region after their mother's death.

Marriage and other records show that the Saponi and Cherokee of Valentine Collins band had strengthen relations with other citizen Indian *as well as* non-Indian families scattered in the Lawrence-Floyd area of the Kentucky mountains. The former the *Perkins* and *Nickels* families who, by 1840, lived scattered from the Licking to the Red River Valley[658]. Old "Irish Tom" Nickells for instance owned land on the Licking River in the western end of Floyd County sometime before 1808[659].

Significantly, the citizen Indians were not anonymous characters to the local non-Indians. Many of the whites who settled in the region of the headwaters of the Licking had come from previous residences located nearby the Stone Mountain, New River, and Greasy Rock Indian communities. The family of Jeremiah Patrick and his wife Sally Blair was one of them, having moved from their cabin on or nearby Stone Mountain in Virginia into the hollows of Floyd County, Kentucky, sometime after 1810[660]. By 1840, they had finally settled near the headwaters of the Licking River and Jennies Creek[661]. Indeed, this early local demography of Indian and non-Indian families would provide the social context for the rest of the century for, after the 1840s, few "new" white or Indian families would migrate into the mountains here until the turn of the century.

This small Kentucky band of citizen Indians and mixed-bloods that made the Catt Creek area their home in the early 1830s however would not see a permanent settlement

of their people arise there. Records show that, by 1840, most of these families associated with Valentine Collins' band had sold, abandoned or otherwise removed from their Catts Creek residences to other points in and around Floyd County. Probably not coincidently, after they removed from Catt Creek in the mid 1830s the families associated with Valentine Collins band would choose to position their residences just off the old "Indian Road" that cut the wilderness between the two tiny towns of Burning Springs and Prestonsburg, some 25 miles apart. But they would do so in a round about way. The Cherokee and Saponi families associated with Valentine Collins' band for instance still frequented the homes of the *Nickells* and *Perkins* families on the Red River in what had now become Morgan County, and the upper reaches of the Licking River in Floyd[662]. Valentine had even purchased or otherwise gained titled to 100 acres of land in the summer of 1829 on, what was then, the Morgan-Floyd-Lawrence County boundary[663].

With these frequent families movements and changing county boundaries complicating definitive deductions, the 1830 Floyd County census provides a means to figure in some statistics regarding the composition Valentine Collins' band in 1830[664]. As for the census itself, it is notable that County authorities that year again reverted to unilaterally classifying the people of Valentine's band as among the "whites" as opposed to the "other free persons" classification of the same people a decade prior. Nonetheless, by fusing the census with other documentation it can be shown that, in 1830, the little band of Cherokee-Saponi boasted at least 18 adult males and 15 adult females under the leadership of *Valintine Collins, Billy Cole* and *Jack Cole*. The 38 other individuals enumerated in their three "households" also suggest their families were growing fast. Also was the mixed-blood *Lewis Perkins* and his family. The young Indian families

headed by *David, Hiram* and *Joshua Collins,* all of whom had married women from the Indian *Dale* family, added another 40 people to the population of Valentine's band, making the total population somewhere around a 111 persons[665].

The population of citizen Indians here would further increase in the 1830s. Sometime after his wife died in 1833, old *John Cole* would return to Kentucky. Others of that Cherokee family, as well as the family of old *Thomas Gibson's* son *Bryce Gibson*, would also move up to Floyd County from their homes outside the Cumberland Gap near the Greasy Rock Indian community[666]. Yet, it is apparent that, despite these in-migrations and fast growing families, the population of Indians here still remained in flux. For example, by 1830 most of the *Gibson*'s who had previously lived in old Floyd had either moved on to new locales, or chose to live far from the Indian community developing around the families of Valentines Collins' band. Other than Bryce, the only other "Gibson" left in Floyd in 1830 from these early families was old *Polly Gibson*, who lived with her three daughters, who each were now raising children of their own[667]. A few other Indian and mixed-blood families could also be found in Floyd County in 1830, but living removed from Valentine Collins' band of Cherokee-Saponi. Among them were the families of *Obadiah Moore* and those of his sons *Andrew* and *Edmund*. Elsewhere in the county still lived *William Allen* and the families of *Berry* and *Rhena Collins*. Like those people in Valentine's band, these folks were also recorded as "white" in the 1830 census rather than being classified as "free colored" as they were in the previous decade[668]. Similarly classified that year in Floyd was the family of *George "Goldenhawk" Sizemore* of the mixed-blood Virginia family of that name. George and his wife, *Sally Anderson* (one of *Swimp* and *Sally* (*Perkins*) *Anderson's* daughters), had

moved up from the Greasy Rock Indian community and had settled on the upper Licking River[669].

Looking ahead to the 1840 federal census of Floyd Co, it is notable that the county's enumerators would yet again mark all of these "citizen" Indians as "white" as they did in 1830[670]. For most of them, however, this enumeration would be the last time that they would be racially classed as thus until well into the next century. A close analysis of the 1840 federal censuses and other documents also shows a continuation of the back and forth migration between Floyd County Kentucky and those Indian communities at Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain. Furthermore, the censuses also reflect continued localized residential movements within Floyd and the surrounding mountain counties for most of their families.

For instance, the family of *Billy* and *Biddie Cole* were the only Indians of that Cherokee family in Floyd in 1840, and by that time were living near Burning Springs off the Licking River. *Jack Cole* had once again gone back to Lee County near Blackwater in his never ending pursuit to reconcile that family's Cherokee land claim near the Cumberland Gap (see Chapter 9)[671]. *John* and *Ezekial Cole* clung to the old Catt Creek residences just across the Floyd County line in Lawrence County. The Saponi elder *Valentine Collins* continued to change residences frequently despite his age. Early in the spring of 1844, Valentine and his wife *Dicy* show up as being "received by incantation" into the Stone Coal Baptist Church. Comprised of a mostly white congregation, the church met a various people's home on the upper Licking River, and sometimes at those of mixed-bloods as *Sam Howard's* or *Brice Hale*'s. By July, the Saponi couple was requesting, and received, favorable letters of dismissal as the couple was again planning

to relocate back to Catt Creek[672]. By 1840, there were at least seven other households of Saponi *Collins*' living clustered in Floyd, with the eldest member being Valentine Collins' mother or sister in law, *Martha Collins*. Four *Gibson* families and six *Sizemore*s also were a part of the county's sizeable Indian and mixed-blood population in that year.

Unlike their parents and their parents' contemporaries, most of the generations under that of old *Valentine* and *Dicy Collins* and *John* and *Cuzzie Cole* in particular would remain in the general area of "Old Floyd" throughout the remainder of the century. Migrations back to Greasy Rock and Stone mountain would continue but, by 1840, the Floyd County contingent of citizen Indians and mixed-bloods were a permanent presence here. These families evidently felt security in this area, socially, politically and economically. Indeed, they had found contentment in Kentucky.

Reinforcing this security would be the many important and lasting land acquisitions were made by the citizen Indians living in the area during the 1830s and 40s, The bounties and benefits accrued from this particular method of strategic accommodation would be shared by all of them as the population of citizen Indians and mixed-bloods here continued to grow. For one, the foundation to permanent "villages" of interrelated Indian families stemmed largely from these acquisitions. And again, it would be members of the old Saponi Collins families that were initially most active on the path[673].

In the fall of 1833 *Valentine "Tiney" Collins* had added another 100 acres to his prior 50 over on Newcomb Fork, technically in Morgan County, and he simultaneously retained his 2000 acres at Catts Creek, some 25 miles away[674]. Old Tiney would, however, pass on around 1845. His relations sold off or abandoned most of old Tiney's

Catt Creek and Newcomb's Forks land. Most of those people associated with Tiney's band would opt to move to the aforementioned Jennies Creek or nearby the upper Licking, possibly because Valentine's son, *Joshua Collins,* previously had received a grant for fifty acres on Jennies Creek in 1829 and had maintained his title there. This land base would begin what would be consolidated into a sizeable Indian community as other joined him there[675]. By 1836, Tiney's son *David* had married a young Indian girl from the Stone Mountain Indian community named *Polly Dale*, and moved their family over to Jennies Creek where he too acquired fifty acres[676]. Most of the other known Indian relations of old Tiney's band quickly joined with these Jennies Creek landowners, while the Cherokee Coles set to acquire land just across the ridge at a place called The Big Lick. There in the mountain wilderness of "Old Floyd County", these citizen Indian families remained relatively unmolested by the non-Indian around them as they all hunted, gathered and gardened this still largely unpopulated part of the Kentucky highlands that they called home.

Although the 1820 census labeled them as "Free Colored", Valentine's Collins' and other related citizen Indians living in "Old Floyd County" were mostly treated as classificatory whites, at least legally, during the first half of the 1800s. Abundant natural resources and a relatively small non-Indian population allowed for frequent movement of their families in a rather large range. And many of the local non-Indian mountaineers shared this lifestyle, and the Indians suffered no negative social stigmas as a result. But despite friendly relations with local whites and even some intermarriage, most of these citizen Indian continued to marry and stay in residential association with Indians of their own "tribe". Indeed, frequent movements of citizen Indian families and individuals

between Floyd County, Greasy Rock and Stone Mountains also continued. The social and economic success of some of these families in Kentucky resulted in members of Valentine Collins' band to begin land acquisitions that would come to form the Jennies Creek and Big Lick Indian villages.

Chapter 7

Burning Springs

While mostly cast as "w" in censuses and tax documents during the first half of the 1800s, Floyd County authorities began casting some as "M", presumably meaning "Mulatto". Even so, other documents continued to show they suffered no social or legal segregations as "non-whites". By the Civil War, the Indians living in the Salyersville area owned land and remained capable of sustaining their large families without being "laborers", as were so many local non-Indians. After the War, these citizen Indian families remained mostly concentrated around two distinct "villages" at the Big Lick and Jennies Creek.

About the time the aforementioned *Littell's* writer was poking around Vardy's Springs at the Greasy Rock Community, the young Cherokee *Charles "Charley" Cole* would "run away" from his mother *Louanna* who was living near there and join up with his Uncle *Billy Cole*'s family and the rest of the citizen Indians in the mountains of Floyd county, Kentucky[677]. Charley would soon after marry one of *Billy* daughters by *Biddie Collins*, *Charlotte "Lottie" Cole.* By 1850 Charley and Lottie and their infant sons *Wallis* and *Shepherd* were living up on the Puncheon or Middle Forks of Licking River with the family of *Margaret (Collins) Auxier*[678]. Both families were apparently tenants in this year, living on the land of one of their nearest white neighbors[679]. Like many of their relations in Floyd County, but in contrast to their kin in Tennessee, these two Cherokee-Saponi families were classified as "M" (presumably meaning Mulatto or Mixed) on the

Floyd County census of this year[680].

The Federal Censuses and other primary documents recorded prior to the Civil War provide a picture of the citizen Indian population at Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain and east Kentucky that contrasts sharply with the image of "Malungeons" that was grow in popular press as was described in Chapter 5. For instance, complicating the 1849 *Littell's* characterization of the people at the Vardy Village of the Greasy Rock Indian Community, described in the previous chapter, was the fact the both the 1840 and 1850 census listed *all* the Indians and mixed-bloods living there as "white"[681]. Up in eastern Kentucky and at Stone Mountain in Virginia their Indian and mixed-blood relations would be inconsistently enumerated as "white" or "mulatto" in those decades[682].

In the 1850 census "Indian" was once again not listed as an official column in which to categorize "citizen Indians". The only classifications made available in this census were "white", "Black" or "Mulatoo". The 1850 federal census did stipulate that county enumerators somehow show "the degree of removal from pure black and white races" for all slaves and the presumably "free black" mixed-bloods among the county population[683]. The enumerator's instructions however included no direction whatsoever about any special identification being required for citizen Indians or their mixed-blood relations, nor regarding Indian "blood quantum". Regardless of the complications involved in interpreting the racial classifications put forth in their enumerations, Federal censuses and similar documents give the best decade by decade snapshot of the demographics and other features of those citizen Indians who would later be known as the "Salyersville Indian Population" in later Federal censuses.

While many citizen Indian in Floyd County were listed as "tenants" on the census,

like the families of *Charley* and *Lottie Cole* and *Margaret Collins-Auxier, none* were listed as "laborers" as were many of their white tenant neighbors. They instead were listed as self-sufficient "farmers", mostly on land which did not lend well to farming except for small plots of corn, beans and squash. The mountains and hollows of Floyd County still held plenty of opportunities for hunting, trapping, fishing and gathering, and it is undoubtedly through these resources the local citizen Indians fed their families and paid their rent. By 1850, at least one of the Cherokee Coles had managed to acquire legal title to some land, that being Lottie's brother *George Cole.* In 1849 this Cherokee-Saponi son of the elders *Billy* and *Biddy (Collins) Cole* had gained title to 50 acres on or near Puncheon Creek, just over the Ridge from the headwaters of the Burning Fork[684].

Interestingly, unlike Charlie and Lottie Cole and Margret Auxier's families, who were shown as being "M", *George Cole*, Lottie's brother, and his wife *Nancy Musgrove,* Charley Cole's half sister, were instead both recorded as "white" in that year. Also living here was old *Billy Anderson Cole*'s and his new family. Billy's first wife, *Biddy (Collins)* had died on a visit back to Greasy Rock some years past, but now Billy was raising a second family of children by a much younger white woman named *Rebecca Watkins*. And, like his son George, "full-blood" Billy and his children by Rebecca were also recorded as "white farmers" in this census[685]. Billy was not shown as having land of his own, and during this time he chose to live as a tenant on the property of his son George, or that of his neighbor *George Fletcher*.

Also among the Indian and mixed-blood families living in and around the Burning Fork in 1850 included that of the young families of Billy Cole's sons *Jerry* and *George*, and *Valentine "Tiney" Cole* and their Indian spouses. Some of the mixed-blood *Perkins*

family could also be found here in 1850, as well a few of the white as well as Indian *Nickels* families now associated with the region, including *Joe* and *Omie* (*Cole*) *Nickels*. Also living along the Burning Fork were *William* and *Elizabeth Nickels* and *John Nickels*, who, like Joe, would marry a daughter of *Billy* and *Biddy* (*Collins*) *Cole*[686]. All were shown as self-sufficient "farmers". The old Indian mixed-blood *Granville Sizemore*, now 75 years old, also lived near these families, and he could now count four generation living beneath him[687]

Notably, with few exceptions most of the Indian and mixed-blood *Collins*, *Gibson* and *Sizemore* families recorded living here in Floyd County in 1850 were also shown among the "white" population on that census[688]. *Lewis Sizemore*, the son of *Goldenhawk*, was the largest landowner with Indian heritage in the county that year, having acquired 1,200 acres by that time. Like all the other Sizemores, he was shown as "white" in this census. The family of old *Bryce Gibson* and his wife *Fannie Green* also remained here.. Bryce and Fannie had moved here recently from the Stone Mountain Indian Community via Greasy Rock. Some of this couple's children who were now adults stayed back with their Grandfather *Thomas Gibson* at the Virginia community, where they were all counted as "white" on this Federal Census regardless of known or asserted blood-quantum[689]. For the rest of this Gibson couple's children that did accompany their parents into Kentucky, they were all recorded as "M" by the Floyd County enumerators. Different from the rest of their citizen Indian peers was also an unique handwritten notation of "Cd" (Colored?) that was written beside this Gibson family's names by the enumerator or some clerk at a later time. Making these "racial" notations even more perplexing is the fact that living next door to Bryce and Fannie Gibson's family was one

of the Indian *Nickels* women, *Mary "Polly"*, and her family by *Sam Matthews*, all of whom were shown as "white". Both of these Gibson and Mathews families were shown in 1850 as being tenants, living as self-sufficient "farmers" on the lands of the prominent county politician, businessman and slaveholder, William J.Mayo, or his immediate neighbor Christopher Walker[690]. Another notable Indian family that was recorded as "M" by the Floyd county enumerator that year were those of elders *John* and *Andrew Moore* who lived at the far end of the county some distance from the Cherokee Coles and the old Saponi families of Collins and Gibson.

This confusion about how to interpret these census records in regards to racial classification stands out. Again, the way in which the aforementioned families and individuals were classified suggests the possibility that the enumerator relied on some "blood-quantum" method to make his decision of how to classify Floyd County's population of Indians and mixed-bloods when no "Indian" category was allowed. A few constants are however demonstrated throughout this census and shared by all these Floyd County Indian and mixed-blood families. One is that all but one of the adults were shown as being "farmers" on the 1850 census. The exception was *Riley Gibson*, who had recently brought his family up to this part of the Kentucky mountains from the Greasy Rock Indian community. He was the only Indian or mixed-blood shown as a "laborer". This is notable, considering that at least a score of white men and women were listed as laborers in the county that year[691]. These families obviously could take care of their own, as the census shows their preference to still reside and marry among their own Indian population, although not unilaterally so.

To better understand later events, it should be noted these "Old Floyd County"

citizen Indians counted among their immediate neighbors a number of white families with strong local reputations here in the mountains. Among them were the Patricks, the Minixs, the Hammonds, and the Adams. Indeed, the Patricks and Adams in particular would come to dominate county politics after Magoffin County was created from this region in 1860. It was on some of Billy Adams' property that "Adamsville", later renamed "Salyersville", was established here on the Licking River decades before. In 1850, the tiny town consisted of only a few houses, a blacksmith shop, a tannery and a trading store. Still, it was the largest, indeed the only town, of its size for about a 20 mile radius. Emptying out just above this small settlement was the Burning Fork, a seven-mile long tributary of the Licking. Scattered among the still sparse white population living along that watershed were a number of the citizen Indian and mixed-bloods in small extended family clusters or individual residences. At this time, their relations also had homes at the head of Middle Creek, and just across the northern ridges was Jennies Creek, where a number of the Saponi *Collins* and *Dale* families had acquired title to modest acreage. The Indians and their mixed blood relations were thus mostly spread through an area of about a ten miles radius from the headwaters of the Burning Fork. Providing a rare commentary on the social and economic atmosphere of the times, at the turn of the century elder mountaineers later remembered how all the people living on the Burning Fork exploited the heat emanating from "The Burning Spring". They recalled how the local community had put a frame building over it, where they dried ginseng, fruit, seasoned lumber and so forth "until the spring ceased burning" around 1859[692].

During the 1850s, the citizen Indians of the area made further efforts to secure more land titles in this small range that crossed two counties. By this time, many of the

Indian *Collins* families living on Jennies Creek just to the north of the Burning Fork had already secured their residences with land titles. But a significant change had occurred in 1843 which separated the Jennies Creek band from those living at Burning Fork. In that year, Johnson County was created and her boundaries cut from, in part, the northern extent of Floyd County and the southern part of Lawrence. This jurisdictional change placed "the Jennies Creek band" in Johnson County, while those on the Burning Fork and upper licking remained in Floyd County jurisdiction. Unfortunately, in the spring of 1853 tragedy struck this otherwise stable community of citizen Indians. A typhoid epidemic swept through the area, and would take the lives of the old Saponi *Joshua Collins*, Josh's son *Elijah*, as well as *Otary Collins'* daughter *Amanda*. Fortunately the epidemic was short lived, and the small community of Indians at Jennies Creek would persevere[693].

In the meantime, a few other scattered families would continue to manage to acquire title to modest acreage elsewhere in the mountains and hollows of Floyd and Johnson Counties. In the spring of 1849, *Bryce Gibson*'s son *Ira Gibson* and his wife *Polly Nickels* gained title to fifty acres on Mill Branch in Floyd County, while the following day his son *Burdell "Bird" Gibson* received title to 200 acres on Big Spring Branch[694]. In the previous winter, the old mixed-blood trapper *Joshua Perkins* had acquired a fairly large tract of 212 acres not far downstream the Licking River from Adamsville off Grape Creek, which located his residence just across the border of Floyd into Morgan County[695]. Joshua was a trapper known locally for his outstanding abilities at that trade and although he owned land, he would wander far and wide from the Red to the Licking Rivers in pursuit of furs during the winter season[696]. *Worth David Collins* would also gain title to 50 acres near Joshua over on White Oak Creek that May[697]. However,

after this little flurry of grants few additional lands would be acquired by these citizen Indians for almost a decade. In the decade prior to the Civil War, most of the local citizen Indian who did not own land continued to live either on the land of their Indian relations off the Burning Fork and Jennies Creek, or temporarily rented small plots from local white landowners elsewhere in the area.

Shephard Cole, the son of *Charley* and *Lottie*, would later recall that during the 1850s "the county were almost a wilderness....and were not as much as a post office" nearer than Prestonsburg, which was some 30 miles from Adamsville where his parents then lived[698]. But by 1857, national events were heading in a direction that would forever change the existing social, political and economic character of this "wilderness". Many American citizens locally, regionally and nationally could undoubtedly smell trouble ahead as rumbles of secession began to grow in many southern states[699].

On the eve of the Civil War, a whole generation of related citizen Indians had now come of age and they knew only this part of eastern Kentucky as their home. Occasional in-migrations to the area by other families from Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain continued, but the trend had slowed. Perhaps because of both of the instability of the greater National social and political climate and the slowly growing birthrates of both whites and citizen Indians in the local area, a number of the latter again strove to acquire more land. In 1857, the Indians families associated with the Jennies Creek band, for instance, moved to purchase a number of small lots that would make their residences there more secure[700].

A few years later, in 1860, another county boundary change occurred that would further influence the future of the citizen Indians in the area. Carved from parts of Floyd,

Morgan and Johnson County, a new county, named Magoffin, would encompass the entire upper extreme of the Licking River watershed. Adamsville, at the mouth of the Burning Fork, was renamed Salyersville as that tiny town became the new county seat. The creation of Magoffin County left most of the Jennies Creek residences in Johnson County, although some spilled into the new county. The other areas that were presently home to significant clusters of the local Indian and mixed-blood families, like the Burning Fork, the Middle Fork and Grape Creek however now fell under this new county's jurisdiction. One effect of the creation of this new county was that a number of people from local white families with long established and friendly ties to the citizen Indian population, would hold the positions of political authority in Magoffin. Some of these men also were among the few merchants in the area prior to the formation of the new county and thus continued to maintain friendly ties of bartering and trade with Indian and mixed-blood clients, as did old Wiley Patrick as his "Trade House"[701].

At the creation of Magoffin, the largest number of citizen Indians found in its boundaries still lived scattered about the new county in clusters of homes or in isolated households. A notable number had consolidated their families in a particular spot called "The Big Lick". Big Lick is a small watercourse tucked in between the ridges dividing the Burning Fork from Middle Creek, leaving Salyersville about 7 miles to the east, Prestonsburg about 10 miles west, and the homes of the Jennies Creek band about 5 miles north. This small mile long "hollow" would occasionally show up on birth certificates from this time forward as being "the Indian Village", although whites and Indians alike usually referred to it simply as "The Lick"[702].

The Federal Census of 1860 shows the Indian "village" community at Big Lick

was dominated by the extended relations of the Cherokee Cole family, and that the "village" population was still quite small. The federal census of 1860 would again record most of the inhabitants there under the racial classification of "M" (mulatto?), as "Indian" was still not provided as an option on the enumerator's form. At "The Lick" lived the families of *Valentine "Tiney"* and *Mariah* (*Gibson*) *Cole*, *Jerry* and *Feribee* (*Collins*) *Cole*, *John* and *Nancy* (Barnett) *Cole*, and young *Hiram "Hiwassee" Cole* who recently married *Elyann Perkins*. Living adjacent was a white named Alex "Elliot" Fletcher and his wife *Lundenney "Len-dea-nea" Castle.* Lundenney was a mixed-blood Cherokee, and this couple would stay in close and friendly association with the neighboring citizen Indians here in the years to come[703]. Old John Montgomery was a white man who lived just outside the Lick, apparently on the Burning Fork, where he operated a gunsmith shop that served both local Indians and whites[704].

The 1860 census enumeration reveals that many other Indian and mixed-blood families lived scattered among the whites for one reason or another. Down the nearby Burning Fork moving closer to Salyersville were living the mixed blood families of *Lewis* and *Mary Perkins*, as well as *James* and *Minerva Perkins*. Old *Margaret (Collins) Auxier* now lived on the Fork, where she was hiring herself out as a "washerwoman". The family of son, *Ezekiel Auxier,* also lived here, as did *Billy Cole* and his wife *Rebecca Watkins* and their large family. Close by lived *George* and *Nancy* (*Musgrove*) *Cole* on land they owned. Staying on their property were *Joseph* and *Omie* (*Cole*) *Nickels*, as well as Joe's mother *Elizabeth* who lived alone with her aging bachelor son *Tom Nickels*. *Charley* and *Lottie Cole* also lived closer to Salyersville than the Big Lick in this year, but evidence suggests they may have been living on the Middle Fork and not the Burning

Fork of the Licking[705].

All of the above named citizen Indians at Big Lick and the Burning Fork were shown as "M" in the year's census and, with the exception of Margaret Collins-Auxier, all were recorded to be self-supporting "farmers". There were however identifiable Indians living elsewhere in Magoffin County. They were variously enumerated as "M" and "white" by the enumerator, and interestingly, most of them marked under the former classification were marked as "laborers" working on the farms of whites. Indeed, the 1860 census reveals a small but significant increase in the number of Indians and mixed-bloods hiring themselves out for labor than in the decade previous. *Riley Cole* was one of them. The young Cherokee was in that year working as a laborer on the farm of Sam Salyer or Zeke Vanderpool. *Dicey Mullins* was the only Mullins in the county noted as "M" that year and she was noted to be a "washerwoman". Interestingly, Dicey was living with her son *Wallace Mullin's* family who instead was recorded by the enumerator as "white"[706]. This suggests that the enumerator was employing a blood quantum rule in making decisions about people's "race".

Goldenhawk Sizemore, George 'Dry Gourd" Sizemore, "Blackhawk" Sizemore, and their immediate relations were all were recorded as "white" in this first Magoffin County census. But perplexingly, so were many direct congenial relations of Indians who were recorded elsewhere as "M", such as *Eliza Nickels'* son *Billy Nickels*, or family of *Jeremiah Cole*, all of whom were shown as "white" and living at the far northwest end of Magoffin[707]. Yet, living nearby were a number of Perkins that were dubbed "M". *Virginia Perkins* was one shown as "M", herself being noted as a "washerwoman" and supporting 5 children on her own. Again suggesting that a blood quantum criteria was

being applied by the enumerator, *Richard "Dickey" Perkins* was also shown as "M", but all of his children by his "white" wife were shown instead as "white". But further enumerations complicate the hypothesis that a blood quantum criteria was the sole criteria being applied to distinguish "M" from "white". *Wallace Perkins* and his Ohio born wife lived next door to Dickey Perkins in 1860, but both Wallace and his wife were shown as "white"[708]. All of the mixed-blood *Trustys* previously shown as "free colored" on past censuses were also shown as "white" in this enumeration, as was the Cherokee mixed-blood family of *John Hale* and *Sarah Fawbush*[709].

This ongoing trend of inconsistently enumerating the "race" or "color" of the citizen Indians and mixed-bloods from decade to decade, and from place to place, seems to indicate that not only a blood-quantum criteria influenced the enumerator's choices of category in which to place individuals, but so did physical appearance and "lifestyle". For Magoffin county census of this year, there would be one notable exception to the county's strict adherence to the official census categories of "white", "black" or "Mulatoo". Shown living near the Cherokee-Saponi families of *Charley* and *Billy Cole* was *Margaret* (*Moore*) *Brown* and her sons *Jim* and *Jeff*[710]. She was originally recorded "white" in the 1860, even though her father was recorded as "mulatto'. She herself had been recorded as "free colored" in the past as had most of the Indian *Moore*s. But some person who apparently had access to the 1860 enumerator's lists before they were returned to the Federal authorities did not like the constraints imposed by these choices. A notation was made later by someone other than the official enumerator, and they had written "Indian" over "white" the column meant for "race"[711]. Margaret's sons however, were left "white" by the corrector with no explanation, although it was undoubtedly

connected to the fact that their father was from a prominent Johnson County white family.

Enumerators in other counties in which the direct relations of these citizen Indians of Magoffin County lived were more willing to write in "Indian" in 1860 when classifying them, even though their census forms also did not offer the category as an option. Breathitt County, hugging the southern border of Magoffin, was one such county that did so, although inconsistently. The family of old *Porter Jackson*, including his children and grandchildren then living with him, were all listed as "Indian" under the white column[712]. Yet, the Saponi Indian families of *Shephard* and *Polly Collins*, and three *Bowling* families originally from Greasy Rock, were all shown to be "white"[713].

Looking closer toward the Greasy Rock-Cumberland Gap areas, it is apparent that the "race" enumeration of the relations of these Magoffin County Indian families continued in a seemingly ad-hoc manner in 1860 censuses. For instance, all of the Indians and mixed bloods associated with the Greasy Rock Indian community were shown as "white" that year. Few of the Cherokee Coles remained in the area by that time. Old *Louanna Cole* had recently passed away at her home near Cumberland Gap, and by 1860 her daughter *Narcisses "Siss" (Cole) Daughtery-Brummett*, aka "*Pipe*", had emigrated to the Cherokee Nation in Indian Territory. There she would be considered "Cherokee" as she received annuities and sent her children to the Cherokee school at Vinson in the Cherokee Nation[714]. Louanna's aging son *John Cole* instead stayed in the mountains and, with his wife Francis Bowman, (shown as a white woman) had chosen to move to the Cumberland Mountain just inside the Kentucky border in Harlan County where they received a designation of "white" on the federal census[715]. However, in the

following two decades, Harlan county enumerators would revert to labeling him "Indian"[716].

Just across the Cumberland Mountain in adjacent Lee County Virginia still lived Louanna's brother *Jack Cole*. He and all of his three generations of descendants by *Katy Gibson* (Saponi Indian) and Peggy Higgins (white, or "French Dutch") living around him here were all recorded "Indian" by that county's enumerators[717]. Jack however would die there in the next few years, and in time of his children would drift up to Magoffin County. Some forty years after this census, Jack's son *Anderson Cole*, then living up in Magoffin County, would report to a Special Commissioner of Indian Affairs appointed to look into Cherokee "claims" about this family. Anderson was born back in 1832 and reported that his father persisted near the Cumberland Gap while most of the rest went to Kentucky because "the Coles" had "...land belonging to us there and traded it to the Government and we never got any pay for it to my knowing"[718]. Anderson recalled how his father pursued these claims until his death in 1862 or 63, and he commented on how the whole situation was "all very sad he never would leave until he got his pay"[719].

Turning back to the Kentucky highlands, the 1860 censuses of other counties bordering the newly formed Magoffin County continue to reveal the extreme range of perspectives held by non-Indians concerning these "citizen" Indians. For instance, all those in living in Floyd County, including the *Moores* and a number of scattered *Collins*, *Gibson, Sexton* and *Bowling* families were recorded as "white"[720]. But as most of their elders still living, such as the aforementioned Moores had been previously and consistently shown as "M" or "Free Colored" and "Indian", the reason for their "white" enumeration was evidently a personal decision by the enumerator C.E. Shepherd, and not

necessarily "degree of blood" or any assertions by the people themselves.

Morgan County, which borders Magoffin to the west, still had a few families of citizen Indians and mixed bloods within her boundaries, particularly near Ditney Ridge near the Magoffin border. That county employed two enumerators in 1860[721]. These enumerators used an even different range of categories by which to classify the citizen Indians and their mixed-blood relations. Morgan County in this year was divided into two "districts" by which they would enumerate the county population. A man named D.D. Sublett was in charge of taking the census in the first district, "Division #1". Sublett would choose to categorize some of the Indians and mixed bloods there as "white", such as *Billy Gibson*, and those people in the household of *Mary Cole* and her mother *Isabelle Nickels*. Old *Dolly Perkins* he however cast as "M" however, while simultaneously showing all of Dolly's twelve children and grandchildren as "white". In contrast, Sublett classified the entire family of *Elijah* and *Dorcus* (*Nickels) Collins* as "M"[722]. In Morgan County "Division #2", the enumerator John Day chose to enumerate all the identifiable Indians and mixed-bloods there as "Black". While uncommon in the mountains, this practice of enumerating Indians and Indian mixed-bloods as "black" or "negroe" was a common practice in the flatlands of southern states like Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas[723]. Perhaps coincidently, the proportion of slaveholders located in this part of Morgan was notably larger by far than in any other of the neighboring counties with Indians and mixed-bloods in their jurisdiction in 1860. Anyway, among those citizen Indians thus enumerated by Day was elder *Bryce Gibson* and his wife *Fannie* (*Green*)[724]. So too were the large families of his sons *Alex* and *Burnell Gibson*. *Mary Nickels* was however recorded as "white" as was her husband Sam Mathews. Old *John Nickels* and

his wife *Omie Cole* were also shown as "black", the first time ever a Cherokee "Cole" had been given this racial classification in the Federal census. Also boasting large families which other documents show asserted a Indian identity or claimed to be of "Indian and white" heritage here in Morgan County were the families of *Stanton Knuckells*, *Ed Phillips* and *William Reffitt*[725]. However, all of them were also shown as "black" on this census[726].

It is also interesting to note that in contrast to their Magoffin County kin, most of the Indians and mixed-bloods living in Morgan County were tenants and "laborers" in 1860, including *Stanton Knuckles, Billy Knuckles, Sam Mathews*, *Fanny* and *Allen Gibson*, *John Nickels* and *Ed Phillips*. Most of these people were however shown with up to a hundred dollars of taxable personal property, probably in horses or livestock. Still, their only landowners in this year were *Elijah Collins* with $200 worth or real estate, and *Burnell Gibson* with a $100 worth[727]. Perhaps it is because of a less stable and less amiable social situation existing in Morgan County that nearly all of the Indians and mixed-bloods living there in 1860 would leave that county during the Civil War.

Friends and Friction in the New County of Magoffin

Significantly, many of the prominent merchants and politicians of the new county of Magoffin, like Billy Adams, Steve Howard, Ben Hammond, William Howard, "Stringer" Bill Risner and John Patrick, were long-time friends of the local population of Indians, and in some cases were affinial relations to them, and the local citizens Indians likely thought favorably of the change in county configuration. County documents

demonstrate that the social and political opportunities increased for those citizen Indians and mixed bloods living in Magoffin's jurisdiction. With friends and relations at high levels in the county's political and social institutions, the Indians' willingness to participate in county affairs was welcomed and would increase.

One notable effect of this is seen in the push for new roads in Magoffin. Some of the Indian and mixed-bloods would obtain important political appointments of "Road Surveyor", and this position was considered a stepping stone to obtaining higher ranks in the county's social and political ranks. The mixed-blood *Granville Sizemore* for instance was given this county job. Having moved to the area from Breathitt County sometime after 1860, in the spring of 1862 he was appointed to take charge of a crew of local citizens whose job was to maintain the road from Bill Oakley Creek to the Breathitt County line[728]. Some of the mixed blood *Howards* and *Carpenters* would quickly rise in county's political ranks by starting through similar positions.

The push for progress by the new county administrators was, however, not without its opposition. One point of tensions was where and how a new flurry of road building activity would take place and would entangle local whites and Indians alike. For instance, early in 1860 the Magoffin county commissioners ordered that a road be surveyed off Poe's Branch leading up to "Uncle" Elijah Patrick's trading store. That September, however, the County Court ordered a summons against a number of white, Indian and mixed-blood men "to show cause why the road shall not pass over their land". Reuben Patrick, Sam Rice and Bill Marshall were among the whites called forth, as were old George Fletcher, Meredith Poe, James and Bill Risner and Ben Howard[729]. Also called forth for resisting the creation of this new road were two Cherokee Saponi men,

Valentine "Tiney" Cole and his brother *John Cole*, both of whom recently acquired title to land near George Fletcher up off the Big Lick. Whether these whites and Indians simply wished to retain the current means of access to their homes, or if this was a case of "not in my backyard" is unknown. How the road issue was resolved also remains unknown. But their objections were not because they wanted to stay aloof or remain in isolation from their county peers, for many of these same white men would later come to hold prominent positions in the county's social and political infrastructure (Rueben Patrick for instance was Deputy to Sheriff Howard in 1862).

By the fall of 1860, another point of tension was arising in the new county regarding the status of children. Laws existed requiring some to be "bound out" for various reasons until the age of 21, such as when 12 year old Robert Wadkins, a white boy, was bound to Sam Salyer that November[730]. Usually such children were either orphans, or their families had been deemed "paupers" or otherwise viewed as unable to care for themselves or their children by the standards mandated by county authorities. On rare occasions, families would voluntarily bind out a child in order that he or she could learn a trade or skill such as carpentry or stonemasonry.

The smaller jurisdiction of the new county of Magoffin now meant a closer scrutiny of the actions and predicaments of the individuals and families living in the rural county. A few of the local Indians and mixed-bloods, like some their white neighbors, began to feel the of this. For instance, the September court of 1860 ordered that "the alias rule be issued against *Spicy Barnett* or *Spicy Auxier*" (*Margaret Collins-Auxier*'s daughter) "to show cause" why her mixed-blood daughter *Bethaney* should not be bound out. At that same court session, *Jane Perkins* was facing a similar ruling that had

previously been held over from an earlier session[731]. Single mothers, be they Indian or not, often had the difficult burden of satisfactorily proving to the court that they could aptly provide for their children, and thus many more women than men were in court defending the right to keep their children from being bound out. But it is also evident from reading the court records that in no way were these attempts to bind out children limited to or even biased towards the Indians and mixed bloods. Indeed, proportionately many more white parents had to deal with the court over this issue than did the local citizen Indians[732].

Another action that the Magoffin County administrators pursued in attempts to "improve" the current county infrastructure that affected the local Indians was to attempt clear up the conflicting maze of haphazardly recorded land titles in this part of the mountains. In the summer of 1861 county officials ordered that all the vacant lands in the county be brought to market and sold at only $2.50 per acre[733]. Some county citizens may have foreseen that this "clearing up" of land titles could potentially restrict their families' abilities to maintain a way of life characterized by subsistence cultivation complemented by hunting, fishing and gathering.

It may have been, in part for the above reasons, possibly in combination with the increasing national tensions regarding succession, that on July 26, 1861, three of the Indians from the *Cole* family, *Charles*, *Hiram* "*Hiawassee*" and *George*, together bought 200 acres of land[734]. The land they purchased was located at the headwaters of Puncheon Fork, up across the ridge from Burning Fork into the Big Lick, and slightly down Middle Creek of the Big Sandy. As previously mentioned, *George Cole*, *Valentine* "*Tiney*" *Cole* and his brother *John Cole* had already acquired small land grants here, but these new

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purchases abruptly and deliberately increased threefold that extended family's landholdings at The Lick.

While the particulars of why and how they decided to buy this land where and when they did remains elusive. But the result was that they had now firmly established recognized title to land on a scale not yet done by the Cherokee Cole families. This strategic location centered on the Big Lick put the small Indian community right between the two county seats of Magoffin and Floyd. Salyersville was an easy seven-mile trek among friendly faces on the Burning Fork, and Prestonsburg was reached by a slightly more difficult 10 mile jaunt following the Middle Creek down into the Big Sandy Valley. This location also placed these Indian landowners, now including at least *Tiney*, *John*, *Charles*, *Hiawassee* and *George Cole*, all within easy access to the Jennies Creek band whose residences were some five miles away in Johnson County. Under the guidance of *David*, *Elijah* and *Joshua Collins* and *Rueban Dale*, the Jennies Creek families maintained and even slowly added steadily to their land titles on that watershed. This deliberate and strategic accumulation of land would centralize and stabilize the residences of local Indians into two "bands" or "village" communities on the Big Lick and Jennies Creek.

The Not So Civil War Between the States

Evidence indicates that most people in the mountain counties of Johnson, Floyd, Magoffin and elsewhere in the mountains wished to remain neutral during the Civil War. But it is apparent that many strove for harmony amongst their county's citizens rather

than pushing the grand national cause. Johnson County even enacted a law making it illegal for any Flag, union or confederate, to be flown above their courthouse[735]. But most people in Magoffin County would be pushed into aligning themselves with one side or the other. Typical of most places in the Appalachia the majority of Magoffin countians would end up supporting the Union's efforts. However, area families committed their men, young and old, into service to fight on both sides, sometimes in the same family. By 1963, the War would had hit Magoffin with full force, and county officials were forced to spread their court records, laws books and other "official" paperwork between the homes of different people "for safe keeping"[736]. As the War gained momentum, the women, children and elders would learn that the violence did not stop on "the front lines". Soldiers thus were sometimes caught between defending their "nation" with an official unit, or defending their home itself [737]. They too would shed blood, sweat and tears as military and guerilla units for both sides repeatedly swept through the mountains in search of enemy soldiers and sympathizers. Soldiers and guerillas often took out their frustrations on their enemy's friends, farms and families. Thus was the social and political atmosphere in which the Salyersville area Indian population found themselves for nearly half a decade.

A number of the local citizen Indian men would serve in the 14th and 39th KY Volunteer Infantry, a Union unit comprised mostly of men from Johnson, Magoffin and Floyd Counties. Indeed, the majority of Indians served on the Union side, but only by a slight margin. These union veterans included *Elijah*, and other sons of *Joshua Collins,* as well as *Pleasant Dale*, *George Perkins*, and a few others. The local *Sizemores* however were more inclined to serve on the confederate side, but not wholly so. And in contrast to

most of their kinsmen, some of the Saponi *Collins* would also fight with Confederate units. *James Jackson Shepherd-Howard* on the other hand would serve in both the Union and Confederate armies before the Wars end. Locally, these men fought at Battle of Big Half Mountain, Ivy Point, and Middle Creek[738]. Others would see action in many states.

Interestingly, I have yet to find a record of any of the Cherokee *Coles* participating on either side of the War. Perhaps I simply have not located the records, or perhaps they managed to avoid conscription and did not volunteer. Other records show that they stayed in Magoffin County, so they did not flee. And while much fight occurred in and around Magoffin County, by both armies and "guerrillas", I have yet to find any documentary or oral evidence of any physical damage being wrought by soldiers or guerillas on the residences of the Salyersville Indian population. Yet, the local and nation strife undoubtedly affected their people's well-being. The closest thing I can find concerning any wartime participation by any of the Cole family involved elder *Billy Anderson Cole*. George did not serve in the War, but the Pension application of *George Perkins,* an Indian Union "Scout", shows that while he was in service he twice was brought to Old Billy, who was described as an "Indian doctor" and successfully brought Perkins back to health[739].

As with all wars, personal tragedies in one's homeland often leave scars far deeper that those stemming from the soldiers' duties on the "front lines". Following the War, the Salyersville area citizen Indians and their mixed blood relations would find themselves in a world still rife with tension and animosities stemming from the conflict. Taking sides during the war tested family and neighborhood bonds and the greater social atmosphere in which the citizen Indians lived. But despite these potential obstacles to the

future stability of the Salyersville area Indian population, the strategic accommodations made by them would prove able to maintain harmonious relations with their non-Indian neighbors.

(Re)Constructions

After the War Between the States ended, the frequent migrations of the Indians living around Salyersville to their kin at Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain would slow significantly when compared to the decades before the war. For one thing, travel in the mountains was risky in the years immediately after Lee's surrender at Appomattox because, in some localities, "highwayman" were still taking advantage of the unstable social, political and economic conditions in the hills. Moreover, many people came away from the war economically destitute and emotionally exhausted. Beside grieving, homes, fields and fences had to be fixed, stocks had to be replenished, and these tasks surely occupied most people's time. Local commerce and trade was probably curbed significantly as a result of war damages. The counties were also broke, with few funds available for law enforcement or rebuilding basic infrastructure like roads and schools. Indeed, in many mountain counties most institutions, from the farm to the courthouse, had to be rebuilt altogether. It would take some time for former enemies to rebuilt trust, and these things had to be reconciled before daily life in the mountains could return to a state similar to that before the war.

Despite these incentives to keep the Salyersville Indians from spending time amongst their kin at the sister communities at Stone Mountain or Greasy Rock, a small

number of Indians and mixed-bloods from the latter points did find cause to leave Virginia and Tennessee for the Kentucky highlands between 1861 and 1870. *Elbe "J.B." Collins*, the grandson of old Vardy Collins from the Greasy Rock Indian community was one who followed this path[740]. *George Biggs* had also moved to Magoffin from the Greasy Rock Indian community just prior to the War[741]. But while migrations to and from Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain and the Salyersville area diminished, and new migratory path was beginning. A few families of Indians from the Magoffin-Morgan county area had opted to move up across the Ohio near a small non-Indian town named Carmel just prior to the onset of the war (see below).

The Salyersville area Indian population itself grew dramatically after the war, mostly through the coming of age of an exceptionally large generation. And the only economic or social problems that made it to court in the immediate post-war years involved just a few who were resisting having their children "bound out" at that time. *Tempy McCarty*, the Indian widow of the a local cooper, Tom McCarty, found herself in such a position. Tempy had three young children with Tom before he died sometime before the summer of 1864. Then in June of that year, the court ordered 46 year old Tempy to "show" why her children *Eliza* and *Peter* should not be bound out[742]. Apparently they were bound out, for they were not shown as living with Tempy in 1870. The widow, by that time, had left the old cooper's place in Salyersville and had moved in with *Joe* and *Omie Nickels* at the Big Lick Indian village[743].

Not all such cases ended with the separation of parents and children, however. In the spring of 1865, *Etha Collins* and *Peggy Collins-Auxier* were similarly brought before the county authorities to argue why their children should not be bound out. But they

were able to call on Etha's father *Shephard "Shep" Collins,* and Peggy's eldest grown son *Tiney Collins-Auxier* to vouch for their extended family's willingness and ability to support their minor children[744]. Apparently such kinship support was deemed acceptable by county authorities, for neither of these Indian women's children are shown as bound out in documents of later years.

It should be noted that in both scale and frequency, many more white families were having to deal with the potential of having the court order that their children be bound out than were the Indian families of the area. Aside from their notable absence from recorded social tensions, economic hardships and local conflicts, what is significant about the Salyersville Indian population in the post war years is their growing participation in the broader social, economic and political affairs of the county. This participation would serve to sustain and strengthen the friendly relations between local non-Indians and growing Indian population. Their actions would not only help to successfully sustain the primary Indian Communities at Big Lick and Jennies Creek during these potentially disruptive years, but would also strengthen the cohesion of the entire Indian and mixed-blood population living in the region.

For example, some of the mixed-blood *Perkins*, *Howard* and *Sizemore* men in particular would gain a politically appointed "road surveyor" position. In the summer of 1864, *Wiley Perkins* for instance assisted his neighbor Jesse Gullett in performing such civic duty[745]. That same summer *Tom Perkins* was appointed surveyor of a road off the Licking River. Road work required that all able bodied men whose residences fell under a road surveyors jurisdiction to "volunteer" a certain amount of their time during the year helping to maintain local roadways. A Indian surveyor like Tom was thus given some

power over his non-Indian neighbors, as he was allowed "to have all hands" living along the road "to assist" with surveying, building and maintenance[746]. Significantly, not once in the records is there a single instance where any of the local non-Indians resisted the orders of surveyors who were Indian or mix-blood in the ensuing years.

Besides gaining such surveyor appointments, there are other indications of the rising social status of the local Indians in the post-War atmosphere of Magoffin county. The Cherokee-Saponi *Valentine "Tiney" Cole* had acquired enough monetary resources and social respect amongst the local non-Indians that he was allowed by the court to provide "securities" for certain white defendants in 1864[747].

A similar example is evident from court records from early in the winter of 1867 which shows that Cherokee elder *Billy Cole* and his son-in-law *Joe Nickells* were asked to support and sign a petition to the Kentucky Governor with a number of prominent local white men. In doing so, they joined county attorney J.E.Cooper, J.P. and Jerry McCarty, a number of men from the locally prominent Gullett family, and over 50 other non-Indians who were requesting a pardon for Wiley Adams, a non-Indian who had been fined twice for committing adultery during the War (with a women he then married after the conflict was over)[748]. Such incidences show that the local Indians were not socially isolated within the county, and their word and reputation was worth something to the local whites.

As the county recouped from the trauma of the War, the issue of land again became important at the county and family level. The Magoffin County Indians were no exception in that they too again become concerned with land titles. Some may have received Military land warrants from service in the Union forces, as did Reuben Howard

who was one of many local men that, through these warrants, was granted 200 acres of "vacant and unappropriated land in Magoffin" for a token sum of $5.00[749]. Regardless of how they acquired it, in the winter of 1866, elder *Lewis Perkins*'s son *Isaac* received a grant for 120 acres on the Licking just inside the Morgan County border, as did *Jilson Perkins*[750]. Across the opposite boundary of Magoffin, *Simon Collins* acquired a 343-acre grant on Chestnut Lick in Floyd County[751].

The most significant and strategic movement towards the consolidation of Indian land however continued around the Big Lick Indian Village area. Picking up where they started on the eve of the Civil War, a number of men from the *Cole* family again made efforts to increase their people's land holdings at the Big Lick Village in 1869. Initiating the purchases was *Hiram "Hiwassee" Cole*, who was granted fifty acres on the Big Lick in January of that year[752]. Then May 3 of that year, *Billy Cole*, *George Cole* and *Manuel Cole* all received titles amounting to over one hundred more acres in and around the vicinity of the Big Lick Indian Village, over fifty of which ran along both Big Lick and Bear's Fork, and onto the Middle Creek into which the aforementioned tributaries flow[753]. Continuing this strategic move toward consolidation through land acquisition, *Hiram* and *Jerry Cole* acquired another 45 acres on the Big Lick only one month later[754]. Land acquisition at the Big Lick Indian village was not limited to actions by the Cherokee Cole men. By 1870, *Joe* and *Omie (Cole) Nickels* for instance had gained title to 60 acres of their own land there, while young *Green Nickels* and his wife *Omie* (*Perkins*) had acquired another 75 acres on or adjacent to the Big Lick[755].

Legally secure, the "Indian Village" at The Lick would remain stable and distinct for nearly a century beyond this point. Here in the late 1800s, hunting and gathering local

flora and fauna was still good here[756]. Being located at the crest of two major watersheds, there were a number of springs along the Lick which supplied both the people and the wildlife with fresh water, and kept the Lick flowing into the Middle Creek except in the driest of summers. Ginseng and other herbs were bountiful and accessible for both personal use and trade to local dealers. And while limited in space and frost free-growing time, there was just enough bottomland for gardens where corn, cane, beans and squash were grown as mainstays in their subsistence based family economies. The Lick was also strategically located off the main road from Salyersville to Prestonsburg, allowing easy access to these points while still keeping the community isolated enough that hunting, gathering and gardening could go on relatively unhampered.

Following these land acquisitions around the Big Lick Indian Village, the next major strategic accommodation promoted by the Indians there was the establishment of "The Cole's Schoolhouse", named after the most prominent family surname prevailing at the Lick. Exactly when, why and how the school was built here at the Indian Village unfortunately remains elusive, but by the spring of 1869, it was up and running and providing the children of that Indian community some elementary levels of education[757]. Just as importantly, the structure itself served other functions for those families that lived in the Big Lick. It could and would often serve as an public meeting place for the local community and marriages and other religious and social occurrences were held there by the citizen Indians almost immediately upon its establishment[758].

A Review of the 1870 Federal Census and the Salyersville Indian population.

The 1870 Federal census gives an interesting but complicated picture of the Salyersville area Indian population spread from the Big Lick Village over to Jennies Creek. Once again, different local enumerators chose to racially classify these Indians and mixed-bloods by various categories, but notably this was the first year that "Indian" was officially added to the federal census as a classification. Those Salyersville Indians living on the Johnson County side would be classified as "Indian", while their siblings, parents, and so forth living on the Magoffin county side were simultaneously enumerated as either "white" or "M"[759]. Further complicating this census picture, those few scattered Indian and mixed blood families living across the Floyd county line were unilaterally classified as white by those counties' enumerators[760]. That different "racial" classifications were, in part, given simply because of the different perspectives and biases of the enumerators themselves is certain. But the inconsistencies also suggest that the population did not have a clear "racial" identity by which they could be easily classed by enumerators. For example, in the 1870 Magoffin County census enumerations, one particular thing of note is that all of the Indians living at the Big Lick Indian Village were classified as "M", regardless of blood-quantum, a practice which for some reason was not applied to their consangiunial relations elsewhere in the county[761]. Just as interesting, those Salyersville Indians who, while technically living in a part of the Big Lick Village, found that their residences a few hundred yards down on Middle and Coles Creek were across the line in Floyd County were simultaneously recorded as "white" by Floyd County enumerators.

But even with these discrepancies in "racial" classifications, the county censuses reveals other penitent information regarding the Salyersville area Indian population. For instance, it records 55 people as "M" at the Big Lick Indian village. The census also shows that their residences included many extended relations, a feature that often typified Salyersville Indian households. Altogether, they owned more than 556 consecutive acres of taxable property in and around the village, and thousands of acres of "vacant" mountain land surrounded that. The census also reflects a modest ownership of horses[762].

In 1870, these 31 people recorded as "M" at the Big Lick Indian Village included the elder Cherokee *Billy Anderson Cole*. Now nearly 80 years old, he was still capable, and competent and even officially married his long-time common-law white wife *Rebecca "Biddy" Watkins* in this year[763]. Other elders shown living at the village included *Elizabeth Perkins*, now 65 years old, who lived with her son-in-law *Green Nickels*. The widow *Tempy McCarty* and her son *Buck McCarty* lived with the large family of *Joe* and *Omie Nickels. Lewis Perkins* and *Valentine Cole's* wife *Mariah (Collins-Gibson)* were also shown as heads of large households at the Lick[764]. The large families of *James* and *Minty (Montgomery) Cole* and that of *Manuel Cole* also lived along the Big Lick. But while these two families were enumerated as "M" by that county's enumerator, the family of James and Manuel's brother *George* and *Nancy* (*Musgrove*) *Cole,* as well as that of their cousin, *Harrison Cole*, all of who lived just across the Floyd County border, were instead enumerated as "white" by that county's census taker[765].

The racial classifications given by the census taker regarding the Salyersville area Indians in Magoffin are notably inconsistent in their classifying them as "M" or "white".

That the enumerator in Magoffin this year was carefree in his "racial" classifications is evident in the fact the few white spouses (proven so from many corroborating documents) found among the Indians here were recorded the same as their husbands, that is as "M". Still, other useful demographic data can be ascertained regarding these scattered families. For instance shown living down the Burning Fork not far from the Big Lick were the grandsons of Old *Thomas Gibson* from Stone Mountain Indian community, *Kiah* and *Squire Gibson*[766]. They moved here from their parent *Bryce* and *Fannie (Green) Gibson*'s old home in Morgan county. The two large households of Squire and Kiah held 21 people, all of whom were classified as "M" like their relations at the Big Lick Indian village. But, in contrast to the latter families, Squire and Kiah were shown to be "tenants".

The 1870 census also shows living some 7-10 miles west of Salyersville at least four *Perkins* families near Grape Creek and Ditney Ridge, while a few more homes of that family lived across in the line in Morgan County[767]. The family of *James* and *Manervy Perkins* then owned 237 acres as well as some horses and cattle[768]. The entire household was classified as "M" by the census taker. Yet, their daughters *Christina* and *Rebecca*, who were raising a number of children between them in a small house on their parent's land, were instead recorded as "white". Indeed, the enumerator apparently had quite a time classifying the Indian and mixed-blood Perkins'. Living nearby was *Jane Perkins* and her children, and *George Perkins*, who lived on 145 acres and held some livestock. All were shown as white. George's wife *Biddy Cole-Watdkins* was however shown as "M". Their children were classed as "white" like their father, hinting that a "blood-quantum" criteria was being applied by the enumerator at least in this case[769].

The last conglomeration of citizen Indians caught in the Magoffin census taker's web of the "M' versus "white" classifications of this year were living up the Middle Fork of the Licking near the village of Gullett. Here remained *Charley* and *Lottie Cole*, who had apparently done quite well for themselves over the years. At this point they had eight healthy children approaching adulthood and had acquired title to 214 acres here, as well as $113 worth of horses and/or livestock. *Jerry* and *Barbary* (*Collins*) *Cole* lived here with Charley and Lottie and had 5 children of their own. And as with their relatives on the Big Lick, they too were all classified as "M". Yet, living just downstream, Charley and Lottie's young son *Apperson* and his wife *Sarah* (*Collins*) were recorded as white, as were *Wilson* and *Sarah Cole*'s family living a bit further away. *Hiram* and *Anna* (*Perkins*) *Cole*, living closer to Charley and Lottie also received the "M" classification, as did their neighbors *W.R.Cole* and his wife *Margaret* (*Adams-Williams*). Rounding out the Middle Fork population of citizen Indians shown as "M" was *Mariah Cole*, who was living with *Polly Nickels* (who he would later marry), Polly's brother *Calvin Nickels,* and the two old spinsters *Nancy* and *Frankey Nickels*[770].

There were also numerous Saponi *Collins* families living in Magoffin, particularly towards the Johnson County line, but all were all classified as "white". However, all their consanguine relations living in neighboring Johnson County, most of whose homes were only five to seven miles from Big Lick, were being counted as "Indian", as were the rest of the Indians and mixed-bloods living at Jennies Creek[771].

That the 1870 Federal Census for Johnson County shows that the largest residential concentration of the Jenny's Creek band was headed by the late *Valentine* and *Dicy Collins'* son *David Collins,* held title to 300 acres of land. Indeed, the old Saponi Collins

families were the most prominent among this segment of the Salyersville area Indian Population. David was now nearly 70 and, like his wife *Polly* (*Dale*), had been born back at the Stone Mountain Indian Community. Living adjacent this couple were elder *Oatery* and *Francis "Frankey" Collins*, both of whom had been born back at the Greasy Rock Indian community. All were classified as "Indian", as was their daughter *Eliza.* But interestingly Eliza's three children by a non-Indian Blanton man, from whom she had separated, were recorded as white[772].

Not having land of their own, *Oatery* and *Franky Collins* apparently lived on David's land as probably many other Indians did from time to time[773]. Also recorded as "Indian" and living in a separate house on Old David's property was *Livley Jackson* who was raising six children as a single mother. Other people recorded as "Indian" here included *Peter* and *Rachael Collins.* They lived on the property of either *Andrew* and *Cynthia Collins*, who owned 150 acres, or *George* and *Lydia* (*Collins*) *Collins*, who owned another 125 contiguous with old David's. The latter two couples were also shown as "Indian". Rounding out this segment of the Jennie's Creek segment of the Salyersville area Indians was the family of *Mary (Collins) Caudill- Salvage,* the widow of Hiram Collins. Mary retained title to 200 more acres on which she was raising her four children. All five were counted as "Indian" in the census.

The aforementioned seven households of 39 "Indians" comprised only one residential core of the Jennie's Creek band, as the census taker counted six more "Indian" households embracing another 43 individuals, but living closer to Paintsville in the Jennies Creek precinct[774]. The eldest members of this second contingent was 67 year old *Rueben Dale* and his wife *Tabitha* (*Collins),* both of whom lived at the Stone Mountain

Indian Community as kids. Rueben and Tabitha's household was filled with children and grandchildren in 1870, and they lived on the lands of their relation *Elijah Collins*, who held title to 800 acres. Elijah was also recorded as "Indian", but the census taker correctly noted that his wife *Nancy* (Ratliff) was "white". The enumerator however chose to cast the couple's six children as "Indian". Living close by were *Berry* and *Chaney* (*Cole*) *Dale*. Their own family of six were all noted as "Indian", and shown to be living as tenets on Fitzpatrick family land. The only "Indian" listed in that year shown working as a servant in the 1870 Johnson County census was young *Amanda Cole*. Amanda was working and/or living in the household of 80 year old *Fanny Fitzpatrick*, who was also noted as "Indian" in that census[775].

There were only three more households that had people enumerated as "Indian" in the Johnson county census in 1870. One was the household of old *Eliza (Dale) Collins,* the widow of *Joshua Collins*. Eliza maintained title to 200 acres where she lived with her daughter *Eliza Welsh*. Despite their father's being white, Eliza's four children were notably enumerated as "Indian" like their mother and grandmother. Also living off by themselves were *William* and *Levinia* (Ratliff) *Collins'* family of nine, all of who were classified "Indians" even though other evidence shows Levinia was white. By 1870 William owned 2000 acres, making him the largest Indian landowner in either Magoffin or Johnson counties. Owning 600 acres himself, William's brother *Allen Collins* and his "white" wife *Phoeba* (Ratliff) were also in the county. Their 5 children were all listed as "Indian" as was their father. Rounding out the Indian enumeration that year were young *Jahew* and *Julia Collins,* who were temporarily living as a tenant family on the lands of either Dan Ward or Porter and Saphah Hitchcock[776].

The large number of Salyersville Indians living in Johnson and Magoffin Counties, reflects, among other things, that most of these citizen Indians remained mostly clustered around the two primary communities such at Big Lick and Jennies Creek[777]. As a whole, the group was not "disappearing". The stability of their large families and distinctive communities shown through these censuses testifies to the fact that their ongoing strategic accommodation to the social, political and economic conditions around them had thus far been quite successful. However, despite these successes a few of the Salyersville area Indians had opted to relocate to Ohio in the decade prior to 1870. There they founded what would become known in some later literature as the "Carmel colony" of "Magoffin Indians", and as they maintain intimate contact with their Kentucky relations well into the next century, they deserve mention here.

Recall the families who were noted living across the county line from Magoffin in Morgan County in 1860 (see above). It would be primarily those families who, for some unknown reason, would decide to move to Highland County Ohio, some 125 miles north of Salyersville during that decade. Here where the Appalachian foothills meet the Ohio flatlands, over a half-dozen Salyersville Indian families settled outside the small hamlet of Carmel. Some Twentieth century local histories speculate that these Salyersville area Indian migrants merged with remnant Shawnee families still living here at that time[778]. But with no confirming evidence to back this claim, the suggestion remains speculation. But by scanning the 1870 Highland County census, it is easy to ascertain some characteristics of this emigrant band[779]. The birth dates of these 8 families' children, which were clustered as "tenants" and "laborers" among the white population, show that most of them had come up from Kentucky in 1864. However one of their number, *Mrs.*

Margaret Gipson was shown as being 21 years old and having been born in Ohio, suggesting that the Salyersville area Indians had even earlier contact with people from this area[780].

As with the Magoffin enumerator of this year, but in contrast to their Floyd and Johnson County counterparts, the census taker Highland County would choose to use "M" to racially classify the 41 new Kentucky Indian immigrants he found in Brushe Creek Township, but the Highland County enumerator was careful in noting "white" spouses among them. *Francis "Frankey" Gibson* for instance had recently married a local white man, a wagon maker named Charles Clover. Their infant child would however be classified as "M" like the mother[781]. Living next to that family was Francis' mother *Cynthia Gibson*, who shared tenant housing with Cynthia's son *Allen* and her four adult daughters, and young *Henry Jackson*. Another Salyersville area Indian family was one headed by 33 years old *Rebecca Perkins* with children *Sam* and *Gilla*. All were shown as "M" on the census[782].

It is interesting to note that 6 of these 8 migrant families to Ohio were headed by men or women over 50 years of age, some of the oldest members of the Salyersville Indian population. Furthermore, none owned land, but instead were all shown as "tenants" and "farm laborers". *Sam* and *Polly Mathews* were apparently now over 60 year old, and were supported by 4 adult daughters who joined them here in Ohio. They lived next door to *Henderson Gibson*. Originally hailing from the Greasy Rock Indian community back in Tennessee, Henderson had briefly spent time in Magoffin County during the Civil War. After the War he married *Milly* down in Kentucky, and together they had six children before they chose to move on again to the Carmel area. Living

nearby was his kinsman, *Ira Gibson*. *Ira* was now 55, but was living with his 23 year old wife *Sarah* and now had 3 young children by her. Shown living with them in 1870 was 3 year old *Mary Wireman* who Ira apparently adopted. *Eve Gibson,* an adult, also lived with Ira & Sarah that year. Again, all the aforementioned were classified as "M" on that Hardin County census[783].

The census figures associated with the family of *Ira* and *Sarah Gibson* demonstrates that these Salyersville Indians had maintained contact, even residences, with their kin back in Kentucky. That . Furthermore, their eldest son *Bruce* was shown as having been born in Ohio in 1859, but the census taker noted that their sons *Wes* and *Nelson* were born in Kentucky in 1861 and 1863[784]. The family then returned to Hardin County prior 1870. This family's vital statistics demonstrate the type of back and forth movements that would continue from the greater Salyersville area to that of the Carmel vicinity until at least the 1950s. The motivations for these movements in these early years however remain elusive, as the vast majority of Salyersville Indian preferred to remain in the Magoffin-Johnson County areas back in the mountains

After the Civil War, locally generated census and tax documents show that the Salyersville Indians were externally perceived as mostly "Indian" or "M", but occasionally as "white" and in a few instances, "black". The Indian families themselves stayed organized through their intense interfamily relations and corporate movements such as buying land as a group and the ongoing preference for marrying and residing among their own "tribe" proves this to be true. That this was not a forced segregation is, however, proven by the fact that some continued to marry among prominent local "white" families with no social stigma suffered by either. Helping this local social status,

the Indians of the Salyersville area became more involved in county affairs, especially after the formation of Magoffin County. Indeed, so successful had the Indians become in sustaining their own families that, during the depressing and volatile years of Reconstruction, the Indian population as a whole mostly avoided the "pauper" and criminal issues that entangled so many non-Indian mountaineer families in these years. With a large land base, at least one school, and friendly ties with the county political and social elite, the interrelated family groups that comprised the Salyersville Indian population would continue to grow in size and strength throughout the remainder of the century.

Chapter 8

Politics, Paupers and "Civilized (Self-Supporting) Indians"

During the 1870s and 80s, the Salyersville area Indian families continued to be typified by high birthrates, large extended family households, and a continued preference for marrying and living among people of their own "tribe". This is particularly notable among the families living at the Big Lick and Jennies Creek Indian Villages, as well as the newer community established by a few of their families up near Carmel, Ohio. Indeed, documents suggest that the kin network providing social and economic support was strong enough among the families at these "villages" that they would continue to mostly avoid the "pauper" problems that others would more often face when living scattered among the white population. Externally generated documents like census continued to classify the people as "Indian", "white" and "M" with no apparent logic or consistency. But family reputation here was strong enough to allow for some Salyersville Indians to rise in the ranks of the county political, social and economic institutions. They even produced a Magistrate and an election sheriff in precincts that held mostly non-Indian voters.

As had been demonstrated, seldom had any of the Salyersville Indians living in Johnson and Magoffin counties been shown as laborers in 1860's and 1870s census, even when they were among the few who were living as tenants on non-Indian land. In contrast scores of "whites", and most of the few local "blacks", were shown as "laborers". Proportionate to their population, the local Indians presented fewer laborers than did the rest of the county population. Instead, the Indians were given the loose

occupational classification of "self-sufficient farmers" by local census takers, living on land barely suited to that pursuit. Most of them were subsistence farmers at best, complimenting their agricultural pursuits with hunting, trapping, and gathering of natural resources.

Court documents emanating from this time also demonstrate that no notable conflicts were arising between the local Indian and the non-Indian population, and that they were mostly a stable and self-supporting population. Marriage, birth and death records also allow some generalizations to be made regarding certain facets of the Salyersville area Indian population during this time. For one, such data further complicates the census's shifting classifications of "race". For example, surviving birth and death certificates record the Salyersville Indians under the "race-color" column variously as "Indian", "copper", "free colored", and "white"[785]. Never was "M" or mulatto used on these documents as the census takers had often done.

By 1870, the Salyersville Indian population was not only steady and stable, but was growing due to high birth rates. Their population was typified by large, healthy extended family households, a least half of whom were self-supporting landowners. And the majority of the local area Indians continued to marry other Indians and mixed-bloods. However, a few families and individuals, like the prolific *Sizemores* and *Perkins* in particular, had for generations tended to marry whites. Indeed, nearly every local Indian family could count a white somewhere among their affinial relations. Such Indian to white marriages reveal friendly relations with local non-Indians, and it is notable that the spousal exchange did not have a gender bias. Internal racial biases based on marriages other than "Indian" to "white" are harder to ascertain. In 1870s, the first confirmed

marriage of a black woman to a local Indian man occurred as *Hiram Collins* took *Chaney Caudill* as his third wife[786]. Chaney had been a slave of one of the white Caudills prior to the Civil War, and was one of a score of the been 61 "black slaves" recorded in the county just prior to the War who stayed in the county after emancipation. Hiram and Chaney had no children together, and they would later divorce and both remarry. But in the 1880s and 1890s, there would occur at least three other marriages of Saponi *Collins* associated with the Jennies Creek band to members of these local "black" families[787].

Old Floyd County militia rosters spanning from 1800 to the 1870s aid in developing a better picture of Indian non-Indian interaction, status, and paper identities in this part of eastern Kentucky at this time[788]. For instance, none of the few black men or men with African heritage then living in the county in 1870 are shown on the militia lists for 1872-73, for blacks were not allowed to be enrolled in the Floyd County Militia until 1877[789]. Citizen Indians and "whites" with recognized Indian heritage were enrolled however long prior to that year[790]. Most notable to this discussion are *James* and *George Cole* who, while technically owning lands that were part of the Big Lick Indian Community, found themselves actually living across the Magoffin county line and thus in Floyd county jurisdiction. Other known citizen Indians and mixed-bloods also shown as enrolled militia men were *Pleasant Dale*, as well as nearly two dozen Indians and mixed-bloods of varying degrees of Indian heritage from the *Sexton, Sizemore, Moore, Gibson, Bowling* and *Collins* families[791]. All were descendants of the old Indian families from New River, Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain . These militia lists show that, unlike the few blacks who lived in county, the Indians and people of Indian-white heritage did not suffer any legally or socially imposed segregation when it came to militia enrollment.

These militias demonstrate the Indians' ongoing participation in such civic duties as full citizens.

Recovering from the Civil War presented greatest challenge to both family and community stability, which were intrinsically bound in mutual support for most non-Indians in the Magoffin County area. Its negative effects were still being felt well into the Reconstruction years. Furthermore, in the 1870s, the county still remained in most senses of the word a "wilderness", and many people who had to rebuild from scratch from the War years simply did not have the resources or support to do so. The funds were usually not there for the county to aid them either. One result of this was that the local "pauper" population in east Kentucky had grown considerably, even though the war was nearly a decade past. In Magoffin and the surrounding counties, most of these paupers were white. Relative to their numbers, few of them were local Indians. This strongly suggests that the people of the Salyersville area Indian population continued to be able to provide for their own families despite the hardships many of their neighbors were experiencing. Still, as we shall see, even some Salyersville Indians would find themselves in the position of "pauper" occasionally through the final decades of the 19th century.

The internal county social tensions and economic problems persisting during the reconstruction years often acted themselves out on a very personal family and community level. Sometimes, fights would ensue and they provided the fodder for the still common, but grossly over exaggerated, stereotypes about mountain "feuds. But in defense of the non-Indian mountaineers, it should be reiterated that the overwhelming majority took part in no violent actions. The occurrence of such incidences were in reality no higher than anywhere else in the State and her flatland cities. The mountaineers just got more press

and this amplified the "flatlanders" image of "mountain feuds"[792].

Magoffin county however mostly escaped the headline making incidents that arose from the tensions between local "progressives" and more "traditionally" oriented non-Indian citizens. No "feud" incident ever directly involved any of the Indians from the Salyersville area, either. There was, however, one possible exception that had the potential to erupt into social tension on a family-community scale. In that case, tragedy struck one day in 1877 when *A.J. Cole* was brutally attacked on the road to Salyersville. A.J. was rushed to Wesley Whittaker's house where he was reported to be "suffering and confined to bed from the effects of wounds and cuts he received from some of the Josephs"[793]. A.J.'s wife, *Elizabeth* (also an Indian), and their two children stayed in the Whittaker's house for 16 days with A.J. as he recovered. But this incident did not erupt into any "feud", so this singular unfortunate incident thus cannot be construed as "feuding".

Notably this is the first violent incident I have found concerning any of the Indians from Big Lick, while dozens can be found involving local whites in the same time period. But with the slowly growing interest by outsiders in industrial resource extraction, problems would be exacerbated for many families and communities as they tried to resist, welcome, ignore, or otherwise accommodate such changes[794].

Magoffin county court records and other documents reflect that by the late 1870s, non-Indian citizens in that county were experiencing other tensions emerging from pressures some progressives and missionaries were placing on the more traditional "mountain" way of life. Pressure particularly focused on the time-honored tradition of the home-based distilling of whiskey, a practice that was commonly known as

"moonshining". Although none of the Salyersville Indian population were named as participants, one incident recounted in Earl Dabney's book Mountain Spirits, a Chronicle of Corn Whiskey, is illustrative of the growing conflict between law and long standing culturally and socially accepted local traditions, even though the story is likely embellished considerably from reality[795]:

Dabney describes how U.S. Marshall John Wyatt, a well known revenuer, "waged a relentless campaign against moonshiners in the mountains of Eastern Kentucky... carrying a old worn pocket-book filled with warrants". As the story goes, during the holiday week of 1877 Wyatt and five assistants, all "heavily armed", descended upon suspected distilling operations around the border of Breathitt and Magoffin counties. The Marshall and his men crept into a particular hollow that was said to be "a known site of wildcat stills", and found the still they were after. It appeared that nobody was around, so Wyatt and the men set to destroying the fermentors and dumping the mash onto the ground. But as they set to work, according to Dabney "...30 or 40 mountain men -with rifles in hand- popped up on the rim of the cove". Wyatt and his men dashed for cover in the log-still house, undoubtedly anticipating a deadly shootout. Dabney however describes how at that time,

> "...the bearded mountain leader, Levi Patrick, laid down his rifle and met Wyatt halfway, then reached reconciliation. The moonshiners invited the entire Wyatt group to spend the night, and the following day through a magnificent barbecue. It turned into a rip-roaring affair, with fellowship enlivened by keg after keg of "mountain dew". Wyatt

and his men left rejoicing- but without any prisoners, apparently part of the deal"[796].

This story is only one of many similar incidents that would occur in the area for the next half century. Indeed, many local people would resent the harsh manner in which this once respectable and long held cultural practice was being suppressed by government, missionary and outside business interests. And right or wrong, many argued that it stimulated family economies. Smart men like Patrick and Wyatt knew that such an ingrained tradition as was moonshining could not be simply eradicated overnight, even at gunpoint. Indeed, despite numerous "Crackdowns", many mountain folk continued to feel, if it reconciled with their personal religious beliefs, that it was their right to continue doing what their ancestors had been doing for hundreds of years. Many mountaineers would continue to see tensions over this particular issue act out at both national and local levels in the coming decades and into the century to come, and the Salyersville Indian would be no exception.

The Salyersville Indian Population in 1880

The successful efforts of the Salyersville Indian families in maintaining community and economic stability in the 1870s is further confirmed with a quick glance at the 1880 Federal Census. The Magoffin census of this year shows not only geographic continuity from the decade prior, but also that the Indian population was still growing in population due to the high birthrates that still typified their families.

Fifteen "households", numerically dominated by the Cherokee *Cole* family, were shown associated with the Big Lick Indian Village in the 1880 Magoffin census[797]. The number of Indians and their mixed blood relations living at the Big Lick Indian village alone now numbered 92 individuals, while at least an equivalent number, mostly dominated by the old Saponi *Collins* families, stayed associated with the Jennies Creek area just across the Johnson County line. Many more were scattered about the area. But unlike the Johnson County enumerator who classified them as "Indian", Magoffin and Floyd County enumerators still did not opt to use the "Indian" classification[798]. Floyd County cast them all as "white", while the Salyersville Indians in Magoffin were again mostly shown as "M" (Mulatto?). The exceptions to the "M" catagory among those living at Big Lick Indian Village for instance were old *Billy Cole*'s son *Wils Cole*, who was shown as "white", as well as 70 year old *Elizabeth Perkins*. Also shown are a handful of "white" children" from mixed white-Indian marriages, again perhaps indicating that the enumerator employed some sort of "blood-quantum" rule that year[799].

By far the oldest inhabitant at the Lick in 1880 was old *Billy Anderson Cole* who was now around 80 years old. This elder, the last to have been born back in the old Cherokee territories, must have had some satisfaction in seeing the thriving Indian community that now surrounding him due to his and his peers' successful strategic accommodations. Other elders shown living at the Lick in 1880 included *Tiney* and *Mariah* (*Gibson*) *Cole*, *William* and *Minda Nickels*, the widow *Charlotte "Lottie" Cole*, *George* and *Nancy* (*Musgrove*) *Cole*, and *John* and *Nancy* (*Barnett*) *Cole*. All these elders were now over 50 years old, and undoubtedly held a full storehouse of memories and lore between them[800]. All were shown as "M" on the census.

On the far western side of the extent of the Big Lick community, some of the Indian's land fell under Floyd County jurisdiction. Here lived the remainder of the village's Indian population, four families in all. They were all were classified as "white" on that county's census in 1880, in notable contrast to their mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters who, while living just a few hundred yards away, were placed in the "M" categories by Magoffin County enumerators[801]. These families included that of *James Cole* and his white wife *Armintia (Montgomery)*. James and "Minty" grew cane and tobacco along Coles Creek, and James was well known for the cane furniture that he made and sold[802]. Also here just across the Floyd County line were the families of *Charley (Jr.)* and *Eliza Cole*. *Harrison* and *Clerinda Cole* now also lived here, having moved their family up here from Tennessee that very year, indicating that there was still interaction between the Salyersville area Indian population and their relations down at Greasy Rock and the Cumberland Gap[803].

As was always the case, not all of the Salyersville area Indian population chose to live at the Big Lick or Jennies Creek Indian Villages. In 1880, a number of the Indian and mixed -blood *Collins* and *Perkins* families were shown residing near the Burning Fork. They were all shown as "white". The "M" classification also accompanied beside the names of other citizen Indians living at other points in Magoffin County in 1880. Among them were 60 year old *Tom Nickel* and his stepmother *Eliza*, who were living with Tom's cousin *Disa Mathews* just outside Salyersville[804].

Disa had recently moved back here from Carmel, Ohio. Stepping outside Magoffin for a moment, the 1880 census reflecting the Salyersville Indians who were living up at the now well established Indian village near Carmel Ohio reflects changes

amongst that band in the past 10 years[805]. For one, all recorded as "white". The census also showed a significant increase in the number of citizen Indians living there, with at least 13 "permanent households" representing the Carmel band, nearly double the number from the past decade. But movements of families and individuals between the Carmel area and Magoffin County continued with notable frequency. All but one of the *Gibsons* then living there in 1870 had, by 1880, returned to Kentucky. However, over a half-dozen of *Nickles* families associated with the Salyersville Indians had since decided to join up with the Carmel band.

Returning to the Magoffin County, the 1880 census returns show *Squire Gibson* and his present wife *Perlinia Cole* as "M", as well as their three children. But the census taker noted that, living in the same house, was *Nancy Harmon* and her 8 children by Squire all of whom were classified as "white"[806]. The only other family enumerated as "M" in the Magoffin Census that year was that of Squire's brother *Hezekiah "Kiah" Gibson*, now 50 years old, and his son *Robert Gibson*. Kiah's wife, *Margaret* (*Hensley*) was correctly shown as being "white"[807].

Regarding these "race" enumerations, it is interesting to note that the two eldest sons of the late *Charley* (*Campbell*) *Cole* and his widow *Charlotte "Lottie"*, (who now lived at the Big Lick Indian Village), were living away from the Lick in a different county precinct which used a different census enumerator. These were *Wallis* and *Shepherd Cole,* now raising large families of their own. Unlike the rest of their siblings and mother living at the Big Lick, these two men were shown as being "white" on the 1880 census[808].

The conflicting "white" versus" M" (most likely, "Mulatto") classifications

imposed upon the local Indians in and around Magoffin County in this census anticipates a trend that would solidify in the census's of the early 1900s. As will be shown below, then the county's census enumerators would only classify the citizen Indians actually living "permanently" at the Big Lick Indian village as "Indian". The same enumerators would then choose to enumerate the vast majority of Salyersville Indians living elsewhere in the county as "white", despite their "degree of blood" in relation to their consanguine relations to those at Big Lick.. These seemingly contradictory racial classifications suggests that there was more to the motivations of the census takers in classifying the Salyersville area Indians by "race" other than blood quantum or physical appearance. Analyzing the events that would take place during the next generation that may help show which these motivations were.

Paupers and Politicians

As already briefly discussed, the number of non-Indian widows, orphans and elderly being classified as "paupers" had increased significantly in east Kentucky during the hard reconstruction era years. In Magoffin County, people deemed paupers by county officials would be put up in the home of a prominent local family whose services of caring for "paupers" would then be reimbursed by the county. Back in the 1860s and 1870s county records show that such individuals and families would not be placed in any particularly designated "poor house", they instead were qualified to receive county aid for themselves and, if applicable, their minor dependants[809]. By the early 1880's, Magoffin county authorities however found the need to acquire and manage an

independent "pauper farm"[810].

Records show that well over a hundred Magoffin Countians were at one time or another listed as "paupers" or had received some kind of aid or assistance from the county for reasons of being "poor" during the 1870s. As for the "paupers" themselves, the county that year mandated only that "all paupers in his care will keep themselves clean and decent; they will not loaf in town or any other place but will go to church and visit relatives"[811]. A few of the Salyersville Indian population were among them. But, proportionally, far fewer of the Salyersville Indian population would find themselves in this predicament than would some of the non-Indian families of the region. Nonetheless, the number of Indians and mixed-bloods being shown on the county "pauper list" would increase slightly in from the 1870s to the 1890s.

For instance, one 1878 circa list of "paupers" included *Tempy McCarty,* and the aging Indian woman had been under such care before[812]. Records show that after the passing of her husband, who had been a successful local cooper, Tempy would often linger around the county seat of Salyersville. In doing so, she often found herself needing county aid as a "pauper" or "poor person". However, during the times she instead chose to reside among the Indian and mixed-bloods at the Big Lick Village, she received no aid from the county. We can deduce that she received such care and aid from the people living at the Indian community during those times. Also in the winter of that same year, "Howard & Higgens" were reimbursed by the county for supplying burial clothes to *Apperson Cole.* That Cherokee-Saponi was reported to be too poor to supply such clothes for one of his children who died that season[813]. Notably, like Tempy, Apperson was not living at Big Lick during the time they received county aid as "poor

persons".

It appears that no other Indian is again shown in the records as a "pauper" or needed county aid until two years later Tempy and Apperson's problems, although scores of whites were. In that 1880 instance the old Saponi named *Otavy Collins* was one of over 30 "poor persons"(the rest of whom were white) kept by overseer Rich McGuire that year. Why the old Indian would die there and not among his people at Big Lick or Jennies Creek is unknown[814]. But this is again revealing of the local Indian families' ongoing successful attempts to strategically accommodate to potentially difficult times, in that none of the court records show any other Indians as being classified as "paupers" from the time *Otavy Collins* died at the Poor Farm in 1881 until 1886.

The relative lack of Indian paupers compared to non-Indian paupers is one indication of the overall success of the Salyersville Indian's kin based support networks in successfully maintaining their families on a community scale. The experiences of the few Salyersville area Indians who did find themselves in this unfortunate predicament however reflects on the overall stability of the Salyersville Indian population. It is also significant to note that such "pauper" individuals and families were those Salyersville Indians that for some reason or another were not living at the two primary Indian communities at Big Lick or across the county line at Jennies Creek.

The increased number of "paupers" is not the only phenomenon that is indicative of the changing and difficult times occurring in this part of the mountains during the 1870s and 80s. Records from Magoffin and surrounding counties also reveal a sharp increase in the number of people arrested for "unlawful shootings", "carrying concealed deadly weapons", "horse stealing", "malicious mischief", "breach of peace", "Sabbath

break-ins" and other crimes[815]. Local non-Indians were even committed to jail that spring for "hunting and killing game on Sunday" by county authorities[816].

Like most of the people being cast as "paupers", the vast majority of those accused in Magoffin County were non-Indians. Some Salyersville area Indians and their mixed-blood relations would find themselves in trouble with the law during this time, but notably only a few. The first and most notable instance occurred in November of 1880, when some of the *Perkins'* living on the far west side of Magoffin were caught up in the tension. *Isaac Perkins* was prosecuted for concealing deadly weapons, while *Ben* and *Burdell Perkins* had been arrested and accused of committing petty larceny[817]. Trouble followed these Perkins men into the next year. All within the span of a week in January 1881, *Isaac Perkins* was again jailed for carrying a concealed deadly weapon. *Ben Perkins* was prosecuted for his petty larceny charge, and *Burdell Perkins* for "injury to property"[818]. Unfortunately the court records give no indication as to the specifics of what caused these troubles for these Perkins men that winter.

It should again be reiterated that court records reflect that the overwhelming majority of incidences similar to those experienced by the aforementioned Perkins more often involved non-Indians. Nonetheless, a few members of the Salyersville Indian population continued to bump heads with the law as the 1880's moved on. In the fall of 1882, *Wallis Collins* found himself in the Salyersville jail for "breach of peace", and *Newton "Pee" Nickels* was twice caught carrying a concealed deadly weapon[819]. These few incidences however constitute the sole number recorded in the County court books involving any of the Salyersville Indians and their mixed-blood relations until a few years later.

Indeed, all Magoffin Countians could take pride in the fact that, relatively speaking, their county would avoid some of the grander incidences of violence that were becoming all too frequent in some nearby counties[820] There are however further indications that the push for county "improvements" were resisted by many of the county's citizens. In the winter of 1883, *Andrew "Bugger" Howard* for instance was one of many people who were repeatedly called before the court to explain why "a county road shall not be established on his lands"[821]. However, a more ominous and growing trend telling of hard times was the growing number of people being placed on the county's annual delinquent tax lists. Many citizens were either unable or simply unwilling to pay taxes. Others would come to realize that the stability of any land title they may have could be upset despite all assurances, especially when corporate or commercial interests became involved.

An abnormally large list of delinquent tax payers was returned by W.T.Prater to the Magoffin court in October of 1883. Interestingly, his list included many local men who can be shown to have more than a modest income and thus had enough resources to pay their taxes. Others however were people known to have applied for county aid in the past few years. While the list overwhelmingly consisted of non-Indians, for the first time the list did also include a sizeable number of Salyersville Indians and their mixed-blood relatives. Among them was old Cherokee *John Hale,* as well as his son *John*[822]. Also shown were *Brice* and *Isaac Perkins*, and *Rob*, *Ham* and *Jeff Gibson*. A number of the white, Indian and mixed-blood *Nickels* also were reported as "delinquent". But perhaps most threatening to the stability of Indians at the Big Lick Indian Village and those associated with the Jennies Creek band was that some of the more prominent Indian

landowners among them were also being cited as neglecting to pay their taxes. *William, Tiney, Adam, Rufus* and *Merida Cole* all found themselves on Prater's list of tax delinquents. Five of the men of the Saponi *Collins* families associated with the Jenny's Creek band, *Ham*, *Fielden*, *Ott*, *James* and *Hiram Collins* also had reason to worry in finding their names on the list[823]. Despite these delinquent tax charges, as far as I can tell none of these men lost their land or were prosecuted because of a failure to pay their taxes that year. The 1883 Prater list could simply have been the result of the same kind of problem that happened in 1888. In that year, the county tax assessor "accidentally left" 54 names on list of those who had supposedly not paid their taxes[824]. This predictably upset many a person until the error was discovered and was corrected. But the appearance of their names on the list, for whatever reason, was likely disturbing.

After the 1883 tax problems, things apparently returned to normal for most of the Salyersville Indians for the next few years. In the latter part of the decade, a few were however again caught up in legal, social and/or economic problems. For instance, *Anderson Cole* somehow got in trouble with the law soon after he relocated his family here from down near Cumberland Gap. In the fall of 1886, Anderson had been convicted of some unknown crime where upon Jailer Tom Arnett "worked said Cole on the street in irons twice"[825]. But still, Anderson's is the only incarceration of an Indian or mixed-blood I can find record of until a few years later.

The names of a few Salyersville Indian also began to again to pop up on the county "pauper" lists in the latter half of the 1880s. *Elize Nickels* for instance would have her baby while interned at the Poor House Farm in the summer of '86[826]. The following summer, old "*Cherokee John*" *Hale* died, and his burial clothes had to be

supplied with county funds[827]. In 1887, Old *Ethie* and *William Collins-Auxier*, as well as the elderly sisters *Tempy* and *Frankie Nickels* (both of whom remained unmarried), and a few others from both the white and the Indian *Nickles* families spent some time at the Poor House Farm[828].

Again, it appears that those particular Indians and mixed-bloods spending time in the poor house farm, were mostly among those who continued to reside away from the primary Indian communities at Big Lick or Jennies Creek. Why they went to the Poor House Farm, and could not or would not receive adequate support from their relations at the Big Lick Indian Village or Jenny's Creek remains unknown. But one could deduce that, by residing away from the influence of the kinship-community network available to the Salyersville area Indians at those locations, life was economically more difficult for both the individuals and nuclear families scattered among the white population. Further supporting this hypothesis, the county records of 1888 reveal that those few Salyersville Indians found at the Poor House Farm continued to be those who went there after living outside the "Indian Village" for some time. *Etha* and *William Collins-Auxier* spent most of another year there as would *Martha Collins.* Old *Tempy Nickels* also spent another spring under county care. *Melvina* and *Elsworth Nickles* would return in 1888 to spend the hard winter months at the farm[829]. Old *Joe Nickels* moved out of the Big Lick Indian Village a few years before, and when he passed away in that year the county would have to supply burial clothes for him[830].

Accompanying this slight increase in Indians and mixed-bloods receiving county aid, records show that legally speaking, things were getting rougher for some of the Salyersville Indians at the end of the 1880s. These troubles would come to involve some

of the Indians at Big Lick, but the problems began by particularly involving some of the mixed-blood *Perkins* and *Nickles* families who were concentrated at the other end of the county near Dickney Ridge. A precursor of events to come occurred in August of 1888 when county Marshal Conley arrested and jailed Burdell Poe and *Jimmy Perkins* for "carrying concealed deadly weapons on Monday election last"[831]. This event implies that politics were at least in part responsible for some of the mixed-blood Perkins' upcoming social and legal problems. Indeed it may be no coincidence that following the election of a new county administration in the summer of 1888, the number of Indians and mixed-blood as well as whites in and out of court grew significantly. Regardless of the reason, it is apparent that some significant change occurred in order to prompt the increase in troubles that fall. Those involving Salyersville Indians began that September, when *Newt "Pee" Nickles*, *Isaac Perkins* and *Tiny Nickells* were arrested and held "on fine" for 3 days, and *Link Nickells* was held "on attachment" for two days. *John Nickells* was incarcerated for 5 days for some unknown reason that fall, while that fall *Elize (Cole) Nickells* was imprisoned under the charge of "adultery"[832].

But those Indians and mixed-bloods finding themselves in trouble with the law this year entangled not just the aforementioned Nickels and assertive old Isaac Perkins. *Levi Trusty*, another local mixed-blood, previously spent over a week in jail in the spring. *Page Cole*, one of a number of Cherokee-Saponi who lived off Middle Fork near Gullett, was briefly held in jail for an unknown fine, and later in the year he was charged with an unknown felony[833]. Later that summer *Harrison Gibson* was also briefly "committed" to the county jail for some unknown reason, but was quickly released[834]. And that fall, *Wiley Collins* was arrested on a misdemeanor charge. Two other Saponi Collins men were also

arrested that year, but they faced much more serious. County attorney J.W. Howard prosecuted *Wallis Collins* on a murder charge in December of 1888, but apparently he was acquitted for the records show that Wallis was back in jail for 10 days the following summer having been charged with adultery . Perhaps the most disturbing accusation was leveled at *Adam Collins*, who had been arrested on the charge of rape. Unfortunately I have found no record yet to confirm if he was acquitted or indeed found guilty, nor of the details of the accusation[835].

In 1889, the number of Indians, mixed-bloods, and whites who found themselves in and out of the Magoffin county Poor House farm continued to increase. One new face on the farm was that of the old Saponi *Shepherd "Shep" Collins* who recently had moved up to Magoffin from his old home in Breathitt County.. The ailing elder would also receive medical attention while at the farm, which may explain why he did not move to the Big Lick Indian Village where some of his married sons and daughters were now living[836]. *Martha* and *Otavy "Otra" Collins* were also taken under county care that year under "pauper" status, and Otra would die and be buried at the Poor House Farm that summer[837]. Many of the Indians and mixed-bloods associated with the Nickells families in particular found this to be a most difficult year and were finding it harder and harder to make ends. *Trim* and *Leander Nickels* remained at the Poor House Farm most of that year, while K.N. Fletcher was reimbursed by the county for providing clothes to *Dicey Nickles'* children for the winter. Fletcher also was paid by the county for supplying corn, bacon, salt and other subsistence items to the family of *Trim Nickles* during that winter when they were not on the Poor Farm and were living away from most of their kin[838].

Again, nearly all of the Indians and mixed-blood charged requiring county

assistance were still those who for whatever reason mostly resided outside the primary residential concentrations of Salyersville Indians at Big Lick and Jennies Creek. And despite this increased showing of Salyersville Indians in the court records at this time, the number of Indians and mixed-bloods accused of these various crimes, or finding themselves requiring county aid or in the Poor Farm, was proportionally far less than the number of whites facing similar circumstances. If nothing else, this suggests that the Indians and mixed-bloods were *not* being singled out because of the perceived or asserted "race" or "ethnic" aspects of their group or individual Indian identity.

Evidence from the late 1800s, on the other hand, strongly suggests that the scattered Salyersville Indian families who did choose to live away from the primary communities of their Indian kin at Big Lick and Jennies Creek encountered more social and economic problems. This is reflected through county records regarding people's 'pauper' status, criminal activities, and whisky problems, which are elaborated on in Chapters 7, 8 and 11. While this never was a really big issue, it occurred just enough to suggest that the kin network was stronger at the Big Lick and Jennies Creek villages where a more concerted social and economic cooperation existed among kin to support families. However, more data must come to light from that period before any positive deductions can be made on how and if this dynamic may have affected local external perceptions of Indian identity in the short term.

By far the largest majority of Salyersville Indians do not show up in either criminal court documents, as receiving county aid, or as ever living on the county Poor Farm. Indeed, the general opinion of their non-Indian neighbors towards the county's citizen Indian population as a whole remained respectable, as future documents will

prove. The clearest testimony towards the good social standing of the Salyersville Indians is demonstrated by the fact that some individuals were held in high enough regard to be voted into powerful county positions. The most notable instance was to occur in 1889, when the Cherokee-Saponi named *Wallis Cole* felt confident enough to run for the position of Justice of the Peace under the Democratic ticket for one of the county's five precincts[839]. Most telling of his and his people's respectability among whites, who were the majority of the precinct's voters, was that he won. And his wining was no fluke or anomaly, for Wallis was most ambitious and would be reelected to the seat a number of times in the next twenty-five years.

Having one of their own in the prominent and influential position of Justice of the Peace must have greatly effected the self-esteem and social well-being of the Salyersville area Indian population, especially among the prominent extended Cherokee family of Coles. Indeed, "family" reputation here in the mountains often superceded one's individual reputation, be they Indian, white or black, "poor" or "well to do"[840]. Wallace's election to the position of local "Squire" proved to positively effect their lives. For example, almost immediately after Wallace won the election, most of the Indians marrying in the county, especially those from the village at Big Lick, would choose to by-pass the local Methodist and Baptist ministers that previously preformed marriage ceremonies for them. Now they simply chose to have their marriages legalized by "Squire Wallace" out of their own homes, or at the "Cole Schoolhouse" at the Big Lick Indian Village[841] Significantly, as Justice of the Peace for the entire Precinct, Wallace not only preformed marriages and oversaw criminal cases regarding the Salyersville Indians and their relations, but also of all whites in his jurisdiction choosing not to be married by

a Reverend.

(Re) Discoveries: Public and Political identities in the 1890s

On the local level of everyday life, Wallace Cole's election seemed to indicate that the winds of change were beginning to again blow in favor of the Salyersville Indians, despite the trouble a few had experienced in the 1870s and 80s. But probably unbeknownst to the Indians themselves, the Salyersville Indians, and more particularly their kin remaining back at the Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain Indian communities had been "discovered" by interested outsiders, one being the Federal Government .

In 1890, the Federal government mandated that a special census, the first of its kind, be taken of all the "Civilized (Self-Supporting) Indians" residing in the United States not associated with any Federally "recognized" Indian population. The result was the 1894 Department of the Interior Report published and compiled in conjunction with the 1890 Federal Census, and titled by the titled The 1890 Census of Population: Report on Indians Taxed and not Taxed[842]. The compilers apparently relied primarily on state 1890 federal census returns in order to determine the number of "citizen Indians" living in Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina. Unfortunately, the returns for Magoffin and Johnson Counties did not make it to the Interior Department because of a fire which destroyed the records for most counties in the United States for that decade, so the document does not reflect similar figures of those counties. However, the returns from Floyd County did make into the hand of the Interior Department reviewers. They revealed that under that county's jurisdiction lived 14 "Civilized (Self-Supporting)

Indians", all of whom were of the part of the Big Lick Indian Village but whose residences lay just across the Magoffin County line in Floyd[843]. The Carmel band of Salyersville Indians now living up in Highland County, Ohio, was also reflected in the census and the Report of 1890. They show that twenty-two Indians of the related *Gibson*, *Cole*, *Perkins* and *Nickels* from the Salyersville area were living in Brush Creek Township that year, making Highland County the county with the highest recorded Indian population in that State[844]. However, the Report failed to recognize or comment on the fact that nearly all of these families can be shown have spent at least part of the year back in Magoffin. Unfortunately, the Report failed to mention anything about these "Civilized (self-Supporting) Indians" in eastern Kentucky and southern Ohio other than their numbers and county location. In notable contrast, the Report did provide more detail regarding the related Greasy Rock Indian population down in Tennessee.

The Report recorded 31 "Indians" among the Greasy Rock Indian population, and provided a brief historical summary of them based on a few derogatory newspaper publications that emerged around this time (the sources for this writer's claims will be discussed at more length in Chapter 10). Nothing was said of the Saponi aspect of their history, and instead briefly claimed that since the early 1800s, the descendants of two "Cherokee" named *Collins* and *Gibson* had since intermarried with a white Indian trader named *Jim Mullins*, a man named *Denham*, who they speculated was of Portuguese and/or Carib Indian descent, and a "Negro" named *Goins* who origin was unknown[845].

The Report also quoted a correspondence by Carolina State Senator Hamilton McMillan written to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs concerning the so-called "Croatian Indians" of North Carolina (Also known in the past as the Cherokee and

Cherew of Robeson County, today these Indians are mostly known as Tuscarora and/or Lumbee Indians). McMillan claimed this large "tribe" of Indian and mixed-blood people in Robeson County descended from whites from the "Lost Colony of Roanoke" who intermarried with the Croatian and other historic tribes from the coast of North Carolina. He then responded to the Commissioner that "those living in eastern Tennessee are called 'Melungeon', a name also retained by them here (in North Carolina), which is a corruption of "Melange", a name given them by early settlers (French) which means mixed"[846]. McMillian offered no proof, however, on how these populations connected.

Perhaps the most useful information to be culled from the Interior Department's Report regarding the Greasy Rock Indians is how they came to the population figure of 31 in the first place. The official Federal criteria defining "Indian" at the time was to label people as Indians only if they were 1/2 blood or more (if they were not "wards" of the government under treaty stipulation, regardless of blood quantum). This Report's abstract regarding the Greasy Rock Indians they called "Melungeons" (as well as "Civilized (self-supporting) Indians") however deviated from this criteria, and instead explained that "in the general census these Melungeons were enumerated as of the races which they most resembled"[847]. Looking at the census themselves, those people associated with the Greasy Rock Indian population were recorded mostly as "white", 31 as "Indian", and none as "black". It might be assumed that this same methodology was at least, in part, applied to the enumerations of "Civilized (self-Supporting) Indian" in eastern Kentucky and southern Ohio.

As will be discussed in Chapter 10, there were a growing number of popular "origin" theories like McMillian's circulating both in regional, city and national papers in

the 1890s regarding the interrelated Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain and Salyersville Indians. Most focused overwhelmingly on the Greasy Rock Indian population, with one exception, which occurred during the time of the Salyersville Indian *Wallace Cole's* tenure as Justice of the Peace in Magoffin County. Published in the *Knoxville Journal* (Tennessee) in September of 1890, a newspaper article tied the Salyersville area Indians to their relations at Greasy Rock. Titled " The 'Melungeons': A Peculiar Race of People Living in Hancock County", this was one of a series of articles that came out this year in the Knoxville and Nashville newspapers concerning the Greasy Rock Indians (see Chapter 10)[848]. Offering no sources whatsoever to corroborate their claims, in a most derogatory manner this article claimed that the Greasy Rock Indians themselves told stories that they were descendants from criminals and convicts who married Indians and fled to the mountains to escape the law. He claimed that the "Melungeons" supposedly knew nothing further of their origins. The article then stated that a "Professor Henderson of Kentucky" had "made quite a study of the question" and he supported the idea of the Greasy Rock Indians all being descended from a "shipload" of ex-convicts who intermarried with straggling Indians over the generations[849]. The article then continues to state, apparently based on this Henderson's "research", that

> .."In Magoffin County, Kentucky, one of the wildest of the eastern subdivisions of the commonwealth there is a community or settlement of these people, who claim to be descendants of Portuguese; and the resemblance is said to be striking and complete. They are grossly ignorant, beastly in their habits and weak mentally and physically.

> They are nearly all afflicted with leprosy or some other disease equally loathsome and horrible and those so effected are kept apart from the remaining few who are not. To allieve their terrible sufferings they resort to mud baths, often spending days in the wallow like hogs. The state made special provisions for educating them, building a separate schoolhouse and employing a teacher who was not very choice in the selection of his company. It greatly surprised him at the beginning to see his pupils come in to the school room fresh from a nice mud bath, the white clay still adhering to their faces, necks, and festering limbs; and such other parts of the body as were not covered by scanty coverings. A few families bear names of Portuguese origin[850].

The article is obviously filled with blatant falsehoods. For one, never once is there a mention in the county records of leprosy occurring amongst any of Magoffin Counties citizens. Furthermore, this is the *only* instance I can find from primary documents and secondary sources in which the Salyersville Indians supposedly claimed to be of "Portuguese" descent, and clearly none of their names were of Portuguese origin. The school at the Big Lick Indian Village to which this article is apparently referring to was not created by any "special provision", but instead was a state funded local school that coincidently served a Indian population. As for the Knoxville paper's claims as to the Salyersville Indians being weak mentally and physically, all other evidence points to the contrary. Such speculative, erroneous and often derogatory claims forwarded in the literature resulting from the "discovery" of the Greasy Rock Indians and their Stone

Mountain and Salyersville Indians would grow and come to greatly influence the way outsiders perceived them.

Probably not coincidently, when "Melungeons" were being discovered by outside writers, another group of outsiders were "discovering" yet another facet of the mountains, that being her natural resources of timber, coal and gas. This wind of change had been felt for some time, but now the breeze was stronger, and would be a gale force.

The fast growing attention to the region's wealth of natural resources is reflected in the September 13, 1890 issue of the *Louisville Courier Journal,* which announced that the "Kentucky Title Company" had just made publicly available abstracts of "all grants" issued for all the lands in the mountain, as well as tax histories and "the power of attorney of all records in all courts" of the counties of Knox, Magoffin, Floyd, Johnson, and other neighboring mountain counties. To assist interested developers in buying up the rights to the resources of these counties, the Kentucky Title Company also announced that it would aid interested parties in finding title examiners and in some cases "local attorneys" to help procure mineral rights from the mountaineers. The *Journal* made no pretense as to why the Kentucky Title Company was doing this, which they flatly stated was to "make possible to solve all questions as to the titles and ownership of all mineral and timber lands in Eastern Kentucky"[851].

Many people from Magoffin and the surrounding counties *did* welcome the idea of gaining work or somehow making some money from these natural resources. The people of Magoffin, Floyd and Johnson counties all had known for generations that underneath their hills lay untold amounts of oil, gas, and coal. Timber however was the most obvious and easily extracted resource, and thus was the first to be exploited on a

large scale by both local and national corporate interests. Indeed, for some time now, local landowners had been harvesting and selling off parts of their timber to local consumers in order gain some cash in harder times. The scale in which timbering was to occur after 1890 however would begin to negatively impact on hunting, trapping and gathering opportunities for those families who still favored those activities as a means of subsistence and income.

As for the mountains' mineral wealth, many local landowners also did not mind or foresee the negative consequences of selling what lay underneath. This was because the most contracts being made with outside interests sold only "mineral" or "timber rights", and this allowed local people to retain the land itself. This proposal was attractive to many families who wished to retain their self-sufficient lifestyle which, for many reasons already cited was becoming harder and harder. However, most did not anticipate that the profits gained from the extraction of their land's resources by companies and investors who lived so far away would fail to "trickle down" and make it back to their pockets. Powerful outside investors would brush local interests aside, and would instead battle with each other for control over the resources that were the focus this latest American mineral "rush"[852]. Here at the turn of the century, the stage was thus set for the mountains and her peoples to fall prey to processes of resource acquisition and extraction by outside interests on a scale that probably few, if any, of the local people could have ever imagined or foreseen.

The Salyersville Indians who owned land at the Big Lick Indian village however, would not to fall prey to such tactics in the 1890s. Other than possibly selling some timber, at least for the time being the Indians there would retain their land and mineral

rights. But apparently the attraction of this new potential income did not escape the Indians living at the Greasy Rock Community in Tennessee. In 1890, a Nashville writer visited the Greasy Rock community and gained the impression that "these strange people have caught, however, a raging fever throughout the South, and especially in East Tennessee, the iron fever. They believe their sterile ridges to be crammed full of the precious oar"[853]. Regardless, the lives of all people in Appalachia would eventually be effected greatly by these changes brought into the mountains by outside interests.

In the final decade of the 19th century, the Salyersville Indians continued growing not only in numbers, but like *Wallis Cole*, were growing in popular political reputation amongst many local non-Indians. In 1890, a few of the local Indians and mixed-bloods bumped heads with the law, while a few others did find themselves in need of county aid or reporting to the Magoffin county Poor House Farm[854]. Their numbers however were proportionately still far fewer than the number of whites in the county finding themselves in the similar situations[855]. Entanglements with the law involving the Salyersville Indians also remained few and far between. Indeed, during the next two years following 1890, the only actions taken by the county regarding any of the Salyersville Indians occurred in the fall of 1892, both of which involved aid and not arrests. One court entry concerns settling a bill for providing a "coffin and box" for old *Polly Perkins,* who died in the fall of 1892. The other incident occurred that November when *Page Cole* successfully submitted a claim to the county for "providing clothes and a coffin for *Dicy Cole*"[856].

Notably, with the exception of Page Cole's occasional monetary misfortunes, there are definite indications of the rising family reputation of the Cherokee Coles among local non-Indians. In October of 1893, *Shepherd "Shep" Cole* was appointed Sheriff of

the November election for the Salyersville Precinct of Magoffin County[857]. Meanwhile Shep's brother *Wallace Cole* continued to serve as Justice of the Peace[858]. As Shep lived down near Gullett on the Middle Creek, and thus served in a different precinct than the one of the Big Lick Villagers under "Squire Wallace", it cannot be said that nepotism by Wallace played a part in Shep's appointment as election Sheriff.

But in a reverse of fortune, Shep's brother Wallis would lose that year's election (Wallis would however be reelected to the same position again in the future). I have not been able to ascertain why Wallis lost that election, let alone the platforms on which he campaigned, or even the public's opinions regarding that Indian Democrat. But interestingly, county court books do reveal that criminal arrests and prosecutions throughout the county increased dramatically the winter following the 1893 election. Perhaps coincidently, the number of incidents regarding members of the Salyersville Indian population also increased. Early in December, *John Nickles* and his common-law wife *Dicey Cole* were again in jail under adultery charges, while *Shep Perkins* was charged with petty larceny[859]. Also within that month, *George Cole* and *Dan Fletcher* and their friend Billy Risner were all locked up for petite larceny charges. That January *Henry Nickels* was jailed on an outstanding fine, and *Lark Gibson*, *Squire Nickles*, *James Perkins*, as well as Wallis Cole's sons *Elbert* and *Jeff Cole*, were also briefly arrested on a bench warrant for a charge I cannot yet ascertain[860].

However, it cannot be reiterated enough that this new flurry of charges and incarcerations were in no way limited to the county's Indian and mixed-blood population. By far the greater number of arrests in 1893 and 94 involved whites. But as with *Elbert Cole*, *Squire Nickels* and other Salyersville Indians who were involved, it is notable that

many of them named here had not previously shown up the court records under such circumstances.

The Salyersville Indian population would manage to stay aloof from a new round of arrests that following spring which involved scores of local non-Indian, mostly regarding issues concerning "the selling of liquor" and carrying "concealed weapons"[861]. Indeed, none of the Salyersville Indians show up again in the records in such troublesome contexts for nearly two years. One exception was *Martin Gipson*, who was jailed for two days in February of 1896 for some unknown reason[862]. The number of Indians receiving county aid also dropped in the 1895-6 seasons. It appears that only the mixed blood *Perkins* families of *Louis*, *Carry* and *Polly Perkins* spent time at the Poor Farm[863]. Sadly both old *Lewis* and *Polly Perkins* would pass on while under care there in the fall of 1896[864].

The overall state of affairs in Magoffin County reflected through these court records concerning criminal accusations during this time demonstrates that they often coincided with expanding boundaries of county and state laws. Charges like trespassing, "moonshining" , "Sabbath Breaking", and stricter hunting and fishing laws were becoming more common, and to call all such offenders "criminals" would be a gross exaggeration[865]. For instance, in the fall of 1897, Rueben Risner and *John Bowling* were arrested for "trespassing"[866]. Indeed, trespassing charges were becoming much more common than ever before and it was a law that began to serve more and more distant corporate interests that were grabbing up local lands at an ever increasing rate. Of course, not all "crimes" were as vague, but in 1897, few of the Salyersville Indian population were accused of them. Those sole incidents in that year were limited to *Steven Perkins*

being arrested for concealing deadly weapons that spring, while *Sam Nickels* spent the month in jail for "pulling his gun on another man"[867].

A most revealing deduction can be made from analyzing these old records. That is, in proportion to their own numbers, and compared to the local white population, very few Salyersville Indians ever found themselves charged with a crime or in need of county aid or poor house assistance. Such a careful scrutiny of the few Salyersville Indians who were and were not involved in such matters furthermore debunks the claims of outsiders who, like the aforementioned "Professor Henderson" of the Louisville Courier, described them as being "lawless", "backward" and "ignorant".

The 1900 Federal Census and the Salyersville Indian Population

Looking from a strictly documentary point of view, one dramatic change regarding Salyersville Indians occurred in 1900. For the first time since 1840, when they were classified as "white" by Floyd County enumerators, the 1900 Magoffin County census taker did not classify any of the local Indians or mixed-bloods as "M". Instead, about half the population was classified as "Indian", while the remainder were mostly counted as "white", and a few as "black"[868]. Equally intriguing is the fact that those thus designated as Indian were *only* those that lived in the Big Lick Community, and the Indian Village there was even given its own "sub district" within the Salyersville Precinct which the enumerator labeled on the census as "The Salyersville Indian Population"[869].

The specificity of the Magoffin County census enumeration regarding those families living in "The Salyersville Indian Population Subdistrict" requires immediate

attention. Not only was the Indian village enumerated separately from the rest of the county population, but who those living there were given the specific *tribal* designation of "Cherokee" on the census. Making the picture even more specific and complex, each individual living in the subdistrict was noted with a "blood-quantum" notation beside all their names. None were classified as more than "3/4 Cherokee", while most were designated "1/2 Cherokee". It appears that the criteria for being classified Indian in Magoffin this year was a two part formula, one being a "permanent" residence at Big Lick, and secondly possessing an Indian blood quantum recognized by the enumerator as 1/2 or more. Not surprisingly, the enumerator seemed to have reason to occasionally stray from this criteria, so it is likely that more factors than these two were at play as they made their decisions regarding who would receive these specific "racial" and "tribal" classifications.

If one was to strictly read the Magoffin census, those labeled as "The Salyersville Indian Population" consisted of a conservative total of 85 Indians living among 15 consecutive households. Also included were six spouses recorded as "white", almost all being women, and two individuals recorded as being both "black" and "Indian"[870]. Those families living across the county line into Floyd, of course are not recorded on the Magoffin County census, but comprised another six households of some thirty persons[871].

Following the Magoffin County census, the first of the "households" situated at the Big Lick Indian Village was home to the elderly widow *Feribee* (*Collins*) *Cole* and her four daughters and one grandson. Like most others at the Lick all were noted to be "Indian-Cherokee 1/2"[872]. Reading the "households "consecutively down the census shows *John* and *Dicey* (*Cole*) *Nickles*, *Page* and *Arty Cole*, and the large families of *John*

Wesley and *Rebecca* (*Nickels) Cole* and *Jesse* and *Jane Cole.* All were also enumerated as "Indian-Cherokee 1/2" with one exception, that being Jesse's 63 year old mother, *Nancy* (Barnett) *Cole*, who was shown as "white"[873]. Living next door was the oldest man in the community, 94 year old *Valentine* "*Tiney*" *Cole*, who lived with his son *Tiney* "*Jr*'s" family. They, as well as their neighbors *Chester* and *Janie Cole* were also shown as "Indian-Cherokee 1/2"[874].

Past this point on the census list the enumerator's quantum classification of the Salyersville Indians at Big Lick gets more complicated. *Bucannan* "*Buck*" *McCarty*, the son of old *Tempy* was, for instance, shown as "w-white 1/2". Buck's wife *Jinsey* was however noted as "Ind-Cherokee 3/4", as were all five of their children. *Susan* and *Gracy Cole*, two of Buck and Jinsey's grandchildren who were then living with them were shown to be "Ind-Cherokee 1/2". Living adjacent the McCarty's was a "household" of two elder Indian men who, while receiving the tribal and quantum designation of "Cherokee 1/2", were given different racial classifications in that census. The "head" of this house was 50 year old *Adam Cole*, was classed "Ind.-Cherokee 1/2". His wife *Christina* (*Gibson*), as well as *Hezekiah* "*Kiah*" *Gibson*'s wife *Margaret* (*Hensley*) were classified as "white". 70 year old "Kiah" however was given the designation "Black-Cherokee 1/2"[875]. The only other person living in the subdistrict was given a "black" designation, that being the young *Harrison Gibson*. Unlike Kiah, Harrison however was simultaneously racially labeled as "Indian", but no label of "Cherokee" or blood-quantum accompanied it. Harrison lived next door to Kiah with *Garfield* and *Emmie Fletcher's* family of eight "Indian-Cherokee 1/2"[876].

The different racial classifications suggests that the enumerator here was applying

a methodology similar to that which Virginia authorities stipulated to there enumerators around this time. That was, if the individual was known or suspected to be 1/64 or more "black", they would be racially classified as such, even if, like Kiah, they were simultaneously accepted as being "1/2" Indian[877]. Or perhaps this enumerator was applying the criteria spelled out in the Department of the Interior 1890 Report on Indians Taxed and not Taxed. In that document, recall that "civilized (self-Supporting) Indians" were mostly enumerated according to "how they looked"[878]. That may account for *Buck McCarty* being labeled "white-Cherokee 1/2" for instance.

The remainder of the Salyersville Indian population thus designated at Big Lick confirms the continued numerical dominance of the Cole family at that Indian Village. Two more prominent Indian elders, both of whom were married to white women. The politically savvy *Wallace Cole,* now 52 years old, lived here with his with his wife *Margaret* (*Poe*). As with his neighbor and uncle, 67 year old *Anderson Cole*, Wallace was noted to be "Ind-Cherokee 1/2". Anderson wife at that time was Elizabeth Ambrose/Antrobus, who was of "French-Dutch" heritage. In both households, the children remaining in residence with these two old couples were classified the same as their fathers, "Ind-Cherokee", but with no blood-quantum shown. The remaining three households at the Big Lick Indian Village in Magoffin were those headed by widow *Nancy* (*Musgrove*) *Cole*, *Farish* and *Martha Cole*, and *George* and *Violet* (*Cole*) *Fletcher*. They, as well as all of their children would also be marked with the designation of "Ind.-Cherokee 1/2"[879]. With that, the enumerator of the "sub district" would write at the end of his enumeration of the "The Salyersville Indian Population" families that "Here ends the enumeration of the Indian population"[880].

This latter statement however quickly proves to be false. The rest of the census for that county shows that there were dozens of the brother's, sisters, and a host of other close consanguine relations of those Salyersville Indians living at Big Lick who instead lived scattered about Magoffin County. Most were overwhelmingly listed as "white", while a few would alternatively be shown as "Black". Of course, many of these families may have chose to embrace a white identity despite the extent of their Indian heritage, but that cannot be assumed to be unilaterally so. For instance, many of the prolific families of the Jennie's Creek band, long before enumerated as "Indians" in Johnson County, had for some time been moving over into Magoffin County, especially near Oil Springs and State Road Fork. Nearly all were enumerated as white regardless of "blood quantum" or previous enumerations as "Indian" or "M".

Wallace Cole's brother and cohort in county politics, *Shep Cole* and his wife *Mary*, for instance, still lived on the old land obtained by his father near the town of Gullett off Middle Fork. But as with the other few Indian families living in and around that locality, such as his son *John Morgan Cole*'s family, they were enumerated as white. Also enumerated as "white" in the "Meadows District" were the families of Wallace' Cole's son *Elbert Cole* who was married to a white woman named *Polly "Bly"* (*Salyers*), as well as that of young *Alonzo* and *Mary Cole*[881]. Dozens of "Cherokee" *Nickles* and *Perkins*, and "Saponi" *Gibson* and *Collins* families and other individual Salyersville Indians and their mixed blood relations were also scattered throughout county the in 1900's were shown as white.

In contrast, a half dozen families instead received the racial designation of "black", regardless of their being locally recognized as 1/2 or more Indian[882]. Some of

the Gibsons who descended from the Stone Mountain families of that name, and were related to the aforementioned *Kiah Gibson*, were to receive this designation, although how the enumerator confirmed their African heritage remains elusive, for this particular branch of the family denied the claim[883]. Two other Indians and "Indian-white" heads of family were however erroneously shown as black on the census, those being *Millard Collins*, *Addison Collins,* and *Biddie (Collins)* Gardner of the Jennies Creek band[884]. While always having been previously recorded as Indian and or white, the reason for their being labeled "black" in this year is undoubtedly because both of these men had married women from the few black families that resided in the county, which were represented most prominently by the families names the Caudills, the Keetons and the Gardners. Their children, not surprisingly were also shown as "black" despite their fathers' heritage, and all lived far from the Indian village.

Unfortunately, without further documentation there is no good evidence to speculate as to why the county created a separate "Sub district" for the Salyersville Indians, at least for the purpose of the census, let alone why the Indian classification was limited to those living at this locality. Perhaps the Indians living there were "asserting" some sort of new political identity, or there was some sort of attempt to establish a kind of county recognized district that mimicked a "reservation". As to the reasons for placing a "blood-quantum" designation next to the Indians names, and how the census taker arrived at these deductions is also unknown. Only further research will reveal the answers. However, that an Indian population remained prominent and prolific within Magoffin is obvious.

As demonstrated through censuses, correspondences and other corroborating

material, it is apparent that, in this first decade of the 1900's the overwhelming majority of the Salyersville Indians continued to maintain their long successful self-sufficient lifestyle of farming, hunting and gathering. The census confirms substantial property ownership, large extended family households, and a continued preference to reside among and marry other Indians. Most still only occasionally hired out as laborers for various odd jobs such as timbering, or ginseng harvesting.

During the first years of the 20th century, a few, but very few of the Salyersville Indians and their mixed blood relations would find themselves in the Magoffin County "Poor House Farm"[885]. Apparently there were no criminal accusations or other judicial entanglements involving any of the Salyersville Indian Population during this time, except when *Lula Cole* was summoned to testify in an unknown case between the Commonwealth and Garfield Arnett in the spring of 1905[886].

The legal, social, and economic problems some of the Salyersville Indians of Magoffin County encountered since 1890 went from few to fewer. Instead, the county documents emanating from the first decade of the 1900's reveals that many of them were voluntarily making greater efforts to involve themselves in the social, political and material concerns of the county itself. For instance, a *Billy Collins* associated with the Jennies Creek band received a county contract to construct a new bridge on the Little Paint Creek[887]. Later that year, *Newt "Pee" Nickles* was appointed "road surveyor", and he "and his hands" built a road off his land near Bear Branch and Grape Creek where many of the mixed-blood *Perkins* lived[888]. *Bud Collins*, *Levi Trusty*, *Page Cole* and others are shown in the records as being paid by the county for similar construction projects. Evidence like this indicates the ongoing willingness of at least some of the

Salyersville Indians and non-Indians in the county to participate together in local civic duties[889].

During this same time, there were a couple dramatic events that stand out regarding the Salyersville Indian. The saddest and most influential event may have been the passing on of Old *Valentine "Tiney" Cole*, one of the last living Indians who was among the first generation born in Kentucky. In 1903, the 91 year old Cherokee-Saponi elder was living at the Big Lick Indian Village. As oral tradition today recalls the incident, during some sort of community event held at the Lick that fall, old Tiney got up and began preferring a "traditional Indian dance" for the participants. However, this dance would be his last as the old man "dropped dead" in front of everyone (the death certificate shows he died of a heart attack)[890]. But on a more uplifting note, that very year the people at the Village welcomed a new outsider as a member of the ranks, Reverend Jasper West. West would not only serve the community as minister, but would also begin raising a family there with Wallace Cole's daughter, *Laurie Cole*[891]. Perhaps even more significant however was that, by 1907, Tiney's Cole's son *John Wesley* would become an ordained minister of "the Christian Church", and for the first time the Big Lick Indian Village had a man in this influential position that was one of their own[892].

Indeed, here at the beginning of the century, the Salyersville Indians were initiating a series of new strategic accommodation to better adjust to the changing times. One notable change was in religious association. Prior to the 1890s most aligned with the Methodists, at least when it came to solemnizing marriages. Marriage certificates and other records show that after Wallis Cole lost his position as Justice of the Peace in 1890, they mostly aligned with the Baptist denomination. But in the early 1900s, a Reverend

Jasper West of the Holiness sect married a Salyersville Indian woman, and soon after *John Wesley Cole* would become a ordained minister of that denomination, Together, they led the Salyersville Indians in converting to this charismatic Christian sect during a time that many non-Indian mountaineers were doing the same. The Indians at Big Lick now had the power to follow their own religious path under their own leadership.

The flow of events involving the Salyersville Indians here in the earliest part of the century however would be punctuated by an event that would again bring the Salyersville Indians to the attention of the Federal Government. And for the first time, the Federal government would take a keener interest in some of the Salyersville Indian families' assertions of being descendants of "Eastern Cherokees". From the years of 1907 to 1909, interaction and correspondence with government officials in Washington D.C. regarding the "Cherokee" identity of many of the Salyersville Indian families would raise their confidence and spirits of their people as they got entangled with the U.S.Court of Claims. But in the end these families' hopes would be dashed to the ground.

Although classified as "Civilized (Self-Supporting) Indians" by the Department of the Interior, the 1890s "discovery" of "Melungeons" show that the Salyersville Indians were being described by some outsiders as backward, lazy, and "weak mentally and physically". Some outsiders even speculated that their heritage tied to escaped convicts and Portuguese pirates. The fact that the Salyersville Indians were respected by the whites they lived among in the mountain counties was overlooked, largely because white mountaineers themselves were now also cast as being "primitive, backward, lazy" and so forth by the same outsiders. Yet, unlike local blacks, the Salyersville Indians continued to participate in local militias, hold county offices, marry whites, and so forth. Locally,

that the Indian identity remained strong in the families in the Salyersville area is reflected by the 1900 census, in which enumerator opted to created a "Salyersville Indian Subdistrict" for those families living at the Big Lick. So specific was this identity that these enumerators even provided a blood quantum and tribal designation of "Cherokee" for individuals. Yet, the association of the Indian identity at the individual and family level, both in and out of the Big Lick Indian Village during and after these years show that neither race nor geography was what kept them linked to that identity. Instead, it was the ongoing relations between the interrelated family groups themselves.

Chapter 9

Salyersville Indians, Eastern Cherokee, and the U.S.Court of Claims

In the last half of the 1800s, small groups of families and individuals of the Salyersville Indians had been periodically moving out to the Cherokee and Creek Nations in Indian territory. Coincidently, years later in an unrelated manner, many Salyerville Indian families remaining back in Kentucky would get involved in a Court of Claims issue regarding all "Eastern Cherokees". In the process, they would provide letters, testimonies and interviews which reveal the size and strength of their families as they addressed the goverment as a group. Their internal perspective regarding their "Cherokee" and "Indian" identity provided through these sources clearly shows that family is what served to define their Indian identity. They also show how, among different individual and families, this Indian identity was also internally linked with attitudes regarding race, and the "ethnic" or tribal identification of "Cherokee". These perspectives were however confused with the political defintion of "Eastern Cherokee" that was the government's focus in this case. Yet, the Salyersville Indians' organizational responses taken during this event demonstrate that the social cooperation of the interrelated families was strong and, in this case, functioned well enough to extend outside their "blood relations" and draw support from local non-Indian lawyers, merchants, Judges and so on regarding the idenity claim as "Cherokee" and "Indian".

Setting Sights on "the Nations": Salyersville Indian Removals to Indian Territory

The timing of the Salyersville Indians in receiving the specific tribal label of "Cherokee" in the 1900 Federal Census was an interesting coincidence, because unbeknownst to anyone at that time, in a few years the U.S. Court of Claims would make a decision in favor of the "Eastern Cherokee". That event would again bring the Salyersville Indian population to the attention of the Indian Department in Washington. However, the Court decision would not be made until 1905, and nobody in Magoffin would get wind of these actions in Washington until 1907. In the interim years, other interesting coincidences occurred regarding the Salyersville Indians, this time connecting them to the Cherokee and Creek Nations in Indian Territory.

For nearly two decades prior to the Court of Claims decision, many people from Magoffin County, both Indian and non-Indian had been sporadically moving in small family groups out to "the Nations" in "Indian Territory". Some of the first relations of the Salyersville Indians to do so were the descendants of old *Louanna Cole.* Louannna was the grandmother of the aforementioned Salyersville Indian politician, *Wallace Cole.* Unlike most of her brothers and sisters, Louanna would never leave the Cumberland Gap-Greasy Rock area to join their kin up in Kentucky, although her son *Charley* and daughter *Nancy* did. Most of her other children instead migrated out to the Cherokee Nation right before and after the Civil War. One of them was Louanna's youngest daughter *Nersis* ""*Siss*" or "*Polly*" *Cole*, who also went by the "Indian name" of "*Pipe*" *Daugherty*[893]. Siss would marry a local white man from the Cumberland Gap area named Preston Brummett, and in 1866 they moved their young family out to the Cherokee

Nation. Documents show that Siss would come back to Appalachia only once in her life to "visit her people" up at the Big Lick community, but thereafter "disappeared" from contact with those back in Kentucky[894]. Siss would die in the Cherokee Nation in 1883, and it would be at that point her children would scatter. The only boy of Siss's, *John Marshall Brummett*, aka "*Chusquahtalota*", would attend school at Vinta in the Cherokee Nation. Soon after his mother died, the young Cherokee married Maggie Roberts and by 1908 the couple had moved to Denver, Colorado. Chusquahtalota's sister *Laura*, who married into the prominent Cherokee family of the *Poor Bear's*, would live amongst the family into which she married as would the rest of her sisters.

However, in the first years of 1900, one of Siss's daughters, *Emmeline*, who then was married and living in Bedford, Oklahoma, reëstablished contact with her Indian kin back in Kentucky through written correspondence[895]. The rest of Siss's children in 1908 would report to the Special Commissioner of Indian Affairs that while they knew the names of Siss's half brothers and sisters through Louanna, they did not know their present place of residence, or even if they were still living[896].

As for the Salyersville Indians, migrations from Magoffin County out to Indian Territory would start later. But around 1880, a number of the Indians and mixed-bloods from Magoffin County, as well as a number of their non-Indian friends and neighbors, would set their sights on removing to the Indian Territory. The specific motivations as to why they were choosing to move there are unknown. But in doing so most would go in large family groups. The most notable late 1800s emigrations from Magoffin to Indian Territory would be associated with the Cherokee-Saponi families of *Daniel* and *Jahaza Cole*, *James Jackson Shephard*, as well as *Shep* and *Mary Cole*'s son *Lewis Cole*[897]. And

as they did so they notably maintained their own "Cherokee" identity while amongst the Indian Nations there. The family oriented identity that enabled them to define themselves as Indian in Kentucky apparently enabled them to accommodate well to life in the Indian Territories.

Another early connection between people from the Magoffin County area and Indian Territory involved a member of the mixed-blood *Howard* family who remained closely tied to the Salyersville Indians who later moved out there. This person was *James Jackson Shepherd*, who was known by those who knew him as being a "half-Cherokee" through his mother *Sally Howard*[898]. After wandering for a time after his Civil War service in both Confederate and Union forces, James left the Kentucky mountains sometime between 1872 and 1880, and set down in San Bois in Indian Territory[899]. For the next three decades, James moved frequently back and forth between the Creek and Cherokee Nations, living intermittently in or around San Bios, Stilger, Broken Arrow, and even points in western Arkansas. In the interim, he sired and raised ten children with Samantha McDonald who he had married back in Kentucky in the Little Sandy area[900]. James was an "expert gunsmith and keymaker", and well known as a "River man" as he often lived with his family in houseboats that he cruised up and down the Arkansas and Poteau River. His son recalled that their family did a lot of small scale commercial fishing to supplement the family income. James would also hunt deer and take the dressed meat to sell at place like Fort Smith[901].

James would finally settle down in his old age and who pass on while living at Brushey Mountain near Muskogee in the Creek Nation in 1916. But he was not alone as a Salyersville Indian in the Indian Territories. Indeed, by that point in time the Brushey

Mountain area near Muckogee had become the residence of a number of Salyersville Indian families who had since emigrated west[902]. How and why the Brushey Mountain-Muskogee area attracted some many Salyersville Indians eludes me, especially because that put them outside the boundary of the Cherokee nation and in that of the Creek Nation.

By 1908, there was a small yet significant percentage of the Salyersville Indian Population, and the Cherokee *Cole* and *Perkins* families in particular, now living in Indian Territory. One of the elder Shep Cole's living sons, *Lewis Cole*, could be found out in Stroud Oklahoma by that year, although the rest of his siblings remained back in Magoffin. The family of *Harrison* and *Clara (Miller) Cole* had moved out in the Cherokee Nation as early as 1885, by 1905 had returned to Magoffin County, and by 1908 had returned west and was living in the vicinity of Pierce, Oklahoma. As previously mentioned, Harrison's sister *Jahaza Anderson-Cole* had married another Indian from the Salyersville Indian Community, *Daniel Cole*, and they had also removed to Indian Territory. By 1908 Daniel and Jahaza's family were now living across the river into the Creek Nation near Muskogee[903].

While might be able to classify the Brushey Mountain area as a sort of Salyersville Indian area of concentration , most of these families moving out to the Indian Territory moved throughout the Cherokee and Creek Nations in small family groups. Evidence shows that, as they did, they visited and otherwise kept in contact with their relations throughout Indian Territory on a regular basis. It is notable, too, that although most would keep up this wandering pattern for many decades, no matter how far or how often they wandered, those of the Cherokee Cole family in particular who "passed on to

the other side" would mostly be interned at the "Cole Cemetery" located at near Brushey Mountain.

The reasons, incentives, and motivations lying behind these families' choice to move to Indian Territory presently eludes me. Indeed, the vast majority of Salyersville Indians would choose not to emigrate to Indian Territory and continue to remain on their land back at Big Lick and elsewhere in the Magoffin County area of Kentucky.

However, interesting patterns can be deduced by following which of those Salyersville Indians did move out to Indian Territory. For one, most of the Salyersville Indians migrating out to Indian Territory at the turn of the century would be mostly of the interrelated families of *Cole*, *Perkins* and *Fletcher*. Few of the Indian families of *Collins*, *Gibsons* and *Dales* would choose to join them. And for those who did, they often did so in "caravans" that included many non-Indian people from Magoffin County who were not directly related to the Salyersville Indians[904].

One example of one of the largest of these caravans to the Indian Nations which involved the Salyersville Indians was a joint venture of 42 families of whites and Indians from the Magoffin County area who started for Indian Territory in April 1901. Among them were a number of the *Perkins*, as well as the family of *Wilson* and *Sarah Cole* . Another large caravan to set out for the territory from Magoffin clearly demonstrates the diversity of families that were often aligning together for this objective. This group migration would occur in the spring of 1905, when 32 families from specific areas in and around the Magoffin and Morgan county line pooled their resources, "got together and chartered a train to Oklahoma"[905]. Most of these families were many who had little or no Indian heritage. But among the Indian and mixed-blood families that would accompany

this caravan of east Kentuckians were the *Blankenships*, as well as the family of Old *George Perkins'* son, *Tom* and his wife *Susie (Blankenship) Perkins*. The families of *Allamander "Mander" Perkins* and his wife *Lola (Cole)*, as well as *Washington* and *Daniel Perkins,* would also join them[906]. In the end, the reasons that these Indians and non-Indians from the Magoffin area were making their way out to Indian Territory are probably as diverse as the population that would do so.

While the motivations of why these families in removing to Indian Territory remain elusives, it is apparent that, for some, life there was difficult at best. In 1979, *Bess Lowe Rivers* interviewed her grandmother Rivers, who moved with her family from Kentucky in 1916 as child to join their relatives who migrated there in 1905. This old woman recalled stories about how at that time, no land could be found for them to buy or rent, and thus "some lived in tents and dug-outs" as squatters as they wandered across the lands of the Creek and Cherokee Nations. On a more humorous note, Grandmother Rivers recalled one story about how "my Grandfather, being part Indian...made friends with the Indians. He got on with them so well, in fact, that an Indian chief wanted to buy my grandmother"[907]. Some of these families going back and forth between their kin had split themselves between Kentucky and Oklahoma in the ensuing years. Salyersville Indians *Mander* and *Lola Perkins* for instance moved back to Kentucky right away. They stayed however only two years before they took their growing family back to Oklahoma. With the exception of one year in 1912 when the family went to Wisconsin for some unknown reason, that Salyersville Indian couple ultimately spent their remaining years out in Oklahoma[908]. Others sadly did not get along so well here outside of the mountains. Little *Susie Perkins* for instance died of sickness during her family's first year in the

West. So many of the 1905 party of migrants died or otherwise experienced hardships during the first year that most would end up turning right back around and heading back to Magoffin. Sporadic movements of individuals and families from the Salyersville Indian population between Magoffin and Oklahoma however would continue throughout the first half of the 20th century.

Cherokee, Indian, and Identity: The Court of Claims Controversies

As revealed through correspondence with Washington officials, it would be to some of the Salyersville Indians' astonishment to learn that the Federal government was investigating Cherokee claims as per a 1905 U.S. Court of Claims decision made in favor of all "Eastern Cherokees" When the Salyersville Indians finally heard the news that they too could be pursuing claims as Cherokee Indians. In January if 1908, they were perturbed that Washington never notified them, and they were told that in less than a month the government would cut off all further enrollment of potential claimants, regardless if they were entitled or not. Evidence needed to be gathered and sent in to the "Special Commissioner" of Indian Affairs, Goiun Miller, who was appointed to look into any and all Cherokee claims that fell under that decision. Nonetheless, the Salyersville Indians would quickly and assertively organize a response.

The Court of Claims decision stemmed from two decrees of the Court issued in May of 1905 and 1906 which stated that the 'Eastern Cherokees' had been wrongfully separated from their eastern lands under the Treaty of 1835, and were subject to further wrongs under the Treaty of 1846. As a result, under the June 30, 1906 Act of Congress, a

little more than a million dollars appropriated as compensation and this money was to be distributed among tens of thousands of rightful claimants. Those 'Eastern Cherokee' who qualified for these monies were however restricted to those who enrolled under the treaties of 1835 and 1846. That is, for participation in this fund it was first necessary for the claimant to "establish the fact they are Eastern Cherokee by Blood, and that they were members of the Eastern Cherokee Tribe of Indians at the date of the Treaty of 1835-6 and 1846, or are descendants of such persons"[909]. This, of course, left out the descendants of thousands of Cherokee 'Old Settlers' who had moved west of the Mississippi under Treaties made prior to 1835, as well as hundreds of others whose who gained individual reservations under previous treaties or had gained citizens status in the states they lived prior to 1835. Special Commissioner Goiun Miller, who had been assigned to oversee the massive project that would result from the Court of Claims decision, would ultimately receive nearly 90, 000 applications. In the end, only 30,820 of these claims would be allowed.

Despite the massive number of applications being recieved, somehow the relatively small Salyersville Indian Population would eventually catch the attention of Miller's office, and his initial investigations would to convince him to investigate the Salyersville Indians' claims further byond just the application process. The applications forwarded by the Salyersville Indians presented a special, although not unique, case among the tens of thousands of claims the Special Commissioner would receive. Specifically, the *Cole* family had maintained for generations that old *John C. Cole* and his wife *Cuzzie Anderson* had, prior to their removal to Kentucky, been swindled of land held by them in the old Cherokee hunting reserve around Cumberland Gap by

unscrupulous whites in government employment at the turn of the previous century. Now they finally had an opportunity and an official avenue by which to again pursue these old claims. Furthermore, Salyersville Indians were unquestionably a long-standing *community* of Indian people despite the ambiguity of their historic ties to the Eastern Cherokee. This fact appears to have convinced the Office that the likelihood of intentional fraud in the Salyersville Indian's case was minimal, if not impossible on such a scale. From the perspective of the Salyersville Indians, the Guion Miller enrollment process would involve over a year filled with high hopes and dashing disappointments.

The *Cole*s and other Cherokee families assocaited with the Salyersville Indian Population may have gotten wind of the Court of Claims application process from the *Sizemores* and members of the White Top Band had relatives living in the greater Magoffin County area[910]. A thorough search of regional newspapers has not turned up any kind of "advertisement" announcing the call for applications, as was customary for the Indian office to publish in similar events. As with past Cherokee enrollment events, Kentucky was considered by Washington officials as out of the "Cherokee Nation zone" (that is, the boundaries of the Cherokee Nation as it existed in 1835)[911]. Thus, direct advertisements in the Eastern United States announcing the application process were mostly restricted to those parts of Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama and the Carolinias. Secondary mention of the Court of Claims decisions did make it into major city newspapers throughout the United States, and this is probably how most claiments residing outside the Old Cherokee nation in the East, or its present location in the west, heard of the decision and the call for applications. Magoffin County however did not have its own newspaper until the *Kentucky Mountaineer* went to press in 1912. It is

likely then that it was from a more personal source that the Salyersville Indians learned of the Court of Claims decision.

At any rate, it is not too suprising to find that old *Shephard Cole*, ever abreast of the local political situations, was the first of the Salyerville Indians to act on this Cherokee Claims fund. But it was not until January of 1907 that he did, and with only a day left before the first of many "final cut-off dates" was reached, he rushed off an application to Washington for his family.

Still living outside the tiny village of Gullett, Shep had been, for some time now, cultivating his political prowess and prominence among the county's Democratic party, suggesting another avenue by which the local Indians may have recieved word of the application process (see Chapter 11). With the aid of a Salyersville lawyer, Shep's family's application was singularly sent out as an example of the Salyersville Indian claiments while the rest of the Salyersville Indians with Cherokee heritage waited until they received return word from the Special Commissioner to do so. Later that spring, news was recieved from Washington that the Commissioner would extend the cutoff date for another year. Having gained consensus amongst themselves to do so, later that year the rest of the Salyersville Indian claiments sent off their applications en masse as a *community* of Indians, and not as individual claimants. *Wallace Cole*, Rev. *J.W. Cole*, *Tiney Cole Jr.*, and the other leaders of the Salyersville Indian community at Big Lick, would also gather up the willing support of many local merchants, lawyers and politicians to aid in their organized effort to help press their rights and claims as Eastern Cherokee.

This corporate strategy seemed to help gain the attention and interest of the Special Commissioner. This was not an easy task, for Commissioner Miller's office

received dozens, and sometimes hundreds of applications a day from all over the United States. On August 1, 1907, the office in Washington received the first batch of 18 family applications from the Salyersville Indians and, a week later, received 29 more. Miller's office would receive another group of 38 applications from them before the month was out. In addition to these, a few dozen more applications were recieved by other Salyersville Indians who were living outside the county or out in Indian Territory. Before the summer was out over 120 applications representing over 400 individuals (living adults and children), or about 40 nuclear families, were received by Miller from members of Salyersville Indian population.

As one should expect, notably most members of the old Saponi families like the *Collins*, *Gibsons*, and *Bowlings* would *not* apply. While the "Saponi" tribal identity may or may not have been lost to them by this point in time, they obviously still knew that their Indian ancestors were of Indian Nations that were not Cherokee. Any Salyersville Indians from those families that had Cherokee ancestors from the Coles or related families of course did apply. A few Salyersville Indians not of Cherokee descent, and openly described themselves as "Indians" from "Old Virginia" did apply. Therefore, claimants from the region were therefore not restricted only to the families of the Big Lick Indian Village, as reported in the 1900 Federal Census of seven years prior, nor were they restricted to the Cherokee Coles. Indeed, about twenty more local families were asserting a mixed-blood Indian identity, apparently all consanguanially unrelated to the above mentioned families also would forward claims as descendants of Eastern Cherokee. Such families included some of the *Carpenter*s and *Howard*s from Lambric and Decoy in neighboring Breathitt county, and the prolific *Sizemores*, many of whom

had migrated to the Magoffin region from White Top Virginia to joined with the descendants of old Goldenhawk Sizemore who still lived in the east Kentucky mountains. All of these families had kinship connections with people who were held in high regard in the county seats and surrounding hollows. While not usually considered locally or personally to be "Indians", but whites or mixed-bloods, they had all strongly asserted their Indian heritage in this case.

With their participation in this enrollment process initiated by the court of claims, the Salyerville Indians became part of the mass of statistics and data being compiled by Special Commissioner Guion Miller. Aware that this was going to be a complicated process, correspondence shows that the Salyersville Indians had local "lawyer and counselor" Calloway Howard contact the Special Commissioner early in January 1907, prior to his submitting Shepherd's initial application. And apparently none too soon, for on the 25th of that month, the Office replied back to Howard bluntly, stating that all applications relating the Court of Claims decision had to be filed with the D.C. office no later that January 31[912].

Knowing it would be impractical to disperse, fill out, gather back and then mail off applications for all of the Salyersville Indians in time to meet the deadline, the lawyer desperately did what he could. Having time only to help Shep Cole complete his application, probably because he was one of the eldest and most well known of the elders of the Indian community, Howard quickly recontacted Miller in Washington. Stalling for more time, Howard asked the Special Commissioner, "...do you mean no application can be filed after the 31st, or do you mean that they cannot be filed after that time without showing some good reason why they were not filed before that time"[913]. Howard

pleaded to Miller on behalf of the Salyersville Indians that he had "a number of clients" who did not know of either the Act of Congress or the decrees of the Court of Claims until it was too late for them to apply. He confidently asserted that "notwithstanding, they are justly entitled to a share of the money appropriated"[914]. Asking permission to submit the claims of the Salyersville Indians despite the deadline, Howard rushed off his letter with Shep's application enclosed as an example.

Fortunately, Special Commissioner Miller requested, and was permitted, to extend the deadline for recieving applications for another year. This was because he realized that he was nowhere near accounting for all the thousands of rightful claimants who were ancestors to those Eastern Cherokee listed on the 1835 and 1846 enrollment lists. It had become evident to Miller that his task was much larger than any had originally anticipated. Not only did he have to account for tens of thousands of legitimate enrollment list descendants, he had to also differentiate between them and Indians from other tribes who claimed Cherokee, but were not party to the 1835 Treaty, as well as the inevitable frauds that seem to always pop up during such potentially lucrative "Indian payments".

Indeed, the fraud and corruption that has all too often impeded Indian-Federal relations had indeed reached into the Kentucky Mountains in anticipation of this forthcoming Cherokee payment. For example, *Amanda Smith*, a White-Top Sizemore descendent then living in Mima, Kentucky, had applied for a share of the fund. In a cooerespondence, Smith related a story to the Special Commissioner office about how, early in the summer of 1907 a group of men from Greenup County passed through her neighborhood claiming to be "employees" of the Indian Department in Washington.

They claimed to have papers for Cherokee "heirs" to sign by which she would recieve her share of the fund. But the men told Smith that she first had to pay them three hundred dollars in order to process the paperwork. She instead chose to contact and confide to the Special Commissioner, "as I don't understand" and being rightfully suspicious, asked him to give her "some plaine understanding" regarding what she should do[915]. The Commissioner promptly replied to Amanda informing her that no such agents had been dispatched to east Kentucky to look up claimants and file their paperwork. He advised her to instead correspond with the Washington based attorney, John S.Duffie, that some of the other Sizemore relations had employed to work on the matter, or with the Special Commissioner's office only. While the Special Commissioner requested to know who was posing as Federal employees, it is not known if the impostors were ever caught or identified or how many potential claimants they may have cheated[916].

The Salyersville Indians moved forward much more concertedly than Amanda Smith, having placed trust in a local friend who was a lawyer to aid them. During and after having submitted the bulk of their families applications, the Salyersville Indians then moved to align prominant non-Indians to support their claims. As voting constituants, the Salyersville Indians for instance would repeatedly call on their Representative in Congress to pursue their claims in Washington. In the fall of 1907, three primary elders from the Big Lick Indian village, *Rev.John Wesley, Adam* and *Tiney Cole* wrote directly to the Honorable John W. Langley of the House of Representatives enlightening him on their predicament[917]. The Congressman promptly forwarded the letter to the Special Commissioner's Office and asked Miller to advise him as to "what evidence will it be necessary for the claimants to furnish in order to substantiate their

claims...as descendent of the Cherokees"[918]. Miller replied the following day, stating to the Congressman that he had some 44,000 applications in his office with many more arriving every day, and that he was reviewing them in the order of the date they were received. As he had not yet reached the three Cole's applications, he could not yet state "if they were entitled or not". Replying to the politician's request for advice on what the Salyersville Indians should do now that their applications were submitted, Miller stated that they would be advised if any further information would be needed to confirm their rights to the fund[919].

Not realizing how slow the wheels of bureaucracy move in Washington, especially with a massive project such as this, by the winter of that year a number of Salyersville Indians bypassed their lawyer and wrote to the Special Commissioner themselves for an update on the status of their applications[920]. And in February of 1908, Congressman Langley also again pressed the Special Commissioner, this time specifically inquiring on the status of *Newt "Pee" Nickels*' claim. Again Miller replied that all applications were being reviewed strictly in order recieved, and that he could not and would not comment on any individual case before its turn[921].

Apparently, the Special Commissioner and his clerks finally reached *Shepherd Cole*'s application soon after these latest requests for updates on the Salyersville Indians status. Late February of 1908, Shep received a letter from the Special Commissioner requesting more information. New specific questions were posed such as why neither his father, *Charles Campbell-Cole*, nor any of his grandparents had enrolled in 1835 and 1851 and when did they go from the "Indian nation" to Kentucky? He also asked another standard question: had Shep or any of his ancestors ever been a slave and if so, were they

"owned by Indians or white people?". Shep however would not respond without first gaining some legal advise. By this time for some reason the Salyersville Indians had stopped using the services of Attorney Calloway Howard, perhaps because some the Howards were now pursuing claims of their own. So Shep turned to ex-Judge John H.Gardner of Salyersville for aid in supporting his response.

Gardner took a different tactic this time and, instead, used his contacts to reach George B.Gardner (no known relation) of the Interior Department for clarification regarding the new set of questions posed to Shep by the Special Commissioner. Gardner wrote "there are some of the questions asked that he [Shep] does not understand and he has gotten me to write you to see the Commissioner and have him explain himself a little more fully. He does not know what is meant by the enrollment of the Cherokees in 1835 and in 1851"[922]. Shep seemed to question the idea of a roll itself. Gardner asserted, on behalf of Shep, that "...if there was any enrollment of the Indians in 1835 in Tennessee, it was after his grandfathers had moved away"[923]. Concluding his remarks, John Gardener exclaimed "I think these Coles here are entitled to some of this fund and would be glad if you could help them some in the matter"[924].

A week after receiving John Gardner's letter in support of Shep and the Cole families' Cherokee claims, George Gardner paid a person visit to the Special Commissioner's office to pursue the matter, as his own Interior Department office was not far from Special Commissioner Miller's in downtown Washington D.C. Apparently, Miller did not take kindly to personal visits from other bureaucrats and politicians on behalf of their consituants and claimants. But a visit from an Interior Department official did prompt Miller to have his chief clerk write an official response after their meeting,

(and not the typical form letter that was usually sent to individual claimants, or even Congressmen like Langley). Reiterating the specific criteria for enrollment and participation in the Cherokee fund, the Special Commissioner pessimistically responded to George Gardner that "...it is necessary for claimants to to show that they, or their ancestors, were enrolled with the Eastern Cherokees in 1835 or 1851 and, from Mr.Gardner's [John of Salyersville] letter, it does not appear that Mr.Cole's ancestors were enrolled"[925]. Miller had yet to reach the dozens and dozens of applications from the Salyersville Indians buried below the thousands of other applications sitting in his office waiting to be reviewed in turn, and probably treated Shep's lone application with rightful caution.

Nonetheless, the Special Commissioner's office urged Shep to complete and forward the questions asked of him earlier that month. Shep was quite straightforward in his reply to the Commissioner's inquiries: he did not know why his kin were not enrolled in 1851 because, "as you will find, I was only 2 years old at that time"[926]. Shep understood that his father Charley came to Kentucky "from the Indian Nation" in 1845, "as he always told me and were just a boy and run away from his mother", Louanna, who lived back among the Greasy Rock Indians at that time. The "Indian Nation" Shep was referring to was possibly the Greasy Rock Community itself. Regardless, Shep informed the Commissioner that his father came to Kentucky to join his Grandparents and Aunts and Uncles already residing there. Then speaking for the Salyerville Indians in general, he answered "we never had been slaves", and finished his reponse by stating

> "...now as for us being enrolled in 1851, I cant tell anything about it

> they were not any of us folks in Kentucky except my Father's family and one of his sisters and William Cole my mothers Father and his family and the country were almost a wildness[sic] at that time as I am informed and were not as much as a Post office and I suppose they were Ignant[sic] of such Enrollement for in 1875 the nearest P.O. to where we lived were 13 miles and I my Self never herd[sic] of the Indians being enrolled"[927].

Indeed, the idea of some kind of previous enrollment of "the Indians" confused and perplexed not only the Salyersville Indians of Cherokee heritage, but also the Sizemores and many other Indians and mixed-bloods of more obscure "tribal" Indian" ancestry who had now lived in the Kentucky hills for generations as American citizens[928]. Such confusion for instance is evident in the statements of *Steven Sizemore* who was now residing outside Magoffin up in Greenup County[929]. Like many claiments, he seemed to semantically use "Cherokee" and "Indian" as the same general identifier. For while continually asserting and interchanging the two labels, he also openly stated to the Commissioner that the Sizemores were originally "Indians from East Virginia"[930].

The internal definition of Salyersville Indian identity, which is supported by the kin group, has, for instance, subsumed political and ethnic definitions of Indian at the tribal naming level even before these families' founding of the Salyersville Indian community. For example, the name "Saponi" at one time was used by Virginians to identify a number of interrelated Siouan tribes. Initially, the flexibility of the Christian Saponi's kinship boundaries allowed Cherokee families, like the *Coles*, as well as others

from different tribal heritages, like the *Sizemores* and the *Perkins* to join them as these families consolidated into permanent communities of citizen Indians. This history shows that, by the Revolutionary War, most Saponi, and over two dozen other tribes eventually subscribed to the label "Catawba" or "Tutelo". In the case of the Christian Saponi families of *Collins*, *Bowlings* and *Gibsons*, this Saponi identity also falls away with time, but the kin group clearly does not[931]. This pattern was followed by the Indian families moving on to establish the Salyersville Indian community. By the late 1800s many Saponi Collins and Gibson, the *Sizemores*, and other Indian families of non-Cherokee heritage were being called, and called themselves, 'Cherokee' which, in reality, has simply come to mean 'Indian' to them. That they lived and married among Cherokee families like the *Coles* strengthened that tribal identification. Indeed, many, if not most, Salyersville Indians embraced both Saponi and Cherokee heritages by the late 1800s. The Cherokee label was thus secondary to the family identification such as "Coles" or "Collinses". From this, we see that the group as a whole often used the most dominant "tribal" identity among their community. The Cherokee tribal identity equated the Salyersville Indian population in general.

The Sizemores also often used the identifiers of "Indian", " Cherokee" and "Sizemore" to mean one and the same. For example, one Sizemore remaining at White Top, most of whom were also pursuing claims as Cherokee at this time, testified to a agent regarding his Indian identity. The agent wrote the Commissioner that "...he claims Indian Blood through the Sizemore Race"[932]. The Sizemores also confused "Cherokee Country" with "Indian Country" when pressed by the Court of Claims examiners. Some stated that old Ned Sizemore's and his brothers originally came from "the cypress swamp

back in Cherokee Country, Virginia", while another said they later spent time in "the Cherokee Country on the Catawba Reservation"[933]. Another person told the Special Commissioner that "Ned Sizemore was duly enrolled upon the rolls of the Cherokee Nation and made in that year...in the Catawba Reservation" [934]. In this case, the claimant was apparently simply saying that Ned was enrolled as Indian from the Catawba Reservation. Indeed, most of Ned's descendants claimed that Old Ned had come from "the Catawba River of the Catawba Reservation as he called it" before coming up to New River. But they also shared a collective memory of the Sizemores leaving their tribe's original habitation from "The Great Swamp" in eastern Virginia even prior to that. Thus it is apparent that, when calling themselves Cherokee, the Sizemores meant simply "Indian". So, while technically their tribal claim of "Cherokee" here was erroneous, it is interesting to see how the White Top Sizemore descendants came to use the term "Cherokee" in describing their Indian identity or heritage to whites[935].

Steve Sizemore's confidence in his people's claims as interpreting "Cherokee" to mean any Eastern "Indian" is evident. Waiting for a reponse, and eagerly anticipating a favorable one despite the rumors that were flying to the contrary, Steve wrote back in December of 1908 that "our Agent [attorney] R.M.Smith has wrote me concerning the Sizemore [claims] are good ones from what he can learn. There is no trouble whatever about proving our relation to the Cherokee Indian all we want is the opportunity to do so"[936].

Louanna (*Cole*) *Puckett*, who was then living a few miles down Middle Creek from the Big Lick Indian village with her white husband, had hired Prestonsburg lawyer, William Dingus, to independently pursue the Cole's Cherokee claims early in 1908.

Dingus similarly echoed confidence in the Cole family relations in "proving" their assertions. But he also came to share their continued frustration and confusion regarding the questions being asked of them by the Special Commissioner. In March he corresponded with the Special Commissioner's office, asking if more evidence was necessary to support the Cole family's cases asserting, "...this applicant can she believes, if she has not already proven, that she is descendant from Eastern Cherokee Indians, parties to the treaties of 1835-6 and 1846"[937].

That spring, a few of the Salyersville Indians joined many local non-Indians in what, for a few families, had recently become a yearly tradition of travel north to Ohio to work in the Scioto Marsh onion fields (see Chapter 12). One of these was *J.M.Collins*, who left with high hopes and new aspirations concerning the interest of the federal government regarding his people's potential "Indian rights". But instead of receiving confirmation, those Salyersville Indians abroad as well as back in Magoffin instead began receiving new sets of questions from the Special Commissioners office. For instance, Miller was now asking "Do you pass as white people, Indians or Negroes", or sometimes more vaguely "as white or colored...in the community in which you live"[938]. The continued questioning must have both heightened and dampened the hopes of the Salyersville Indians who had never had their ancestry questioned so vigorously by Federal officials.

As previously mentioned, Miller also was discovering that many Indians in the southeastern United States whose ancestors were really Catawba, Creek or of tribal affiliations other than Cherokee were, like the Sizemores, claiming Cherokee. So the Special Commissioner was now smartly inquiring of all unconfirmed claimants whether

their ancestors "ever lived with any tribe of Indians, give the name of the tribe...and what part if any, they took in tribal councils"[939]. Yet, the specificity of the questions meant to aid Miller only frustrated many of the Salyersville Indians. For instance, *Easter (Cole) Bailey* replied to the last question mentioned in a letter to the Special Commissioner stating that, "in regard to the tribal council will say he [Easter's Grandfather *George Cole*] claimed 3/4....my kindred was living in 1835-1851 in Kentucky...So I hope can [now] fully understand our tribal relations. So if you need more proof we can furnish at your request"[940]. It is apprent that Bailey confused "Council" was confused with "quantum".

Similar correspondence between the Special Commissioner's office and the Salyersville Indians continued with some frequency throughout the spring and into the summer of 1908. This coorespondence fortunatly sheds much light on the history of the Salyerville Indian population as they recalled it at that time. For instance, *James Collins* told the Special Commissioner the story of how his *Cole* family grandparents who were in North Carolina long prior to the treaty of 1836, but "then came to Tennessee and from there to Kentucky close to when I was born and never got nothing for his home at all"[941]. Louanna Puckett, like many of the others, remained ever anxious to help the Commissioner Miller in proving their families' claims in any way and, on more than one occasion, wrote statements like "I hope that you will not bee ofendent for I supose that you recieve many letter al inquairy by I hope that you will anser these letter and tell me if more prouf ese required"[942].

Ides Carpenter, a mixed-blood Howard descendent then living down in Breathitt County, also continued to answer the questions being posed by Miller. As for the

Howard familiy claims, all she could offer up as "evidence" was from her memory, and she told the Commissioner that her "parents and grandparents were recognized as white people but great grand mother was a Cherokee Indian" who "married a white man who resided with the tribe in North Carolina or Tennessee"[943]. Their son, she stated, came to this part of Breathitt in 1834 or 1835, and so Ides speculated that her ancestors were not enrolled at that time or later "because of the fact that they lived in a rural community, in fact a wilderness, where there were no mail and no communication with the outside word and ignorant of their rights and claims"[944].

Regardless, the Salyersville Indians and their mixed-blood neighbors, like the *Howards* and *Sizemores*, all were confident in the fact that the proof they needed would somehow come to light. In answering one of the many questions posed to some of them, *Fielden Collins* stated that "I pass as a Indian color", and confidently stated "if you need any more proof concerning my case I can furnish any information you may ask"[945]. Like the rest of his Cherokee kin, Fielden still could not satisfactorily answer why his ancestors were not enrolled on any of the pertinent Treaty lists except that, in his case, he knew his ancestors were already in east Kentucky when the 1835 and 1851 Cherokee rolls were taken. Despite the rigourous questioning from Federal officals, the people's confidence in their oral traditions remained strong. Many of the Salyersville Indians, such as *Newt "Pee" Nickels*, replied in their correspondences that many of their elders' generation had "lived with the Eastern Cherokee as a member". Pee backed up that claim only by writing to the Special Commissioner that "this has all ways Been told by Grand fathers"[946].

Apparently something in this oral history intrigued Miller, for the Special

Commissioner remained interested in the Salyersville Indian's claims. Testifying to this, in the early summer of 1908, the Special Commissioner decided to send a "Special Agent" to Salyersville to meet with representatives from the Salyersville Indian community. This must have excited the people *when* they found out. However, evidence presently suggests that the Salyersville Indians did not know about the Agent's planned visit prior to his arrival. Nothing was announced in the newspapers of nearby counties, and no correspondence announcing the impending visit has been found at this time. Indeed, a day before the Special Investigator would arrive in Magoffin, *Anderson Cole* had shot off a letter to the Special Commissioner summarizing the reasons why the Salyersville Indians felt that they were rightfully due a part of the Cherokee fund. The emotion in the letter makes it worthy of repeating here, in full. And it also reveals some of the reasons for the constant wanderings of Anderson's father *Jack Cole* back and forth between Tennessee, Virginia and Kentucky prior to his death.

> "Sir i rescived a Notice from, Mr. guion Miller of 601 Curay Building asking, proof consirning Eastern Cherokees Claims and [all.] I No about any Such is this in Tennessee allaBama. N.C. and GA- had Land Belonging To us there and Tradied it To the Goverment and We Never got any Pay for it To my Noing, and if it Bee this please inform Mee of the Matter and i will Try to See about it. That thir was a Longe Time Back, [and] at that Time I was very small Bornde in 1833- and my father wood go Back Down there To See about it in or about the D Date of 1835, and 1836 as Well as i Can Tell this this [apired] and the

> Coles scattered from out ther My father went Back and Live in Ky and Tennessee and VA., he Dide in Lee Co. VA- in 1863 an 62 all Very Sad he Never Wood Leave ther Til he got his pay. Now if you can tell me any thinge in regard to this Matter. P.S. Do so if it is for you To Do So as this is all i No any thinge about"[947].

The letter shows that Anderson conceived of Cherokee history, as he knew it, as Cole family history. For example, he knew full well that the Coles were never in Alabama or Georgia. But, by viewing the states as he did, Anderson still perceived the Cherokee Nation as a composite whole prior to the Cole's removal from the Old Nation. He obviously wanted answers as much as the Special Commissioner did. On the back of his letter, the hopeful Indian elder expressed faith in the Special Commissioner's investigative process, and pleaded,

> "Mr Miller. Sir. Hope you will Look over My ill Compose Letter tho I Hop you can give me sum advise about this Matter so as I may know what to Do and how to Do. Please write Soon and Giv me all the information you can and you Be Safe in Doing So"[948].

Coincidently, a few days after Anderson sent that letter on July 25, Special Agent Fred Baker, "Assistant to the Special Commissioner of the U.S.Court of Claims", arrived in Salyersville. The agent's trip was part of a greater investigative tour throughout the Upper South to look into certain claims that the office apparently felt were worthy of

more thorough researching[949]. As previously stated, it appears that Agent Baker arrived with no prior notice, possibly to avoid attracting undue attention to himself from frauds, or for the benefit of the claiments, who in other areas, were subjected to local criticism for pursuing Indian claims and/or asserting or exposing their Indian heritage[950]. Arriving in Salyersville by horse (for there was no railroad into Magoffin until 1914), Agent Baker did not go to the Big Lick Indian Village nor did he take down the testimony of any of the Indians living there at that time. Instead, the records show that he wrote down the testimonies of only three Salyersville Indian elders, *Shepherd Cole,* his "Uncle" *Anderson Cole*, and old *Kizzie Gibson.* All three of these elders were then residing near Gullett. Perhaps the Agent went only to the town of Gullet because Shep had the most correspondence with Washington, or because Gullett was a short distance from Salyersville. Perhaps the Agent did not realize that Big Lick was some 7 miles away from these three elder home until he arrived in Magoffin, and simply did not have enough time to go up there. The reasons why he did not go to the main community of Salyersville Indians at the Big Lick Indian Village is simply not yet know.

The three elders Baker did interview, however, told the Agent some interesting things. All three accurately recalled the early wanderings of the old headmen *Tom Gibson* and *John Cole.* They also traced these Cherokee and Saponi families' migrations through Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky. All agreed that old *John Cole* and his wife *Cuzzie Anderson* had "lived as members of the Cherokee Tribe in North Carolina", but that they had removed to Tennessee prior to the 1835 Treaty of New Echota. Significantly, the old tribal designation of Saponi seems to have been lost to the Salyersville Indians by this time, for none mentioned the name. They used the descriptor

of simply "Indians coming from Old Virginia" to describe and designate the Collins and Gibson ancestors who joined the Cherokee Cole family in the Cumberland Gap-Greasy Rock region[951]. All three men agreed that none of their ancestors had ever been enrolled, or had ever received any "Indian Money" or "Indian Land" since John and Cuzzie Cole "traded" their land to the government in the late 1700s or early 1800's. They also accurately testified that none of their ancestors were "ever held in bondage"[952].

When asked by the Agent how they were regarded by the local non-Indian who lived around them, *Shep Cole* answered that "all my ancestors have been regarded as Cherokee Indian and English decent". Shep also asserted that three of his grandparents had been of "3/4" Indian blood. Shep was also specific in stating that his Saponi grandmother *Biddy Collins* was "Indian", but he notably did not claim her as Cherokee. *Anderson Cole* concurred with Shep regarding Cole family history, and mentioned also that his father Jack had also "lived with the Cherokees as members of the tribe"[953]. Anderson recalled how, as a child, he had spent much time with his father in his frequent relocations throughout the mountains. But he also stated that by the time of his birth around 1835, none of their people "lived with the Cherokees" in the Cherokee Nation. Anderson testified however that wherever they resided he and his father had always been regarded as being of "Cherokee and white parentage". Anderson added that, like his father, he "had always been a voter"[954]. Old *Kizzie Gibson* noted that his father had also "always been a voter", and added that "in this community I have always been regarded as Cherokee Indian Blood". Kizzie also told the Agent what little he knew of the Indian ancestors from which he descended. He related to Baker that, prior to moving to east Kentucky, his parents *Bryce* and *Fannie (Green) Gibson*, and his grandfather *Thomas*

Gibson, had "lived with the Cherokees in Wise County" at the Stone Mountain Indian community. But Kizzie admitted that, regarding the Indians at Stone Mountain, he "did not know whether they lived as members of the tribe", apparently referring to the Cherokee Nation proper. He also admitted that he "never heard how much Indian blood they had", but reinterated that "they always told us that we belonged to the Cherokee generation"[955].

After interviewing these three Indian elders, Special Agent Baker went about the task of gathering corroborating affidavits from prominent local non-Indians. He easily secured the signatures of many local white men to back up the Indian's statements. Besides recording and notarizing the testimonies of these three Salyersville Indians and the local whites, it appears that Baker did very little additional investigation. Unfortunatly, no notes have yet been found in the National Archives that might be expected to accompany the papers of this Field Agent in the enrollment process. All that is found is the few handwritten notations that Baker inscribed on the typed testimonies themselves. They reveal an interest in physical attributes, on Shep's testimony Baker for instance scribbled, "shows traces of Indian colored", while on Anderson's Baker commented, "looks like a half-blood"[956]. As for old Kizzie, Baker scribbled that he "Shows traces of Indian-also a little African"[957]. And with that, Baker departed Magoffin County as abruptly as he had come, winding further through the hills to Pineville and Cumberland Gap, where he would similarly take the testimonies of a few Saponi *Collins* and *Gibsons* and other claimants residing there[958].

Correspondence from some of the Salyersville Indians following Baker's visit shows that they were not at all satisfied with the Special Agent's investigation. Like the

Cole family relations living at the main Indian community at Big Lick, the mixed-blood *Carpenters* and *Howards* living across the county line in Breathitt were also neglected by the field agent. *Ides Carpenter* sent off a bold one sentence letter to the Special Commissioner voicing her disapproval with the investigations thus far, requesting that "In regard to sending a Special Commissioner to this vicinity to investigate the Indian Claims of the Cherokees, will say if theres one to be sent would rather that you come as you could see in person some of us Cherokees" [959].

The fiery *Louanna* (*Cole*) *Puckett* was also upset at learning within a day that the Special Agent had, without warning, slipped in and out of Magoffin County without ever speaking to the bulk of the Salyerville Indian population. The day after Agent Baker left, she shot off a letter to the Special Commissioner questioning why he had never notified her for further proof before the agent had come to request further evidence of their claims. And some important information had apparently been missed in Shep and Anderson's testimonies, for Puckett anxiously stated that, since she "had been informed that on the 29th, before your assistant...that my relatives on affidavit failed to give proofs to which I deem necessary in regard to my claim. Maybe I have proven satifacture[sic]. But if further proof is necessary I can furnish them"[960]. She wrote to Miller that, "when my relatives were asked by your assistant if none of their relatives had ever drawn their Indian claim", they knew of none but Puckett claimed she knew of some who had. Puckett explained that "We had an Aunt, who migrated from Tennessee to Indian Territory some years ago..and Drawed her claim and came back to visit her people and disappeared and have not been heard from since"[961]. Puckett had, however, said she since had renewed correspondence with that Aunt's daughter who she understood had also

"drawn on her claim in the past" while living in Bedford, Oklahoma, when that state was still "Indian Territory"[962].

Louanna's step daughter, *Mibe Puckett*, was also apparently getting frustrated with this Cherokee claim process and took it upon herself to correspond with the Commissioner's office. She took a more direct and aggressive stance regarding the whole affair. A few weeks after Special Agent Baker's visit to Salyersville she wrote a letter to the Commissioner requesting an extension of time to "prove" her mother in law's claim, "...for she had no chance" when Agent Baker came to Magoffin. She first related how, in an incident similar to that experienced by the aforementioned Amanda Smith, early in 1907 "a man named Ben Whittaker was around taking applications charging fee for the same"[963]. Louanna Puckett had given this man some "fee" money but they had not heard from him again, so she had to apply again with the rest of the Salyersville Indians in the Summer of 1907. Mibe was much more disappointed that, despite her step-mothers frequent inquiries to the office as to whether further "proof" was needed regarding their claims, she was left to assume her claim was satisfactorily verified when obviously it was not. Apparently, Mr. Puckett or his daughter Mibe had, long before, told the Special Commissioner that they would go find Louanna's relatives who had previously drawn their claim "in the Territory if necessary" but hearing of no reply from the Commissioner, they had assumed no such trip would be needed. Mibe even quoted Commissioner Miller from his own letter of months earlier in which he stated that, "If further proof is required", the office would notify her "to appear before assistant Baker"[964]. Mibe chastised the Commissioner stating that, when Baker did arrive at Salyersville, they were never notified. After relating their frustrations, Mibe concluded

her letter to Miller by stating "...dear Sir, I only ask what is fair in behalf of these Indians the [illegible word] shall have right for them. I don't ask the Court of Claims to prouve for them. But it looks to me impossible that some of the family prouve and got their [illegible word] Why not them"[965].

The *Sizemores* and *Howards* families, none of whom were sought out by Agent Baker during his visit to the area, were also becoming more confused and disappointed with the whole process of "proving" their claims. For example, *Blackhawk Sizemore*'s nephew *Steve Sizemore* informed the Special Commissioner that fall that he had again "been advised to employ an Attorney to look my claim up. I did not think it was necessary for me to do please advise me and do you want [more] proof that we Sizemores have Cherokee blood in us"[966]. The following February, Steve Sizemore was still awaiting some word about something, indeed anything, regarding the present status of their claim. He wrote the Commissioner again, stating that, "...if we need to have any more proof I want to give it while my Father is still living...he would love to get his share before its too late. He is nearly eight one years old, and if things don't rush up a little faster, there will be lots of them pass away and get nothing"[967]. Later that summer, he again asserted to the Special Commissioner that "my father says he can furnish all the proof necessary to show he is 1/4 Cherokee his Grandfather was a through bred Cherokee- my Grandfather or the tribe was from East Virginia and came to the Eastern part of Kentucky, where my father was raised. Will wait to hear from you and then I will know what to do"[968]. Unfortunately, the next time he would hear from the Commissioner's office would be in the form of a impersonal form letter, stating that his, like all the rest of the Sizemore family claims, were being rejected.

Susan Risner, a Howard descendant who had moved from Breathitt County to Ivyton a few years prior, was similarly confused in trying to provide the Commissioner with further "proofs" regarding her Eastern Cherokee claims. When asked via letter, she said that she had indeed heard of the Treaty of 1835, "but did not know its context"[969]. She related that, during the crucial years of 1835 and 1851, her people were then "living with the Indians in Harlan County" (Kentucky). She however did not know if he Indian ancestors "took part in any Cherokee tribal proceedings", but they did "vote with the white people" during these years[970]. All she could offer as proof of her heritage was that her father *Sam Howard* "always said he was a Cherokee Indian", and that he had been recognized as such by Indians and non-Indians in the county. She described how "he would dance and cut all kinds of monkey shines and perform antic tricks and then he would laugh and say that was the Indian in me". Responding to the question of why her ancestors did not go West with the rest of the Cherokee during the 1830s removals, she astutely responded "my grandparents did not go with them from Reason of Marriage with White People"[971].

Similar letters and correspondence between the Salyersville Indians and the Special Commissioner's office continued into the fall and winter of 1908. Mrs. Puckett apparently gave up on hearing anything from Special Commissioner Miller so, writing on behalf of all the Cole's and their kin, she again contacted Congressman Langley for assistance. The Congressman would contact the Special Commissioner's office on behalf the Salyersville Indians numerous times throughout the winter and spring of 1909, asking if further proof would be necessary to support their claim[972]. The Special Commissioner responsed to Langley that he would not comment on any particular case until "the

completion of the Roll and Final report", which he said would occur that May. He nonetheless told Langley that "all information necessary for the final adjudication of these claims has been furnished"[973]. Undoubtedly it must have excited the Salyerville Indians to learn that all necessary proof was gathered, requiring no further effort on their part although they repeatedly told the Commissioner that they were willing to travel long distances to do if neccessary.

But what the Commissioner did not tell Langley was that their claims had not been substantiated. And by the time the Special Commissioner reached his deadline, no "proof" had been firmly established which would enable the Office to tie any of the Salyerville Indians to any individual Eastern Cherokees who and been party to the treaty of 1835. We can only guess at the disappointment and dashed hopes of the Salyersville Indians and their relations when, in the summer of 1909, they began individually receiving the impersonal form letters notifying them that all their claims had been rejected[974] In a manner standard to all applications that were ulimatly not approved, those of the Salyersville Indians would all be designated "Rejected", with the only explanation being that it "does not appear that ancestors were ever enrolled or were parties to the Treaties of 1835-6 and 1846 "[975].

As evident from the letters from the Commissioner, some of the Salyersville Indians would not receive their rejection notices until as late as 1910 and some not at all. But, undoubledly, they knew the answer would be the same for all of them once the first letter of this kind was received. That it was too late to provide further evidence did not sit well with the Salyersville Indians and mixed-bloods. *Hyden Nickels*, who was then living off in Cridersville, for example wanted to make an official protest to the Court of

Claims. Composing a letter attested to by local justice of the peace, O.A.Turner, he wrote "this is to certify that Q Hyden Nickells takes the following exception to the judgment of the Court of Claims May 28, 1908. That *William Cole* is my grandfather and as such I am entitled to my portion of the claim"[976].

Interestingly, oral traditions among Salyersville Indians living in Michigan today still recall this time when "the government conspired against us" and is the reason cited by some that they have avoided government contact regarding their "Indian claims" ever since[977]. But then again, government recognition of "tribal organization" or even enrollment with the two presently Federally recognized Cherokee enitites in North Carolina or Oklahoma was not the goal of the Salyersville Indian claimants in 1908. It is quite clear that, for the Cole family anyway, they only wished to be reimbursed for the lands that old John and Cuzzie Cole lost when they traded "his" portion of reservation land to the government a century before. That they were not previously told that their proofs were inadequate especially upset the Salyersville Indians. The most poignent illustration of this is exhibited in another letter that Lounna Puckett wrote to the Special Commissioner. She wrote that she was informed by a "Mr.Webster Balinge[sic] that his master Will close the door on further proof ... Excuse me, I am 54 years old- I never knew we had a master in Washington D.C.- my beleive [sic] that all men there was elected or appointed. These Indians never was slave or don't want to be- only ask the right to prove their claim"[978].

That the Salyersville Indians overestimated the extent of the U.S. government's knowledge regarding their people is apparent. For instance, in another coorespondence to Commissioner Miller, Mrs. Puckett wrote "so I believe you have all the Indian records at

hand and if further Investigations on my part is required I will furnish the same if possible because in my travels I have got aquatinted with several of my people in Hawkins County, Tennessee"[979]. But while the Salyersville Indians remained obscure to most outsiders, the Greasy Rock Indians, Puckett's aforementioned "people" in Tennessee, had attracted the attention of a number of professional and popular writers within the past two decades. The work of these writers will be decribed at length in the following chpater due to this lituratures lasting influence on outsiders perceptions of the interrelated Indian communities of Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain, and Salyersville areas.

Internally, the accounting of race is seldom exacting or consistent among the Salyersville Indians. People often call known 1/2 blood members "fullblood", while, in contrast, "fullbloods", have called themselves "3/4". Numerous instances in this chapter show this has been the case for some time. This is because blood quantum is not as relevant as one's position in the kin network. Still, correspondence from some of the Salyersville Indians to the Special Commissioner of the Court of Claims in 1908 shows that some of the people did (and still do) link race (as biological appearance) more strongly with Indian when explaining and validating their claims to a Cherokee or Indian identity. This was especially the case after they realized that their own kinship definitions were not enough, or not understood by outsiders as proof of Indian identity. Mrs. Ides Carpenter, for instance, straightforwardly pleaded to the Commissioner when she learned a Special Agent from Washington D.C. was being sent to Magoffin County in 1908 that "will say if thiers[sic] one to be sent would rather that you would come so as you could see in person some of us Cherokee"[980]. While ignorant of the complexities involved in proving treaty claims, Carpenter knew full well that many non-Indians relied on physical

appearance in assessing people's Indian claims. Carpenter's statement shows that physical appearance may enhance Indian assertion to outsiders, but does not detract or even enter into internal definition in qualifying one as Salyersville Indian--only in as much as race is tied a family lineages. Other contemporaries of Carpenter, like Louanna Puckett, realized that physical appearance had little to do with their Cherokee claims and knew that the link needed to 'prove their claim' was political and not racial per se. As a side note, it is interesting to see that Puckett was dumbfounded as to why officials in Washington did not know, or had not kept track of their ancestors' Cherokee land claims. She wrote to the Commissioner that "I believe you have all the Indian Records at hand"[981]. She felt that it was the Commissioner's duty to bring those records to light, which of course never happened.

Supporting documents generated from the Salyersville Indian's non-Indian friends, lawyers, a Congressmen, and Miller's Special Agent however did concur with the Salyersville Indians' assertion of an Indian identity. But in Magoffin County, nearly everyone involved misunderstood what was meant by "Eastern Cherokee" identity as far as the Court of Claims was concerned. These documents show that race, ethnicity, family, geography and politics all became linked in a wide array of internal and external definitions and assertions. However, these Court of Claims documents also show that dialogues and descriptions based on family, such as "The Coles...we Coles...our people...the Grandfathers...The Sizemore Race" and so forth were the primary means used by the Salyersville Indians and their nieghbors to define themselves Indian population as an Indiangroup. The Salyersville Indians however sometimes used geographic labels like "The Cherokees of Wise County" [Stone Mountain] to refer to

their relations residing elsewhere. By assigning kinship relations as the highest priority of affiliation, locally the Salyersville Indian identity remained strong and distinct in this part of Appalachia.

Chapter 10
Enter the Melungeon Hunters: Early Dialogues Regarding the Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain and Salyersville Indian Populations

For nearly twenty years prior to the U.S. Court of Claims event described in the previous Chapter, regional and national presses, as well as a few academics had taken an interest in the Salyersville Indians' "relatives" down in northeast Tennessee, the Greasy Rock Indians. Recall that the Greasy Rock Indian particular had been occasionally labeled "Malungians" since at least the early 1800s. But up to the end of the 19th century, such references are few and far between. However, all that would change in the late 1880's when a few "professional" academics, journalists and other curious onlookers began loosely throwing the label around and in the process exposed the Greasy Rock Indians and their relations to a much wider audience. These writings would popularize the "Melungeon dialogue" as a way of referring to and talking about the Greasy Rock Indians and their relations[982]. Because this early printed dialogue concerning so-called "Melungeons" would also directly and indirectly implicate the Salyersville Indian population, and because these dialogues remain so influential to outsiders' perceptions all of these "Civilized (Self-Supporting) Indians" to this day, it is necessary to elaborate more on this early popular and professional literature.

One of the first professionals to enter the Melungeon dialogue was Dr. Swan Burnett. Burnett was permitted to address the American Anthropological Society regarding a paper he wrote entitled "A Note on the Malungeons" during that group's meeting in February of 1889[983]. That short article would prove to be very influential in spreading and reinforcing erroneous myths and legends held by non-Indians regarding

the still prominent Indian community around the old Greasy Rock area.

Burnett, who hailed from the broad valleys of Cocke County, Tennessee, some 50 miles southeast from the mountains surrounding Greasy Rock, told of how, as a child, the adults around him told him wild stories about the "Malungeons". He related how upon reaching adulthood, his "childish curiosity gave way to more scientific interest" regarding the Greasy Rock Indians[984]. Burnett's childhood "curiosity" however was not based on any personal interaction. Instead, his "scientific interest" remained rooted in "legends of the Malungeons I first heard at my father's knee". As he retold it, his childhood impressions were that

> "...the name had such a ponderous and inhuman sound as to associate them in my mind with the giants and ogres of the wonder tales I listened to in winter evening....and when I chanced to waken in the night...I shrank under the bed clothes trembling with fear that was almost an expectation that one of these huge creatures would come down the chimney with a rush, seize me with dragon-like arms, and carry me off to his cave in the Mountain, there to devour me piecemeal"[985].

As for "the very word Malungeon", Burnett also offered what little he knew about the label, which was that, it

> "...would seem to indicate the idea of a mixed people in the minds of

> those who first gave them the name...I have never seen the word written, nor do I know the precise way of spelling it, but the first though that would come to one on hearing it would be that it is a corruption the French word melangee'--mixed"[986].

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Burnett may have been motivated to investigate his curiosity regarding the so-called "Malungeons" after reading the brief mention of the Greasy Rock Indians that appeared in John Trotwood's Tennessee: The Volunteer State. Published in 1887, Moore wrote that "for many years they were thought to be Indians, or a mixture or Indians and white people, whereby probably originated their name, Malungeon, which means mixture"[987].

Regardless, Burnett told the members of the Society that he eventually learned the "Malungeons" were indeed "not inhuman". As he put it "I came to learn that these creatures with the awe-inspiring name were people somewhat like ourselves, but with a difference"[988]. He claimed that the opinion of many of the whites in Cocke County, was that the "Malungeons" living in the mountains west of them were "not only different from us, white, but also from negroes--slave and free--and from the Indians"[989]. Burnett admitted however that other rumors held that they were a "mixed race" of white and Indian "with at least a modicum of Negro blood", but Burnett qualified this by stating that "on what data that opinion (was) based I have not been able to determine"[990]. Burnett also told the Society that some whites "gave credence to the claim of (them) being a distinct race, a few inclining to the Portuguese theory, some thinking that they may have entered the (United States) as Portuguese or Gypsies and afterward some families may

have intermingled with Negroes, Indian or both"[991]. He further elaborated that there supposedly existed a "caste restriction" among the Greasy Rock Indians which he said "has always been rigorously maintained...they do not intermarry with negroes and whites", and that they "have not recently intermarried with blacks or Indians" (the latter meaning Indians outside their own "tribe")[992]. All Burnett could add to this "public knowledge" of the group's history was that they apparently had come from North Carolina and that "the larger number" of them settled around Greasy Rock "as long as 75 to 80 years" ago. With that said, Burnett concluded that "whatever may be their origin, it is still a fact of interest that here had existed in East Tennessee for nearly 100 years a class of people held both by themselves and by the people with whom they live as distinct from three races by whom they are surrounded"[993].

Burnett admitted he had never been among to the Greasy Rock Indian Community, but that he instead based some of his opinions on those he "had seen himself" hiring out as laborers in the valley fields of Cocke County[994]. Burnett was either unaware of, or at least did not mention, the sister communities of the Greasy Rock population being maintained at Stone Mountain and up near Salyersville. Of those "Malungeons" who occasionally sojourned into Cocke County, he asserted that they "had physical peculiarities which would lend plausibility to any of the forgoing theories...they are dark, but of a different hue than the mulatto, with either straight or wavy hair and some have cheekbones as high as Indians"[995].

Burnett nonetheless claimed that "as a rule (they) do not stand very high in the community and their reputation for honesty and truthfulness is not to be envied", although he qualified this statement by saying "in this, there are said to be individual

exceptions"[996]. And again, without any firsthand information and without giving any sources for his assertion, Burnett claimed that those he called Malungeons "did not claim to belong to any tribe of Indians in that part of the country, but they proudly call themselves Portuguese"[997]. He did however admit that "they resented the appellation Malungeon, given to them by common consent by whites". He told the society that "locally" they were instead simply known by their family names, which he said was "the Collinses, etc."[998].

Burnett's writings stand in stark contrast to the picture of the Greasy Rock Indians presented here in previous chapters. As to the reasons he was motivated to "professionally" submit his summary of rumors and innuendo regarding the Indians of Greasy Rock, Burnett told his audience of Anthropologists that, "I have thought it well to put on record in the archives of the society the few notes I have been able to obtain, trusting that some one with better opportunity may be induced to pursue the matter further"[999].

Soon after his presentation at the Society's conference, but prior to the publication of his "Notes" in the following *American Anthropologist*, Burnett informed the Society that he had obtained some "new facts" regarding the "Malungeons" from North Carolina State senator Hamilton McMillan[1000]. The year prior McMillan had written a well circulated booklet or "pamphlet" entitled "Sir Walter Raleigh's Lost Colony"[1001].

McMillan's speculations regarding the "Croatan Indians" had led him to believe that there was a connection between them and the Melungeons[1002]. The Croatan Indians lived far to the east in that state, mostly in the swamps of the Pee Dee and Lumber Rivers, and McMillan was claiming that they were, in part, descendants of Sir Walter

Raleigh's small English colony that disappeared from Roanoke Island in 1567. Based on this assertion McMillan was arguing that the members of this contemporary Indian population were mostly descendents of Croatan Indians who had befriended that colony of whites, and adopted them into their community after they "disappeared". In 1885, McMillan argued this position in a bill he was sponsoring supporting recognition of the people around the Pee Dee and Lumber as "Indian". He was successful, and that state passed "the Croatan Designation Bill" which temporarily allowed that group to be state recognized under that tribal identification[1003].

Interestingly, despite the gross errors and assumptions Burnett and McMillian forwarded regarding the "Malungeons" and the "Croatan", documents cited by Gerald Sider in Lumbee Indian Histories in 1993 lends some credence to the possibility of some sort of connection between the two Indian populations, even if the connection existed only in the realm of regional southeastern nomenclature. Sider's own take on the situation is that prior to the designation of "Croatan", the Indians in Robeson County (now known as Lumbee and Tuscarora Indians) indeed referred to themselves as "Melungeons --ie white and Indian". Sider goes further to state that "both Croatan and Melungeon refer to prior admixture with white; the first specific, the second general" [1004]. As previously stated, back in 1885, McMillan had successfully argued his hypothesis before the North Carolina legislature, which then passed an act to have the Indians around the Pee Dee and Lumber Rivers be officially recognized as "Croatan Indians". In the fall of 1915, McMillan was called into court and asked if those Indians living in that part of Robeson and surrounding counties had previously called themselves "Croatan" prior to McMillan's involvement with them. His reply was "No sir, they call themselves melungeons", which

McMillan and other "Croatan" Indians testifying with him stated was a term for people who were "white and Indian", and that "melungeon" was not a tribal name per se [1005]. McMillian apparently felt that, to gain recognition by the state as a "legitimate" Indian group, they needed a legitimate "tribal" name, and that "Croatan" was the most plausible for them to adopt. For how long the "Croatan" Indians had previously used the word "melungeon" is presently unknown to me, and should be a priority for future research. But that these eastern Carolina Indians used the label at all suggests that the term was, prior to the late 1800s, a widespread label used throughout the American southeast. It is also interesting to note that while the Melungeon label was held in contempt by the Greasy Rock Indians, the label apparently was adopted and used by some of the Indians and mixed bloods living in the eastern Carolinas[1006].

Assuredly not by coincidence, in the year following Burnett's presentation and the publication of his "Notes..." in the *American Anthropologist* , a young urban socialite from Nashville would take it upon herself to make a "field trip" to the Greasy Rock Indian community to learn more about "Melungeons". The result would be a series of articles that a Ms. Will Allen Dromgoole would write and publish in the *Nashville Daily American* and the literary journal *The Arena* [1007]. The articles resulting from her trip all were published in 1890 and 1891[1008], and they would blow Burnett's and other outsiders spark of interest into a flame of controversy and conjecture concerning the Greasy Rock Indians that Dromgoole and others preferred to openly call the "Tennessee Malungeons". The contents of the articles were a mixture of fact and fantasy, but became, arguably, the most influential publications impacting outsider's perception not only of the Greasy Rock Indians, but also of the Salyersville and Stone Mountain Indian populations throughout

the following century. Many still, for instance, take for granted her claim that "...so much, or so little, we can glean from the records. From history we get nothing; not so much as the name Melungeon"[1009].

The first of Dromgoole's articles asserted and accepted the people's claim of an "Indian" identity. Her impression was then that "...in appearance they bear a striking resemblance to the Cherokees, and they are believed by the people (around them) to be a kind of half-breed Indian"[1010]. She claimed that "they mix very little with the natives of the country, and seem to care very little about the world beyond their isolated habitation"[1011]. But, by the last in her series of articles she had shifted her opinion in favor of the claim that they were of "a mixed origin of Cherokee and Portuguese", but with "branches" of English and African being fused upon their "family tree"[1012]. Dromgoole initially would make little attempt to trace their history or origins prior to the establishment of the Greasy Rock settlements and, instead, the young woman simply described what she heard and saw. Her speculative theories regarding their history would be elaborated upon in her 1891 articles, which seem, largely, to be a reaction to and reiteration of the reader's responses she would receive after the publication of her first articles in *The Nashville Dailey American* (see below)[1013].

Not accustomed to rural, let alone mountain life, Dromgoole's descriptions were of course filtered through the lens of her particular elite urban perspective. This background would prompt her to especially comment with disdain about their modest housing conditions and "outdoor lifestyle". Their homes, to her, were just "miserable hovels, set in the very heart of the wilderness". She disdainfully told of one 12 foot square log house that housed nine people. She described how only a quilt covered the

floor but that this apparently did not bother "the three poor old women seated on it arranging their Indian locks"[1014].

Dromgoole apparently visited Greasy Rock Indian homes located both in Blackwater Valley and up on Newman's Ridge during her singular trip to the area. She wrote that she found the people of Blackwater "exceedingly kind", but she hinted that those living on the Ridge were a bit more aloof in her presence[1015]. With her unidentified "guide", Dromgoole finally settled for a night at the home of *Calloway Collins'* family house up on the Ridge. The floor she shockingly described as being made of "...trees, with the barks still on them, and beds of leaves". Her host was described as being "a full-blooded Indian, with keen black eyes, straight black hair, high cheeks and a hook nose", and Calloway apparently became her primary "informant". Dromgoole said Calloway "entertained us with a history of his grandfather, who was a Cherokee Chief, and by singing some of the songs of his tribe"[1016]. The impressions the young woman gained during her brief stay confounded her, for she stated "how they live is a mystery. Their food is the hardest kind, and their homes unfit for man or beast"[1017]. Her urban palate was for instance put off by the "cornbread, wild honey and bitter coffee" that her host gave her for dinner.

Typical of the predominant thinking of the times, Dromgoole blurred the line between "race" and "culture" in her articles regarding the Greasy Rock Indians. For instance, she stated that "they possess many Indian traits, that of vengeance being strongly characteristic of them"[1018]. In another instance, she wrote "they are very like the Indians in many respects-- their fleetness of foot, cupidity, cruelty...their love of the forest, their custom of living out of doors...and their taste for liquor and tobacco"[1019]. She

however apparently did not consider being a practicing Christian to be an "Indian trait" and stated that, culturally they therefore "likewise resemble the negro in many things. They are great shouters and sticklers for religion.... believing largely in water and the mourners' bench"[1020]. While Dromgoole made little mention of their Christianity, she repeatedly alerted her readers that "you must know these people have many superstitions". She made much ado of the fact that many believed in "witchcraft" and "yarbs", and reported that "more than one charmer may be found among them"[1021]. Dromgoole even claimed to have visited the cabin of one "charmer" that she derogatorily described as a "old squaw". This woman claimed to be able to remove warts, moles and birthmarks "by a kind of magic known only to herself". Dromgoole also claimed that there was also "a witch among them who heals sore, rheumatism, and other ailments as well as performed conjuring", and supposedly the local Indians would come as far as ten miles on foot to consult her[1022].

Dromgoole emphasized the "exotic" things she saw and heard, and obviously shared many of the stereotypes that many non-Indians held toward Indians during this time. For instance, she claimed that the men are "slow, lazy, shiftless and shirking, and sometimes unacquainted with work, God's medicine for the miserable"[1023]. Dromgoole notably failed to mention that some of the local Indians were more socially and economically stable and successful than some of their white neighbors, like "Chief" *Beatty Collins* who now ran a "resort and hotel" at Vardy's Springs and was among the county's largest landowners[1024]. Instead, she wrote that "in many cases they are extremely immoral and seem utterly unconscious of either law or cleanliness"[1025]. It is little wonder that both the Indians and non-Indian of Hancock County came to resent

such unfounded commentaries, and that they would come to refer to this naive woman as "Miss Damfool"[1026]. The only thing close to a complement made regarding the Greasy Rock Indians was that "their voices are exceedingly sweet, and their laugh the merriest sound, more like the tickle of a happy brook among beds of pebbles than the laugh of a half-civilized Malungeon"[1027].

Together, Dromgoole and Burnett's rather obscure mentioning of the Greasy Rock Indians in 1890 and 91 would do more damage to the reputation of the Greasy Rock people, and by default, the Stone Mountain and Salyersville Indian populations than anything before or since. For over a century Dromgoole's articles in particular have been upheld as a definitive work on the so-called Tennessee "Malungeons" by everyone from Knoxville and Nashville newspapers to the Department of the Interior in Washington D.C.

Dromgoole's rendition of "Melungeon history" and "origins" were, and often still are, assumed to be true and would often be quoted as fact by later writers. These later embellishments would only increase the resentment of the Greasy Rock Indians toward outside writers who wrote about "Malungeons" because of the images that literature like Dromgoole's would conjure. For instance, she would claim that, upon being supposedly disenfranchised in 1834, "they naturally, when the State set the brand of outcast upon them, took to the hills, the isolated peaks of the Uninhabited mountains, the corners of the earth, as it were, huddled together, they became a law unto themselves, a race indeed separate and distinct"[1028]. Similar to Burnett, Dromgoole emphasized regional stories that told of how "old-slave mammies" would frighten rebellious children by threatening that "The Malungeons will get you if you ain't pretty" and erroneously claimed that, to

the whites in the valleys of Hawkins county and beyond during and after the Civil War, "they became a living terror; sweeping down on them, stealing cattle, their provisions, their very clothing and household furniture"[1029]. She made no mention that dozens had served with distinction, mostly in Union armies[1030].

Yet it would be remarks about race, "blood", and social and physical characteristics that would breed the most resentment among the Greasy Rock Indians regarding Dromgoole's work. It is also the most often quoted information by Melungeon Hunters ever since. In her final article, "The Malungeon Tree and Its Four Branches", she stretched her claims further by remarking on the Greasy Rock Indian's "family trees" in order to "illustrate this peculiar race, its origin and blood"[1031].

Considering all the errors and biases evident in Dromgoole's writing, and the fact that she was in the community for only a few days at most, one must question Dromgoole's impressions. Still, she claimed that the "pure-blooded" Malungeons presently inhabited Newman's Ridge while the "mixed-bloods" dominated Blackwater Valley. Locally called "Ridgemanites", she wrote that the former had the reputation of being "...harmless, social and good-natured when well acquainted with one, although at first (they) would be suspicious, distant and remorse" to strangers. The "pure-blooded Ridgmanites" or "pure Malungeons", she associated solely with the *Collins* and *Gibson* families. She asserted that local legends claimed that old *Vardy* and *Solomon Collins* and a "*Buck*" *Gibson*, and that, after their migration here from, these men were joined by other "pure-blooded" relations who "took this name [Collins] from Vardy". According to Dromgoole, there was "no-mixture" in these early families' "Indian blood". She stated that "the original Collins people were Indian, there is no doubt about that, and they lived

as Indians until sometime after the first whites appeared"[1032] . In her telling of how they ended up at Greasy Rock, Dromgoole instead retold the local legend, which is as follows:

> "Somewhere in the 18th century, before 1797, there appeared in the eastern portion of Tennessee, at that time North Carolina, two strange looking men calling themselves (Vardy) Collins and (Buck) Gibson...they had reddish-brown complexion, long, straight black hair, keen, black eyes, and sharp-clear-cut features. They claim to have come from Virginia and after many years of emigrating, themselves told the story of their past...with the cunning of their Cherokee ancestors, they planned and executed a scheme by which they were enabled to "set up for themselves" in the almost unbroken territory of North Carolina. Old Buck, as he was called, was disguised by a wash of dark complexion, and taken to Virginia by Vardy where he was sold a slave. He was a magnificent specimen of physical strength, and brought a fine price, a wagon and mules, a lot of goods, and $300 in money to be paid to old Vardy for his 'likely nigger'. Once out of Richmond, Vardy turned his mules' shoes and struck out for the wilderness of North Carolina, as previously planned. Buck lost little time ridding himself of his Negro disguise and followed in the wake of his fellow-thief to the territory. The proceeds of the sale were divided and each chose his habitation; Old Vardy choosing Newman's Ridge, where he was soon joined by others of his race and so the Malungeons

became a part of the inhabitants of Tennessee"[1033].

Dromgoole notably made no mention of the many relatives of the *Collins'* and the *Gibsons'* who concurrently settled Greasy Rock, nor does she make mention of the associated citizen Indian families like the *Cole*, *Dale*, *Bunch*, *Bowling*, *Williams* and *Goodman* families that settled the area simultaneously with Vardy and the others. Neither is "Saponi" or any other tribal affiliation mentioned other than "Cherokee". Nonetheless, Dromgoole claimed that soon after these *Collins* and *Gibson* Indian families settled around Greasy Rock that "three foreign shoots were grafted" upon the "pure-racial stock" of those families by intermarriage with three men each of Portuguese, African and English heritage respectively. The three other "branches" she associated with the *Mullins*, *Goins* and *Denham* surnames, and she deceptively connected their descendants to specific localities around Greasy Rock, like Newman's Ridge, Blackwater Creek and Swamp, and Big Sycamore Creek. Dromgoole's claim was that, in these latter two areas specifically, some of the Indians had followed, what she contemptuously called, the "unsavory" practice of marrying non-Indians. She gave her readers the impression that, among the whites living in the area, those Greasy Rock Indians who had non-Indian blood were called "Blackwaterites"[1034].

According to Dromgoole, the most prominent of the Greasy Rock mixed-blood families was that which she called "The Mullins Tribe". She did accurately report that this now large extended family descended from a man named *Jim Mullins*. Said to have been an Indian trader, or the son of a trader, Jim raised two large families by Collins women during the first half of the 19th century[1035]. She was in error in claiming that

Mullins was the source of the "first white blood" to enter the Greasy Rock Indian population. Nevertheless, her impression was that, throughout the 19th century, the Mullins family became a "very powerful tribe....exceedingly strong" and, contradicting her previously mentioned "pure-blood" assertions, she said that the Mullins' "remains today the head of the Ridge people, (and are) the most daring and obstinate"[1036].

Dromgoole also gave credence to the claims of some of those families among the Greasy Rock community who apparently claimed "Portuguese", in addition to "Indian", ancestry and identity. Based on information I cannot yet confirm or dispute, she claimed that a man named "*Denham*" of supposed "Portuguese" and possibly "Carib-Indian" ancestry had settled and married into the Greasy Rock Indian community in the early 1800s. As Dromgoole tells it, Denham "it is supposed came from one of the Spanish settlements lying farther south"[1037]. Denham had married the "pureblooded" sister or daughter of old *Solomon Collins* and together the couple would raise a small family on Mulberry Creek[1038].

It is obvious that Dromgoole, as did many Americans at this time, placed "races" on a "color" hierarchy of stature and status from Black to white, with all people falling on a continuum of social acceptability. Dromgoole for instance, claimed that "the Portuguese blood has been a misfortune to the first Malungeons, in as much to shield the Goins Clan, under which they seek to shelter themselves and to repudiate the African streak" [1039]. Without citing her source, she claimed one particular Goins man was of African or of "part African" descent had emigrated from North Carolina and gained residence in the area. He ultimately and would raise a large family by a "Malungeon woman" on Big Sycamore Creek in Powell's Valley. The Goins thus represented

Dromgoole's presentation of the so-called "Negro Branch" of her simplified family tree of the Greasy Rock Indians. With that said, Dromgoole then wrote that "The Malungeons repudiate the idea of Negro blood, yet some of the shiftless stragglers among them married the Goins people"[1040]. Dromgoole would contemptuously write that the Goins associated with the Greasy Rock Indians in the late 1800s "evade slights, snubs, censure, and the law, by claiming to have married Portuguese, (as there really is) a Portuguese branch among the tribes"[1041]. Without citing her sources or giving examples, Dromgoole further claimed that "....the Goins tribe however was always looked upon with a touch of contempt, and was held in a kind of subjugation, socially and politically, by the others" [1042].

Despite her rather forward assertions as to the validity of her "racial genealogy" of these four "primary families" she associated with the Greasy Rock Indian community, Dromgoole would subtly insert the admission that "opinion is divided concerning them" in regards to "the extent" of their non-Indian heritages or "racial composition". Still, to her credit, she did write that "they have their own ideas as to their descent", and these were that "the Malungeons believe themselves to be of Cherokee and Portuguese extraction". She wrote that they admitted that they "cannot account for the Portuguese blood, but are very bold in declaring themselves a remnant of those tribes, or that tribe, still inhabiting the mountains of North Carolina, which refused to follow the tribes to the Reservation set aside for them"[1043]. Dromgoole's descriptions noted that they even recalled that, before their people's sojourn in North Carolina, from which they came to establish the Greasy Rock community, that their Indian ancestors had originated from "Old Virginia". Dromgoole furthermore asserted that the primary old Indian families had

"stole the name" *Collins* and *Gibson* from white settlers they knew back in Virginia[1044].

Like most later writers contributing to this imposed dialogue about "Melungeon", Dromgoole did not dispute these people's own claims to an Indian identity. But, like Dromgoole, rumors and innuendoes would prompt such later writers to mostly debate about the *extent* of white, African and/or Portuguese heritage among them. Dromgoole herself for instance remarked that "The Portuguese 'streak' however is scouted by those who claim for the Malungeons a drop of African blood"[1045]. Adding to the complexity of the racial prejudices surrounding these claims, she even contended that "the pure Malungeons, that is the old men and woman have no toleration for the negro; nothing insults them so much as a suggestion of negro blood"[1046]. As for the present state of affairs among the Greasy Rock Indian community concerning the issue of Indian identity, Dromgoole wrote that "the Mullins and Collins will fight for their Indian blood....the Malungeons are not brave; indeed they are great cowards and easily brow-beaten, accustomed to receiving all manner of insults which it never occurs to them to resent. Only in this matter of blood will they show fight"[1047].

It should again be pointed out that Dromggole made no mention of the sister communities of the Greasy Rock Indians associated with the Stone Mountain and the Salyersville Indian populations. But far into the 20th century, the few later writers concerning themselves with those latter populations would refer overwhelmingly to Dromgoole's assertions regarding the Greasy Rock Indians to describe them. The more immediate concern however was that the appearance of Dromgoole's publications would set off a public opinion debate in the Nashville and Knoxville newspapers concerning, what many down there dubbed, her "discovery of the Malungeons". These public

debates would further serve to flatly homogenize all "Malungeons" regarding their lifestyle, history, heritage and identity.

The *Nashville Daily*'s reader's response to Dromgoole's 1890 publications regarding the "Tennessee Malungeons" would be immediate and prolific. Of the numerous letters to the editor that would be written both in support of and in rebuttal of Dromgoole's opinions and descriptions, it should first be noted however that not one of them was written by people who lived near or were otherwise associated with the Greasy Rock Indians. Nothing appeared in the paper that had been written by one of the Indians themselves. What is evident from the start of these debates is that the idea of having a prominent Indian population remaining in Tennessee did not sit well with many of the *Nashville Daily* readers.

The first response was rather neutral however. On Sept 2, a few days after Dromgoole's "Land of the Malungeons" appeared in the *Daily*, a man named Cartwright wrote a letter to the editor regarding a "similar" community of people, whose most prominent surnames was *Collins* and who had previously lived in Davidson County just north of the capitol city. Cartwright wrote that they "fit" Dromgoole's description of the "Malungeons", but that around Davidson County this group were called "Portuguese" by the locals[1048].

A week later another relevant letter to the editor appeared. But this writer was angry about Dromgoole's description of the so-called "Malungeons" of Hancock County, and Cartwright's of the Davidson County "Portuguese". His was a hateful response going beyond simple racial ignorance. The anonymous responder from the 24th District wrote to the editor of the Daily that he "desired to enter a protest against coining a new

name for these amalgamationsists...from an admixture the Caucasian, the Indian and the Negro--a race that is not in the interest of either to encourage"[1049]. Apparently ignorant of the fact that the label had, negatively or not, been in use in east Tennessee for nearly a century, this man went to great lengths to rebuke Dromgoole for creating the "new name of Malungeons"[1050]. This writer wrote that the mere "assumption of Negro blood" was enough to "refute" their Portuguese claims. He coldly concluded his diatribe by stating, "How, then, are we to infer, much less know, that these people are other than hybrid or mulattos?"[1051].

The letters to the editor resulting from Dromgoole's articles did not end there. Another correspondent for instance told stories that she said she had heard as a child from slaves held by her father. This anonymous correspondent wrote that, as children, "they would frighten us by saying 'if you don't behave the Malungeon will get you'"[1052]. She elaborated on her story, describing how her "imaginative negro nurse (who) used to entertain us with stories of the Malungeon, ghosts, hobgoblins, Brer Rabbit, Brer Fox". This woman also claimed that "..most of the Negroes, both blacks and Mulattos, held these Malungeons in great contempt"[1053]. Another person wrote that that "it was a profound principle of early settlement, which is just as true of the red 'varmints' today, that 'there's no good Injun, 'ceptin a dead 'un'", and stated that "recognizing [that] principle, and especially mindful that the cross between two evils was particularly bad product of nether-world malevolence, the half-taught settler called the cross a mal-Indian (bad Indian)"[1054]. Dromgoole would borrow liberally from these responses when writing her *Arena* articles.

The *Nashville Daily* debates surrounding Dromgoole's "discovery" continued

even further that fall. Another correspondent, an R.M. Ewing of Franklin Tennessee, wrote in defense of Dromgoole's not having made up the label "Malungeon". He wrote regarding a "colony" of people who had resided only a few miles from his Law School in Lebanon, Tennessee during the 1850s who, he said, were "locally, and as far as I know generally, called Malungeons"[1055]. Without identifying family names or providing other specifics regarding the group, Ewing described them as a "hard-working, inoffensive people, a dark red or copper color, and jet black straight hair". He commented that "if I am not mistaken, however, the people claimed to be of Portuguese descent"[1056].

The discussion occurring among these writers concerning the Greasy Rock Indians and similar Tennessee populations swung back and forth, and even a Knoxville newspaper would join the fray. It was only a matter of time before the connection between the Tennessee "Malungeons" and the Salyersville Indian population would be made by one of the readers. Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, when it did occur the writer would make claims about their history, heritage and lifestyle that would be grossly inaccurate and utterly demeaning.

The article that first publicly suggested ties between the Greasy Rock Indians and the Salyersville Indian population appeared in the September 28 edition of the *Knoxville Journal*, and was written by an unidentified man from Rogersville about a month after Dromgoole's first article was published in the *Nashville Daily*. The brief mention of the Salyersville Indians appears in the middle of this article's extremely derogatory description of the history of their relations, the Greasy Rock Indians, who were the main focus of the article. The *Knoxville* writer told his readers that, up in "Magoffin County Kentucky, one of the wildest eastern subdivisions of the Commonwealth, there is a

community or settlement (of these people), who claim to be descendants of Portuguese"[1057]. This notably is the only instance I have found of any of Salyersville Indians supposedly claiming to be of "Portuguese" descent. Considering what is known of their history in Magoffin in the past few chapters, this earliest description of the Salyersville Indians would not describe them accurately or favorably, and this fact thus casts doubts on the accuracy of their claiming to be "Portuguese" as the writer claims. The reader should refer back to Chapter 8 where this *Knoxville Journal* passage concerning the Salyersville Indians is cited and discussed more fully. It suffices here however to recall from those passages that, among other things, the writer asserted that the Salyersville Indians "are grossly ignorant beastly in their habits and weak mentally and physically"[1058]. That they counted among their ranks a Justice of the Peace, a minister, many long-time landowners, and that among the local whites they were considered respectable citizens, was conveniently not mentioned [1059].

Not surprisingly, this same writer described the Greasy Rock Indians that he called the Tennessee "Malungeons" equally, that is, with disdain, distortion and fabrication. While he correctly identified the residences of the Greasy Rock Indians as now being spread in clusters along the ridges in Hancock and into Grangier County, the _Knoxville_ writer surmised that they supposedly "hold there neighbors of pure-white blood in distrust as their neighbors do them"[1060]. Whether this claim was based on personal observation or hearsay is not told. The same writer further claimed that "they have the appearance of Mulatto, Portuguese and Indian all mixed in different and varying proportions" [1061]. With that said, the writer went on to discuss the shared "history" of the Greasy Rock and Salyersville Indians. This writer favored emphasizing "criminal" and

"social isolation" myths. He, for instance, told his readers that "some historians aver, and with good reason", that the Melungeons had originated from a shipload of "convicts" that the British government turned loose on the "old Commonwealth" in the colonial days. These convicts were said to have then found their way to the mountains where they "mixed with the Indians". The writer went so far as to claim that, prior to his death some forty years before, old *Griffen Collins* himself had told a man at Bean Station that his grandfather had said that they descended from "convicts". Supposedly, Griffen then ignorantly had inquired of the Bean Station man "just what a convict was"[1062]. The writer conveniently made no mention of Griffen's service in the War of 1812, and excluded other major features of these Indian's history in favor of this falsehood.

This *Knoxville Journal* article is a good example of just how far the myths regarding the Greasy Rock Indians had spread, and how they would change slightly from one rendition to the next. This writer, for instance, also embellished on the same fraudulent story that Dromgoole did about the "slave selling" scheme which allowed for the establishment of the Greasy Rock community. The *Knoxville* writer however held a version that had mixed around the names of the story's characters. In this rendition of the myth, a "Varney Gibson" had covered his unidentified cousin "black with lampoil" and sold him to an unknowing Virginian. Continuing to twist the myth ever so slightly, the writer claimed that, after wiping off the disguise, the cousin escaped and made his way to a preplanned rendezvous to split up the money with "Varney". But differing from Dromgoole's version of the myth, in this rendition "Varney" stood his cohort up. The disheartened cousin was said to had "migrated west", while "Varney Gibson" then used his "booty" to set up at Greasy Rock where relatives would later join him[1063].

Unfortunately, this myth would continue to be reprinted and retold many times in regional presses far into the next century. With this slew of articles trailing from Burnett up to the writers in the Tennessee newspapers like Dromgoole and the others, a precedent in the popular and professional media was being set in referring to *all* the Indians and mixed bloods past and presently associated with the Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain, and Salyersville Indian communities as "Malungeon" . The assertions made by these writers also notably blurred the line between the "popular" perspectives with those of "professional" academic musings and, in the process, would also influence not only the public's opinion of "Melungeons", but also the Department of the Interior's limited understanding of this citizen Indian population at that time.

The Government, God's Emissaries, and the Greasy Rock Indian population

As previously discussed back in Chapter 14, in 1890/1, the Department of the Interior undertook a project by which they would enumerate all Indians "taxed and not-Taxed" then living within the United States[1064]. Both the Greasy Rock and Salyersville Indians would be recognized in this enumeration as "Civilized (Self-Supporting) Indians", but, apparently, the Department had not established the connection between them. Unfortunately, aside from estimating the population numbers, no contemporary description or history of those living up in Kentucky was given. However, the report did provided a little text regarding the Greasy Rock Indians and, in doing so, the description clearly reveals that Dromgoole's aforementioned publications influenced the Department's report.

The Report's Tennessee section had counted 31 "civilized (self-supporting) Indians" then living in Hawkins County, 12 in Monroe, 10 in Polk, and another 93 residing elsewhere in the state. Then, having make a brief, sweeping, generalized statement in regard to an assumed amalgamation of "the three races" having occurred in colonial times, the Department's writer claimed that there was no contemporary tribe east of the Mississippi who were not the consequence of this assumed colonial era tri-racial "mixing". With that said, the writer of this section of the Department's report asserted that "...such are the remnants called Indians where a pure-blooded Indian can hardly longer be found. In Tennessee is such a group, popularly known as the Malungeons, in additional to those still known as Cherokee"[1065].

Without citing any sources, the writer for the Department's report on the Tennessee Indians stated that the "Melungeons" claimed to be "Cherokees of mixed-blood". But instead of investigating this claim, the report instead reiterated, almost verbatim, Dromgoole's claim as to some of the major families' assumed mixed racial heritage. Dromgoole is not directly cited as the source for this information, but her influence is obvious. For instance, the report says "they (Melungeons) trace their descent to two Indians (Cherokees) known as Collins and Gibson", who were the first to settle in their descendant's present Tennessee location west of Sneedville (Greasy Rock). The report continued on, stating that their "white blood, they assert, from Portuguese and English stock, an Indian trader named Mullins (Jim) and a Portuguese sailor named Denham". The Report then completes its tri-racial hypothesis by asserting that the present "racial composition" of the Greasy Rock Indian population was rounded out by descendants resulting from an early intermarriage between "a Negro named Goins,

perhaps a run away slave" and a Greasy Rock Indian woman[1066].

Then the most revealing evidence demonstrating some of the Federal Government's criteria for recording who was "Indian" and who was not when it came to assumed or asserted non-white heritage is seen in the final remark of the report in the section regarding the Tennessee Indian population. Using a methodology that may have also been applied toward the Salyersville Indians, the writer concluded his remarks by stating that "...the descent of the Malungeons from such ancestors is readily observable. In the census these Malungeons were enumerated as of the races with the most resembled"[1067]. In other words, regardless of how they identified themselves, it was the local enumerator's decisions based on physical appearance and cultural bias that decided their "Indian" identity in the census and this Department of Interior Report.

Regardless, other evidence suggests that these people's Indian identity was still most prominent in the minds of many whites in east Tennessee. This is illustrated through an incident reported in the *Daily Times* of Chattanooga, Tennessee[1068]. In what was touted as "one of the most famous and interesting cases ever tried here in Federal Court", the paper retold the event whereby "*William Bowlen*, a half-witted Indian" was deceitfully robbed of his pension[1069]. As reported here, the event had occurred back in 1885. At that time, Bowlen ,"who belonged to that peculiar people called Malungeons", was receiving a pension (apparently for Civil War service) of $485. He had since moved away from the Greasy Rock area and was living down towards Coulterville, Tennessee. Two local white men, one of whom was a doctor and both of whom the paper described as being "of decidedly unsavory reputation", had apparently learned of Bowlen's hefty pension and the dates he received it. The men then devised and enacted a plan whereby

they sent a letter to Bowlen posing to be from a Federal Government Indian Agent, informing him that if he came to Chattanooga they would pay him $7500 that was supposedly due him from past "Indian claims". The story went on to report that, "when the ignorant Malungeon arrived in the city, he was met by the conspirators and robbed of every dollar he received" from the pension, which he had apparently taken with him. The Pension authorities however took the incident quite seriously, and the perpetrators were soon arrested, convicted and jailed for two years for their crime. In a sadder twist, the paper reported that Bowlen, ailing from a sickness he acquired just before the trial, died only two hours after giving his testimony[1070].

Not all of those outsiders interested in "Malungeons", however, carried the same heavy prejudices, biases or ill intent exhibited in the previously cited popular media pieces in Tennessee. While assuredly inflicted with biases of its own, perhaps the most accurate and thoughtful article concerning the Greasy Rock Indian community written in this era originated from the field trip two Presbyterian missionaries would take there in the summer of 1897. The article for one makes it apparent that some outsiders looked upon the Greasy Rock Indians as something other than the mixed-up sinister novelty that others held them to be. Published by that denomination's *Home Mission Monthly*, a journal of wide national circulation, a Reverends Joe Hamitens and C.H. Humble wrote about traveling to the Greasy Rock Indian community with the intention of exploring the possibility of placing a mission school and church among them. Seeking out *Beatty Collins*, who they described as "Chief of the Malungeons in Blackwater Valley", they traveled to his home at the Vardy Springs village. Beatty had inherited and still maintained the infamous "Hotel Varaday" established by the old Saponi headman, *Vardy*

Collins, long before Beatty's birth. Upon learning that Humble and Hamitens were not tourists, but instead ministers of the gospel, the Greasy Rock Indians asked the two men to do some preaching as long as they were "not Mormon" . The attending Indians, and the Beatty Collins family in particular, took a liking to these Presbyterians. Before the missionaries departed a few days later, Mrs. Beatty reportedly even offered them a house and a piece of land if they agreed to place a full time missionary and a teacher in their community[1071].

The description of the people and the community subsequently presented by these missionaries is notably different than that created by Dromgoole after her brief intrusion into the Greasy Rock Indian community. The missionaries, instead, wrote that their hosts here were "intelligent" and "agreeable". Humble was apparently enamored with his hosts, and he wrote that "...they are peaceful, progressive, and have good natural abilities, and are very eager to rise. They have schools and church buildings, and are strongly religious and very hospitable"[1072]. The astute missionaries said there were "exceptions" as there was in any community of people, but remarked that on the whole they "generally do little drinking". Casting doubt on the credibility of the negative reputation the Greasy Rock Indians had incurred outside their home county, Humble stated that they "are not noted as in former days for shooting, cutting and hog stealing". Also in contrast to Dromgoole and Burnett's claims, the missionaries also learned from both local Indians and non-Indian that their participation in the Civil War was most commendable. They accurately reported to their readers, for instance, how Captain Trent had "formed a Union company of these people" and that many of the men "were noted for their braveness and were generally called upon in emergencies and for different service" during those hard

times[1073].

The article does a fairly thorough and objective job of describing the material conditions of the Greasy Rock Indian community at that time but, unlike that of the previous writers, makes few remarks concerning any assumed or asserted non-Indian heritage existing among some of the families. The missionaries did make one remark, however, that some of the families were known or "suspected" to have some white, black and/or Portuguese heritage. Revealing that the missionaries too carried with them certain racial biases , they speculated that the Greasy Rock Indian community's "isolation may be due to the seclusion preferred by the Indian and the exclusion of suspected Negro blood from the intermarried families of *Goans*, *Miner*s and *Bell*s"[1074]. Of these latter families, Humble remarked that they "explain their peculiarities by claiming Portuguese origin"[1075]. As for past marriages with "whites", the missionaries reported that the Indians they met recognized "English" ties stemming from the marriages of *Jim Mullins* and *John Moore* into the "Indian" *Collins* and *Gibson* families at the turn of the century. Humble's impression of the contemporary residents of the community was simply that "they have marked Indian resemblances in color, feature, hair, carriage and disposition"[1076].

The missionaries left the racial issue at that, apparently not finding it necessary, interesting or useful to elaborate or speculate on the source or extent of any non-Indian heritages among these people. Indeed, these men were hunters for souls instead of for any exotic "Malungeon" genealogy, and thus Humble devoted more time and text to describing the people's point of view than had Dromgoole or Burnett. For instance, he related Beatty Collins' accurate recitation of some of the names of the early headmen of the Greasy Rock Community, naming "*Varaday (Vardy) Collins*, *Shepherd Gibson*,

Charley Williams and a few others who originally came from Virginia.... though others say North Carolina"[1077]. The more astute missionaries also noted that the Indian relations of the Greasy Rock community lived "in pockets reaching into Lee County Virginia" and that "some have gone into Kentucky". The slave selling myth told by Dromgoole and the others is notably lacking in the missionaries' report. But the missionaries did go so far as to "privately" ask Beatty Collins what he though about the label of Melungeon, which the missionaries took to be derived from the French word "melange". Beatty reportedly responded harshly (with prejudices of his own) and Humble wrote that "he strongly resented its application to his people, saying 'we are a pure blooded people' meaning that they had no Negro blood in their veins"[1078].

That the Presbyterians made a favorable impression upon at least some of the Greasy Rock Indians is evident in the fact that a large mission church and school would be established by that denomination in the Vardy Springs village not long after Humble and Hamiten's visit[1079]. This choice to allow the Presbyterians to do so may have had to do with the fact that the Greasy Rock Indians had been receiving so much negative attention in the popular and professional media in the past decade. Indeed, Humble's perception was that "they feel outsiders look down on them and this is stimulating them to a better life"[1080]. The Greasy Rock Indians were choosing to implement a new mission among them which was yet another prudent strategic accommodation implemented by the Indians to curb the aversive influences impinging on the successful maintenance of their community and identity.

Unfortunately, the Presbyterian's article would however conspicuously be ignored, and seldom referenced by later 20th century writers of the Melungeon

dialogue[1081]. Most of the latter would instead continue perpetuating a dialogue about "Melungeons" that emphasized the myths and legends typifying the descriptions made by Burnett , Dromgoole and the other aforementioned writers. But like Humble's article, there would be some additional early attempts to offer up more objective and informed discussions about the Greasy Rock Indian population. Although, like Humble's, they would be ignored by the Melungeon hunters who continued to offer contrasting speculations regarding the history, character and dispositions of those people they called "Malungeon". The best example is the more obscure letter to the editor printed in the *Hancock County Times* in 1903 which was written by Hon. Lewis M. Jarvis, a prominent lawyer from the county seat of Sneedville(Greasy Rock)[1082].

Jarvis had been acquainted with the Greasy Rock Indians all his life, and he may have originally written the article in response to the *Nashville Daily* debates and their ilk regarding "Melungeons" that occurred a decade prior. Regardless, the possibility of earlier publication is suggested in the opening statements of Jarvis' article, which seem to be directed at a larger audience than just Hancock County. Regardless, it clearly shows that to at least some of the non-Indians of Hancock County, the "Malungeons" were not as "mysterious" as the Malungeon hunters like Dromgoole and Burnett were leading their readers to believe. Jarvis opens his representation of his Indian neighbors by stating...

> "Much has been said and written about the inhabitants of Newman's Ridge and Blackwater in Hancock County, Tennessee. They have been derisively dubbed with the name "Melungeons" by the local white people who have lived here with them. It is not a traditional

name or tribe of Indians. Some have said these people were here when this country was first explored by the white people, and others that they are a lost tribe of Indians and have no date of their existence here, traditionally or otherwise. All of this however, is erroneous and cannot be sustained. These people, not any of them were here at the time the first white hunting party came from Virginia and North Carolina in the year of 1761"[1083].

With that said, Jarvis went on to describe the Greasy Rock Indians themselves. Even though Jarvis was not a historian or an ethnographer by any means, his recollection of names and dates associated with their early history closely correlates with known primary documents. Again speaking about the site of Greasy Rock, Jarvis claimed that "long after" the first white hunting parties camped there came

> "*Vardy Collins*, *Shepherd Gibson*, *Benjamin Collins*, *Solomon Collins*, *Paul Bunch* and the *Goodman*s, chiefs and the rest of them settled here about the year 1804, possibly around the year 1795, but all these men above named, who were called Melungeons, obtained land grants and muniments[sic] of title to the land they settled on, and they were the very first and came here simultaneous with the white people not earlier than 1795. They then had lost their language and spoke the English very well. They were originally friendly Indians who came with the whites as they moved west. They came from the Cumberland County [sic] and New

River, VA stopping at various points west of the Blue Ridge. Some of them stopped on Stoney Creek, Scott County, VA were Stoney Creek runs into Clinch River [Stone Mountain].

The white emigrants with the friendly Indians erected a fort on the bank of the river and called it "Fort Blackmore", and here yet many of these friendly Indians lived in the mountains of Stoney Creek, but they have married among the whites until the race has almost become extinct. A few of the half-bloods may be found -- none darker -- but they still retain the name of Collins, and Gibson, etc. From here they came on to Newman's Ridge and Blackwater, and many of them are here yet; but the amalgamations of the whites and the Indians has about washed away the red tawney from their appearance, the white faces predominating, so now you scarcely find one of the original Indians; a few half-bloods and quarter bloods balance white or past the third generation. The old pure-bloods were finer featured straight and erect in form, more so than the whites, and when mixed with whites, made beautiful women, and the men very fair looking men. These Indian came to Newman's Ridge and Blackwater. Some of them went in the war of 1812-14 whose names are here given: *James Collins*, *John Bolin* and *Mike Bolin*, and some others not remembered; those who quite full blooded [sic]. These were like the white people; there were good and bad among them, the greatest majority were upright, good citizens, and accumulated good property, and many of them are among our best property owners and as good citizens as Hancock

County, Tennessee affords. Their word is bond and most of them are as true to their promise as magnetic needle to the North Pole. The first ones of them that ever came to Hancock County, TN, then to Hawkins and Claiborne, are well remembered by some of the present generation here now and they have left records to show these facts. They all came here simultaneously with the whites from the State of Virginia between the years 1795 and 1812, and about this there is no mistake, except in the dates these Indians came here from Stoney Creek[1084].

Not much commentary needs to be made on Jarvis' rendition of the history of the Greasy Rock Indians, except that, it closely correlates with the data independently gathered to inform the previous Chapters of this ethnohistory. In other words, "Melungeon" history was not as mysterious as some writers now claimed it to be. Yet, among the hundreds of articles that would be written about the "Tennessee Melungeons", Jarvis' article would not be cited by another until 1989[1085]. The influence of Dromgoole, Burnett and the others who followed their path in the public dialogue about "Melungeons" would have a far greater impact on outside perceptions of those citizen Indians than would that of Humble or Jarvis. Subsequent writers would mostly continue to assert that the Greasy Rock Indians, and their relations living at Stone Mountain and in eastern Kentucky, were actually descendants of ancient Phoenicians, the 'Lost Colony of Roanoke", Juan Pardo's "lost soldiers", Portuguese Pirates, *and*/or even "The Lost Tribe of Israel" (see below). This is made apparent in works of none other than the famous American ethnographic and ethnologist, James Mooney.

Mooney was employed by the Bureau of Ethnology and, in the early 1900s was employed to write synopsis' regarding some of the surviving "Eastern Indians" in Fredrick Hodge's voluminous Handbook of American Indians[1086]. In that publication, Mooney did acknowledge "the Melungeons" to be Indian, or at least of part Indian descent and to be a distinct and recognizable population. However, Mooney was unable to make the connection between the Greasy Rock Indians and the Saponi, Tutelo and other Siouan populations of the early 1700's. He assumed that all of these old tribes had "detribalized" and had fully integrated with the Iroquois and Catawba before the Revolutionary War and thus were "extinct"[1087]. Neither did Mooney mention any "Cherokee" connection among any of the "Melungeon" families. He instead placed some credibility in McMillan and Burnett's attempts to connect the "Malungeons" of Eastern Tennessee with those Indians in the eastern part of North Carolina who were, by this time, being called "Croatan Indians". Of the "Croatan Indians", Mooney stated that the label was now merely "the local designation in North Carolina for a people evidently of mixed Indian and white blood...found chiefly in Robeson County"[1088]. Mooney, however, was not satisfied with McMillan's "Lost Colony of Roanoke" theory in explaining that Indian population's history. In regards to the "Croatan" Indians, he countered that

> "the theory of descent from the lost colony may be regarded as baseless, but the name itself serves as a convenient label for a people who combine in themselves the blood of wasted native tribes, the early colonist or forest rovers, the runaways slaves or other negroes, and

probably also a stray seaman of the Latin race from coastal vessels in
the West Indian or Brazilian trade"[1089].

From what source he does not say, but Mooney then continued to report that, "in portions of western North Carolina, and Eastern Tennessee are found so-called 'Melungeons', probably from the French melange 'mixed' or 'Portuguese' , apparently an offshoot from the Croatans proper"[1090]. With that said, Mooney unilaterally applied his description and speculations regarding the Croatan's to the "Melungeons" of east Tennessee, making them one in the same to the unknowing reader. The "Melungeon" and "Croatan" labels applied towards these two Indian populations Mooney however pointed out are "local designations for peoples of mixed race differing in no way from the present mixed-blood remnants known as Pamaunky, Chickahominy, and Nansemond Indians in Virginia, excepting the more complete loss of their identity"[1091]. Despite this "loss", Mooney felt confident in asserting that, "in general, the physical features and complexion of the persons of this mixed stock incline more to the Indian than to the white or the Negro"[1092].

Until the past decade, nearly a century after Burnett, Dromgoole and the other early Melungeon hunters, most inquisitive outsiders would continue to ignore or underplay the Greasy Rock Indian's own assertions of an Indian identity. With few exceptions, like Humble and Jarvis, the overwhelming majority would choose to emphasize the more exotic, romantic and obviously mythical claims regarding escaped convicts, lost soldiers and missing colonies, as well as other conjectural stories associated with the so-called "Melungeons". Most outside writers would choose to ignore the more

factual histories and would instead continue to comment on the Greasy Rock Indian's "mysterious" appearance in the mountains before the settlers and other legends[1093].

The myths and misrepresentations preserved in print by these early Melungeon hunters would submerge the "Melungeons" assertions of an Indian identity under speculations of what, and to what extent, non-Indian heritages may be also found among their families. And most would come to resent such literature. For example, right after World War Two, a *Saturday Evening Post* writer described a brief trip he took to the Greasy Rock area. This writer drew the opinion that the "Melungeons" he came looking for "are rather like Indians, but not quite like them"[1094]. But even while adhering to his use of the name Melungeon, the writer still told his readers that "...this is Melungeon County. This is the Country were no one uses the word Melungeon". In 1965, Barr noted that the Indians around Greasy Rock resented being called "Melungeon", as well as "some of the articles published concerning their society because they feel they are misleading and harmful[1095]. Another newspaper article, romantically titled "Lost Tribes of Tennessee.", also focused on the "Melungeons of Hancock County", even though the writer, James Aswell also pointed out that it was non-Indian settlers who "contemptuously called them Melungeons", as the "...incoming settler believed the dark hill people to be half-breeds, a mixture of renegade whites, runaways slaves, and Cherokee and Keyowee Indians", the latter of whom he identified as "bearded Indians from the Upper Yadkin Valley"[1096]. Writers throughout the century would come to the conclusion of what one visitor to the Greasy Rock community wrote in 1963, that "both the Melungeons and the non Melungeons of the Hancock County region resent much of what has been published concerning them"[1097].

The Salyersville Indians would fortunately mostly escape this intrusion of popular media regarding "Melungeons" until the 1940s and 50s. In the meantime other, more immediate, concerns occupied the Greasy Rock Indians and their relations around Stone Mountain and the Salyersville area as they continued with their everyday lives. However, the reader must remain aware that of the fact that the "Melungeon dialogue" continued on in far away presses and papers, largely unbeknownst to the people the Melungeon hunters were writing about. The manner in which some people externally defined and described "Melungeon" identity linked that label to a host of exotic claims and speculations regarding race, old world ethnicities, and exaggerations or outright falsehoods regarding their religious, political and class affiliation in order to both support and obscure the people's own ongoing assertions of an "Indian" identity[1098]. Even still, such outside writers clearly showed that these "Melungeons" comprised specific groups of interrelated families. Socially and economically supporting each other through complex kin arrangements, "family" served to internally define and describe their Indian identity in everyday dialogue. Even the most derogatory literature of the "Melungeon dialogue" reveal that the "Indian" component was the only constant behind these external definitions of "Melungeon", and that this constant was supported by a definition that most strongly linked "Indian" identity to one's family identity.

SECTION THREE

Go Tell Them on the Mountain, Take Them to The Muckfields, 1908-2000

Chapter 11

Struggles with God, Coal and Whiskey

Despite the derogatory descriptions being published about "Melungeons" at the turn of the century, the Salyersville Indians continued to represent all political, economic and social aspects of the greater mountain community they lived in. Their families maintained the Big Lick Indian village but both figuratively and literally, their relations extended far beyond that geographic center. Despite the public rejection of their Cherokee claims in 1909, the 1910 census and other documents show that they were locally perceived as being "Indian". Indeed, while the children resulting from a growing number of Indian -white marriages were more often being counted as "white", the "Indian " population also continued to grow due to the intense interfamily relations maintain by most other Salyersville Indians. But great changes were now occurring in the political, economic, social and even physical landscape of the area. Magoffin and other counties were experiencing a disruptive "boom atmosphere" accompanying the exploitative coal, timber and oil industries. Furthermore, local social and economic problems were exacerbated by a series of floods and storms that ravaged the Magoffin county area throughout the early 1900s. These events, both subtle and dramatic, would test the ability of the Salyersville Indian families to remain stable, strong and secure.

This brings up another concern. Anthropology has long shown that the more inclusive the kin category, the more utility it has, but the more difficult it is to maintain. For example, while living in a greater regional and national climate that is harsh to any "free persons of color", links to a "white" identity have sometimes served a useful

function for social, political and economic reasons. Evidence also suggests that, at least in the past, racial boundaries between African and non-African have complicated the ability of the kin group to override links to racial identities. Records regarding the Greasy Rock Indians in the 1890s, where outsiders were defining certain Indian families as being also of Portuguese and/or African heritage, show that such suggestions have sometimes caused friction within the kin group. Chief Beatty Collins, for instance, told two visiting missionaries that " 'we are a pure blooded people' meaning that they had no negro blood in their veins", and regarding the label Melungeon, "he strongly resented its application to his people"[1099]. That some of the citizen Indians living there were as prejudiced towards people of African heritage as were many whites is notable. But until further evidence comes to light, we cannot assume the same prejudices for the few Salyersville Indian who have taken African-American spouses from the 1870s to the 1960s. Indeed, of the one-half dozen or so Salyersville Indian-African American marriages that have occurred since 1960s, these relations are fully included in reunion activities to everyday activities of intra family child care, church organization, and so on. However, further research regarding these families in particular is merited to better show how links between black and Indian, in contrast to white or other racial identities may have, or may not have, caused divisions within the kin groups of the Salyersville Indian population.

This chapter will discuss the climax of the social, political and economic successes of those Indians living in the Magoffin County area, and especially those remaining at the old Big Lick Indian village. By the time that the U.S. Court of Claims investigation into the Salyersville Indian's Cherokee claims was taking place in 1908, the county itself boasted a locally recognized "Indian" population of well over a hundred

Indians and mixed-bloods, mostly of Saponi and Cherokee heritage. Classified as "Civilized (Self-Supporting) Indians" by the Department of the Interior, by 1910 they counted among their numbers two preachers, a schoolteacher, at least two merchants, and some people with skilled in specific trades like stonemasonry[1100]. So prominent, respected and successful had some become among both the local Indian and non-Indian population that by 1912, two of the most prominent Salyersville Indian elders, *Wallis* and *Shepherd Cole*, would for some time concurrently hold two of the five Justice of the Peace positions existing in Magoffin county. But the forces of change effecting all of the people, Indian and not, living in Appalachia during the early part of the 20th century, would sorely test all the mountaineers' pride in economic self-sustainability and social identity. The Salyersville Indian families would not be an exception to this, and they would be forced to strategically accommodate to new pressures and problems, mostly by purposefully maintaining their shared insistence on relying on their extended family networks for social, economic, and political support.

Mountain Divides.

To more clearly understand the situation of the Salyersville Indians at this time, and in upcoming years, a clearer picture of the context in which they lived is merited. In the late 1800s, and then picking up in the early 1900s, many non-Indian Magoffin County families were beginning to change residences in that many were seeking to relocate to one of the numerous new "Coal Towns" that were popping up throughout Appalachia, or were moving outside the mountains altogether. Just what would prompt the out

migrations of so many people from Magoffin, during the early 1900s is the culmination of many factors. Ascertaining particular reasons and specific motivations is difficult. But for the people of Magoffin County who did move, a few specific local events invite exploration.

One of these local events seemed to come from the heavens themselves, in the form of particularly devastating "cloudbursts". While always somewhat of a threat for those who lived in the tight hollows of the high hills, by 1910, focused timber extraction had cleared enough of the hollows and hillsides to make the intensity of sudden summer thunderstorm floodwaters a much more terrible menace than ever before. It is from an upstanding local writer that we get a picture of the effects of one the most devastating of these flash floods which stuck the county in 1910[1101]. The writer, Shelby Elam, described how, while not having seen a single drop of rain on his own property on the outskirts of Salyersville, he watched helpless as a four foot tall wall of water come down the Licking River and engulfed him and his crops as it roared down the valley[1102]. Climbing to higher ground, Elam then watched as "...parts of houses, barns, household furniture, hives of bees, and all sorts of floating debris came rushing by with a second wall of water"[1103]. Elam relates how, during the days after the event that nearly took his life, it was learned by "townsfolk" in Salyersville that the cloudburst that had caused the flood had originated up at the Licking headwaters, some 30 miles upriver. Although "some residents from Salyersville had relatives up there", Elam noted that nobody in town had actually seen anyone from "the upriver section". There were rumors that a great many people from Gunlock to Salyersville "had been drowned and many made homeless"[1104]. Some town residents even suggested that the floods were the result of divine fury. Elam

recalled that, "since the head of the River section led the rest of our county in the illicit manufacture and sale of Moonshine whiskey and the killing of men, some contentious 'Christians' thought the flood might have been a special punishment sent on those 'wicked people' by providence"[1105]. Although himself a practicing temperate Christian, Elam, however, wrote that he was "not in sympathy with such religious views"[1106].

A week later, Elam traveled up to the upriver section. At the Brushey Creek community Elam found nothing but a lone boy who told him that the Post Office, the store, and Wireman's big white house had been completely washed away. The swollen river dislodged not only boulders and trees, but carried some houses downriver 30 miles, all the way to Salyersville. Elam would later recall that, as he traveled up the river, "my eyes were beginning to open. Like Irvin Carpenter, I had supposed the flood took only the houses of the tenant class whose residences were built too near the river"[1107]. Elam found that the cloudburst had cut a swath across all religious, class and party lines. Elam's assessment was that the effects of the flood would be long lasting. All of the people's corn had washed away and most of the gristmills had also been damaged if not totally swept away. If one could find any living cattle or other livestock, Elam noted that other crucial items like yokes, harnesses and saddles were now far downriver, and most of the good bottomland in the valleys was now buried under mud and sand. After returning to Salyersville, Elam called a meeting of the town citizenry and organized a "county needs assistance program" to help the inhabitants cutoff upriver along the still high and dangerous waters of the Licking. They immediately raised enough cash to have 100 bushels of meal to be spread among the people living off the mountain divides between the Licking and Big Sandy watersheds, "where the people from the stricken area

most gratefully took charge of that essential breadstuff'. Elam however revealed the low opinion that he had for much of the county's "rural" population when he warned the recipients that "they were forbidden to let any of it be manufactured into Moonshine"[1108].

This catastrophe that had instantaneously impoverished such a large percentage of the county population must have persuaded many people of the benefits of relocating to where they could rebuild their lives with a promise of stability. The economic situation many mountaineer families faced went from bad to worse, and literally overnight had become "paupers" despite their prior economic or social standing. The county's infrastructure and budgets were already stretched way beyond their limits, and could not help families and communities rebuild. Hence the appeal of the coal towns for some, and others out of the mountains altogether.

Elam's narrative of the 1910 flood indicates that a sort of class structure now permeated social life in the Kentucky mountains. Elam's position amongst the most active political and entrepreneurial men of the county seat thus reveals some of the opinions held by many of the other "good livers" regarding the county citizens living in the "backwoods". Born and raised in bordering Wolfe County, by 1910, Shelby Elam had moved to Magoffin County after teaching school in eastern Tennessee for a brief period[1109]. The ambitious young man then successfully established, and was editor of, the first newspaper emanating from Magoffin County starting in 1912, *The Kentucky Mountaineer*. Being materially better off than most, and boasting a relatively high level of formal education, Elam was also considered by some to be one of the "good livers" that were among the county's most socially and politically "elite" families. His perspectives thus provides a unique insight into the political, economic and social climate

of Magoffin County during this time.

Elam's own writings in *The Mountaineer* reveal other events illustrating the intertwining class-geographic "boundaries" then existing in the county at that time. Elam told of an incident in 1912 concerning a girl who had recently been removed from the "mission school", The Magoffin Institute at Salyersville, because she had been "mistreated by some boys" while in residence there. The details of the incident are unknown, but in a telling editorial, Elam asserted that "if these boys had been grown, and their color had been black and the daughter of some citizen of Salyersville there would have been great excitement in the county seat...but since the boys were of Salyersville and the girl from the backside of the county no punishment was meted out so far we are informed"[1110].

The Salyersville Indians however, fell solidly into neither the tenant class nor the landowners. And while few Indians actually ever resided in Salyersville, they did have influence with people in that county seat, as one of the Indians was elected to Justice of the Peace for the Salyersville Precinct in 1912 (see below). The Salyersville Indian families crosscut both the "tenant" and the "landowning" class which dominated local society, even as the non-Indian population around them grew more divided along class lines in the early 1900s.

Another autobiography written during this era provides a different glimpse of the cultural and social climate in this part of the hills. The article was entitled *"Life in the Hills of Kentucky by a Mountain Man"*, and was published in 1908 under the pseudonym of "Sam Johnson"[1111]. Johnson describes a life in the "backwoods" of east Kentucky that, when compared with other autobiographic accounts from the era, seems quite typical of

many mountaineer families at that time. Johnson describes growing up in a "little log cabin" in a hollow covered in a "jungled mass of forest". He fondly recalled how he and his many siblings would hunt for chestnuts and chinquapins to supplement what little corn the family grew. Farming, Johnson stated, was not a major concern for his father who never kept his family in one place very long, but would take out a "lease for several years on one tract". Johnson instead described his father as "a great hunter" who, in the fall, would "work all day and hunt all night"[1112]. Sam also described how his family was considered part of "the Tenant Class", and that his "jean pants, hickory shirt, bark hat" and bare-feet, were just one of they ways in which he felt he was distinguished from the "landowning class". As for the latter, Johnson remarked that many of his sisters would "hire off" to some of that class and "then would marry off" among them. He noted that, if working as "washerwomen", they were "sometimes paid by the Valley Folk with hogs-heads"[1113].

As a young adult, Johnson married a local girl, and built a small log cabin. The couple each worked small corn and garden plots by day, sometimes for themselves, sometimes for wages. Johnson's wife also gathered nuts, roots, berries, and other forest products during the year. Johnson described how he spent most of his time hunting and trapping and how his routines included the tasks of drying and tanning possum and coon skins, which were "almost my only financial source". They would trade their furs at the "country store" for shoes, clothing, powder and lead. Evenings were spent relaxing with neighbors and "banjo picking far into the night" on the instrument Sam bought with his furs[1114].

Despite Johnson's obvious disdain for the attitudes the "Valley folk" had for those

families in the "backcountry", it was the attitudes of the "flat-landers"- those who lived outside of the mountains altogether- that peeved Sam Johnson the most. Sam wrote that

> "the great press will speak in horrible terms of the 'lawlessness of the mountaineers', but us poor mountaineers, as far as the press is concerned, have no retaliation. Unschooled and unlearned, we must sit quietly back and bear it all in silence -- since we can't pay off judges and attorneys, we have only the muzzle of the gun"[1115].

Much, if not most, of the non-Indian population that lived around the Salyersville Indians also chose a lifestyle that, like Johnson's, was different from most Americans by this time. By 1910, white mountaineers were considered somehow "different" from other whites, and they were chastised for this difference by popular press and political rhetoric emanating from "the flatlands". To many urban northerners especially, the people living in the remote mountains presented an "exotic" picture of America's "contemporary ancestors", providing a snapshot of American's frontier past frozen in time. But they were also cast as "primitive" and "backward" people who represented a "dangerous regression" to the rest of America's "progress"[1116]. And this adherence to a "backwoods" lifestyle was, in part, fodder for the derogatory stereotypes of "hillbillies". Many of those promoting these stereotypes were those who now entered the mountains with their business interests, either searching for minerals and timber to extract, or in the case of missionaries, souls to save. All mountain residents would eventually find that the derogatory connotations lying behind the outsider's uses of the label "hillbilly" were

being universally applied to all Appalachia folk regardless of their social standing, or any differentiating class or raced based identification that they may have held in the local communities in which they lived.

The 1910 Federal Census enumeration of the "Salyersville Indian Population"

Documents show quite clearly that, on the local level anyhow, the Salyersville Indian population crosscut the local divisions made between "Ridge and Valley" folk, and the "tenant class and landowner". Indeed, taken as a whole, the population of Indians in Magoffin County had a foot in both worlds. Many continued to hold title to acreage, while some hired out as laborers and lived as tenants. On rare occasions, some found themselves officially associated with the county "pauper" and "poor Farm" population. Back at the other social extreme of this local spectrum, Indian men like *Wallis* and *Shepherd Cole* in contrast had gained powerful positions in the county political structure as county magistrates during the first decade of the 1900s[1117]. That such positions were gained by popular election is a mostly telling example of the respect many non-Indians in the Salyersville region had regarding their Indian neighbors.

Despite these differences between them, there existed a stable population of interrelated families in and around Magoffin County who thought of themselves a "Indian". The 1910 Federal Census for Magoffin County however reveals the struggle of local enumerators regarding how to best reflect this "Indian" identity. As with previous decades, there would end up being great inconsistencies in the "race/color" classifications of the Salyersville Indians scattered among the six different enumeration precincts in

Magoffin that year. As was the case in the 1900 census, nearly all of those classified as "Indian" would be those living in or around their primary community at Big Lick[1118]. However, unlike the 1900 enumeration, that of 1910 would neglect writing in the tribal label of "Cherokee" and would not reflect the people's "blood quantum", although there are suggestions that the enumerator may have employed a very subjective 1/2 blood criteria in choosing whether or not to cast them as "Indian". Regardless, a total of 78 "Indians" were recorded living at the Big Lick Indian village on the Magoffin side of the county line or elsewhere in the surrounding "Ivyton" Precinct[1119]. And in addition to those families, another four households in the "Salyersville" precinct were also shown with "Indians". County enumerators in the remaining county precincts however would choose to cast the rest of the Salyersville Indians as either "white" or, on occasion, "black"[1120]. A household by household survey of these people will again show how inconsistent and incomplete these enumerator's decisions regarding their "race" were, as well a providing a demographic picture of the primary Salyersville Indian families at that time.

The sole person enumerated as "Indian" and living in the town of Salyersville itself was the elder *Ben Perkins*, who had recently moved there with his young wife Rhoda Gullett[1121]. The other three recorded "Indian" households in the Salyersville Precinct were located off Mason Creek, not far outside of the county seat of Salyersville. Here was 50 year old *Burnham Gibson*, with his "white" wife Louisa. The 10 children in their house were all enumerated as "Indian" like their father. Living with this large family was 67 year old *Jeff Gibson*, presently the only living member of the Salyersville Indian Population born back in the Greasy Rock Indian Community of Tennessee.

Living nearby was Burnham's cousin, *Emily Gibson*, who had briefly separated from a local white named Dock Workman. Like their mother who was now raising them alone, all of Emily's children by Dock were also listed as "Indian". Living further down the Creek was 19 year old *Sydney Gibson*, the only Indian in the county shown as a "servant" that year, working out of the house of a local white man named Arnett[1122].

In the adjacent Ivyton Precinct, the Salyersville Indians who received the "Indian" designation on the census were only those living at the Big Lick Indian village. It is obvious that there was geographic dimension behind these external classification in this precinct. Some glaring examples of this Big Lick "residence" criteria for receiving the Indian designation are shown through the enumeration of the large family of *Elbert* and *Polly Cole*, as well as that of *Farish* and *Martha* (*Collins*) *Cole*[1123]. These two families were living a mile or so outside the Big Lick in the Ivyton precinct. Despite their previous enumeration as "Indian", and the fact that their brothers and sisters, aunt and uncles and other immediate relations were living at the Lick and thus would all be classified in the census as "Indian", the families of these two households were all classified as "white".

At least by the enumerator's perception, the Big Lick Indian Village itself consisted of 15 "Indian" households in that county's jurisdiction in 1910. These included those of the families of *Charley "Jr."* and *Permilia* (*Fletcher*) *Cole*, *George* and *Mousie* (*Fletcher*) *Cole*, *Adam* and *Nancy* (*McCarty*) *Cole*, *George* and *Vida Fletcher*, *Garfield* and *Eveline* (*Perkins*) *Fletcher*, *Garrett* and *Susan* (*Fletcher*) *Cole*, *Amos* and *Sissea* (*Cole*) *Fletcher*, *Sylvester* and *Lula* (*Stone*) *Cole*, and the old widow *Nancy Cole* who lived with young *Louisa Cole* and her husband *Cleveland Barnett*[1124]. The Reverend *John*

Wesley Cole, now 50 years old, and his present wife *Bashey (Nickels)*, as well as 58 year old *Adam Cole* and his wife *Christian (Gibson)* were now amongst the most prominent elders of the community. Three more households reflect Indians with white spouses. One was Cherokee-Saponi *Ben Collins'* wife *Mary Jane* (*Brown*), but their children received their father's "Indian" designation. 80 year old *Hezekiah "Kiah" Gibson*, also was recorded as "Indian" and living at The Lick with his white wife, *Margaret* (*Hensley*). The only other Indian-white couple living at the Lick was *David* and *Jossie* (*Barnett*) *Fletcher*[1125].

Interestingly, the enumerator of the Ivyton Precinct would write at the bottom of his returns for Big Lick that he had their "names transferred from sheet to Indian Schedule- some numbers have been added"[1126]. Unfortunately, I have yet to locate this "Indian Schedule", and thus I cannot ascertain its figures or its intended purpose. Yet, even without seeing this "Indian Schedule", it is certain that the total number of "Indians" in the county was grossly undercounted. Furthermore, nearly 1/4 of the Big Lick Indian Village inhabitants on Bear, Middle and Cole's Creek found themselves enumerated by Floyd County officials. There, they all were instead shown as "white" in the 1910 census, including *Isaac* and *Pearlie (Medders) Cole*, *Lee* and *Nancy (Gibson-Bradford) Cole, Wick Kendel* and *Melvanie Cole, Wilson "Jr"* and *Martha Cole. Boone Collins*, and a number of the grown children of *James* and *Minty (Montgomery) Cole*[1127]. This boundary, the county line, dividing "Indian" from "white" in the two county censuses, clearly shows how political lines can effect the data gained from primary documents.

It is likely that some of the added numbers of people on the Magoffin County "Indian schedule" included the families of old *Shephard "Shep" Cole* as well as that of

his grown son, *John "Johnny" Morgan Cole*, both of whom lived near the tiny village of Gullett in the Middle Fork Precinct. Perplexingly, both men were recorded as "white" despite the fact all their brothers and sisters living at the Lick were recorded as Indian[1128]. Other Indian families then living in the vicinity of the village of Gullett were similarly enumerated as white, despite any previous census classification they may have received. One example is the family of *"Primp John" Gullett,* the above-mentioned Johnny Cole's brother-in-law, and *Lizzy* (*Gibson*). Lizzy and her mixed blood children by John were also recorded as "white", even though her relatives of the same parentage living at the Big Lick were recorded as "Indian"[1129] . That all these Salyersville Indians had white spouses at this time may have biased the enumerators choice in classifying as "white", but maybe not.

The missing "Indian Schedule" may also shed light on the contradicting racial classifications of otherwise identifiable Indian families living in the Atkeson Precinct that year. Here lived the newly elected Justice of the Peace *Wallis Cole* and his non-Indian wife, having moved here temporarily from the Big Lick Indian village[1130]. But he, as well as his older children still living with him, were all recorded as "white". Close by lived the large family of *Jesse* and *Lodisky Cole*, as well as their young son *Preston* and his wife *Samantha*, and they too were shown as "white", despite the "Cherokee 1/2" designation they all received 10 years prior. Adding complexity to these Indian-white decisions in "racial" classification was the 1910 enumeration of the household of *John Nickels* and *Dicey Cole.* Still together by common-law-marriage, they had one child living with them. The family was recorded as "Black", despite receiving a "Ind-Cherokee 1/2-white" designation in the previous census[1131]. Perhaps, like the Department

of the Interior's report of 1890, the Atkeson Precinct enumerator simply classified them as such because of physical appearance.

The enumerators applied a very loose and broad definition of both "black" and "white" during this time, but apparently used tightly restrictive criteria for the "Indian". Testifying to this, the few children of members of the Indian Collins who had taken spouses of African heritage received a "black" designation. Indeed, the "one-drop" rule that pervaded the region prompted most whites to treat any person with known or even "suspected" suspected African heritage to be legally and socially "black" with no exception[1132]. In 1910, these included the children of *Millard Collins* and *Mattie Caudill*, and of *James Green Gardner* to *Biddy Collins* who also even had grandchildren by 1913. In addition to these couples, dozens of other Saponi *Collins'*, *Gibson*, *Bowling* and *Sexton* descendents, as well as the *Howard* and *Sizemore* families, would be recorded overwhelmingly as "white" in the Floyd and Magoffin county censuses[1133].

Despite these anomalies and contradictions in the "race/color" classifications of the Salyersville Indians in the 1910 census, it is still apparent that the Salyersville Indian population remained a distinctive feature of the Magoffin County citizenry and most were still locally recognized by non-Indians as Indian. However, without further documentation, I am still at a loss to explain why the geographic requirement of residing at the Big Lick Village seems to have been the only sure way to be enumerated as "Indian".

In and Out of the Mountaineer's Mountains

Less than two years after the 1910 census, *Shephard Cole* would be elected to the position of Justice of the Peace for the Salyersville and Middle Fork precincts[1134]. With Wallis Cole also being reelected that year in the Ivyton/Atkeson Precinct, two out of the five county magistrate's courts were now presided over by these two elders of the Salyersville Indian population[1135]. These were also the precincts with the highest percentage of the county's "good livers", although that class of people still remained a minority in both. Thus, not only were the Salyersville Indians recognizable as such amongst the local population, but some were educated and respected by non-Indians enough to propel them high into the county political structure.

The social, political and economic climate of Magoffin county during of these Salyersville Indians' political prominence can be ascertained from *The Kentucky Mountaineer.* The editor, Shelby Elam, touted his paper as being voice for "The Mountaineer", but he did not hide the fact that his paper was also to be the voice for the local Republican Party whose political positions often directed the course of his writing. Regardless of his stance in partisan politics, Elam's motto for the paper was "For the Rights of Mountain People, not their wrongs", a phrase that he placed at the top of every issue of his paper[1136]. In the opening salutatory of the first issue in 1912, he wrote...

> "I have seen our steep hillsides shorn of their forest cover...many of our people are now leasing their mineral rights. For generations our ancestors have worked and lived sparingly while their brothers lived off the fat of the land in the Bluegrass section"[1137].

Like many mountaineers, Elam rebuked the "Grand Old Commonwealth" for neglecting mountain people, and blamed the missions schools for not providing a curriculum which would have "made our people more independent of railroads by teaching them how to conserve their natural resources"[1138]. He continued in the same salutary to reflect opinions shared by many mountaineers, and stated that

> "...Our mission schools emphasized the fact that we were a feudal people until many good people who have never before been in our section believe that the greatest number of us are feudists and lawless people. This condition of things brings mountain people into dispute....but we cannot change the past. Behold the present....we have lost much wealth but still untold fortunes lie at our feet. We are asked to give these fortunes to capital. Jacob wants his birthright. He is offering us a bowl of porridge (10 dollars for a acre of coal worth a thousand). If we sell our birthright, so cheaply then, like Esau, we shall be cursed by our descendants for being such materialists. I am anxious to see our county developed, but I am not willing to see our people sell a fortune for a song"[1139].

Elam's newspaper provided a means for county citizens to keep abreast of the activities of outside timber and mineral speculators. For instance, in the winter of 1912, a "correspondent" from Ordway reported that a group of men had "passed through here last week prospecting for mineral and timberlands. Think they were unsuccessful. Hope

the good farmers will continue to keep their eyes open for such gentlemen"[1140]. Up in bordering Johnson County, the local paper was reporting that "progress" was arriving even faster. In the summer of 1913 Johnson County's sole newspaper, *The Paintsville Herald*, published a short article illustrating some mountaineer's anxiety over the scale and pace in which change was occurring in their county. Entitled "Do You Know Your Own Kinfolks", the article decried the fact that "a few years ago everyone in town (Paintsville) knew everyone, but now one does not know half the people in town"[1141].

It would be mostly oil and gas, and not coal, which would be the main attraction of Magoffin County for the ever increasing influx of mineral speculators. Still, one of the earliest Corporate Coal Towns to be developed in Magoffin would be Sublett, and the new jobs there did attract many men, and sometimes, their families. Indeed, a handful of Salyersville Indians, mostly single males like *Los* and *Wilbur Nickles*, were reported as living there during the Cherokee enrollment event of 1908-9[1142]. They undoubtedly were employed in the Sublett mines. But mining in these early years was extremely hazardous work. For instance, in the winter of 1912, Saponi *Fred Collins* (aka. *Fred Brown*) was killed by an electric wire at the mines on Miller's Creek[1143]. His was the first death of a Salyersville Indian in the mines I find recorded, but definitely would not be the last. Still, when pressed for outside wage work, most of the Salyersville Indians still avoided the mines in the early 1900s, as did most Magoffin Countians. Any needing extra wage income instead gradually fell into the habit of going north to work for seasonal employment, the most notable location would uniquely be "The Great Onion Fields" up around Alger, Ohio[1144].

That the beginnings of a decades long trend of traveling up to the Midwest onion

fields for the season would coincide both with the flashfloods and the outside interest in the development of oil fields in the county is probably more than coincidence. Records show that by 1910, a few of the Salyersville Indians had already been gaining seasonal employment in the onion fields. About half-dozen families, like those of *J.M.* and *Lindy (Cole) Collins* and *Tiny* and *Lizzie (Cole) Nickles* had spent at least one season there prior 1907[1145]. *Turner* and *Merkie* (*Patrick*) *Cole* had spent the summer of 1910 working onions on the Scioto marsh[1146]. However, far more non-Indians from Magoffin were also doing the same and in proportionately far greater numbers. By 1912, a handful of non-Indian Magoffin Countians were even completely "selling out" to permanently relocate their families to the Great Scioto Marsh in Hardin County, Ohio, mostly to work under sharecropping arrangements[1147]. The earliest issues of the *Mountaineer* confirm that for many Magoffin Countians, the Scioto Marsh onion fields were already part of the local vocabulary. The papers alone show that over 50 families a season were doing so by 1912, and that is probably a conservative statistic[1148].

But despite these new out-migrations from Magoffin county for permanent or temporary employment, the bulk of the county's citizens, be they Indian or not, still upheld the standard of maintaining a self-sufficient lifestyle based upon farming, hunting, gathering and trapping. Indeed, it was just as newsworthy for the newspaper to report incidences such as when local men George Cisco and Orbin Williams had "caught and sold $14.80 worth of fur last snow" as it was to report a new oil well had been dug[1149]. The continuing importance of "undeveloped" lands to the Mountaineer's subscribers' is reflected through Elam's advertisers. Elam's best paying and most consistent advertisers were the "John White & Co." of Louisville who every week solicited "furs and hides:

honest market price paid", and "M. Babel and Son", also out of Louisville, who found it profitable to advertise every week that they paid "Money in Trapping and Furs"[1150]. Hard currency was still rare in these parts of this hills, and money made from fur rarely went unnoticed by one's friends and neighbors used to a barter economy. *Mountaineer* correspondents from the county often reported news like "the fur trade is the best business in the county through the month of January. Every day somebody passes with a sack tied behind him inquiring about furs"[1151].

The important thing to note here is that, regardless of racial or ethnic identity or class positioning, hunting and trapping skills were still considered worthy and respectable practices by most of Magoffin citizens during the earliest decades of the 1900s. The reputation of "Old *Josh Perkins*, the Old Trapper" who had resided near Frenchburg was such that the local paper would give other county trappers a nod by comparing their skills to that of the old Indian mixed-blood[1152]. Similarly, many non-Indians also maintained good public reputations as hunters and trappers. For instance, Toby Minix, a Magoffin County man who was noted to have held onto the "old way" by the local newspaper. In 1914, the paper related that "Mr.Minix is a believer in Old Hunter's Dreams. The night before he dreamed of catching a coon and the next day went out and caught a record breaker"[1153].

Thus, the local Indians did not stand out as peculiar among the mountain population because of their own ongoing adherence to and reliance on such practices. But apparently they did stand out in their prowess and skill in these activities. Indeed, such was the reputation of the closely related Salyersville, Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain Indians at this time, that a regional vocabulary list published in 1915 in *Dialect*

Notes used their hunting abilities as a means of distinguishing them. With data gathered from "local folks" living near the Stone Mountain Indian community, the compiler of the list reported that that term "gipsen snow" was widely used by non-Indians in the region to designate

> "...a slight snowfall. A peculiar people scattered over mountainous parts of Southwest Virginia, Eastern Kentucky and East Tennessee, said to be a mixture of Indian, Negro, Portuguese and Anglo-Saxon in varying proportions, and having many of the racial traits of the Indian: the mean lead a hunting, fishing, roving life--have often heard the name Gibson (pron. Gipsen). The expression is well known. The above is my guess at the origin. The word gipsey is not heard"[1154].

The same vocabulary list however also reflects continued confusion and contradictions espoused by non-Indians regarding the "Indian" identity of the Salyersville, Stone Mountain and Greasy Rock Indian populations. The *Notes* reported that the term "Malungeon" as a regional label designating "...one race of people in Southwest Virginia, Eastern Kentucky and Tennessee said to have partly Indian blood. See Gipsen Snow"[1155]. One descendant of a well known east Kentucky mixed-blood family has more recently published his thoughts on this often exaggerated representation, stating that "my favorite legend makes us Melungeons, a mysterious batch of folk possessing ungodly woodskills. We could track fleas hopping from dog to dog at a hundred yards. If you don't believe it, just ask the sociologist who spent a season like a

fungus in the hills"[1156].

Politics, Race and "Achievements"

It is important to note that Magoffin County's newspaper *never once* uses the label "Melungeon", "colored", "Indian", "white", "black" or any other ethnic or racial term when talking about the local citizen Indians. This goes further to demonstrate that the local Indians and Indian-white mixed-bloods held the same social and legal stating as whites in this remote mountain county. What makes this even more apparent is the ongoing social and legal segregation that was concurrently being imposed on the county's small African American population. The writers of the county court records and in the *Kentucky Mountaineer* always felt a need to note a person's "race" when they were talking about a "colored", "black" or "Negro" individual. That is, all persons mentioned who had African heritage to any extent were racially qualified with statements like "Sam Keeton, a negro...", or "John Gardner, a colored...", and so forth[1157].

If one was not of African heritage, the local newspaper and other documents suggest that the one of most prominent identifier used to delineate differences between the county's citizens was political party affiliation. The Republican biased *Mountaineer*, for instance, sarcastically reported in one of the first issues that "Mr. Caraway says he has succeeded in finding one democrat in Magoffin. That one, however, was a woman"[1158]. Coincidently, when Elam started the *Mountaineer* in 1912, not only did the Democrats hold the majority of political positions in the county, but *Wallace* and *Shepherd Cole*, the two Salyersville Indian Justices of the Peace, also then belonged to that party.

Unfortunately no newspaper existed in the country prior to this time to help shed more light on why a majority of people in this county, who usually voted Republican, chose to elect so many Democrats in their latest election. But regrettably for the Democrats, in the spring of 1912 it looked as if the economic situation for many people in the county was not going to get better in the near future. The Democrats, for instance, were blamed for the poor corn crops in the county in the past few years, which was mostly the result of flash floods. The Republican's new mouthpiece, the *Mountaineer*, was quick to quote people like James Risner, who for instance announced that "if he knew that the Democrats had made everything scarce and times so hard, that he would have quit the Democratic party"[1159].

Yet, even in the heated political rhetoric surrounding those elected on the Democratic ticket, it is notable that no "racial" label was ever given to the Salyersville Indian magistrates, *Wallace* and *Shep Cole*, or their Indian relations in the local newspaper. The closest thing to an identifier the newspaper would use in speaking of the Indian relations of the two Cherokee-Saponi magistrates was the geographic designation of "the folks at Big Lick". Even in potentially negative social circumstances, never is any Indian's situation blamed on "Indianness", such as when "*Sookie*" *Nickles*, as well as old *Ira Gibson* and *Spicy* and *Willie Auxier (*aka *Collins),* were reported to have received money from the county "pauper funds"[1160].

A more dramatic occurred when, late in 1911, *Ike Perkins* was murdered for reasons that I have not yet determined[1161]. But perhaps his death was somehow connected to the fact that Ike had previously had troubles regarding "moonshining". Indeed, over the next few years, this volatile issue would come to entangle a number of the Salyersville Indians[1162].

An early sign of this trouble occurred in February of 1912, when the Indian *Milton Nickles* was caught by a U.S. Marshall in a sweep of "bootleggers" near Bloomington. Still, the paper no mention of them being "Indian".

The high profile of being county magistrates, as well as respected elders of the Salyersville Indian population, would pose some challenges for the Cherokee-Saponi brothers *Wallis* and *Shep Cole*. As will become apparent, there is evidence that Wallace in particular struggled with reconciling his allegiances and obligations to his kin and with those of his other constituents. Shep on the other hand would mostly avoid such complications (at least publicly), possibly because his "Salyersville" precinct held fewer of their Indian and mixed-blood relations than did his brother's "Ivyton" jurisdiction. Less than 2 miles away from Big Lick, Ivyton was described by one contemporaneous visitor as being a "nifty little country village with approximately 75 population"[1163]. Squire Wallis Cole's difficulties really began in the last week of February in 1912. At that time, the Ivyton correspondent to the *Mountaineer* was a non-Indian locally known as "Doc" Crace, a the leading merchant and sawmill operator from Ivyton at this time. Crace's verbal pummeling of Wallace began as he openly attempted to blame the Indian Squire for certain troubles that occurred in Ivyton that week. Crace claimed that

> "Several of the boys have been out on the Muddy streets of our village with a severe case of the 'swim head' this week, some would be muddy to their knees, and some no doubt had their shoe rags wet. Some of the leading ladies of the village say that our Squire had compromised with the [illegible word] and wants the devil to reign in

our neighborhood at this writing it is believed by many of the leading men. It was reported in Ivyton today that there was whiskey traffic in 3 hundred yards of the Squire's house and that he would not attempt to make any investigation whatsoever. May god strengthen the Republican party, the Mountaineer, says the people of Ivyton"[1164].

With that, Crace would begin a political smear campaign against Wallace Cole in that paper. Yet, despite his numerous attempts to discredit Wallace, it is notable that this Republican would never once mention Wallace's Indian heritage, making it apparent that his disdain was only towards having a *Democrat* as Justice of the Peace.

As might be expected, other Republicans also felt the need to take verbal stabs at the Democratic magistrate. Another Republican later began using the *Mountaineer* to attack Squire Wallis's ability as magistrate. This correspondent from Ordway, "Uncle Red", went even farther to directly associate the county's "whiskey problem" with Wallis himself. Claiming that "whiskey and rain" had been source of the abundant news that week, "Uncle Red" laid out harsh accusations against the Cherokee magistrate, stating that "Our Magistrate, Mr. Wallace Cole, has never made his appearance on the scene of so much crime. No wonder whiskey is king. It is sold and drank without fear of anyone". Noting that Magoffin was a "dry county", Red continued to assert that, ".... whiskey has been ruler in his kingdom for nearly two years. Mr. Tussey, Revenue inspector, caused the king to be exiled for about 1 year, but he returned and has taken up his throne once more as did Napoleon"[1165]. Red pleaded to his readers that they "now may everyone who reads my foolish and blunt expression give heed to the whiskey

problem and help defeat it in the November election"[1166]. But once again, it is noteworthy that despite his bluntness, "Uncle Red", like Doc Crace, did not pull out "the race card" when leveling these accusations against Wallace. And as *The Mountaineer* would level similar criticisms at many non-Indian office holders, this shows that the Republicans were not solely ganging up on Wallace Cole as being "Indian" simply under the guise of partisan politics[1167].

Despite Wallace Cole's political problems, other members of the Salyersville Indian population continued to remain in good standing with their non-Indian neighbors. Many involved themselves in county politics and other civic services. Sometimes such services would be small, such as the time the county paid *Elbert Cole* to kill two wild hogs, or when the county paid *John Morgan Cole* a large sum of money for doing "road work" near his home by Gullett[1168]. Merchant *Sam Collins* was also shown as being paid out of fiscal court money and it may be that he advanced supplies to the county from his "trading store" located just outside Salyersville[1169]. Also in May of 1912, *George Fletcher*, *Harrison Cole* and *Manford Collins* were all picked to serve on Grand Jury duty for the summer. The often-critical Elam would report that "this Grand Jury did the best work of any for many years.... they undertook to 'hue to the line' and let the law be enforced" during a time that Elam perceived "lawlessness in the county" as being on the increase. [1170]. In the meantime, *Nimit Gibson* announced he was running as candidate for county jailer in the upcoming election. When Reverend Hoskins married him to *Jenny Nickles*, the *Mountaineer* good-naturedly announced that the only charge Hoskins asked for his services was that "Mr. Gibson was to give him fair treatment when he was placed in this charge"[1171].

But forces unforeseen again threatened the economic stability of all Magoffin County citizens. In the spring and summer of 1912, another dramatic series of cloudbursts slammed the county in late July and early August, causing major crop damage around Big Lick, Ivyton, Gapville, Bradley, Olde, and various other parts of the county[1172]. One particularly severe cloudburst in late July flooded the entire county seat of Salyersville in less than an hour[1173]. One of these cloudbursts hit the Ivyton area pretty hard, and undoubtedly effected the Indian's crops at Big Lick. The nearby Dalton Sawmill was hit so violently that hundreds of ties and timber logs were swept down the Middle Creek where some Salyersville Indians had their homes, destroying crops, fences, and anything else that lay in their path. And in a sad twist of fate, only two days after this disaster about 50 local people who had been working onions up at the Scioto Marsh in Ohio got off the train at Middle Creek over in Floyd County and made their way home to Ivyton[1174]. Ironically, these families had left the onion marshes because they were "covered with water" from heavy floods also occurring up in that region. Those floods sadly did take the lives of a number of the Magoffin county workers (see Chapter 12). With both avenues of wage and subsistence destroyed by these deluges in Kentucky and Ohio, the immediate future looked bleak for many.

For these reasons, the number of people in the county who would be recorded in county records as receiving "aid" notably increased in 1912. But now people who received such aid were being publicly reported and labeled as "poor persons" in the county newspaper. And a few of the Salyersville Indians also found themselves in this situation. Having their names publicly published as "poor persons" temporarily receiving aid were *Sibby* and *Em Harmon* (aka. *Gibson*), *Sherm Nickles*, *Rosa Perkins*, *Jack*

McCarty, Nimit and *Louis Gibson*, *French* and *Spicy Auxier* (aka. *Collins*), *Tyre* and *Margaret Gibson* and old *Shep Collins*[1175]. Even though only one "permanent" Big Lick resident was shown briefly needing aid for his family that spring, *Farish Cole* , a small but ominous change seemed to be occurring[1176]. The number of Indians and mixed-bloods being classified as "poor persons" in 1912, for the first time proportionally represented a larger percentage of the overall "poor person" population than whites. In a dramatic increase from anytime in the past, Salyersville Indians accounted for nearly one quarter of all the "paupers" receiving aid in the county that spring[1177].

A sarcastic yet witty correspondent to the *Mountaineer*, who wrote under the alias of "Ruie Johnson", was among those Republicans to use this occasion of hard times to attack again Wallace Cole's actions as Magistrate. For one, Johnson blamed the Indian Squire for the increased frequency of people having to "steal" corn and other items for subsistence. In one of his many semi-weekly columns published in the newspaper, late that May of 1912, Johnson reported that "Boomer Bill was up in town the other day and heard Squire Cole say that he was for the pauper. He said that the Squire did not think the *Mountaineer* had done the right thing in publishing those fellows name on the delinquent list". Wallace felt that such published lists caused unwarranted embarrassment and social stigmas for those shown on them. Even the newspaper editor, Elam, stated in print that "it is thought that fully one half of the names turned in as 'delinquent' should not be turned in as such"[1178]. But Ruie did not agree with Wallace's position on this, as well as many other issues, so he sarcastically announced in his column that he was going to start up a new county, where the only violation is "hypocrisy". Then Ruie craftily used Wallace as a means to attack the Magoffin County

Democrats in general, stating

> "Now Squire, if you can live up to the requirements of Ruie's State, come down here. We are going to do better for the pauper than your county does. Several of your people want your county out of debt. We are not going to worry about debts here. We'll make the debts and let our children and grandchildren pay them. We are going to let every poor pauper draw about ten dollars a month from the state. If that is not enough, we'll increase it"[1179].

The rough ride of the spring of 1912 would end on two ominous notes for the Salyersville Indians. First, *Charley Collins*, who lived out near Julian, was blamed for killing his neighbor Matt Salyer's dog. In retaliation, Salyer came and shot the Cherokee-Saponi descendant four times, but somehow Charley survived[1180]. Then, the same week of the attack on Charley, and only week after the above mentioned column penned by Ruie Johnson appeared in the local paper, the Mountaineer printed yet another accusation against Squire Wallace Cole. This time, the Ivyton correspondent, Doc Crace, had claimed "quite a lot of boys were taken before our Squire Monday, charged with drunkenness, and when Cole found that one of his sons was the one who had been retailing he immediately discharged them saying you are not guilty". Elam also published Crace's plea that "I would like to have you publish what I have said relative to Wallis Cole, as this is the request of the people"[1181].

Up to this point, Crace's repeated accusations against Wallace seemed purely a

point of partisan politics. But such a blatant accusation of a miscarriage of justice by a county official presented a much more serious matter. Then, two weeks later into the summer, Crace wrote to the *Mountaineer* that "The kindred of Squire Cole reported here today that they wanted the *Mountaineer* to publish the way in which Wallis was allowing bad conduct to be carried on before their children"[1182]. Open rebuke of one's actions by one's "kindred", in this case a delegation of the Indians from the Big Lick village, was enough to cause Wallace to quickly straighten up. Indeed, the accusations being leveled at Wallace in the *Mountaineer* temporarily came to a halt.

But Wallace's political problems returned following the mid-summer harvest. That July, the *Mountaineer* found cause to print another snipe at the Indian magistrate from the Ivyton precinct. First there was a short cryptic warning, which stated "Look out Squire Cole or you will get your toes mashed with that big jug that is coming to Big Lick"[1183]. More disturbing, however, was the more forward claim printed in the paper that "the people of Ivyton are talking very much about Lynching one of their citizens"[1184]. These threats however were rhetorical, as the warnings had something to do with the religious "revivals" occurring in the area that summer which were organized specifically to address the local liquor problem. Not coincidently, then, the same issue of the *Mountaineer* was announcing that there was to be an "old fashion foot-washing" revival to be held at Ivyton that very week. The local paper claimed that the revival would "cause hard times on the chickens, and the blind tiger men are preparing for everyone to take sacrament, and if this be true we will have to run a bread wagon"[1185]. The foot washing reportedly "went off very nicely and some few with a bad case of swim head"[1186]. And of course nobody was ever actually lynched. But the drive by some

citizens to "clean up the county" was intense during this summer.

The Booms and Busts of 1913

Squire Wallace Cole would manage to avoid controversy for some time after the series of summer revivals in 1912[1187]. However, during one high profile murder involving local non-Indians, Squire *Shepherd Cole* was objected to by the prosecution to hear the preliminary hearings because he was "said to have taken a fee from the defendants"[1188] . But the hearings were finally passed on to none other than Shep's brother, magistrate *Wallace Cole*. With all the controversy surrounding Wallace's actions as magistrate in the past year, the local paper of course followed and recorded these events with keen interest. The editor of the *Mountaineer* would report that Wallace "surprised many people" by fixing the Arnett's bond at a hefty $3000 and $2500 each.

Then a notable downturn in the social and political problems tied to whiskey and politics around Wallace's Ivyton district briefly coincided with the ongoing revivals taking place there that summer and into the fall[1189]. Interestingly, the Indian families at the Big Lick Indian village were leading the way, and one of the largest of the local "Holiness" revivals of the series was held was right on the "meeting grounds" in their community. Led by visiting Minister Walter Thomas, the event was heavily attended by both Indians and non-Indians, and the local paper later noted that the revival was "enjoyed by all", and boasted of its efforts[1190].

While all these local concerns occupied people's attention, the editor of the *Mountaineer*, Shelby Elam, continued voicing his concerns in the newspaper regarding

"plans by which Pennsylvania Capitalists" were acting fast to gain ownership of all the vast timber, gas and coal resources in Magoffin. In October of 1912, the editor warned his readers about five outside companies in particular who had formed "solely for the purpose of acquiring and holding the titles to valuable coal land". Elam reported that, in the past two years, these companies had been "quietly working" and had now succeeded in acquiring ownership to more than 200,000 acres in Magoffin, Perry and Breathitt Counties[1191].

But with local Republican primaries looming, such speculation went largely unnoticed. As the primaries approached the *Mountaineer* reflected a division among local Republicans this year between those who supported Roosevelt, who had decided to run independently, and those who backed Taft. But one thing these Magoffin County Republicans could agree upon was verbally pummeling local Democrats. Indeed, it would be during one of these heated political tirades against the Democrats printed in *Mountaineer* that the only racial slur aimed at the Democratic magistrates, the Cherokee-Saponi brothers *Shep* and *Wallace Cole*, would occur in print. The remark would come from "Ruie Johnson" who had criticized Wallace in the local press before. In one of Johnson's typically sarcastic columns, he said he had "converted" and was now a Democrat, and as such, he could now support "hypocrisy" as "policy". Then, without mentioning names, Ruie said that being a Democrat now made him "...free borned, half-white and of privileged character"[1192]. I have no doubt that the remark was meant specifically for Squire Wallace Cole. Yet, Ruie's remarks sparked neither retribution nor reinforcement in the local press, and no further "racial" slams against Wallace or his brother Shepherd were ever made in the local paper.

But Wallace's political troubles were not over. That fall, the County Grand Jury indicted Doc Crace on account of accusations he had made against the Cherokee magistrate. Crace had openly accused Wallace of "being influenced by money". This time the Squire called Crace before the Grand Jury to prove his accusation, or be prosecuted for slander. Crace called Wallace on his threat, and wrote in the *Mountaineer* that "the people know the way in which Cole has been transacting business in this section, and it will be made plain to the county next week"[1193]. Crace claimed that he would bring forth a half dozen witnesses who would testify they had "influenced Cole with money". While the proceedings of the Jury are not known, the outcome of this match was that no witnesses ever came forward, and the charges Crace laid against Wallace were left unproven. Soon after this event, Crace resigned as the Ivyton correspondent to the *Mountaineer*, stating to its readers that he was the one being harassed.

After Crace's, Wallace Cole's tensions stemming from local politics temporarily subsided. The liquor problem also seemed to have been tempered since the summer "revivals" and, perhaps indicating a promising trend for the New Year of 1913, the *Mountaineer* reported from Salyersville that "there was not a drunk man in our village through Christmas. This is the first time such a report was ever made from this place"[1194]. But the pace of change around Ivyton and other parts of the county that winter continued at a quick pace. The local newspaper noted that numerous real estate dealers were poking around "locating timber and mineral lands" around the Ivyton-Big Lick area. Furthermore, "several thousands dollars were in transit...securing rights of way up Jennies Creek" for a railroad line, the first in the county, that would haul the timber and

minerals out[1195]. In the meantime, the Indians at Big Lick held another big Holiness revival on their "meeting grounds" which was reportedly attended by a "great number of people" from Ivyton and the surrounding area. Many people, Indians and non-Indians, were baptized there by the visiting minister, Reverend *Collins,* despite the cold winter temperatures[1196].

For some, the bustle of development brought new winter employment opportunities to a number of Indian and non-Indian men living in the greater Ivyton area. From January on, a number of local men found work on the Rail line making its way up Jennies Creek toward their homes. Others, like Saponi descendant ***Will Collins***, took employment in one of the three or four local saw mills that were hastily erected to supply the new line with rails being cut from local timber near their homes[1197]. But this work was not enough in new wage opportunities to keep dozens of mountaineer families, including a few Salyersville Indians, from again seeking seasonal employment in the Ohio onion fields. As spring came upon the mountains, the *Mountaineer* was reporting that a "great number of people" from the Ivyton and Gapville areas were making preparations for "spending the summer in the "Muck" Land as it is called. We wish them great success"[1198].

But some Magoffin county citizens sensed a dark cloud looming on the horizon. In an address made before Magoffin County citizens in mid-March, Judge John Gardner cautioned that "swindling of all sorts" was the greatest danger facing the local people. The Judge even claimed that "some of our people", known as "wildcat" land dealers, were "swindling anything from stick pins to threshing machines"[1199]. Gardner told the people that "our lands [are] a drug on the market because the outside world had been

frightened by our land swindlers". But this the Judge misperceived (or misrepresented) this as keeping away outside development and otherwise "hindering the progress of the county" because opportunity for exploitation increased as such activities put already confusing land titles in further question[1200]. Later that year, the predicted oil and gas booms became a reality in Magoffin. By the 1913 summer's end, correspondents to the local paper from small rural communities like Gifford would be reporting things like "oil fever is raging here, almost every farm having been leased"[1201]. Accompanying the boom atmosphere was a continuing influx of outside workers, speculators, "highwaymen" and others attracted to the oil, timber, coal and gas industries[1202].

But in what was becoming a yearly rite, spring storms had again ravaged the county, further opening avenues for exploitation by outside interests. A particularly strong storm hit on the first of April, which, with all the recent timbering, caused large flash floods throughout the area. Later, Salyersville was flooded to the point where people were forced to use boats to get from one building to another[1203]. The railroad by this time was only three miles from reaching Ivyton, but the construction was hit hard by one storm. Reportedly no less than 50,000 ties were swept down the Middle Creek, past the Big Lick, and down towards Prestonsburg[1204]. Meanwhile, many, if not most, of the county folk watched their newly planted fields and gardens wash away.

The massive damage accrued in the Gapville and Ivyton areas would prompt "a great many people" from that area to start a bit early in moving up to the Ohio onion fields[1205]. The flood damage probably motivated many people to do so for the first time. Doc Crace, who had returned to being the Ivyton correspondent to the local paper, reported that the Ivyton citizens were "sad" to see so many "good folk" deciding to go

north for the summer[1206]. Still, indicating that most of the Magoffin County workers saw their residence in Ohio as seasonal at best, the people there welcomed the opportunity to keep abreast of news "back home"[1207]. Salyersville Indian *Tom Nuckles* for example asked for his *Mountaineer* subscription to be rerouted to Alger, Ohio for the summer. During that season he reported through the paper to his friends and neighbors back in and around Ivyton that "I am in the great onion field and it looks like fine onion crops, and I am enjoying the Mountaineer"[1208].

In the meantime, local attention was again directed toward the Democratic primaries. The Salyersville Indians and others watched carefully as Justice of the Peace seats presently held by Cherokees *Shep* and *Wallace Cole* were up for grabs. As early as April of 1913, a number of men came forward announcing their candidacies for those very positions in the local Democratic primary to be held that summer[1209]. Not surprisingly, Wallace Cole in particular continued to be used by local Republicans as an example of all that was wrong with the Democratic party.

That spring magistrate Wallace Cole and D.G. "Doc" Crace resumed their sparring. This time, Crace openly accused Wallace's son of selling liquor. Wallace and his son flatly denied the charge, so Wallace had D.G. Crace tried for "libelous slander". The local paper reported that "a few hundred people" showed up as the Grand Jury awaited the testimonies of the witnesses Crace said would be present to prove his accusations. The specifics of the proceedings and testimony elude me, but in the end the Grand Jury acquitted Crace, although one of the jurymen did vote to fine Crace $1.00, and four others were for fining him one cent[1210]. But no charges were brought against Wallace's son either, so the truth of the matter remains elusive. Nonetheless, this event

apparently shook Crace up a bit, and he again resigned as the Ivyton correspondent[1211]. With Crace again out of the picture, the attacks against Squire Wallace Cole in the county newspaper once again ceased. But his political reputation was damaged.

The Salyersville Indian Squires now focused their attention back to the Democratic Party nominations in the August primaries. *Shepherd Cole*, announced that he would not run again for his current position as Justice of the Peace for the Middle Fork and Salyersville Precincts. Instead, Shep had boldly opted to run for the Democratic nomination as candidate for County Judge. Shep's brother, *Wallace Cole*, would try to remain the Democratic candidate for the Ivyton Precinct's Justice of the Peace[1212]. Democrats and Republicans alike eagerly waited for the results of the Democratic Primary announced to be held on August 2 in Salyersville. When the date arrived, it was reported that the elections went off peaceably, and that "not a drunken man was seen, and as far as I could tell, no money used"[1213]. Both of the Salyersville Indian magistrates would however lose. Shep lost the nomination for County Judge by a substantial margin[1214]. Wallace also lost the Democratic nomination for Justice of the Peace. Running on a platform of "ridding the county" of whiskey, the Republicans then swept the later November elections, including both of the magistrate seats previously held by the two Salyersville Indian brothers. The *Mountaineer* 's editor bragged that "the Republicans are sitting in the Log Cabin smoking the Pipe of Peace" now that they achieved their election goals[1215].

Considering that since the Civil War Magoffin County had been a stronghold for Republicans, it is amazing that as Democrats the two Salyersville Indians Shep and Wallis Cole were ever elected to magistrate positions in the first place. If nothing else, it

proves that their social standing among non-Indians must have been high to achieve such a feat. And Shep and Wallace's defeat by no means ended the involvement of local Indians in the political and civic activities of Magoffin county in that year. Old *Ben Perkins*, the only person in the 1910 census listed as "Indian" living within the town limits of Salyersville, had been elected a Town Trustee. The local newspaper touted him as being among "the ranks of Salyersville's best citizens"[1216]. Wallace and Shep however would never again run for office.

Despite the tensions that had existed between Doc Crace and Wallace Cole the prior year, the social dynamic between the Indians and non-Indians of the Ivyton-Big Lick area remained positive. One local woman even jokingly quipped in the local paper that if she were to visit Ivyton ten years from 1913, she would even find that to "great surprise to me that Doc Crace had married some millionaire's daughter from Big Lick"[1217]. That no grudge was apparently ever held by Wallace Cole or Doc Crace, at least not any that manifested in further trouble, is notable. The Indian mixed-blood man, *Kelly Perkins* for example learned first hand how the outcome of an election could haunt one far into the future. In the summer of 1915, the local paper, since renamed the *Salyersville Herald,* reported that John Lykins had cut Perkins badly in a fight, and that "an old grudge was the cause of the trouble, falling out over a school election about a year ago. Doctors say there is little chance for recovery"[1218].

Never again would the Salyersville Indian's hold on county politics be as strong it was prior to 1914, but neither would it be absent. As for the two Indian magistrates, only a year after losing his last election, *Wallace Cole*, the old Cherokee-Saponi elder who had wielded so much influence among the county's non-Indian population would pass away

at the Big Lick. As for Wallace's brother, *Shepherd Cole,* after the election he retired permanently down on his modest farm located near the village of Gullett. And he too stayed with the people only for a short time longer. In the fall of 1917, the elder died after a ten-day bout with "senility and lagrippe"[1219]. He left his son, *John "Johnny" Morgan Cole,* the lands that his own mother and father, *Charlotte* and *Charley,* had obtained a half-century prior. But within a few years Johnny would follow a path similar to most Salyersville Indians in the next 20 years. He would sell the old place and go to Oklahoma before later joining kin in the Michigan muckfields[1220]. Indeed an era had passed but a new phase in Salyersville Indian history, one centered on the Midwest onion fields, was just beginning.

This was perhaps the beginning of the end of the heyday of the Big Lick Indian Community, but not of the Salyersville Indian population as a group. During this time, they had many people in prominent economic, social and political positions throughout the county. They led religious revivals to divert their people from being overcome by the temptations of alcohol and violence accompanying the "boom atmosphere" growing in the area. While a few struggled with these problems, the Salyersville Indians in general experienced few pauper, criminal and health problems. While the census recorded most of them under the racial category of "Indian", they suffered no legal segregations as did the few blacks in the county. Here in the mountains, Salyersville Indian identity also continued to cross-cut and override locally defined class boundaries. But the Salyersville Indians were now on the verge of encountering new social and economic situations that would test their ability to keep their families together, and as a consequence, keep their identity as "Indian" meaningful.

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"WHO'S YOUR PEOPLE?"-
CUMULATIVE IDENTITY AMONG THE SALYERSVILLE INDIAN POPULATION OF KENTUCKY'S APPALACHIA AND THE MIDWEST MUCKFIELDS, 1677-2000.

VOLUME III

By

Richard Allen Carlson, Jr.

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Chapter 12

Within and Beyond Mountain Divides

The Salyersville Indian population living in the Magoffin County area was at its numeric height in the early1920s. Externally they were socially and legally treated more as classifitory whites by other non-Indian mountaineers while simultaneously being "Indian" in local dialogue. Indeed, the changes wrought by the local timber, coal and oil industries in Appalachia helped to enhance their internally shared "mountaineer" identity, while externally the image of "primitive, backward" hillbillies grew in popular media. And during the 1920s, many Salyersville Indian families found the need to travel abroad for income gained by seasonal labor. But even as Salyersville families ventured toward Oklahoma, the Thacker Coal Town, or the Midwest onion fields, they did so in family groups. These families' efforts abroad in this new economic dynamic served to support, as well as remained supported by, the kin network back in the Magoffin County area.

An interesting example of the ongoing non-Indian mountaineer reinforcement of the Salyersville Indian's identity as Indians is during the 1920s and 30s is demonstrated through an article regarding a descendant of old *Goldenhawk Sizemore* published in *The Ashland Daily Independent* on June 29, 1930[1221]. The focus of the story, *John Sizemore Sr.*, was born in 1839 the son of *Bill Hawk Sizemore*, born and raised in the Magoffin-Floyd County area. John had won "The Oldest Man In the County Contest" being held by that newspaper. The resulting interview described how John now lived in the small town of Stonington, which had only one store and a Post Office ran by *Tom Collins*. In this newspaper article, John recalled that "My Grandfather's name was George Golden Hawk

Sizemore, a Cherokee Indian Chief, head of a tribe that had settled near Prestonsburg, the county seat [of Floyd], in the early part of the century. I remember my grandfather quite distinctly, although he died when I was but a lad. One of my brothers was named *William Hawk Sizemore,* [aka. *Bill Blackhawk,* and *Bill Hawk*] after his father and grandfather"[1222]. The article was not derogatory in any way, although perhaps a bit romantic. For instance, the *Independent's writer* commented on old John's admiration of the radio, which he mused emitted "sounds that his progenitor, Golden Hawk Sizemore, would have undoubtedly attributed to Manitou, the Great Spirit"[1223]. The author obviously assumed his local readers accepted the Indian identity claim of the Sizemores, and notably the label "Melungeon" was not used by the author or the Sizemores. It is also interesting to note that John's use of the labels "a tribe" and "Cherokee" shows that he used "Cherokee" as a generic term for "Indian", just as his relatives did back during the 1907-9 U.S. Court of Claims fiasco (see Chapter 9). This lack of specific tribal designation in describing Sizemore ancestry while loosely using "Cherokee" to be the same as "Indian" would become more common among many Salyersville Indians of non-Cherokee ancestry during this century.

Until the early 1920s, the Indian population living back at the Big Lick community in Magoffin County, the largest residential concentration of Salyersville Indians, had held steady. For instance, in 1925 enrollment at the "Cole's Schoolhouse" in that Indian village was a sizable 68 students, nearly all being Indian[1224]. But one notable change had occurred among the Salyersville Indians. Interestingly, as the regional political and economic atmosphere began to shift in response to the growing development of the mineral industries in the 1910s, so had the religious direction of the most

Salyersville Indians, especially from the Big Lick Indian village. That change was a "conversion" from Baptist and Methodist orientations to practicing the religious principles being espoused by the new "charismatic" Holiness movement. In the first decade of the 1900s, the "Holiness" movement had a gained prominent foothold among non-Indians in the county. These Holiness practitioners were often known by other denominations as "Holy Rollers" for their rather vocal and assertive manner of preaching, praising and witnessing. They differ from other sects of evangelistic Baptists (not common in the mountains) and Methodists by allowing instruments in Church, speaking in tongues, laying on of hands, evangelizing, and so forth. The Holiness (sometimes called Pentecostal) practice to hold open-air camp meetings continued to become more and more common throughout the Magoffin county in the 1920s[1225].

The Indian families at Big Lick would almost wholly convert to the new denomination by 1912. Early Holiness camp meeting were held by the Salyersville Indians at the grounds at "the Forks" in the heart of the Big Lick Indian community, and most often included white as well as Indian participants. Regarding this religious transition in Magoffin County was that, while almost fully converting to the Holiness movement, it is important to note that the Salyersville Indians at Big Lick were not alone in doing so, and thus did not "stand out" from the rest of the county citizens purely because they did. By the 1920's, the sect was not peripheral, but an intrinsic part of the Magoffin County religious spectrum. It newness, it vibrancy, and its assertiveness obviously offered an attractive and useful counterpoint to the old fundamental practices of the Baptist and Methodists in keeping people and their families "on the good path" in these changing and difficult times. Most Salyersville Indians would come to be known as

intense practitioners of this Christian sect, and their families would mostly hold tight to this religious path throughout the remainder of the century.

But despite their growing population, and a strategic shift in religious direction, by the end of the decade the Indian population around Big Lick would begin to notably decrease during the 1920s as many families began seeking wage labor opportunities either in the muckfields of the north, or in specific coal towns like the one at Thacker, West Virginia. The most notable consequence would be that a few new satellite populations of Salyersville Indians would eventually be established among the northern onion fields in Ohio and southern Michigan. These families clustered in and around the muckfields would become the most significant demographic feature of the Salyersville Indian population by the mid 1900s. However, during the first decades of the 1900s, movements back and forth between Kentucky and Oklahoma continued to be the preferred route of migration for those Salyersville Indians looking for opportunities outside the mountains.

The Salyersville Indian Contingient in Indian Territory

Back in 1908, during the Cherokee Court of Claims drama, *Anderson Cole* informed the Special Commissioner in Washington that right after the family lost their land to the goverment, "the Cole's scattered"[1226]. What Anderson did not realize, or at least articulate, was the fact that the Cherokee Coles and the rest of the Salyersville Indian population were in the beginning of a second "scattering" of their people. The reasons for this new diaspora were tied to economic factors in combination with the

changing social climate accompanying the coming of the resource extractive industries into their mountain homeland. Another a factor was that the Salyerville Indian families continued to grow at a rate which the immediate region around Big Lick could not fully support. While the Indian presence at Big Lick and Magoffin County would alway remain, the Salyersville Indians were finding more and more families moving abroad with permanent intentions. *Wick K. Cole* and *Alex Gullett* were among a number of Salyersville Indians who would spend time in Magoffin County Kentucky, the coal towns of Thacker and Blue Diamond in Appalachia, in Oklahoma *and* the onion fields of Ohio and Michigan during their lifetimes.

By 1915 nearly two dozen Salyersville Indian had migrated to Indian Territory from Magoffin County, Kentucky, and they maintained frequent contact with their kin back east who occassionally joined them in the 1920s and 30s. Indeed, now there was a new rising generation of Salyersville Indians in Indian territory, while being joined by others from Kentucky from time to time, knew the former location as their first and often only home.

Prior to Oklahoma achieving statehood and the resticting of the Indian nation governments there, some of these Salyersville Indian families became quite sucessful materially and economically at the turn of the century. Some families, like that of *Daniel* and *Jahaza Cole*[1227], managed to build up farming operations on a scale that went beyond just family subsistence. That couple, who eventually aquired land away from Brushey Mountain near Choska, Oklahoma even hired a number of farm hands who they housed seperately on the land[1228]. Many of this couple's grown children stayed in the area and worked for their father, as did Daniel and Jahaza's son *Roy Cole*. However, performing

farming operations on this kind of scale was the exception, not the rule among the Oklahoma Salyersville Indian population. But while some established good-sized farms, others continued to prefer exploiting the hunting, trapping and fishing resources available there. Some occasionally hired out as farm laborers or did some work "roughnecking", a trend that would increase as the state of Oklahoma came in to being in 1909. In all instances, however, they were successful in maintaining their families and, in the process their unique identity as Salyersville Indians.

At the turn of the century, the main concentration of the Salyersville Indian contingent in Indian Territory was centered on two areas. One was the Brushy Mountain area just inside the Creek Nation where it borders the Cherokee Nation (see Chapter 8). There was also at least one marriage between a Salyersville Indian and a Creek by the turn of the century as *Nancy Cole*, the daughter of *Harrison Cole* and *Clarissa Miller*, married *Joseph Wills* in 1902 in the Creek Nation[1229]. By the 1920s over two dozen Salyersville Indian families permanantly remained here, while at least twice as many families were moving about the Creek and Cherokee Nations for employment and subsistence reasons[1230]. In that decade, the Annie Hall Dance Hall on Brushey Mountain was used by the Salyersville Indians for various social and relgious gatherings and "business meetings"[1231]. Such gatherings and meetings served to bring the Salyersville Indians together and keep their family based Indian identity distinct. The other concentration of Salyersville Indians in Indian Terrirory was centered on the Wapanucka area of the Cherokee Nation, presently Adair County, Oklahoma, and included the large families of *Allamander* and *Lola* (*Cole*) *Perkins*, *George Washington* and *Biddy* (*Watkins-Cole*) *Perkins*, and about a dozen others.

Daniel and Jahza's granddaughter by *Roy* and *Bertie* (*Casey*) *Cole*, *Dovie* had written much and speaks openly and fondley of her memories of Oklahoma during the late 1920s to the 1940s[1232]. He recollections provide a unique personal perspective into the lives of the Salyersville Indians in that state during that period. Her memories' beginnings also coincide with the dramatic changes that affected so many people's lives with the onset of The Great Depression.

The Depression would affect the lives of *Daniel* and *Jahaza Cole* more than it would many other Salyersville Indian families. For one, Daniel and Jahaza were forced to sell their large farm near Choska, although they did manage to acquire a small plot of land near Inola. They were no longer to supply work for their grown children and most of the children scattered throughout the region in order to find temporary work on local farms, frequently relocating from one place to another. This was the situation experienced by Dovie, her eleven siblings and their parents Roy and Bertie.

In the hardest of these years, Dovie recalls how at that time they lived in a tent in a field pasture on Daniel and Jahaza Cole's new farm, and that they often traveled abroad for temporary labor or subsistence activities[1233]. Dovie recalled how "we lived in log cabins, tents, and old shacks with dirt floors...sometimes, one big room was our home with a tent covering the top for a roof...the children slept together to stay warm in the winter. In summer time, we would take a quilt out in the yard and sleep. Sometimes we would put our beds outside"[1234]. Dovie recalls that "we did not know any difference how we were raised. We got by with what we had, we got by the best we could. We were happy if we got food to fill our stomachs, we were lucky if we had good food to eat, a place to sleep with a roof over our heads"[1235].

Roy and Bertie would eventually gain a sharecropping arrangement with a local farmer near Inola but would never be able to acquire land of their own[1236]. The family, like many other Salyersville Indians in Oklahoma, continued to raise their growing family out of "old shacks out in the cotton fields" or alternatively "out in the woods". Dovie also recall the entire family working cotton, corn, peanut and bean fields. Dinner on the fields usually consisted of a pot of beans, an onion, cornbread and a big jug of water. Fieldwork was a family affair, with children working alongside adults during the seasons. Dovie recalls how she and her siblings would occasionally attend school in a one-room building, but only occasionally. For nine months of the year they were required on the fields and they often avoided school in the winter because they did have enough warm clothes to protect them in their long walks from the woods to the schoolhouse[1237].

When not working the fields alongside her parents, the everyday round of activities for Dovie's family centered on domestic chores, hunting and gathering, playtime and bible time. Gathering firewood for heating and cooking was a constant task, and fires were often started with two flint stones because matches were not available. The children also constantly hauled water, sometimes from a well a quarter mile away, for drinking, washing and other purposes[1238]. Cleaning their home, which usually involved a dirt floor, was one of Dovie's many chores as she grew older. So was helping her mother prepare meals, which was often "a pot of red beans or fried potatoes". Breakfast in the better times would consist of sorghum with biscuits and bread, meat, eggs, gravy and fried potatoes. The older girls also helped care for the babies, and they would make diapers of feed sacks. Industrious mother Cole would also make the children

"underwear and slips out of flour sacks. Dresses, pillowcases, and sheets were made out of feed sacks". In recalling her childhood, Dovie remarks that "we were never idle, we had plenty of work to do"[1239].

In solid Salyersville Indian tradition Roy and Bertie's family, like so many of their kin resorted to heavier reliance on natural resources to support their families and supplement income gained from sharecropping or wage labor. Dovie remembers that

> "My Dad always lived around rivers....He would fish, trap and hunt. We lived off the land. In Inola, Oklahoma we lived in the lower land close to the Verdigris River....He would fish, trap and hunt. We lived off the land. In the Spring we lived on wild greens such as mushrooms and wild onions. We lived on rabbits, squirrels and possum. We would walk for miles in the woods, fields and mountains to pick berries. We would bottle the berries and sell them. In summer we would make our berry cobblers. We would do in the fence rows and pick polk greens. In the fields, we would pick wild lettuce and sour dock. We would go around the rotten logs and find wild mushrooms. Around small streams we would pick wild onions. In the fall Dad would hunt ducks and geese. He would run lines across the river at night. He did not have a boat. He would swim across the Verdigris river to set his lines. The next morning he would go down to the river and see what kind of fish he caught"[1240].

The children also contributed to this part of the family economy. Dovie describes how

"My brothers and I would go hunting together. We would hunt rabbits, squirrels, and possum. We would bring our kill home, clean it, and eat it. My dad would take us hunting at night. We would take the dogs along. The dogs would kill a skunk and did those dogs ever smell! My dad would stretch skunk and possum hides on a board and nail them on the barn wall. He would make leather shoe strings. He would work a piece of cowhide into laces. We got one pair of shoes a year. They were the high top shoes then. The rest of the time we went bare foot. The shoes were for winter time. My dad and brothers went hunting in the snow. They would wrap their shoes in gunny sacks to stay warm[1241].

Dovie fondly recalls her parents. Of her father *Roy Cole*, she says, "He was more than 1/2 Cherokee and Irish descent. My father was full of mischief. He liked to tease at times yet he could be serious. Father was just a little different than my mom. He was not as humble as she was"[1242]. She describes Roy as being "strong-willed", although he did drink "quite a bit"[1243]. Of *Bertie (Casey) Cole*, Dovie recalls that "my dear mother was a beautiful mother. She was humble, gentle, kind and had loving ways.... she was fair and of Indian and Irish descent. She loved her twelve children and stood by their side in all kinds of hardships...I loved my mom and miss her more than words can tell. She was a religious person. She said prayers for her family, that God would keep them safe. Her favorite book was the Holy Bible. Her favorite song was Amazing Grace"[1244].

Often, Roy and Bertie, like many other younger Salyersville Indian couples,

would leave their children with their grandparents as they ventured out in search of work. Dovie thus would often stay with her grandparents, *Daniel* and *Jahaza Cole*, at their small farm near Inola. Despite Daniel and Jahaza's successes at small commercial farming in the 1910s and 20s, their grandchildren recall that those elders still maintained certain priorities. Dovie recalls that "...they lived liked Indians. They had an Indian way of doing things". Dovie continues to state that "I really loved my grandparents...we always enjoyed going to grandma's house. We would head for the kitchen wood stove. This is where she kept her leftovers. We would eat her cornbread, biscuits...she took care of me a lot"[1245]. Dovie and her siblings and cousins particularly enjoyed going "into the woods" with Grandmother Jahaza. Dovie remembers how

> "Grandmother Jahaza and I would go to the wood and pick wild greens. We would pick lettuce, beet greens, wild onions, polk salad, curly and slick leaf dock, mushrooms and wild blackberries. Another thing my grandmother liked to do was fish. We would take our cane poles and go fishing in small streams, creeks and ponds. We could catch sun perch. Grandmother loved to fish and enjoyed eating them" [1246].

While having lost their larger farm at Choska during the depression, Daniel and Jahaza were still able to contribute substantially to the material and emotional well being of their kin who required help and support in times of need. The granddaughter recalls how each fall the elder couple "would butcher hogs and beef. My dad was there to help. The grandkids would be there to get some meat to roast by the fire. We loved to roast

meat over the fire. We always lived close by my grandparents until grandmother Jahaza died in 1938. We moved around a lot after (that)"[1247].

In many ways, the Oklahoma contingent of Salyersville Indians remained quite self-sufficient as did their kin back east. Medicine was another domestic realm in which this is demonstrated. Doctors and pharmacists were called upon only in extreme situations and during the Depression few could afford such services anyway. Instead, most of these Salyersville Indians relied on knowledge retained and passed on through the Kentucky generations of their Indian *and* pioneer ancestors. The descendants of Daniel and Jahaza were no exception to this. Dovie Cole for instance recalls how during the 1930s,

> "My Dad used herbs for medicines. He knew of a tree or a root that made bitter tea or liniment. They would kills skunks and render the fat for rub downs on the chest. For bad colds they would make poultices of vinegar and cornmeal and sweet milk. Honey mixed with turpentine would be used for lacerations. A teaspoon of sugar and two or three drops of kerosene oil was used for coughs. My dad would dig Ginseng roots. I remember my mother had an infected tooth and dad made a poultice for the side of her jaw. Once my oldest brother Royal took an axe and slit between the toes of his right foot. Mom got kerosene and sugar to stop the bleeding. She wrapped his foot in a white cloth and it healed"[1248].

Still, the affects of the depression tested the families of the Oklahoma contingent

of Salyersville Indians' ability to stay together in many ways. Seeking temporary wage labor was but one way the families began scattering in different directions. Once, for a short stretch during the Depression, Roy and Bertie Cole's family moved back to the Brushey Mountain-Muskogee area where Roy got work on the W.P.A. programs[1249]. But even with their considerable kinship ties remaining in the area, survival at the nuclear family level remained the primary and most important task. Dovie recalls how "we were *really* poor when we lived in Muskogee". But even during the 1930s, the Salyersville Indian families would continue to come together for various reasons. Dovie recalls how " ...all the Coles would gather at Annie Hall Dance Hall. Daniel Cole would come down...my father Roy Cole would go down there. They would dance and I suppose drink. The Cole's were big drinkers. Annie Hall Dance Hall was a big house and they used it for business as well"[1250]. But whether of not they really had any physical community of their own, the Oklahoma contingent of Salyersville Indians continued to maintain regular contact with each other as well as with their Indian kin back in Kentucky and up in the Midwest muckfields[1251]. And in doing so, they managed to retain knowledge of and pride in their asserted Indian identities.

Thacker and the Growing Influence of the Coal Towns

Besides for the turn of the century movements of families to Indian territory previously described, one of the most notable migrations made by Salyersville Indian families would occur around 1913, when a half-dozen or so families relocated to the booming corporate Coal Town of Thacker, West Virginia, some fifty miles east of the Big Lick. Located just across the Tug River and the Kentucky line, this Mingo County corporate town was considered one of the better at this time and quite a few Salyersville Indian families were attracted by the wages and benefits being offered there. The young but robust *Elzie Cole* was but one of many who applied for and gained a job in the Thacker coal mines around 1914. There he joined *Turner* and *Merkie* (*Patrick*) *Cole*, *Charley* and *Purmela* (*Fletcher*) *Cole*, *Sam* and *Mary* (*Cole*) *Watkins*, and perhaps one or two other citizen Indian families who had gained jobs there by that same year[1252]. Many other Salyersville Indians with young families, such as *John* and *Connie (Cole) Collins* would join them there off and on during the next few years.

Most young Indian couples who traveled to Thacker did so with the intention to remain only temporarily, as did *Garrett Cole* and a number of others. Some of these Indians would return to Magoffin after a few weeks or months. Yet, enough families had been here long enough by 1920 that there were now at least a dozen Salyersville Indian children who knew Thacker as their first home. By 1920, a number of Salyersville Indian families represented the climax of these citizen Indians' presence in the Thacker mining town[1253]. Spread through 19 households clustered mostly at the edge of town and up Leck Fork, they all lived in rental housing. Mirroring a trend that would continue for many

decades to come, most of the adults here were in their late teens to early 30s with few exceptions. It was mostly younger couples who were seeking wage labor outside Magoffin County, leaving behind elder members of the family at places like Big Lick to tend the gardens and homes. They would funnel monies back to Magoffin to help support the elders and pay taxes on their lands while they were gone, while those who stayed back built up larders of corn and other subsistence items that were shared with returning kin from abroad. Yet, for reasons I have not yet ascertained, the tenure of nearly all these Indian families in Thacker would end before the end of the decade. Nearly all of these families would opt to leave the mines in favor of joining the many other Salyersville Indians who by that time were working seasonally on the onion fields in the Great Scioto Marsh or the smaller fields in the Plymouth-Willard-Shelby region of Ohio[1254].

One notable dynamic that occurred simultaneously with the out migrations of people from Magoffin and the surrounding counties deserves elaboration. The large industrial complexes, like that at Thacker, growing around the interests of the coal and gas industries promoted new demographic patterns in the mountains. One was that, like the Salyersville Indians of Thacker, many non-Indian mountaineers were also abandoning, or at least heavily supplementing, their more traditional farming, hunting and gathering lifestyles in favor of support by modern amenities, commissaries and company "script" offered by the new company owned coal towns now common in Appalachia[1255].

Another important regional demographic that accompanied the rise of these coal towns was the corporate importation of workers to operate their mines. Even if the local mountaineers were willing to undertake this grueling work, and many were not, the local

population was much too small to support the scale of operations the coal corporations were pushing. By 1920, the corporations operating in eastern Kentucky were massively recruiting large numbers of black families to come up from "the Deep South" to do such work[1256]. In equal proportion the corporations were bringing in entire families of Austrians, Slavs, and Italians from across the ocean to do the work. Many coal towns quickly became known for their strict three segment residential segregation of workers. The "Colored" neighborhoods was where people of African heritage were set apart, in what was generally the worst housing. In the "foreigners" section were the Old World languages and cultures, existing in material conditions not really any better than their black co-workers. And finally the "natives", that is people who came into the towns from the surrounding region. From many outsiders' perspectives, the mountaineer "natives" were seen as already living in "primitive" conditions before the coming of the coal towns. In return, the mountaineers dubbed all these interlopers, from the Pennsylvanian speculator to the imported worker, "foreigners"[1257]. The effects of this are well demonstrated in the 1920 federal censuses of Magoffin, Perry and Floyd Counties[1258]. One feature in them is that "Austrians", "Italians" and imported (but not "native") "Blacks" or "Negroes" from the "Deep South", were classified separately from the "local" or "native" county population. They instead were enumerated on separated census sheets as clearly segregated as the communities in which they lived.

A consequence of this was that this imported diversity did much to bring together the Salyersville Indians and their non-Indians neighbors. Although for different reasons, all considered themselves "natives" to the mountains, and this new imported diversity would bring the former together by internally strengthening their shared identity as

"mountaineers".

A son of *Kelly Gullett,* a Salyersville Indian of "Cherokee and Scots-Irish" descent and the stepson of *John Morgan Cole*, years later recalled a tragic example of how far this social mixing of so many identities into the coal towns extended, and how far it did not, concerning "red skin". Kelly's oldest son Marvin would later retell a chilling experience that occurred when he was a child living in the Blue Diamond coal town of Harvey, some 50 miles south of Salyersville[1259]. It is most telling regarding the internal perspectives held by workers in that town regarding race, color, and regional identity. Marvin recalled how...

> "I remember seeing a lynching when I was just a kid. That was unforgettable. I forget what year it was. I believe it was along about '33 or '34. There was a colored man [who] lived in the camp and his wife had been going along with a white man. The white man was such dark red skin that he looked like a colored person. [The woman's husband] thought this was a colored fellow [who] had been going with his wife and he come up to this white man and slapped him over the head with an iron bar and killed him. It was a mistake but he had to pay the penalty. All the mining population got together and took him out and hung him in a tree and shot him full of bullets. If it had been a white man he wouldn't have been lynched, he'd been taken to jail and he'd had a trial"[1260].

The complexity of social stigmas and legal boundaries attached to one's color or

perceived "race" demonstrated through Marvin's story is poignant. Marvin's story shows that persons of dark red skin were treated, at least legally and socially, as "white" regardless of their physical appearance, if they were not of African heritage. Among themselves, however, the mountaineers still distinguished between Indian, Irish, German and host of other identity categories embedded within their legal notion of "white". That is, "Native Indians" were considered classifitory whites in a social and legal sense by most non-Indian "native mountaineers".

An even more telling example of this consolidation of "mountaineer" identity is that the entire "Salyersville Indian Population", which was previously enumerated as "Indian", was recorded as "white" in the 1920 Magoffin County census, with the exception of those few extended Collins family relations who had in the past few decades had taken wives and had children by "native" (ie. local) blacks[1261]. The children and grandchildren of these latter marriages were shown as "black" by the enumerator regardless of the extent of their "Indian", or for that matter, "white", heritages. In all cases, the classification was likely the choice of the enumerator, and not incidences of self-identification. Regardless, a large population of about 40 households comprising some 200 individuals or offspring of individuals previously recorded as "Indian" reveals that by no means were the Indians gone from the Magoffin County scene. Interestingly, the federal census enumeration of Thacker for this year would instead simply leave the "Color or race" category black when filling out the names of the Salyersville Indian families then living there[1262].

The ongoing intimate associations between the interrelated family groups, especially at the level of intermarriage and residency, would still however remain a

constant in this history. Indeed, this is a common characteristic of many other groups who maintain 'ethnic' solidarity over long periods of time[1263]. In this case, these interrelated family groups support each other and articulate this kin network through time and space, making this network a continuum. But anthropology shows that time affects the composition of kin groups, all things being equal. That is, if based solely on genealogical relations (descent), a kin group theoretically should grow and grow through time. But in the case of the families asserting Salyersville Indian identity, the number has stayed relatively the same. So what sets the limits? Economic reasons, for instance, have often prompted individuals and families (at the 'nuclear' or household level) to venture 'into the world' and eventually lose touch with their kin. Another factor is that *exogamy* (marriage outside the Salyersville Indian population) has occurring just enough that some have gravitated toward prioritizing a non-Indian identity to their children. Previous chapters show that this has been going on for some time. Other records show that this was not because of outside social pressures to keep Indians segregated, and that, if they chose that path, their Indian identity was positively supported by their non-Indian kin in this mountain context. For instance, during the 1800s and early 1900s, records show that children of such mixed marriages would often take the mother's name if Indian, and wives often retained or returned their maiden "Indian" surnames during or after marriage to a non-Indian. Local whites recalled that, in the early 1800s, these interrelated families were comprised of "full bloods, half bloods and quarter bloods" resulting from intermarriages with non-Indians during and even before the New River community days[1264].

In this case, another factor in limiting group size has been that the Salyersville

Indians, and their ancestors, have often split into bands when their population grew large enough. For example, the citizen Indians' migration from the New River community gave rise to the Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain and Salyersville Indian communities. While their associations with Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain faded after the Civil War, the Salyersville Indian population itself grew and split into the Jennies Creek and Big Lick communities, and later, gave rise to the Oklahoma and Carmel, Ohio, contingents. Events and external forces occurring during the early 1900s would ultimately give rise to a half dozen Salyersville Indian contingents associated with conspicuous mucklands locations in Ohio and Michigan.

Why this sudden change of the census's recorded "race" identity occurred is unknown, but it does further strengthen the suggestion that local whites in the area perceived them as being closer to them in "public identity" as "mountaineers" than they did the immigrant workers, or any "white flatlander" for that matter. As illustrated through Marvin Gullett's story, skin color did not necessarily exclude a person of dark red skin from sharing the social and legal status of "whites" amongst the mountaineers. Interestingly,, when recording people's "race" or Color" on documents that probably were intended to remain local, such as birth and death certificates, most of the Salyersville Indians were still being shown as "Indian", or sometimes "copper" by the doctors, preacher and county authorities who filled out the paperwork during the same time the census was recording them as "white"[1265]. In terms of self-identification, most Salyersville Indians probably saw no conflict with being both "white" and Indian", especially during this era of extreme racial violence in the American southeast.

Magoffin County during the 20's.

As of yet I have not found evidence of any of the Salyersville Indians serving in the "Great War". But as throughout America, the World War One made it clear that the world had somehow gotten smaller, and more accessible to the United States' still mostly rural population. This accessibility however went both ways and, like it or not, the world outside the mountains continued to press deeper into their people's lives. By the 1920s, it was obvious to most mountaineers that the timber, coal mining and oil and gas industries were here to stay, good, bad or otherwise. Yet, prosperity still seemed attainable to many mountaineers who thought it was only a matter of time when all would have jobs, goods roads, better schools, and so on.

The oil industry in particular picked up heavily and Johnson and Magoffin counties in the 1920s, and throughout the decade's large and small "booms" continued to excite people throughout the Upper Licking region. Farms on Lacy Fork, Burning Fork, Sand Creek, Pricey Creek, Mash Fork, the head of the Licking and elsewhere were being leased for drilling as their owners hoped of "striking it rich". In the summer of 1922, the *Salyersville Independent* was boasting that "Magoffin, a few years ago was a pauper county...today is one of the richest" due to the extraction of oil, gas and timber[1266]. In 1910 there were no major oil wells in the county but by 1922, Magoffin oil production was the second highest of any county in the state, producing over 110,000 barrels in July alone.

The "Ivyton fields" near the Big Lick Indian village in particular climaxed during the 1920s. In the summer of 1921 the local paper was reporting that, "Oil and gas

business is rushing in this town (Ivyton) and drilling machines are humming both day and night"[1267]. Besides the oil and gas, timber also remained a thriving industry in the Ivyton area, mostly for the Dawkins Lumber Company[1268]. But despite all this activity, in many ways this part of the mountains still retained a "wilderness" character. In describing Magoffin County in 1926, one regional historian wrote that "timber is almost inexhaustible in this country", and he noted that virgin tracts of oak, popular, ash, chestnut, maple, elm and pine remained in abundance[1269].

For many local landowners that did wish to continue farming and/or hunting and trapping, the idea of hitting a "strike" on one's property indeed seemed like a good way to stabilize their economic situation. But most coal and oil leases were negotiated in such a way that any profits that did trickle down were usually far less than the local farmers anticipated. Thus few local people would ever really profit from the booms even when strikes were made on their own property because of questionable "mineral leases"[1270]. Additionally, such activities often wreaked havoc on what little farming land a family might have, and drove away the most profitable of the area's game and fur bearing animals. Neither was the local county infrastructure developing as fast as some had hoped and predicted with all these corporate profits being made from their land and resources. But now the county had to deal with a dramatic increase in population, putting even more pressure on county resources. In 1910, Magoffin County had only about 5,000 citizens, but by the mid 1920s', Magoffin County had grown to encompass 15,000 people[1271]. Indeed, Salyersville itself had become a "boom town". Having a population of about 50 persons in 1910, it had grown to nearly 500 townspeople by the mid-1920s. But while the corporate Coal Towns, like Blue Diamond down in Perry County, or

Thacker over in Mingo, could afford their own hospitals, schools and other amenities, in 1923 the *Salyersville Independent* was still crying out that "Salyersville must have a hospital!" (the nearest being down in Prestonsburg in Floyd County)[1272].

With a growing mining population of imported "outsiders" there for only temporary work, the stage was set for crisis. Coinciding with the demographic changes now occurring throughout the mountains were more frequent appearances of tuberculosis, typhoid, small pox and other wicked ailments[1273]. Such a crisis hit Magoffin County in the winter of 1923 and 24, when over 200 people died from influenza, while measles were simultaneously raging in the small but bustling coal town of Royalton[1274]. With no hospital and only two doctors in the county, Magoffin County officials were at times at a loss without further state aid or some sort of assistance to combat such crises. Without proper medical facilities, keeping the stricken people and communities isolated from the rest of the county's citizens was the only line of defense as the diseases their course ran through the hollows and hills[1275]. Fortunately, the local Indian population again escaped the tragedies wrought in many Magoffin County families by such epidemics.

In the meantime, some old cultural ways continued to persist among many mountaineers. In the 1920s and 30s, bartering and trading were still commonplace means of exchange in Magoffin County, even in the county seat of Salyersville[1276]. Local people still fished the Licking with weirs and seines, and could even sell or barter extra fish for a value $1.00 apiece[1277]. Furs and wild game were often bartered for necessities, and a short hunting trip could sometimes make up for losses in farming[1278]. Many local Indians and non-Indians alike continued gathering wild ginseng, wild grapes, paw paws, persimmons, chestnuts, blackberries and raspberries, all of which were noted to still grow

in "huge quantities" throughout the Magoffin county hills and hollows during this decade[1279].

Another very old tradition among many mountaineer families also continued to persist during the 1920s and 30s, that being "moonshining". Due to the effects of prohibition, and the need for many families to find new ways to supplement their family "farming" economies, the manufacture of the home-made product for sale sometimes became an enticing means of gaining supplemental income despite its illegality. That is, whiskey is a "value-added" commodity that is much more profitable than hauling bulky corn to market or feed the hogs. The opportunity for making cash from this product of course increased by making clients of the hundreds of men who came into this "dry" county to work the mills, rails, rigs and mines. However, with the illegality accompanied deadly risks. Cherokee *John "Johnny" Morgan Cole*'s brother in law, ***Web Gullett***, for instance was killed in a shoot-out with "revenuers" somewhere off Middle Fork in the 1918 over a moonshining issue[1280]. Another instance in the winter of 1923 lead to a headline which read "Man Almost Losses Scalp". A man "under the influence of Moonshine" had invaded the home of Wot Patrick on the Middle Fork and "tried to run Wot and his family away from home". Wot however struck the intruder with an axe, laying his skull bare[1281].

Such incidences resulting from the abuse of the manufacturing, sale and consumption of alcohol raised suspicions and tensions amongst those local citizens who occasionally took part in such activities and those that opposed and were vigorously trying to stop these activities. For instance, Bud Brown from White Oak was shot and killed by the Town Marshall and his deputies. When no moonshine was found on him as

they expected, the town officers had to be placed under "heavy guard as violence was anticipated from Brown's friends and relatives"[1282]. In the fall of 1921, the *Salyersville Independent* reported that the county's Grand Jury "found a very serious state of lawlessness in the county generally". Most of the violence, not coincidently, however was committed in and around the oil camps and Coal towns like those at Sublett, Burton Fork and Low Gap, and not coincidently it was in those places that the liquor flow was also the heaviest[1283]. Such incidences sometimes took a toll on local residents who wanted no part of either. In the summer of 1924 for instance, folks from up near Gypsy were pleading in the county newspaper that "...if 'stilling can't be stopped on Puncheon Creek...the good citizens will have to leave"[1284]. That some of the Salyersville Indians and their mixed-blood relations could not totally avoid problems during these frenzied times of change is however not surprising. Surviving documents from the 1920s show that at least once a year some local Indian or mixed-blood would find themselves in adverse situations[1285]. But of the hundreds of such violent incidences that are noted to have occurred in Magoffin and the surrounding "boom" counties during these years, only a minute fraction would involve the Salyersville Indian population, and only a very small part of the overall Indian population at that. That is, the few criminal, or "pauper" aid, incidents that did occur were not enough to make the Salyersville stand out from their non-Indian neighbors.

Mountains to Mucklands

Sometime in the first decade of the 1900s a handful of Magoffin County residents,

apparently both Indians and non-Indians, began making seasonal migrations north to labor in the thriving onion fields scattered in the great Scioto Marsh in Hardin County, Ohio, and to a lesser extent, the smaller commercial fields in the Plymouth-Willard-Shelby area to the east. A local historian of the Scioto Marsh area noted that, by 1910, "a small army of weeders" from Kentucky hired by the growers descended seasonally upon the fields. Most of of these early workers into Hardin County, Ohio, prove to be from Magoffin County, including a few Salyersville Indians such as *J.M. Collins*, *Tiny* and *Lizzie* (*Cole*) *Nickels*, *Turner* and *Merkie* (*Patrick*) *Cole*, *Joe Nickles* and others[1286]. By 1920, over 5000 acres of the Scioto marsh, and part of nearby Hog Marsh, were drained and were being used in onion production by a handful of growers[1287]. Over two-thirds of the productive mucklands were under the ownership of only four growers-- John B.Stambough, Veril Baldwin, Carl Krummery, and W.C.McGuffy, the latter of whom owned the largest chunk under his Scioto Land Company. Those Salyersville Indians and their non-Indian peers from Magoffin County hoped to gain economic benifit for working as laborers in this industry, and the strange paternalistic relations that developed between the Ohio onion growers and the workers from the mountains soldified in this decade.

For reasons not yet fully acertained, the Ohio onion growers were concertedly hiring labor almost exclusivly from the mountains of Kentucky and, to a lesser extent, Tennessee and West Virginia, to pick, weed and top their onions[1288]. By the 1920s, a large number of Indians, such as *Wick Kendel* "*Son*" and *Malvanie Cole*, and even more non-Indians from that mountain county in particular had worked at one time or another in the Muckfields[1289]. Labor in the onion fields during the initial decades was intentionally seasonal and economically supplemental to the overall diverse family economy that

typified not only the Salyersville Indians, but also that of their non-Indian friends and neighbors who also made their way to the muckfields. Numerically there were more non-Indians from Magoffin in the fields at any one time than the Salyersville Indians. Therefore, Indian and non-Indian mountaineer alike shared the good and the bad of the muckfield experiences together.

Life on the onion fields was markedly different than life back in Kentucky. Tending the fields involved demanding physical labor in a swamp-like environment far distant and much different than of the mountains. The majority of workers, Salyersville Indians and not, would come to the Scioto Marsh in family groups in late April or early May for ground preparation and planting[1290]. The people were primarily described as living scattered in and around the Marsh in "tents", haphazardly built "cabins" and "shacks" constructed from "plywood and other scrap materials", or find rental housing in villages located in and around the marshs like McGuffy, Alger and Ada[1291]. Some families would then return to Kentucky for the summer, while others would stay to weed and "top" all the way through to the October harvest. The migrant workforce would then increase during the harvest period, after which the families would return with their pay to their homes and relatives back in Kentucky.

During the Scioto Marsh onion industry's heyday in the 1920s, the fields were described as being peppered with hundreds of broad rimmed hats all through the summer as people undertook the extremely labor intensive task of weeding in sun or rain[1292]. Weeding was perhaps the most difficult task and entailed crawling on one's hands and knees through the wet organic muck, averaging four and a half miles in a ten-hour day[1293].

The Salyersville Indians and their Magoffin County peers would also encounter

many other hazards while working up in the Scioto Marsh. Prior to 1916, when an ex-TVA employee devised a plan to build river walls to control the unpredictable flow of the Scioto River headwaters, floods were a real threat to the workers, and could bury the marsh under many feet of water virtually overnight. Clinging to their small children, many families from Kentucky were described as being stranded on the roofs of buildings, or stuck in trees until help arrived[1294]. In 1915, the onion crop for the year was completely lost. One local writer described how "hundreds of Kentuckians waited in the towns for something to do"[1295]. But most local Ohioans were not sympathetic to the migrant's plight. The Kentucky workers were described as "foreigners" and "transients" by local Ohioans and, as such, they received no relief funds from the county or the state to help support them during this crisis. What the Hardin County trustees did approve, however, was funds to pay the return train fare for the migrants, but only down to the state line, where "there they had to be dumped, without further transportation"[1296].

Unforseen consequences would accompany the creation of river walls to hold back the flooding Scioto in 1916. New hazards grew as the peat and muck began to dry and quickly deteriorate under the intensive cultivation methods the growers were practicing. The result was that by the 1920s, peat fires and dust storms had replaced the crucially nutrient rich flooding. The dried muck sometimes would fly up into huge dust clouds during dry spells, clogging people's eyes and ears, as well as houses and equipment and, in the process, was blowing away what little arable muck that was left. Just as dramatic were the "muck fires". Ignited by lightening, sparks from equipment, or normal ground fires, acres of dried peat could and would burn underground for days and would sometimes smolder for weeks. One local historian described how "people,

animals and houses" would fall into the creeping subterranean hells[1297]. One of the Salyersville Indian workers, *William Nickels'* for instance, had a horse fall into such a pit and helplessly burn alive. But despite these hazards, Salyersville Indians and their non-Indian neighbors from Magoffin continued to come to the Marshes each year seeking, and finding, work in the famous Hardin County fields.

The "boom" atmosphere of resource discovery and extraction in eastern Kentucky was at its climax in the 1920s. Throughout all of this change, the Salyersville Indians' ability to cross cut economic, political, religious and social boundaries had enabled them to avoid most of the problems occurring to many non-Indian families throughout the area in these years. There are thus many incentives to possibly explain why, by 1930, many if not most of the Salyersville Indians were finding it necessary to supplement their previously subsistence based family economies with wage labor, working almost half a year up in the Scioto Marsh muckfields in Ohio. Others continued to trickle to Oklahoma where many Salyersville Indians worked the cotton fields for the same reasons. By doing so, they could avoid many of the troubles and temptations of the "boom times" in Magoffin County and still make some income.

Despite the new out migrations from Magoffin County, throughout the 1920s and 30s, the Salyersville Indians still held strong to their secure and long-standing land bases at Big Lick and Jennies Creek. And there was an ongoing choice on the part of most to continue relying on their extensive kinship networks for social and economic cooperation and stability. Furthermore, the kinship and communal networks that they had long-established and maintained with non-Indians from Magoffin also remained strong and resilient as their shared "mountaineer" identity grew stronger. Resilient enough anyway

to mostly allow respectful and reciprocal relations between them to be maintained and even strengthened during this rough and reckless period of change. The former's persistent adherence to their Indian identity at home continued to be reinforced not only by their own families, but also by the non-Indian mountaineers. This symbiotic relation between the Salyersville Indians and many non-Indian mountaineers from Magoffin would continue on in the Midwest muckfields where all these families would toil side by side.

In sum, the review of documents and oral histories from the 1920s and 30s show that there were many differing internal and external ideas and implications regarding using the "Indian", "white", and "colored" labels during the era of extreme racial and class violence. The recollections from Dovie Cole and John Sizemore, for example, show that the Salyersville Indians did not see a conflict in being both white and Indian, and locally many whites concurred. They were proud that they "...lived like Indians...they had an Indian way of doing things". Even in the hardest of economic situations, the Salyersville Indian families living in the Kentucky Mountains and in Oklahoma maintained their corporate sense of self and in the process, their individual and group identity as Indians. The families continued to rely on the kinship network for social and economic cooperation and this continued to maintain the strength and size of their families. But as the largest majority of the Salyersville Indians would eventually opt to move to the Midwest mucklands, new problems would faced them in achieving that goal.

Chapter 13
Tell Them On The Mountain To Take Them To The Muckfields

During the early 1900s, seasonal migrations to the Midwest muckfields to work as laborers in the onion fields first began as a trickle. By the 1930s, however, most Salyersville Indians and hundreds of non-Indians from the Magoffin County area were making the seasonal trek to the Mucklands, and some even stayed the year around. Intitally this labor was meant to supplement the multiple livelhood strategies practiced by their families, but eventually most Salyersville Indians became dependant upon this source of income. The ongoing recognition of the Indian identity of the Salyersville Indian families by their non-Indian peers reinforced that Indian identity while among the midwesterners. In Ohio and Michigan, both the Salyersvile Indians and their non-Indian "mountaineer" friends and nieghbors were lumped together under the derogratory external view of "hillbillies". That is, the racial identity of Indian and white alike was subsumed as it linked to the ethnic and class stereotype of "Kentucks" and "hillbillies" in general. At the same time the shared mountaineer identity of the Salyersville Indians and their non-Indian peer from Magoffin strenghtened as all toiled in the mucklands during these years. And all maintained kinship networks with kin in Kentucky and on the fields that were grounded in social and economic cooperation.

An Ohioan visits Magoffin

Many of the Ohioans however perceived *all* the Kentucky mountaineer, be they of white or Indian heritage, as an ignorant hillbillies not worthy of being their nieghbors.

One local exaggerated and decried the mountaineers in general as having "brought to the Marsh a rough and ready frontier aspect characterized by brawls, cuttings, and murders"[1298]. The local towns and villages, local Ohioans complained, became "rough and tough bad little towns" on payday, where "their celebrations involved wine, woman and song that usually ended in loud discord"[1299].

Regardless of the specific reasons how and why they first came to the Muck, many local Ohioans held ficticous and derogatory opinions of the "Kentuckians" that now descended upon the muckfields every year. They would circulate their own stories of how their southern neighbors made their way to Scioto, and in doing so, cast the identity of all these mountaineers in a sinster, derogratory manner. One story often repeated tells of a young man back in "1901 or so" who was "fleeing the law" back in Kentucky took his wife to the Marsh town of Alger where they "found they could make big money" working onions. Without explaining how he cleared his supposed criminal record, this local myth claims that the couple returned to Kentucky after he informed the Scioto marsh onion growers he could recruit labor for them from his homeland in the mountains[1300]. Versions of this "criminal story" stereotype imposed on the onion workers from Kentucky were prominent among local Ohioans and, not coincidently were tied to an ever growing stereotype that was congealing into the well-known derogatory "hillbilly" image[1301]. To many local Ohioans these Kentucky born migrant workers would be an unwelcome addition to their community.

The Kentucky mountaineers, be they white or Indian, were constantly stereotyped, segregated and otherwise abused by local Midwesterners. Omar Stephens, non-Indian, recalls accompanying his mother who decided to relocate from Magoffin

County to join family and friends working "The Frank Brittain Muck" near the town of Celeryville, Indiana in the 1920s. In his memoirs, Omar describes how, at the area school, local kids were forcibly separated by a fence on the playground from the children of the Kentucky migrants . He recalled how "the Kentucky children were looked upon as inferior and a bad influence on the Dutch children of Celeryville"[1302]. Some of the Salyersville Indian relations of *Perkins* and *Barnetts* also worked on these fields.

The social difficulties all the onion workers would experience were as violatable as the working conditions. The midwesterners' perception of those they called "Kentuckes" thus requires closer examination. This makes one article in particular, titled "The Onion Workers" worth discussing as it offers a rare insight into both how some "flatlanders" percieved the migrant workers from Magoffin[1303]. Written by a man named Gibbons, the article was published in 1919 in the *The American Child*, whose socialist agenda was concerned with the civil rights and education of children, especially in regard to child labor practices. By 1919, the Scioto Marsh was somewhat famous both locally and nationally as the premiere site of onion production in the United States, and the industry's labor practices were also beginning to attract the attention of labor and child welfare agencies.

Gibbons work stands as an example by which to demonstrate the gross exaggerations and misinformation many people had regarding the "white mountaineers" who were nieghbors and kin to the Salyersville Indians. Gibbons wrote that he had been curious as to where the onion workers resided during the off season[1304]. Armed with the postmaster's clues, Gibbons set forth to seek out the off-season homes of the onion workers. And he departed fully equipped with a package of stereotypes about "mountain

people". He, for instance, would repeatedly suggest that it was largely "fugitives from the law" that came to Ketnucky to work in the marsh. It is also obvious that he upheld the pervasive derogatory image of the Kentucky mountains as being filled with people preoccupied with "family vengeance" and "killins"[1305]. In reading Gibbon's work, it is apparent that the man fully expected to prove these expectations true upon arriving in the mountains but his writing carefully downplays the fact that these images were not fullfilled.

Arriving in the county seat of Magoffin, he estimated the town's population to be about fifty families but the Ohioan frowned at having the choice of "only two hotels". Gibbons also found it peculiar that, in a "modern" county seat, he found "barter of necessity is largely the means of exchange"[1306]. From soley his own expereince, Gibbons gained the impression that strangers in Salyersville "are looked upon with suspicion until their business is known", and claimed that he was often asked "are you here to swindle our people?", "are you a revenue officer"? Aloofness apparently was the local decision on how to treat Gibbons, for he reported that nobody in Salyersville really knew anything about any onion workers.

Gibbons finally learned from some unidentified informants that many workers came from the Puncheon area (just across the ridge from Big Lick), and there Gibbons hooked up with a "Mr.Logan" (a pseudonym) who became the Ohioan's primary "informant". Despite his hospitality, Logan was rather derogatorily portrayed by his guest, even though Gibbons described the Logan family's material well-being as being "better than most" of his neighbors[1307]. For instance, Gibbons complained about being offered cornbread for dinner. Gibbons often used terms like "laziness" and "clannish" to

describe those he saw as an exotic people[1308].

Gibbons never interviewed any actual onion workers during his entire trip to Magoffin. Still, Gibbons summarize his his Magoffin County experience of one day, maybe two, for his readers. Despite his ignorance and stereotyping about mountaineers, Gibbons sympathized with the labor issues and domestic concerns facing the onion workers. Gibbon's research led him to conclude that the annual migrations back and forth between Magoffin and the Scioto marsh embraced about 100 families[1309]. To my estimation, in 1920 about a dozen or so of these families would have been Salyersville Indian families. Gibbons also noted a few Magoffin families had purchased housing in Hardin County by 1919. Still, few ever stayed in Ohio in the off season, in part because, as one informant told Gibbons, they "can live cheaper" back in Kentucky. It is interesting and significant to note that Gibbons always refered to the onion workers in terms of *families* and not individuals. Indeed, the onion work was a family affair for the Magoffin Countains, be they Indian or not. Gibbons also was acute enough to be particularly struck by the dedication of the worker's Kentucky "kinsman who will raise enough corn to bread the whole clan for the winter"[1310]. He did note that, through labor in the Scioto muckfields, some had saved enough earnings to buy small plots of land back in Magoffin. Even still, Gibbons described their housing situation as being "poor" in both states. Up in Hardin County, he found "several families" living in housing "not fit for government standards", but like many he he erroneously blamed the lifestyle of the workers instead of the policies and prerogatives of the growers to explain this predicament. Indeed, such harsh living conditions fed local Ohioan's low opinion of all of the Kentuckians at the Marsh as "unclean" and "immoral", an image with which Gibbons also agreed[1311].

It would not be until some ten years after Gibbons wrote about the Magoffin County migrant workers that other professionals would take notice of the issues and concerns facing the Kentucky onion workers on the Scioto Marsh. Writing for *The Ohio Journal of Science*, Varvel's "Study in the Geography of Onion Culture" took a more critical, but just as stereotypical, look at the laborers and their working conditions in particular[1312]. Varvel's opinion was that the "onion culture" as he dubbed it, was characterized by the extreme wealth of a few commercial growers set against the opposite extreme of poverty typifying the workers. Varvel saw "poverty" as being the motivation for the continued interstate migration of the "400 families" that now made the trip annually from Magoffin and neighboring mountain counties to the Scioto onion fields[1313]. Of these, at least three dozen or so families were Salyersville Indians.

Another change from the previous decade was that the Scioto growers were now providing some off-season residences, usually described as "shacks". Like many local Ohioans, Varvel complained that now some stay all year and draw from charity[1314]. This prompted Varvel to stereotypically describe the mountaineer onion workers as being "honest, but not thrifty", and that they exhibited "...clannish customs and suspicious ways...they are sociable among themselves, but not to [others] until proper introductions"[1315]. Most Ohioans and other non-Mountaineers concurred with one 1934 investigator named Jamison who commented that "the Scioto migrant worker has some of the attributes of a distinct ethnic group and their depressing economic and social status sets them apart from the rest of the community"[1316].

By 1930, up to 100 families from the Magoffin County area had settled permanently in and around the great Scioto Marsh, while 400-500 more now joined them

during the season[1317]. Indeed, despite the onset of the Great Depression, the growers still had a market for their onions. While Americans throughout the country had lost their traditional employment opportunities, the specialized crew of onion workers from the Kentucky mountains still retained their jobs in the fields. Notably, a few of the Salyersville Indians also stayed on the Marsh year round by this point in time, including the families of *Preston* and *Samantha Cole,* Mrs. and Mrs. *Floyd Collins*, *Turner* and *Merkie (Patrick) Cole, James* and *Emmy Cole, Wick Kendal Cole,* and others. Furthermore, since the mid-1920s when they left the Thacker coal mines, another contigent of Salyersville Indian families also worked the Plymouth-Willard-Shelby area muckfields located some 40 miles east of the Scioto Marsh[1318]. By the 1920s, some Salyersville Indian families now lived the entire year in that area where they worked the smaller onion fields scattered throughout that part of northeast Ohio. By 1930, these included the families of those of *George* and *Daisey Sexton*, *Herman* and *Allie (Wireman) Cole, Earnest* and *Fleeda (Collins) Cole, Charley* and *Purmela (Fletcher) Cole,* and others[1319]. Other families would work both onion areas, staying with extended family members as they jockeyed back and forth. But most of the Salyersville Indians still came to the fields only in season.

The Great Strike on the Scioto Marsh

The prominance of "onion culture" for both the workers and the growers was fast coming to a halt on the Marsh and this had nothing to do with the economic effects of the depression. This change instead had everything to do with overdraining and organically

exhausting the once nutrient rich muckland. As the profit eager growers kept pushing the land to produce more, the Great Scioto Marsh that had for so long supported so many people in so many ways was now dying[1320]. Furthermore, by 1933, one third of the Scioto Marsh under cultivation was fully in the hands of only four growers, and the total grower profits for the Scioto Marsh and nearby Hog Creek Marsh enterprises still averaged over one million dollars a year[1321]. Such profits did little to motivate the growers to curtail their poor cultivation practices, even as the duststorms continued to strip away what good soil was left for them to exploit. As early as 1929 the available labor coming in to Hardin County began to exceed the demands of earlier years. Yet the workers' reliance on the income continued to increase. In 1932 wages remained steady at a meager .15 cents per hour. But in that year the market price of onions dropped to an all time low, and growers used their workers to try to cut their losses and keep their profits high[1322]. The result was that, by 1933, wages fell to .12 cents for adults and .4 cents per hour for children.

1934 would be year year for consequences, consequenceses the would again affect the economic and residential patterns of the Salyersville Indians as a group. The growers continued to push the land and the workers beyond their means. The final result was that by the 1934 season, both had had enough of being exploited. The stage was thus set for the Great Scioto Marsh Strike of 1934. Although later touted to be a movement of "white mountaineers", many Salyersville Indians such as *Jake Cole*, *Burley*, *Ed* and *Floyd Collins*, and many others would participate. While falling wages were important, it was the difficult and hazardous living and working conditions that finally prompted these onion workers to organize and start the first agricultural workers union in the United States.

In 1934, one federal investigator named Rizor even informed the Secretary of Labor, that the conditions the workers faced "are worse than slaves before the Civil War"[1323]. Not all visitors and investigators would be as sympathetic with the mountaineers' plight on the Marsh however. For instance, in 1940, local historian Drumm asserted that "the Kentuckians were imported because they were used to a low grade standard of living, and would work cheaply...most of whom had worked in ginseng and could do good work in the onion fields...and would be glad to return to Kentucky after the fall"[1324]. Drumm blamed the more recent surplus of workers not on declining yields, but instead claimed it was because the workers who returned to their hills each season told their kin and neighbors "fabulous stories" of the Marsh, prompting more people than were needed to go north the following year[1325].

After the 1934 strike, the U.S. Departments of Labor and Agriculture investigations would expose the problems surrounding this type of agricultural work. They reported the onion work "is done on a family basis"[1326]. Wages were not constant among family members however, as the 1934 peak figure of 12 1/2 cents per hour was for men only. Women and children recieved much less than did the men. The Labor Department's report showed that in 1934 only 3% of these families had a combined yearly income of no more than $1000, while their sample of 177 families revealed most earned a combined income of less than $250 a year. By necessity most of the workers supplimented this meager income with home gardens. The Department's reports were long in describing poor living conditions, and the lack of pre-natal care, elementary schooling and child care facilities available to them. Access to professional medical care was also lacking and the Report noted that the sample of families exhibited a TB rate "3

times that of normal". Yet, even the many Federal investigators suggested that mountaineer "culture" was the agent in preserving the migrants "low standards of living"[1327]. The struggling workers however would assertivly place the blame on the growers who continued to exploit their families, and so a strike finally ensued.

A threatening dry spell early in 1934 was to be the catalyst of what Paul Taylor would dub "one of the bitterest and most violent agricultural labor strikes the country has yet experienced" in his short but influential book on migratory farm labor, Adrift on the Land[1328]. Valdez's more recent reflections refer to the strike as an "important indigenous organizing effort"[1329]. Most contemporary Salyersville Indians who were children at that time recall the events simply as "The Great Strike".

Back in 1933, a contract had been negotiated in which the workers accepted a temporary wage reduction to 12 1/2 cents per hour due to the fallen market prices. The workers were assured that when the prices rebounded, then so too would their wages. Returning the fields the next year the workers learned that, not only would the wages drop another half cent for men, but would plummet to six more cents for children. Then came the short, but not devastating or even dehablitlating, drought early in the season that scared the growers, prompting them to announce even further reductions in wages without negotiations. Workers began discussing how to best protest the most recent cuts in wages, as they knew that onion prices had rebounded considerably. The result was that on June 18, 210 workers signed a petition demanding .35 cents per hour[1330].

The petition was completely ignored by the growers, as the workers probably knew it would be. The worker's response to this inaction was that a strike was called at noon on June 20. On their own preplanned initiative, up to 600 workers stopped work on

the onion fields. The moutaineers organized "The Agricultural Labor Union of Onion Workers", and chose one of their own, Okie Odell as their strike leader. Other strike leaders included Larry Gross, Ben Corbin, Joe Walton, and at least one Salyersville Indian, *Floyd Collins*[1331].

Once the strike was initiated, arrests and violence immediately ensued. The growers flatly refused to meet and discuss what they saw as the "unreasonable" demands of the strikers. The Hardin County Sheriff, under the authority of County Judge Alex Hodges immediately enlisted over 50 local men as "special deputies" who were given power to "protect the grower's private property" and were distinguished from strikers by wearing red ribbons on their arms[1332]. Later, these "goons" would be critical in also protecting imported strikebreakers. Judge Hodges also issued an injunction, at the growers' request, prohibiting workers from congregating in groups of more than two persons. This allowed for them to promptly arrest and haul off many of the male strikers right at the start[1333].

Realizing the strike would not be easily broken, the Judge would soon forward another injunction which would allow the "special deputies" to evict strikers from the land and rented properties of growers "if they refused to work"[1334]. The violence however only escalated with such reactions, and some strikers were wounded with shotgun pellets by the ribbon-wearing "deputies"[1335]. Valdez relates how "local authorities were constantly hostile to the strikers", and points out that, in a few cases, they were related to the growers families and thus "were beholden to them for their jobs"[1336]. Odell and most of the other strike leaders would be in and out of jail all summer. One of jailed strikers jokingly retorted that it had been the first time he had been able to get new shoes[1337]. But

the strikers were not going to passively watch their ambitions be stamped out so easily. Stones were thrown at police cars, roofing nails were placed on the road, telephone lines were cut, and grower's storage buildings were mysteriously set alight[1338].

Such hostilities would draw the attention of outsiders, which is what the strikers hoped for. On July 5, the onion workers received word from the Organized Labor Movement of Toledo that their attempts to form the first chartered agricultural local in the United States had succeeded. The AFL had granted them a charter as Local 19724 of the Agricultural Workers Union, and now the onion workers could expect financial, political and other types of support from the Toledo Central Union and numerous other AFL locals throughout Ohio. An AFL official, was sent out to aid the fledgling union. He would later remark that he "never saw a more loyal bunch of people and you will never see another that will stick like these"[1339]. However, backing from such outside organizations would prompt many of the growers and their allies to accuse the strikers of being influenced by "communism", and, contradictorily, "The Black League"[1340]. Still, support from recognized unions must have initially lifted the spirits of the strikers who, up to that point, had little to be positive about. But the support was too little too late for some. On June 27, about fifty strikers returned to the fields by neccessity, telling their peers that it was "because they were hungry". Then on June 30 two hundred strikebreakers, imported by the growers, arrived[1341].

The strike's intensity grew. On the morning of July 9 strikers and the county deputies violently clashed resulting in a number of both sides needing medical attention and 28 of the strikers landing in jail[1342]. The energetic strike leader Okie Odell escaped arrest and made his way to the Annual Convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor

that was being held in the town of Findley that day, only some 30 miles from the Scioto marsh. Conference attendees had been listening to a delegate describing the "intolerable conditions" of work and life on the muckfields, which were "worse than the coalfields"[1343]. He requested that the attendees take time to go witness the predicament of "hundreds of families living in virtual slavery...it is not in the Hills of Kentucky but in a civilized state"[1344]. When Odell arrived at the conference that afternoon, the conference speaker denounced the local authorities who were "putting in jail those gallant men and women who have never heard of organizations before, who come from the hills...."[1345]. Odell's speech was not retained in the minutes of the conference, but after his call for further support the attendees did take up a collection in order to help the strikers pay for food and transporting their witnesses to and from court[1346].

The United States Labor Department finally stepped in as the strike grew uglier, sending in Federal negotiator Robert Fox. Meeting with both strikers and growers, Fox found that the growers were unwilling to discuss the demands of the workers. Sternsher notes that the growers' own feelings of "paternalism" toward the onion workers were strong and Federal intervention from the Employment Relief Administration was not perceived as neutral. Growers Veril Baldwin and Carl Krummery flaty rejected the idea of negotiation, telling Fox that the strikers were simply "...illiterate and of bad character...not trustworthy drunkards"[1347]. The Federal government's attempts to find a middle ground further increased the defensiveness of the growers and the negotiations met with complete failure[1348]. A week later, another 30 strikers were jailed for "illegal picketing". A Relief director visited the arrested men and reported them all to be "extremely illiterate, having minds of children. They are easily led..."[1349].

The Federal government's inability to bring the growers to the negotiating table forced some of the workers to openly state to the local Marshal that, if the harassment of the strikers continued, the growers and the local authorities that aided them would face the striker's "willingness to start gunplay"[1350]. The next day, a 100 onion workers gathered to defy the court's injunction that was banning picketing and a bloody fight ensued with scores of ribbon-wearing"deputies". Reprimands from local authorities began immediately. Among the strikers arrested were familiar Magoffin County names such as Grant Johnson, George Risner, Sam Adams, and *Burley Collins*, the latter of whom was a Salyersville Indian[1351]. Salyersville Indian *Jake Cole* was also among the strikers who were quickly indicted by the local Grand Jury following the event. Onion workers all throughout the Scioto mucklands were stopped and searched. Those who were deemed potential problem makers were promptly arrested, like Rob Patterson, who was arrested for carrying roofing nails[1352].

On July 22 the growers enacted a new strategy and, with backing from the local courts and the "special deputies", began forcably evicting worker's families who were receiving relief funds. Local news reported that "in most instances the strikers had no place to go...a few wanted to return to their native Kentucky"[1353]. The striker's responses to such actions were, perhaps, predictable. That same day, numerous muck fires were started, and the large storage-shipping complex used by growers in the Marsh village of Alger was set ablaze. Mrs. *Ed Collins*, wife of Salyersville Indian onion worker, told one of the many reporters who flocked to the area later that day that "...this is sad, but I've gone through sickness and death before and they were much sadder than being turned to the street"[1354]. As with the work in the fields, the strike was a family thing for the

Kentuckians and men, women and children struggled and suffered together. The behind the scenes contributions of the woman of the families, both Indian or not, was undoubtedly immense, and merits further attention by future researchers

Local Ohioans who had no direct ties with the onion industry were taking sides as they saw their county spiral into chaos. The majority of their sympathies lay with the growers. Not suprisingly, the county authorities made no pretense of remaining neutral. On August 13 the Hardin County relief office announced that they would evict all strikers who had been in Ohio less than a year, which meant about four-fifths of the migrant workers, at public expense[1355]. The evictions began but instead of returning to Kentucky, the "tent cities" peppering the Marsh grew larger as the onion workers pushed forward with their cause.

Apparently some of the strikers felt the local authorities had gone too far in siding with the growers this time. On the morning of August 24, the McGuffy town Mayor's house rocked to a massive explosion[1356]. Luckily no one was hurt but the reaction was swift and equally disturbing. Sheriff Marshall immediately summed strike leader Okie Odell for questioning. While Odell was in the Sheriff's office, an unruly mob had gathered outside. The sheriff released Odell and, as he left, a crowd of 80 or so attacked the strike leader with clubs, stones, feet and fists. The press simply identified the mob as "non-Union workers and sympathizers", many of whom were "special deputies" and imported "striker breakers"[1357]. The sheriff did nothing but watch as the mob tied Odell up and threw him in the back of a truck identified as being owned by the prominent grower Veril Baldwin. Odell was dumped at the county line, beaten further, and had his life was threatened if he returned[1358].

Odell, with four broken ribs and his flesh torn, somehow managed to walk the ten miles or so back to his house in McGuffy, which coincidently was close to the Mayor's now smoldering home. That evening, the mob, which Sternsher reports identified itself as a "vigilante committee", had grown to 400 to 500 hostile men roaming the Marsh and the nearby villages harassing the onion workers[1359]. Later, at least a hundred of the "committee" had gathered outside the strike leader's home waving clubs and guns. The ever-bold Odell, armed with his own rifle, firmly stood his ground and the crowd backed down. The families of strike leaders Larry Gross, Ben Corbin, Charely Johnson and Salyersville Indian *Floyd Collins* were bluntly warned to leave the Marsh immediately. Collins was at home sick while of all this was occurring, and had to be protected from the mob by Marshall Wies until friends secretly removed him from his home and hid the Indian strike leader away[1360].

The day after the bombing and beatings, the press reported that a "mob of hundreds" was still lurking around outside Odell's house while Odell's friends and family, including brothers Elijah and Tunie, faced them as armed guards. The newspapers were "anticipating serious violence on the Marsh in the days to come"[1361]. Before nightfall, peat fires were rekindled, another grower's storehouse was put to flames, and a local bridge was blown up with dynamite. The presence of a National Guard observer did nothing to temper the violence. One local historian recounts that the day was filled with "pitched battles" where snipers in the Marsh confronted the deputies, who were now armed with "machine guns"[1362]. Then on August 27 Marion Township trustees tried, this time not by force but by offering aid, to help remove "several families to Magoffin County Kentucky"[1363].

By the 28th, the press was reporting that the strikers were willing to compromise on their original demands and, after meeting with federal negotiator Fox, Odell announced the outlook was "hopeful" for the onion workers. But Baldwin, McGuffy, Flannery and the other growers refused to budge. Speaking for his peers, grower Allen Edwards told the newspapers that they simply "would have nothing to do with Odell and his Crowd"[1364]. Hopes were further diminished as Federal authorities announced that they had no jurisdiction to procecute those men involved in Odell's abduction because he was never taken over the state line[1365]. This anouncement left local authorities open to pursue their own course of action, and the local judges and juries came down hard and fast. Odell was fined a hundred dollars and given a ninety-day jail sentence that would conveniently keep him off the muckfields until after the season's harvest was completed[1366]. With a renewed campaign to import strikebreakers for the harvest, "the momentum of the strike waned"[1367].

In the end, the strikebreakers were able to pull off the onion harvest that September with no further major confrontations being reported[1368]. But, as one local writer described, it was that year that "King Onion died, and the Marsh will know him never more"[1369]. Yet, despite all the blood, sweat and tears that poured forth from the onion workers that year,this was not the end of the relationships between many Magoffin County families, both Indian and non-Indian, and these very growers. To the suprise of many onlookers, the peculiar symbiotic relationship between them would continue as the big Scioto growers immediately began moving their operations into more productive mucklands in southern Michigan. Most of the Salyersville Indians, a least half of whose families now worked in the Ohio onion fields at least part of the year, would follow these

growers into that state.

The Salyersville Indians and the New Seasoned "Onion Culture"

Technically the 1934 strike was never called off. But despite the intensity, bitterness and violence surrounding the strike, hundreds of people from Magoffin County, Kentucky, both Salyersville Indian and white mountaineers, were nonetheless working back in the Hardin county and other regional onion fields the following spring. A number of their families even stayed on the Scotio marsh throughout the winter of 34-35. Local authorities hesitated and most often refused in treating such "transient" families as full-blown Hardin County citizens. A USDA study for instance reported that of those hundred or so workers "from Kentucky" that stayed on the Scioto onion fields through the winter of 34-35, three out of four had to apply for relief funds[1370]. Some of the Salyersville Indian families of course had lived here year around for the past few years, such as *Floyd Collins, Linzie Cole* and *Turner* and *Merkie* (*Patrick*) *Cole*. A few had even married local Ohioans, as had *Wick Cole*'s daughter's *Armelda* (*Cole*) *Stanley* and *Armenta* (*Cole*) *Tate*. All of these Salyersville Indians would stay in the Scioto Marsh area[1371].

In 1935, very few of the returning workers would even mention the previous year's strike, let alone resume those activities[1372]. As for the workers themselves, the idea of putting their families through another dangerous summer was probably a deterrent for some and a few families would succeed in finding industrial and/or agricultural work in the region. The family of Henry and *Armelda* (*Cole*) *Stanley* for instance would stay in

Hardin County, but the family no longer relied on onion work as Henry gained a job with the Erie-Lackawana railroad, where he would remain until retirement[1373].

Most Salyersville Indians who stayed in Ohio kept on with agricultural wage labor in potatoes, onions and beets for the next decade, and in some cases, even longer. *Roxie* (*Cole*) *McCarty*, born in 1955, recalls the days when she lived with her parents in a trailer set up behind her grandmother *Merkie (Patrick) Cole*'s small house in Alger. She recalls how, every fall "after the companies were done with the picking", that some of the Scioto Marsh growers would allow old Merkie and her grandchildren to go onto the muckfields and pickup the leftovers lying on the ground. While this may seem a token gesture on the growers part, Roxie recalls that they usually procured enough missed vegetables to "last through the winter"[1374].

One smaller contingent of nearly a dozen Salyersville Indian families, including those of *Arty Cole*, *Charley* and *Purmela* (*Fletcher*) *Cole* and *Preston* and *Samatha Cole*, would linger in Hardin County for a few more years before they found more stable work in the Ohio area of Willard-Shelby-Plymouth. There, some of the Salyersville Indian families had already been working onions for some years, such as *Charley* and *Purmela (Fletcher) Cole*, *George* and *Daisy Sexton*, *Dock* and *Lillie* (*Barnett*) *Cole*, *Earnest* and *Fleeda* (*Collins*) *Cole*, *Herman* and *Allie* (*Wireman*) *Cole*, *Herbert* and *Florence (Cole) Cole,* and *Dayton* and *Lucy* (*Cole) Cole*. Many of these people had worked the Thacker Coal Mines before coming to Ohio. These families had avoided the turmoil their kin and friends experienced in the Hardin County stikes of the previous year. Having worked these fields for over a decade, some had even gained modest property holdings, although most still moved from field to field during the season and often back to Magoffin County

during the off season. In the 1835 season, the Salyersville Indian families already established in the Williard-Plymouth-Shelby area would maintain their jobs. But the fields were small and the demand for work here could not sustain the many workers hoping to avoid the larger Scioto Marsh fields. Most Salyersville Indians would find no alternative but to continue working for the old Hardin County growers. As a consequence, *Daniel* and *Louisie (Perkins) Collins*, *Sonny Cole* and *Taylor Cole,* would follow the path that most others Salyersville Indians did -- into the southern Michigan muckfields.

The big onion growers of the Scioto Marsh had turned their attention to devising new ways to deal with both the declining yields of the now poor soils of the Marsh as well as the Kentucky workers whose labor they still needed. One tactic employed by the growers in 1935 was converting much of their Scioto fields over to sharecropping by willing tenants. Valdez astutely points out that this enabled the growers to now claim that the onion workers were "independent operators", and thus not "hired employees" for which they were responsible[1375]. Other growers instead started cultivating less labor and soil intensive crops such as potatoes, corn and beets[1376]. The most dramatic plan the growers pursued involved moving and scattering the onion operations from the huge consolidated fields in Hardin County, Ohio, to smaller, yet more numerous, fresher, and financially more lucrative mucklands, in southern Michigan. This move enabled growers to dispense with the large congregated workforce typifying earlier operations on the Scioto marsh and hire smaller and more "manageable" groups of working families. Eager to maintain employment, dozens of Salyersville Indian families, and even more of their white mountaineer counterparts, would follow the growers down this new path.

The Ohio growers quickly began buying up "ready to go" peat and mucklands throughout southern Michigan, and in some cases, invested in the costly process of draining other marshy peat-bogs and even small lakes to create new areas in which to grow the profitable onions[1377]. W.C.McGuffy, Veril Baldwin, Carl Krummery, Lewis Meyers, Houston, the Patterson Brothers and the other Scioto Marsh growers were telling the public that their move to Michigan was due to "the decline in onion yields" which had gone irreversibly "below an economical point of production"[1378]. Valdez and Sternsher point out, however, that the growers' actions were part of a deliberate strategy to "thwart the strikers who persisted in their efforts back in Hardin"[1379].

One policy that the growers did not abandon was their old practice of hiring the same mountaineer families that they did back on the Scioto Marsh[1380]. As the Scioto onion operations slowed to a trickle in 1935 and 1937, Salyersville Indians and non-Indian mountaineers from Magoffin County followed the growers into the new mucklands of Michigan and were willingly rehired by the growers by the hundreds. Indeed, most of these families were large by any standard and, regardless of any ill feelings from the prior year, they still needed the income that they had become accustomed to earning every year. Scores of Salyersville Indians fell into the routine of making seasonal trips to the Michigan mucklands in the 1930s and 40s. A small sample included the families of *Jason* and *Emmy* (*Patrick*) *Cole*, *Dayton* and *Lucy Cole*, *Adam* and *Ollie* (*Cole*) *Barnett*, *Boone* and *Lola* (*Perkins*) *Collins*, *Johnny* and *Polly* (*Salyers*) *Cole*, *Alex* and *Goldie* (*Cole*) *Gullett*, *George* and *Daisey* (*Sexton*) *Cole*, *Jesse* and *Cindy* (*Collins*) *Cole*. *Richard Harold Cole*, born in the Big Lick Indian village in the early 1940s, recalls instances of large numbers of Salyersville Indian families still gathering at

the train station in Ivyton every spring to head up to the Michigan onion fields well into the fifties[1381]. The trips were festive social occassions and this was often the last time some families would see of each other until they reconverged back in Kentucky in the fall, as the families scattered among a dozen or so fields spread around southern and mid-Michigan during the season.

Michigan state and county authorities were quick in learning about the problems associated with this lucrative agricultural pursuit. For example, by the summer of 1937, the Ingham County Welfare Relief Committee had been asked to investigate the state of affairs among the onion workers in the Stockbridge-Munith area, one of the four primary "muck" areas that attracted Indian and non-Indian workers from Magoffin County[1382]. In the 1935 season, there were approximately 30-40 families from eastern Kentucky working the fields in the Stockbridge area alone. About a quarter of these were Salyersville Indian families, while the rest were white mountaineer families from the Magoffin County region. About half stayed through the winter during the first year but, being classifed as "non-residents", they had a difficult time receiving relief funds to help feed and clothe their families during the off-season. By 1937, only a few families had gained residency in the Stockbridge area. Noting the marked increase in families requesting relief in the area since the arrival of the industry in 1935, and tipped off as to the questionable working and living conditions that greeted the laborers, a Relief agent went to the fields to get some answers.

The Relief agent's report noted that the Stockbridge area growers either refused to meet him or ignored questions regarding the wages and contracts they made with their workers. He noted that the three most prominent growers, Lewis Meyer, Carl Krummery

and the Pattersons, "all came from Ohio, and are in the practice of hiring or subletting chiefly to families originally from Kentucky who have lived for a time in Ohio before coming to Michigan", yet "are quick to criticize the actions of the laborers from the South hired by them"[1383]. The workers not sharecropping now made .20 cents per hour or $2.00 a day, which was quite an increase since 1935, but still far from the 1934 strikers original goal of .35 cents an hour. Written contracts of any sort, the agent noted, "were not customary". The Relief agent reported that the seasonal laborers traveled to Michigan "at their own expense", and claimed their motivation was that "they heard Michigan was a good place for onions and wages". The astute agent did however notice that "it has occasionally been possible to trace their motives to relatives who preceded them"[1384]. Some local Stockbridge residents instead thought that the latter came to the area "because the growers enticed them", or because "they can't get relief in Ohio or Kentucky"[1385].

Some Stockbridge residents spoke of the Kentucky mountaineers as being "very hard workers" and would help them to fight for their rights in the years to come. Some honestly reported that many of the "southerners are heavy drinkers when they have money, but are generally law-abiding"[1386]. But most locals held that more negative opinions of those they called "transient laborers with low-living standards". For instance, rumors quickly circulated similar to those that were floating around in Ohio some 20 years before, that "some had jail sentances in Kentucky and Ohio and refused to return"[1387]. Only a small handful of local people took a critical look at the old Ohio growers themselves. One longtime resident of the Stockbridge area however told the visiting relief agent in 1937 that "the landowners make a buck on sharecropping by withholding storage" and other manipulative techniques. Others faulted neither the

workers soley or the growers, but remained "upset over low housing and health standards" that were now part of the local landscape due to the onion business.

The Welfare Relief agents 1937 report made no mention of any "Indians" among these he called "southerner's" or "Kentuckian's". But buried in his notes is evidence of some of the ongoing traditions carried on by the "Kentuckians" he had met. He wrote:

> "...it is interesting to note that there is considerable intermarriage among these families as the same family names occur frequently. The young people who have married since coming to Michigan have chosen persons of the same racial or family background. In some instances they went back to Ohio or Kentucky for a husband or a wife"[1388].

Such practices would arouse the curiosity of other Michiganders as they became exposed to the vibrant and diverse transplanted culture of the Kentucky mounatineers. Indeed, if they were not perceived as "black", all other Southerners, be they mountaineers or flatlanders, Indian or white, be they from Arkansas, Kentucky or elsewhere, were lumped into a homogenized stereotypes by most of these northerners. For instance, the overall perspective regarding "The Southern White Laborer In Michigan" was defined in 1938 by one sociologist who wrote that, in Southeastern Michigan, the label denoted "a population differentiated by region of origin" as well as "social and economic status"[1389]. The sociologist explained that "their attachment to their old home in the south" was so strong that "almost every vacation or lay-off" there is a exodus back south because of

their "strong attachment to their own kind of people". While Benyon was speaking particularly of migrants to the Flint area factories, his perspectives and conclusions were echoed by many other professionals throughout the state, and mostly denied recognition of any internally held identity. Admist all this was the Salyersville Indians. And as an "unrecognized" Indian population with many ties to non-Indian families, the Salyersville Indians were anthropologically speaking, buried as an "other" within an "other".

Examples from the Stockbridge Swamps

The decade from 1930 on saw onion production in Michigan double and, by the late 1930s, the state had replaced Ohio as the largest onion producer in the Midwest, if not the entire nation. This was largely due to the labor efforts of the Indians and non-Indians originating from the Magoffin area of Kentucky, all of whom had become known locally in Michigan simply as "Kentucks". During this decade, the Salyerville Indian population was spread through four primary regions. About 20 families Indian families still maintained yearly residences at the Indian village back at Big Lick, Kentucky, while outside Kentucky were the contigents in Oklahoma and Ohio. Many who worked onions in the north also still returned every fall, adding to that number every winter. But by the late 1930s, the largest group was now focused around the Michigan onion fields.

There were four important Michigan onion growing areas that also attracted large numbers of both Indian and non-Indian laborers from the Magoffin region in the next 20 years. Two of these locations in attracting Salyersville Indians were those muckfields controlled by a few large scale growers around Partello/ Marshall, and the Union City/Athens areas who comprised the "Calhoun County Onion Growers". A large number

of the Salyersville Indians would also end up in the Stockbridge area of Ingham County for at least a few seasons, although most of them would spend some time on most of the other southern Michigan muckfields at one time or another. The limited availablity of sources of data for these areas however forces this dissertation to focus on the activities around the Stockbridge area in Ingham County. This data can then be complemented with oral histories to make some worthwhile deductions regarding life for the Salyersville Indians on these other fields.

The Stockbridge fields and workers would attract the most attention from outsiders. By 1939, the onion industry there had caught not only the attention of the country relief office, but also that of a Michigan State College Professor, Fredrick Thaden. A sociologist, Thaden was long interested in the issues and concerns surrounding agricultural labor in Michigan. The transplanted Ohio "onion culture", now thriving in Stockbridge and other parts of the state, had not escaped his notice. Thankfully his field notes and writings on the subject survive, providing a rare in-depth glimpse of the issues and concerns of that era of working in the onion fields[1390].

Thaden's initial interest in the onion industry was timed perfectly, and he observed the Ingham County Relief Committee implement a new policy in the spring of 1939. They did not plan to give any more relief funds to "non-residents" during the off season for any reason. The Relief office subsequently notified the 16 laborers around the Stockbridge onion fields who received relief the winter prior of the change. The office reported that all were "exclusively onion families, hillbillies, from Kentucky, towns of Swampton, Royalton and one other"[1391]. The workers were simply told to "make plans with the growers" to make ends meet if they planned to stay in Michigan during the off-

season, or "return to places of legal residence" at the season's end. The Relief Administrater also informed the prominent grower Krummery and his peers near Stockbridge that "it seems reasonable for growers to return families at the end of the season"[1392]. The office publically announced that "it is the duty of the growers to take care of these families". The growers refused to comply and the Relief office sent Mrs. Mary Conway to further investigate the Stockbridge scene.

Initially local Stockbridge people had told Conway "we have no problem here". But with a little poking around, she found stereotypical complaints were made regarding the lifestyle of the Kentucky workers, including that they "make drink and much moonshine...brawls (are) common, some are ex-convicts and some are run aways from serious misdemeanors"[1393]. However, when Conway later went to meet the onion workers she did not find a bunch of brawling ex-convicts. Instead, she found not only family men, but also the entire family, like that of *Charley Mullins,* working in the muckfields. Some of these families, Conway noted, lived in individual arrangements on the farms or fields owned by the growers themselves. In one case she found "45 persons lived there in one house", while others rented rooms at the delapitated Drake Hotel, located at the edge of town[1394]. Regardless of where their residences were, however, the Relief worker noted that the onion workers did all their "cooking and washing on the communal plan"[1395]. As for the growers, Conway later confided in Thaden that her office was not so much concerned with the activities of "small growers" but was more wary of the activities of the big growers from Ohio--namely, the Pattersons, Krummery, Mayers and Baldwin, all of who refused to meet with Conway during her visit.

Local officials were also at a loss as to how to deal with off-season relief

problems, and on-season housing and health issues, stemming from the onion industry. The lack of any change prompted the formation of the "Stockbridge Civil Improvement League" in the winter of 1940-41. Comprising about ten local merchants and other citizens not directly involved in the onion industry, the members of the organization had decided to take it upon themselves to rectify the problems they felt the onion industry had created in their town in the past five years. Led by a local minister, Reverend Sprague, the group first began soliciting area merchants, clergy and local politicians to discuss how to, in the future, avoid "the transient labor problem apparent last fall"[1396]. The invitations they sent around the township openly stated that their goal was "to remedy the conditions of this group in our community". Many were concerned that some of these so-called "problem families" now stayed in the area all year [1397]. Some members of The League identified their "great social problem" as being rooted in "the social standards of some of the transients" who they deemed "detrimental to the community". Some complained that the migrant worker's children now comprised 1/3 of the enrollment of the Stockbridge schools, but that they suffered from "lack of health and improper nourishment"[1398].

The minutes of League meetings show, however, that other members did not soley blame the workers for the changing conditions in Stockbridge. A growing local awareness was emerging that part, if not most, of the problem lay with the growers and their policies, and not the "social standards" of the workers. Indeed, the formation of this local group signaled a new era in the onion industry, in which the local community was to begin to see *both* the workers and the growers as outsiders bringing problems to their rural community. That is, the old Scioto Marsh growers did not have the overwhelming local support they had been used to back in Hardin County, Ohio. Over time, more and

more locals came to more clearly see that the source of their troubles lay with the manipulative practices of the Ohio growers themselves. Motions were passed by the League to send questionnaires to the onion growers, and invite them to a meeting. In the meantime, they developed a "Transient Survey Form" which they would distribute to the workers and another motion was passed to invite the workers to speak to their group so "they could submit their own problems[1399].

Data reflecting the composition of the "permanent migrant workforce" of the Stockbridge area onion fields at the beginning of the 1941 season reveals that the 30-40 working families families were still almost exclusivly from the Magoffin region , either directly, or after a couple years sojourn on the old Ohio muckfields. Some of the Salyersville Indian families among them that year included *Newt* and *Willie Cole*'s families. Formerly trying to find work in Royalton, this family came to Michigan in 1938 along with a non-Indian Rowe family also hailing from Magoffin County. Interviewed by professor Thaden, Newt told the sociologist that they came to the North simply because there was more work here than back in Kentucky. *Ollie* and *Della Carpenter's* families, also hailing from the Royalton area, similarly told the sociologist that they came here because wages back in Kentucky were only .10 cents an hour (for what kind of work they didn't say). They also claimed that rent was much less in Michigan [1400]. These families, as well as a number of others, now even attempted to maintain a year round residence around the Stockbridge mucklands[1401]. Despite their differing internally held identities of "white" or "Indian", all the mountaineers shared the sentiments of the Salyersville Indian, *Newt Cole*, who told the sociologist Thaden that, despite their willingness to work onions here, "we Kentuckians do not like being looked

down on by the people of Stockbridge"[1402].

But in the spring of the 1941 season, "The League" remained active. Rev.A.J.Stroud (who was also the Superintendent of Stockbridge schools), wrote to the Regional Director of the Farm Security Administration, notifying him of the unreasonable conditions that the onion workers faced in the muckfields around Stockbridge[1403]. However, the onion workers remained subjected to the bleak housing opportunities that the growers offered to them (if any). Instead, on the recommendations of the county inspector, which was reinforced by the opinion of the county prosecuting attorney, Section 6482 of the "nuicience law" was enforced and at least three families were all evicted from their homes as "unfit for habitation"[1404]. This action forced the growers to find their workers other accomodations on their properties located outside the village limits. The old Scioto Marsh growers complained, probably anxious to divert attention away from their operations.

The 1941 and 1942 onion season continued forward with no major events disrupting the Stockbridge area onion operations as the rest of the nation plunged into the Second World War. At harvest's end in the 1942 season, many of the workers' families made their way back to Kentucky as they always did. For those choosing to stay in the Stockbridge area through the winter, autumn started off on an ominous note. The incident involved two of the worker families who originated from Magoffin who were sharing a home rented by their employer, Louis Meyer. On November 12, the building somehow caught fire and burned down. Sadly, Floyd Pinks' seven-year-old son perished in the blaze. Floyd, who had lost his wife a few years earlier, now lost his son as well as everything the family had of material and sentimental value. Sid Patrick's family, who

lived upstairs, escaped uninjured[1405].

The prominent Meyers family of growers, headed by Glenn and Louis, had a local reputation for charging high rents for bad housing[1406]. One strip of the Meyers "rentals" amounted to a Shantytown that paralleled the railroad tracks at the outskirts of town, and one local described the "shed houses" as renting from $8 to $12 month[1407]. The Pinks tragedy was not the first that should have been on the Meyers' conscious, for earlier that year a 3 year old *Cole* Indian child died of dyptheria on the Louis Meyers farm[1408]. Veril Baldwin also was known for having troubled relations with his tenants[1409]. Baldwin, unlike Meyer, at least made sure that his rentals "looked good from the outside", but most locals knew better[1410].

In the fall of 1942, it was not only the housing and health conditions the workers faced that again drew the outside attention the growers sought hard to avoid. Attention was becoming more specifically focused on "child welfare". For instance, in the fall of 1942, a report from the Stockbridge schools was released entitled "Child Welfare and Living Conditions"[1411]. Issued at the beginning of the school year, it included a census of migrant workers in the area, and revealed that about 40 school age children were not in school "who should have been". At least two were reported as "absentee" due to "lack of clothes". Indeed, 4/5 of the Ingham County truancy violations issued that year in Ingham County were from the Stockbridge area[1412].

A local newspaper article, however, painted a slightly different picture, and "was glad to report" that most of the children missing from school had either returned to Kentucky, or were to move back there soon[1413]. A few of the Kentucky-born families who previously worked the Stockbridge muckfields even had recently found work in the

defense plants in nearby Chelsea, and had moved there prior to the start of school[1414]. The local paper accurately noted that these "hard working people" desired that their children go to school. They however continued to struggle with the old problem of the harvest schedule conflicting with that of school. Neither could they afford to buy their kids school books in two different states. Most, therefore, stated that they would wait to enroll their children when they returned to Kentucky. Those who opted to remain near the Michigan muckfields through the winter season however noted that their children would have to walk 2-3 miles from their rural residences to the schoolhouses[1415]. Indeed, schooling arrangements were not made easy for the onion workers. One Stockbridge school teacher interviewed by professor Thaden held a perception of the school situation was clearer than most. When asked why she thought the children of four different families did not show up to school that particular day in the fall of 1942, she told the sociologist that "Stockbridge kids can cause trouble but are ignored, while Kentuckians are always prosecuted". Laws and rules generated on all levels were not always objectivly administered when applied towards the onion workers. So some, like the Whittakers, simply refused to subject their children to such unjust abuses and kept their kids from school for that reason alone[1416].

As for the living conditions of the mountaineer and Salyersville Indian workers, the *Stockbridge Sun* repeated the assertions of some Stockbridge folk who publicly stated that they felt "ashamed that some people have to live in the decrepit village houses with such high rent"[1417]. Cephas Smith wrote in the that "I think if these people were treated right, they would become better citizens. Many of them do not like being classed as 'Kentucks' or with those that are always getting into trouble"[1418]. However, "treating

right" to other local folk meant hiring full time deputies employed specifically for that paper called "patrol duty...for those who would abuse the privileges of American citizenship"[1419]. Indeed, for a few years now Sheriff McDonald would, each season, deputize one of the *growers'* men to "control the unruly Kentuckians"[1420].

Amongst the proponents of the "patrol duty" policy was local school superintendent and Civic Improvement League leader, Reverend Stroud. Revealing his true opinions regarding the workers from Kentucky during an interview with the MSC Sociologist Thaden in the fall of 1942, he said that the "Kentucks" were best described as being alcoholics[1421]. Reverend Stroud shared the opinion the Civil Improvement League in Stockbridge made public a 1942 report they entitled "The Transient Labor Problem in Stockbridge and Vicinity". The report noted that "this labor, in large measure comes from Kentucky, and that "they do not command much wage, and are satisfied with extremely low living conditions"[1422]. When interviewed by League members, the growers had retorted that it was "just not profitable enough to pay them more", and many in the League seemed to accept this answer. The League's report stated without evidence that, "in many cases the head of the family is addicted to alcohol" and that juvenile delinquency was somehow to be expected from their children simply because they were "Kentucks"[1423]. Their report however also recorded that the League's representatives were "received very cordially by virtually all the families" during their investigations. After a few visits, some League members concluded that "...it remains that no self-respecting community should tolerate the housing conditions which breed all the unfavorable connotations it has been fighting to abolish"[1424].

The Director of the Ingham County Health department shared much of the

League's perspective. He placed slightly more blame on the growers, but only in that he perceived them as encouraging "hangers-on" to continue to come up from the Kentucky mountains or the old Scioto muckfields[1425]. Professor Thaden was also among those outside onlookers who were curious as to why the growers continued to hire workers from what the growers repeatedly touted to be as a "troublesome population. Grower Veril Baldwin told the sociologist that he continued to hire them because "Kentuckians are tough...a girl of 14 has more brass than it takes to build a battleship"[1426].

The Director further claimed that "when the Kentuckians arrived in the spring (they) are ignorant, superstitious and scared" which he said made them easy to take advantage of, and he felt that the approaches taken thus far by the Civil Improvement League and the public officials of Stockbridge were not helping the situation[1427]. He rebuked the League's campaign of declaring tenant homes "nuisances" and evicting their occupants. He also confided to Thaden that the County Health Department has had many problems in the past dealing with the Township Supervisor of Stockbridge, a man named Brogan, who himself was previously an Ohioan[1428]. After the 1942 township elections, Barrett told Thaden that Brogan was "regretfully re-elected" partly on a campaign of "heavy-handing the unruly Kentuckians"[1429].

By the fall of 1942, one of the old Scioto Marsh growers, Carl Krummery, had been taking some steps to rectify the housing criticisms. He was described by some locals as providing "pleasant quarters", and paternalistically "is kind to his help"[1430]. The local media was praising the improved conditions around "The Krummery Onion Camp", and claimed that "everyone speaks well of Krummery", partly because, as with *Mimi Risner*'s family, "he let's them put in onion on shares" (sharecropping)[1431]. As with the

end of every harvest, by that September "quite a number of families" hired by Krummery had returned to Kentucky. But now more of his employees were staying through the winter than ever before, partly because he finally built ten small buildings for those he referred to as "his people"[1432].

However, some saw through the new "fatherly" image that Krummery was cultivating. The regional Agricultural Statistician Crop Reporting Service Agent, Mr. Lowie, had confided to the MSC sociologist Thaden that, while Krummery would go as far as to provide free housing for a part of the year, his intentions were not benevolent. Lowie looked deeper than most, and openly called Krummery a "labor exploiter". He for instance explained to Thaden the particulars of Krummery's sharecropping practice. He would entice the potential sharecropper by providing the client with some land, fertilizer and seed. The family, however, could spend only half of their time working on their share because Krummery required them to spend the other half of their time on his own fields. Because they had to work Krummery's onions first, Lowie explained, the entire family would have to spend evenings, weekends and holidays keeping their own share up. And if their share was not kept satisfactorily weeded, topped and so forth according to Krummery's standards, Krummery would then take the share back over with no compensation or reimbursments. That grower would also find ways to add extra charges to the client's bill throughout the season, such as at harvest time when he would charge the sharecroppers an extra $10.00 for "fitting" the onions from their own shares[1433]. Lowie saw Krummery not as a reformer of bad labor practice, but instead as just another example of how all the "big onion growers are smart, capable people--smart enough to know how far they can go in exploitation and remain within the law"[1434].

The goings-on at the McLain Stockbridge farm, provides another example fitting Lowie's accusations of exploitation. McLain's lands were "home" to a number Magoffin born families, eight of which stayed through the winter in 1942-43. They were noted for often returning to Ivyton and Bradley, Kentucky, throughout the year[1435]. That fall, Thaden had spoken to a local schoolteacher who derided McClain for selling his tenants tiny parcels of muckland and then "hopes they can't pay for it"[1436]. She explained that McLain "has had legal training and knows how to take legal advantage of the ignorant Kentucks". As for the workers, this woman informed Thaden that, "people look down" on the onion workers, "...and the Kentucks don't like this". Under the present state of affairs, however, the schoolteacher told Thaden that "the Kentucks just don't have a chance"[1437].

Another of the Stockbridge area growers that continually hired both Indians and non-Indians from Magoffin County, Kentucky, were the Patterson brothers[1438]. On the largest farm they ran, the Patterson's employed up to 150 workers to plant, harvest and maintain the crop. Up until 1942, the Patterson's army of laborers "housed themselves". Oral tradition from both Salyersville Indians and non-Indian mountaineers recalls that people would usually set up small "tent villages" bear the fields,as they would throughout southern Michgian[1439]. But, when questioned by the sociologist Thaden about the ethics of this practice, Patterson made much ado of the fact that he was now housing some of his employees at the run-down Drake Hotel and he "didn't charge them anything". Broch Patterson instead boasted that, like himself, very few onion growers expect work on Sundays, and they should be grateful. The Professor however full knew well that the infamous Drake had the reputation of being among the worst of all the places being used

to house migrant onion workers from Kentucky, and he noted that Patterson "hates social control"[1440].

Voll Risner's family, who had worked for a time for the Pattersons was temporarily housed at the Drake. The Risner's pattern of residences in the late thirties and early fourties was similar to many others from Magoffin at that time, having put a few seasons residence at the Drake and on two other mid-Michigan onion farms, interspersed with long trips back to Magoffin County during the off-season. When Proffessor Thaden encountered the family in the fall of 1942 they were back in Michigan, this time residing on the Pickett's onion farm near Munith[1441]. Voll Risner related some of his family's troubles to Thaden, which began the previous season when he entered into a sharecropping arrangement with Broch Patterson, as did as few other Magoffin county families like those of Jason Risner, Ellis Penix (Pinks) and Ellis Carpenter. During that season Risner's wife took sick and Voll took her back to Kentucky to be cared for by their kin on $50.00 which Patterson advanced him. Patterson however did not explain that he was going to charge Voll massive interest on the loan and only made it known to Risner at the end of the season as he subtracted it from the family's pay. Voll explained that in the end, they "all got cheated by Patterson". At harvest time Patterson the families for a slew of "miscellaneous expenses" such as "tipping" and for transporting their onions from their shares to his storage facilities. Now, a year later, Voll was still trying to figure out how he could afford to sue Patterson for the $1000.00 that he felt Patterson had cheated him on his share. In his interview notes, the sociologist described this as "...a case of merciless exploitation...some big onion growers are taking merciless advantage of the Kentuckians and the oppressed suffer of cheap labor"[1442]. Falling

somewhere in between the slick tactics of Krummery and the blatant disregard of Meyer were other Ingham and Jackson County growers who followed similar explotatitve practices. A few others were said to be quite honest, especially among the smaller growers, but most of their peers simply did not mix morals and ethics with the pursuit of profit. Oral histories gathered from various Saslyersville Indian elders and non-Indian mountaineers who worked onions reveal that simular explotative techniques were practiced by growers all over southern Michigan[1443].

However, a few local citizens and organizations continued tried to work to better the social enviroment faced by the workers, although with differing biases and motivations[1444]. One group in particular was a local Christian women's group called "The King's Daughters", who primary goal was to provide "opportunity so to raise the standards of living of the families by enlightening children"[1445]. As early as 1935 or 36, the Daughters were giving away food, toys and clothing at various charity events to the fifteen or so families who stayed through the winter. But one woman told Thaden that they quickly realized that most of the mountaineers simply would not accept charity no matter how hard off they were. Becoming sensitive to both the humble attitudes and fierce pride of the mountaineers, the Daughters smartly devised different strategies by which to get aid to the families that really needed it without offending them[1446]. One clever idea was to start organizing large "rummage sales" that they felt "saves much respect" for those who refused to accept any "hand-out", and the rummage sales became a success[1447]. Occasionally the Daughters would show up on the muckfields to serve hot lunches[1448]. They also set up a co-op where milk, bread, sugar and other staples could be bought at cost, and even aquired funds to set up places where workers could get warm

showers and baths[1449].

On the onion fields in both Ohio and Michigan, entertainment for Salyersville Indians and their non-Indian peers usually meant joining up on Saturday night, either in town or "on the residence grounds", and would "dance and play music all night long" with guitars, fiddles and banjos[1450]. But such activites were mostly frowned upon by many locals. So the Daughters convinced old Broch Patterson to set up an "Opportunity Room for the Kentucks" on his farm for movies and other recreational and social activities. And it could provide a day-care space during the day. Indeed, as one local schoolboard member pointed out, often a six year old was the only supervisor available to take care of a dozen younger children at the edge of the fields as their parents and older siblings worked out in the muck[1451]. The general impression that sociologist Thaden gained of these benevolent activists was that they were welcomed and liked by the workers, but not by the growers. Regarding the activities organized by the Daughters, grower Patterson perceived them to be "the same as the Boy Scouts---they had better be working"--and added snidely that now "the Kentucks eat pie and cake, and far better than I do"[1452].

Tensions and conflicts among the Kentucky workers, the locals, and the growers were far from being reconciled despite all the attempts to do so and social harrassment and stigmatizing stereotypes many Michiganders held regarding the "Kentuckes" would worsen before they got better over the next two decades. Still, the majority of Salyersville Indians who worked the Stockbridge fields, as well as those working onions elsewhere in the state, continued to remain tied to the Michigan mucklands.

While outsider's images of the onion workers most often obscured the Indian

identity asserted by a minority of this migrant "mountaineer" population, the intense family relations maintained between them help to ensure that, among themselves, distictions of what families were "Indian" remained. While outsiders characterized them as being "clannish", it was the kinship networks that they had maintained for generations that let them successfully cope with the exploitative relations they were caught up in with the paternalistic onion growers in the north as well as with the unpredictable coal economy now dominating in the Kentucky mountains. Indeed, onion work remained a family affair, and the economic and social cooperation among their families continued to be supported by a network of interrelated families spread across the muckfields and back in the mountains. While many Salyersville Indian families were able to disengage from the depressing and oppressive grip of working onions by the early 1950s, their families would continue living in clusters of extended family groups in and around these old Mucklands, while ties with family remaining in Kentucky were also strong.

Chapter 14
New Day Rising

The Indian identity of the Salyersville Indians would remain more permanent than did the Big Lick Indian Village, which was fading away following the Second World War. Still, their families living both in the North and those remaining in the east Kentucky mountains would remain strong, stable and cohesive despite all the social, economic and demographic changes they experienced in the first half of the 20th century. For those Salyersville Indians retaining residences in and around Magoffin County, the acceptance and recognition of their Indian identity by non-Indians remained positive, while in some cases it was simultaneously reaffirmed and contorted by a few academics calling them "Melungeons", "mixed-bloods", and "racial enclaves". But such authors linked this Indian identity with physical appearance and "cultural traits" that only sometimes correlated with the families own notions of "Indian" identity. One confused outsider noted that, in the 1950s, "they have been famous for their large families and their ability to keep them going without apparent means of support"[1453]. The recognition and acceptance of their self-asserted Indian identity, however, was mostly lacking among the Ohioians and Michiganders, many of whom openly did not take kindly to any of the "Kentuckians" that had settled in their midst. These external ideas regarding class, culture and race externally obscured Salyersville Indian identity as an "other" within an "other". Indeed, all the onion workers, most of whom were non-Indian mountaineers, remained subject to labels such as hillbilly based on class and poverty stereotypes and, in the process, externally obscured the Indian identity of the Salyersville Indian families among them. But the Salyersville Indians would be successful in maintaining the kinship

networks between their interrelated families as most conspicously settled into permenent residence around the Michigan and Ohio mucklands.

On the Fields, Off the Radar:

During the Second World War, the labor source that growers had tapped for so long was slowly diminishing. The War was draining away many of the Kentucky migrant onion workers, both Salyersville Indians and non-Indian mountaineers, both into military service and into the industrial war industries bustling in and around Chelsea, Lansing and Battle Creek. The Michigan Muck Farmer's Committee announced that they would help formulate more uniform contracts "equitable" to both the Michigan growers and the shrinking onion labor force, while other growers proposed expanding their sharecropping arrangements[1454].

But degrading relations with the local communities became a concern for workers and growers alike, and sociologist Fred Thaden noted that, at least among the people living around the Stockbridge mucklands, public opinion was apparently "crystallizing in some communities in opposition to the development of sharecropping procedures among the onion workers from Kentucky"[1455]. However, by 1943 Thaden had gained the impression that the growers were finally conceding on the housing issue. The sociologist's notes state that "many farmers are planning on providing...more satisfactory housing facilities" for the onion workers who continued to work seasonally throughout southern Michigan[1456].

Following the War the onion growers in Ingham and Calhoun counties still

overwhelmingly employed their traditional labor force of Kentucky migrants from the Magoffin region. But the utter necessity of this work for many of these families loosened considerably during and following the War. Furthermore, many of those still referred to by the locals as "Kentucks" were actually born and raised in Ohio or Michigan and their parents and grandparents had finally gained "legal residence" in those states. The result was now a permanent Salyersville Indian presence in southern Michigan and settled in pockets of extended family groups around the muckfields and in the surrounding towns and villages. And both of the Ohio and Michigan families not only stayed in intimate contact with one another other, but also with their relations living back in Kentucky and out in Oklahoma.

By the late 1940s, the majority of the rising generation of Salyersville Indians knew only the North as their home. But even this new generation abroad continued to think of the Kentucky mountains as their people's "homeland". Another significant new post-War trend was that not all of the Salyersville Indians found in the North, now at least 300 strong, continued to work onions after the War, having gained a footing in other occupations. A few men who served in the war, like *Herman Cole* and *Ray Gullett*, even returned home to purchase modest homes or refurbish working farms, having received benefits from the G.I. Bill.

In the immediate post War years, of two dozen or so families of the Salyersville Indians who remained living in and around the now nearly drained Scioto Marsh, only about half still sought onion or other agricultural labor work, such as the widow *Merkie (Patrick) Cole*, and the families of *Ed* and *James Cole*[1457]. The other half had found local work in other industries, or were farming their own small plots. Most young adults also

decided to keep their roots in the area, as did "*Sol*" and *Marie Cole*, *Linzie Cole*, and the grown children of *Armelda (Cole) Stanley* and *Armenta (Cole) Tate*[1458]. The Hardin County contingent of Salyersville Indians routinely welcomed visitors and relatives going to and from Kentucky and Michigan. Locally, most continued to meet relatives at least twice a week in Hardin County at the Quickstep Church in Alger.

The Willard-Shelby-Plymouth area contingent of Salyersville Indians had mostly stopped working agricultural wage labor after the War, although most could count a close relative, even a brother or sister, still working onions either over in Hardin County some forty miles to the west, or up in Michigan. Over two dozen Salyersville Indian families retained full-time residence here, including the families of *Charley* and *Purmela (Fletcher) Cole, Frank* and *Della (Cole) Bailey*, *Jesse James* and *Lyda (Cole) Cornett*, *Ernest* and *Fleeda* (*Collins*) *Cole*, *Bobby Gene* and *Roberta* (*Bailey*) *Cole*, *Denzil* and *Purmela (Cole) Gibson,* and *Clyde Cole*. A number of the descendants of old *George "Goldenhawk" Sizemore* had also settled in this area and many would marry into the Cherokee-Saponi Salyersville Indian families during the 30s, 40s and 50s[1459]. By the end of the 1950s, many of the younger generation were going farther abroad in search of work in nearby industrial towns and cities such as Columbus, Mansfield and Dayton. Quite a few men and woman would opt for military service that also took them and their families far from "home". Yet, despite these movements for work, new technologies such as telephones and automobiles meant that frequent contact between them and those staying back in the old muckfields areas could remain.

The trend of the younger generation moving off to local towns for work was slowly beginning among the Michigan Salyersville Indians after the War. But many in

Michigan also continued to work onion, potatoes, carrots, and other mucklands crops on a seasonal basis. Even during the 50s, some families still wholly relied on this source of employment. Others supplemented their family's income by working part-time on the fields in conjunction with other jobs. In many cases a part of their household worked the fields as a supplement to the family economy while one or more worked a local factory or other blue collar jobs.

Following World War Two, the Salyersville Indian families in Michigan were clustered in residences around the Muckfields that pocketed southern Michigan from Coldwater to Stockbridge. Many Salyersville Indians and non-Indians with ties to Magoffin now generally stayed in the area year round, such as *Miles "Bugler"* and *Martha (Watkins) Barnett*. Many other Salyersville Indians only worked the Stockbridge area only briefly until heading to other parts of the state. Many of today's elders recall working potatoes and onion around Stockbridge throughout the fifties before settling into more stable labor arrangements in Calhoun County, as did many of the large extended family of *Farish Cole*, or in the nearby industrial towns like Jackson and Lansing.

The largest population of Salyersville Indians during the post War years was in Calhoun County, Michigan. There, the families were notably clustered around the fields in the northeastern and southwestern parts of that county. During the late forties and early fifties, onion operations around Duck Lack and Partello in particular would boom as the Stockbridge fields began to slightly wane due to soil depletion and other factors. This of course attracted many mountaineer workers, both Salyersville Indians and non-Indian, away from the Stockbridge fields, while offering new employment opportunities for others wishing to join them from the Kentucky "homeland". During the height of the

onion Industry here in the late 40s and early 50s, the now defunct town of Partello was a bustling place of activity, and was the center point for more than 50 families originating from Magoffin County, Kentucky. About one third of them were Salyersville Indian families, including many with the familiar names of *Cole, Nickels, Watkins,* and *Perkins*. Numerous Salyersville Indian *Collins* families also came here directly from Kentucky in the 40s, including those of *Richard* and *Ella* (Stone) *Collins*, and *Daniel Boone* and *Lola (Perkins) Collins*.

Most of the Salyersville Indian couples found here in the 1950s, like that of *Emzy* and *Alice Collins,* would remain in the area the rest of their lives. Slowly but deliberately Salyersville Indians were solidifying their permanent presence on the southern Michigan landscape. The Cherokee-Saponi *John "Johnny" Morgan Cole,* for instance, would "sell out" the old Shep Cole farm located near the old town of Gullett in Magoffin County. Johnny and his second wife, *Polly (Salyers) Cole* would eventually manage to acquire their own small farm amidst the sprawling commercial onion fields near Partello in the early 1940s[1460]. Similarly, *Adam* and *Ollie (Cole) Barnett* also saved enough money working the fields and other jobs to buy some land near Partello[1461]. *Ray* and *Mergie* (*Cole*) *Gullett* eventually acquired "The Johnny Cole farm", which they refurbished with funds gained from Ray's G.I. Bill. *Alex* and *Goldie* (*Cole) Gullett* would also find the resources to purchase a small farm down the road and, as the 50s progressed, many of their relations and peers would follow suit by acquiring land or housing in the area on a permanent basis.

The onion fields in southwestern Calhoun County associated with the towns of Athens, Sherwood, Burlington and Union City also became home to dozens of

Salyersville Indian families in the forties and fifties, as was the area around the town of Marshall, the county seat. In the 1940s, most still relied on onion work for employment. As the 1950s progressed, many families had at least some family members working onions, some began acquiring homes, farms, and more stable jobs in the area. Many elders born and raised back at the Big Lick Indian village would remain here the rest of their lives after they spent time in Ohio and other parts of Michigan, as would *Jesse James* and *Cindy* (*Collins*) *Cole* . Some elder couples, like *Jesse* and *Emmy (Patrick) Cole* now had four generations under them all living in Michigan. And many continued to marry among other Salyersville Indian families such the *Collins*, *Gibson*s, *Bowlings* and the "*Marshall Coles*", or non-Indians with mountaineer ties who also made their way to Calhoun County in the post War years either looking for onion work, or simply wishing to move closer to their relations. *Dayton* and *Lucy Cole*, as well as *Leonard* and *Minnie* (*Wireman*) *Cole*, for example left the smaller contingent of Salyersville Indians in the Willard-Plymouth-Shelby area of Ohio and purchased small rural homes in the county during the 40s. Through the late 40s and 50s, even the most economically prosperous families from the old Big Lick Indian Village, like that of *Roy* and *Lizzie (Perkins) Cole* and *Buddy Lee* and *Goldie (Perkins) Collins* would "sell out" and join their Indian relations *Wick Kendell* and *Taylor Cole* and others in the Tekonsha area mucklands. But as with their kin elsewhere, by the 1960s some of the younger generation were finding jobs in the nearby towns and cities like Coldwater and Battle Creek. Many young men and woman also joined the military for four or more yearlong stretch at this time.

The final Michigan area that attracted numerous Salyersville Indians during the 40's and 50s would be that of Hillsdale County. Most of these families had lived and

worked both in Ohio, or the Stockbridge and Calhoun county mucklands before settling in this area for both work on the on relatively small fields of the county, and/or employment in the factories at Adrian and nearby Hudson. Among them here were the numerous descendants of the late Reverend *John Wesley Cole* and his wife *Rebecca 'Biddy' Nickles,* like the family of *Burdine* and *Emily (Barnett) Cole*. Many, like *Garrett Cole,* had worked intermittently at both the Thacker, West Virginia coalmines and the Michigan and Ohio muckfields, although Garrett himself preferred to stay in Kentucky when possible. A significant number of the *Cole*, *Marshall* and *Nickels* Salyersville Indian families in particular would settle in this county. *Richard Malcolm* and *Orpha (Sexton) Cole* also left the Plymouth-Willard area of Ohio to join these families and, like many other elders now here, they would remain in the rural Michigan county for the rest of their lives.

Discovered Again

Anthropologically speaking, *endogamy*, that is, marriages within the group, typified the Salyersville Indians until at least the 1960s. A sample of 75 confirmed marriages of the Indian Cole, Gibson and Collins families living in Magoffin County during the period of 1860 to 1908 shows the interconnectedness of the Salyersville Indian families during that time. Forty-six (61 %) married other Indians from the Cole, Collins, Gibson, Dale, McCarty, Nickles, Perkins, Bowling and Fletcher families. Four (5%) married persons from the mixed-blood Indian Sizemore, Howard and Castle families. Twenty-five (33%) married non-Indians, 24 to whites, and 2 to blacks. (The remaining 5

married individuals I cannot yet fully identify without more genealogical information,). This pattern carried on through the next century. Although based on more limited information, in his 1950 article (see above) cultural geographer Ed Price compiled statistics from marriage books from the first half of the 20th century and found that of 46 marriages involving identified people of the Carmel, Ohio, Band of Salyersville Indians, 24 of them married other Indians from Carmel or back in Magoffin County[1462]. He noted that this meant "over two-thirds of the mixed-bloods whose marriages were so recorded and identified married other members of the group"[1463]. However, not realizing how big the extended families of this Indian population were and being unfamiliar with the kinship dynamics of American Indian populations, Price wrote "this rate of in-marriage, indicated also by the paucity of surnames, is surprisingly high for a small group removed from its original home"[1464]. This figure of two-thirds is close to what I calculated for the 1860 to 1908 period. It is worthy of comment that this high incident of intermarriage in the overall Indian population importantly helps to maintain the common Indian identity. at some points in time, and often simultaneously, the common Indian identity helps to promote marriages between members of the 'tribe'.

Of the total number of Magoffin County area mountaineer families choosing to settle permanently around the Midwest muckfields in Michigan and Ohio, the Salyersville Indians remained a minority among them in more ways than one. Culturally and socially, they seemed indistinguishable from their non-Indian mountaineer peers from the perspective of most Midwesterners who came in contact with the onion field laborers during the thirties and forties. As a consequence, as a "racial" or "ethic" group their Indian identity was being ignored, unseen, or contested by most midwesterners

except for occasional comments about skin color. However, by 1948 some academics were beginning to take notice of the Indian contingent existing among the now infamous onion workers as they "(re)discovered" the diminished, but still prominent Indian population remaining back at the Big Lick Indian village in Magoffin County Kentucky.

One person mentioning the Salyersville Indians was William Harlan Gilbert, a government census specialist, in his official 1948 report regarding "Surviving Indian Groups in the Eastern United States" printed in the *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*[1465]. Gilbert reported that there were 234 Indians in Kentucky, with "...most of the Indians being in Magoffin and Floyd Counties"[1466]. Yet he was unable to make the connection between those he called "the Magoffin County Indians" and his discovery that, by 1940, the Scioto Marsh in Hardin County Ohio had the highest rural Indian population in that state, all of whom were migrant or descendants of migrant Salyersville Indians. Unfortunately, Gilbert was unable to provide any details on the Kentucky and Hardin County, Ohio, populations he identified. Furthermore, Gilbert failed to note that the larger percentage of these interrelated Indian families were now residing up around the Michigan muckfields.

Gilbert did, however, manage to distinguish some other connections between the "Magoffin County Indians" and other "surviving Indian groups" not as long hidden from academic view. The "small group of mixed-blood Indians" he reported to the Smithsonian as residing near Carmel, Ohio, was the Highland County Band of Salyersville Indians. Of them, Gilbert accurately related that at least some of the present population descended from "people who arrived from Magoffin County" around the time of the Civil War, and "who were reputedly of Indian descent"[1467]. Gilbert also hinted at

historical and genealogical relations existing between the Magoffin Indians and the Greasy Rock Indian population. Gilbert would report that 161 Indians still persisted in Tennessee of which he said they all must be "either mixed-blood people such as the Melungeons or the purer blood Cherokee". Elaborating a bit about the Melungeons or "former mixed-bloods" from Greasy Rock, he stated that they "more reasonably comprise several thousand persons" that now had spread over several counties and states[1468]. Failing to research further, others would use Gilbert's lists to speculate on the connections between the similarity in surnames existing between a primary family of "Tennessee Melungeons", the *Collins* and *Gibsons*, and the Magoffin and Carmel Indians.

Despite the allure of the more stable salaries to be gained in the larger Appalachian coal towns, or the chance for an hourly wage from the northern muckfield industries, during the 1940s and 50s, some of the Salyersville Indians tried to maintain a presence back at the Big Lick Indian village in Magoffin County. In the mid 1940s, about a half-dozen homes on the Big Lick itself were occupied year-round by Salyersville Indians. Among others, the people considered "permanent" residents here at that time included *Dennis Cole, Kelly* and *Catherine (Fletcher) Cole, Roy* and *Lizzie (Perkins) Cole, Rufus Cole, Adam Cole, Winfred Cole, Newt Cole, Noble Cole, Morgan Perkins, James* and *Ocie (Cole) Marshall, Jim Perkins* and *Oscar* and *Nancy (McCarty) Cole.* The schoolhouse remained, as did the community store established by *George* and *Mousie (Fletcher) Cole* some years earlier. About a half dozen more Salyersville Indian families whose homes lay over the county line in Floyd rounded out the Big Lick Indian community population. Among those living on Cole and Bear's Branch were *Wilson* and *Martha* Cole and about six other Salyersville Indian couples. *John* and *Eliza (LeMaster)*

Collins owned land right near the mouth of the Big Lick on Middle Creek, and many other descendants of the old Saponi *Collins* family could be found scattered down that watercourse towards Prestonsburg.

Elders today recall that a continual stream of relatives from the mucklands would make their way back to the Lick for trips of various durations, often staying with relatives, in tents, or "abandoned" homes for a few days, a week, a month, a season or more[1469]. Visiting friends and relatives, tending to their own property and "county business", and decorating graves are the most often cited reasons. This dynamic also worked in the other direction. Many of the still "permanent" residences of the Big Lick and Magoffin County would go north for trips of various durations to visit relatives who now lived north year-round.

Improved communication and transportation, such as the telephone and the automobile, now insured that, for those not having any desire or need to go north, as well as for those who did, it was easier to keep in close contact with relations living just a few, to hundreds, of miles away. Locally, the main road passing by the mouth of Big Lick, one could now reach Salyersville or Prestonsburg in 10 to 20 minutes instead of the half-day trip it entailed just a few decades prior. Thus, while the Big Lick Indian population was dwindling, the local Indian population remained stable as people could move to other parts of the mountains, either in individual family households or in small family clusters, without isolating themselves due to residential distance. Yet, regardless where they lived, coal, timber and oil would remain a dominant feature in the lives of those Salyersville Indians remaining in the mountains. Many would taking jobs with the smaller local mines, oil rigs and timber cutting operations in the area where they could return home in

the evenings. This was, and remains, dangerous work. In 1967, for instance, *John M. Cole* was killed when he fell into a coal crusher while working a mine in Floyd County[1470].

For those who remained living "full time" at the Big Lick , activities of planting, politics, child rearing, religion, and hunting and gathering complimented the aforementioned employment in the local coal, oil and timber industries. Pentecostal and Holiness revivals continued to be held at the "the Forks" of the Big Lick, and the events would sometimes draw together hundreds of local Indians and many from up in the Midwest muckfields, as well as local non-Indians, in worship. *Farish Cole, George Cole* and his son *Roy Cole* were now the "big" Indian landowners at the Lick. George had acquired much of the land around the old Village in the past few decades as other relatives "sold out" and moved north. George was something of an entrepreneur, and he held a vision of the Big Lick as returning to its former prominence. In the 1930s, he opened a "general store" at the Lick that served local Indians and non-Indians alike. George is remembered as always being a generous person by those who recall him, and he still did business with most of his clients in trade, barter or credit. He also looked out for other people's land and interests on the Lick when they were away to the north, and he always had some extra candy and pickles in the store for kids that came to visit from the north with their parents[1471].

But even George would eventually become frustrated at trying to keep up his store and farm at Big Lick, as people kept leaving and not returning on a full time basis as he had hoped. So, in the late 1940s, *George Cole* and his wife *Mousie* (*Fletcher*) would pass the store and most of his land to his son *Roy* and they would move to

Mayville, some 30 miles west over the border in Morgan County. There they joined with a number of other Salyersville Indian families like *Farish* and *Martha Cole* who also moved there during that time, possibly seeking more stable employment in the coal yard then found there. George and Mousie however retained a place on the Lick and frequently came back for long stretches of time to help his son Roy with "family business", both in the store and on the gardens and fields they maintained there. Like his father, Roy also made and sold cane furniture to supplement the store's earning. But the relative remoteness of the Big Lick, the community's ever declining population, and the accessibility to other merchants in the towns inhibited new customers. All these factors contributed to the failure to sustain the business locally so, by the end of the 1950s, Roy would close the store and temporarily join his relatives in Mayville. In the meantime, another of George's sons would be elected Sheriff of Magoffin County, indicating the high standing this old Salyersville Indian family still held among the non-Indians of the area[1472].

Despite the fact that the majority of the Salyersville Indians were now living permanently in the muckfield areas of Ohio and Michigan and that the Big Lick Indian Village could barely be construed as a "Village", the Salyersville Indian population was still a distinctive and influential part of Magoffin County society. Distinct enough anyway to attract the attention of a cultural geographer who, while researching and catolging data regarding "unrecognized Indian and Indian mixed-blood communities" in the eastern United States, consequently published the first academic description of the Salyersville Indians[1473].

In 1947, a young graduate student named Edward Price formulated a dissertation

entitled "The Mixed-Blood Racial Islands of the Eastern United States at to Origin, Localizations and Persistences" for his PhD. in Cultural Geography, and subsequently published his findings in a paper titled "The Mixed-Blood Strain of Carmel, Ohio, and Magoffin County, Kentucky"[1474]. Price's interest in the subject apparently stemmed from obscure references that had mentioned the community of "Carmel Indians" established long ago by Salyersville Indian families up in Highland County, Ohio, and his limited research enabled him to confirm that the "Carmel Indians" and "Magoffin Indians", as well as the Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain Indian populations, were indeed related.

Price's writings devote only a small number of pages to the Salyersville Indians, and thus is limited in scope, depth and detail in information. Few primary documents are used by Price, a half-a dozen pre-1890-censuses and 1923 map being his only primary document citations. Just as meager was Price's attempt at doing some "fieldwork", spending only a day or two in the county and a couple of hours at the most at the old Big Lick village. It is apparent from Price's descriptions that very little of his information was gathered from the people he was writing about, apparently preferring to speak to their non-Indian neighbors on the subject.

Regardless, Price wrote that "members of the Carmel and Magoffin groups claim Cherokee ancestry...and refer to forbearers who came from 'Old Virginia'" and/or Tennessee. Local farmers in Highland County, Ohio, however apparently referred to the band in their county simply as "Carmel Indians", named after a nearby non-Indian village of that name, or as "Half-breeds"[1475]. Price identified familiar Salyersville Indian family surnames of *Perkins*, *Nickles* and *Gibson,* as the dominant families of the Carmel band[1476]. With limited census data, Price traced their migrations into the county only as

far back as 1870, but was able to connect these families and with those Indians living in Magoffin County, Kentucky because it was still "common knowledge in the community that Magoffin County Kentucky is their original home". Even in 1947, a century after the first Salyersville Indians migration here, Price learned that "they return there frequently for visits, sometimes wintering in Kentucky regularly", and that many contemporary Carmel Indians had been born back in Magoffin[1477].

Price estimated the 1947 population of the Carmel Indians to be "at least 150" persons, although he noted that the population "is said to have been much larger in the past"[1478]. He found that the cluster of Indian homes just outside the tiny foothill village of Carmel was derogatorily dubbed "Pocahontas Row" by many local whites, and described them as "traditionally one-room shacks, a few of which are mud-chinked log cabins"[1479]. In contrast to what he would learn of the Salyersville Indians remaining down in Magoffin County, Kentucky, Price noted that only a few of the Carmel band of Indians owned land and that many also were scattered around the countryside as tenants and laborers on nearby farms. He noted that "...traditionally they have been squatters, taking advantage of the unused hill land, tolerated by owners as long as they seemed useful to the community as a source of farm labor"[1480].

Price also noted other facets of the Carmel band of Indian's general economy. For instance, Price described the families as still relying heavily on the natural resources in the hills around them for subsistence and other support. Hunting both "in season" and out was still commonplace in 1947, as was digging ginseng and "yellow root" for sale to herb merchandisers through local merchants. The area forests were also noted as being exploited for fuel and building materials, and he noted that one Indian family was known

for "making a business of weaving and selling baskets"[1481]. Price described how most of the Indians kept "small garden patches" and chickens, and that "occasionally one may have the land for a corn crop"[1482]. The young geographer also noticed that this home subsistence economy was supplemented by more than just occasional labor on local Highland County farms. Many families occasionally headed north to the Scioto Marsh onion fields for seasonal employment, while some of the men would sometimes take temporary work on "railroad gangs" in the state. On returning from such excursions, Price learned that "they may move into vacant shacks or, finding the old homes torn down, move in with neighbors"[1483].

Price concluded that "in cultural terms the Carmel Indians represent an intrusion of the Kentucky Mountains into the Midwest"[1484]. As up in Michigan, some of the Ohioans here held a particularly negative view of the cultural traits of the 'Kentuckians' from the mountains, regardless of their racial or ethnic backgrounds. The result would be that, many locals speaking of the Carmel band of Salyersville Indians blended together stereotypes that they held towards both "Indians" and "hillbillies" when they spoke of those they derogatorily dubbed "Carmelites". Price also overtly associated "racial" or "ethnic" heritage with "peculiar cultural traits". For instance, he emphasized that "in their numerous progeny and in their general family relations they also correspond closely to the rural Ohioan's concept of Kentuckians"[1485].

In their disdain for their Indian neighbors, many rural Ohioans also confusingly associated the people's "cultural peculiarities" and "race" with their present economic and social positioning. Price for instance noted to his readers that the Carmel Indians "...are considered extremely shiftless by their neighbors; it is the characteristic belief (perhaps

worthy of study itself) that nothing can be done for them which will permanently raise their low standards"[1486]. Price noted that "various public welfare payments have contributed to their support in recent years, to the great irritation of their neighbors"[1487].

After visiting Carmel, Price was motivated to visit Magoffin County for himself, although more akin to that of a day tourist. Nonetheless, after spending a few hours at the Big Lick, Price would find that the heretofore mostly ignored Salyersville Indian population would prove to be much more distinct and assertive of their Indian identity than the meager literature in which they were represented suggested.

The Salyersville Indians then living down in Magoffin asserted to Price a "Cherokee Indian ancestry", some "up to 3/4". They too recalled to him that older generations originally emigrated to this part of East Kentucky from both Tennessee and "Old Virginia", and Price informed his readers that non-Indian Magoffin Countians "accept them without serious question as to origin or status"[1488]. Price offered his own biased perspective based on comparing his brief trip to the county with the impression he had gained of other "mixed-blood groups" in the Eastern United States, in that he wrote that "...the suggestion of Indian-blood is more easily accepted than in the case with any other such group I visited"[1489].

Price discerned that the Salyersville Indians' residences in Magoffin County were "more dispersed" than those of their relations living up in Highland County Ohio. He correctly identified Middle Creek, Royalton, Big Lick and Mason Creek as being their primary residences. Of these locations, Price mentions only visiting Big Lick, which he mistakenly reported that area to be "the only concentration of them"[1490]. Price wrote that his "conversation with the Magoffin County mixed-bloods confirms the conclusion that

the different families in scattered parts of the county are closely related"[1491]. He also learned that, in contrast to the Carmel band, many of the Salyersville Indians remaining in Magoffin owned land and farms, many here had also been farm laborers at one time or another. Price wrote that "...their ownership of submarginal lands is traditional...some of the hillside variety, other of somewhat better nature", but most were "some very poor sites for farms". But he totally missed, or conspicuously chose to ignore, the fact that many of the Indians had been and still were involved in local politics and counted among their families many merchants, schoolteachers, and others in notable political, social and economic positions. He failed to mention *George* and *Roy Cole*'s store on the Lick, or that George himself had recently served as a Deputy in the county[1492]. Lacking or ignoring such information, and not following the lead that that "some of this group also migrate to the onion marshes and other places where seasonal employment may be made", Price could not or would not explain why it was that "...they have been famous for their large families and their ability to keep them going without apparent means of support"[1493].

Price apparently dropped into the Big Lick for only a few hours at most, but he was fascinated to find that Big Lick was "dominated by the Cole family and was still known as 'the Cole Nation'" by non-Indian county residents. Having interviewed a former schoolteacher, he did note that the old "Cole's Schoolhouse" remained but served only 23 students and only about half of them lived on the Lick itself (Price did not notice or mention that several of the students were white, although affinially related to the Salyersville Indians). Price also noticed the Holiness church that was prominently placed at the mouth of the Lick ,but offered no indication of the composition of its membership.

He did however learn that the Salyersville Indians living at Big Lick had "converted" to the sect some forty years prior, and that their adherence to Holiness principles was one of the outstanding contemporary features shared amongst the present generations[1494].

As he did among the Carmel contingent of Salyersville Indians, Price openly searched for supposed "Indian traits" at Big Lick with shallow and stereotypical criteria. For instance, he noted how he encountered an elder woman "interplanting corn with beans", and met a woman and her children gathering and drying the bark of "Indian arrwood"[1495]. His search for "traits" was most absurdly reflected in his comment that "their habits of ridge farming and of hunting with their numerous dogs are usually attributed to their Indian blood"[1496]. That many non-Indian mountaineers living throughout the Kentucky mountains similarly planted, or hunted and gathered the natural bounties of the land, Price did not care to mention, and thus contradicted his search for "Indian traits" by exclaiming that the mixed bloods were "distinguishable from other mountain residents only by their names, color and reputation"[1497].

Price wrote that "at present" intermarriage with whites was "not unusual", but he failed to mention how long that had been the case. The young geographer further guessed that in 1947 there were, "perhaps, 200 of the mixed-bloods in Magoffin; they are considered fewer in number and less Indian like in appearance than in the early days recalled by old timers"[1498]. It is not really surprising then that Price, as with most professional writers concerned with Eastern Indian populations at this time, felt that the "Magoffin County mixed-bloods" were on the verge of "disappearing" due to out migration and intermarriages with non-Indians.

Price did however make a cursory effort to trace out a history of the migrations of

the Salyersville Indians into the Magoffin County area. Reviewing only a few pre-1890 census records, he could only surmise that some of their ancestors had settled in East Kentucky as 1810, and that these early Indian and mixed-blood emigrants had come from Virginia, Tennessee and North Carolina. But by noting the similar clusters of surnames appearing in the various censuses, Price informed his readers that that "the records indicate with a reasonable probability a connection between the Magoffin County mixed-bloods and the better known and more numerous Melungeons of Eastern Tennessee [The Greasy Rock Indian population] and Southwest Virginia [The Stone Mountain Indian Population]"[1499]. The geographer recognized that all of "the common surnames of Magoffin" did tie back to Virginia and Tennessee, so he concluded that "the counties containing these people form a chain which is continuous between Hancock Tennessee" into Magoffin, and up into Carmel Ohio[1500]. Frustrated at not confirming any "tribal" ties in these families' genealogies, Price stated "we cannot say what they are", but that "in the Melungeons appearance suggests that the Indian fraction is most important"[1501].

Most, if not all of the Salyersville Indians would remain oblivious to the fact that Price had written all of this about them until long after the fact[1502]. *George* and *Mousie* (*Fletcher*) *Cole*'s large four generation family for instance was perhaps the most prominent living at the Lick during Price's visits. Yet, it would be his grandchildren (many of who were living at that time) and great grandchildren who would first see the geographers' article about them when it was discovered by a family researcher in the 1990s[1503]. But despite it obvious errors and condescending tone, Price's description of the Salyersville Indians was timely. By the end of the 1950s, there were only a handful of Salyersville Indians remaining at Big Lick, and thus it could no longer be construed as a

village. Indeed, not long after Price's visit even most of George Cole's numerous children would go north to the Michigan onion fields to live there on a permanent basis. That family would keep George's Big Lick store going for only a short while longer, but nearly all those Salyersville Indians choosing not to go north with their relations would drift out of The Lick in the next two decades, as did as did *Roy* and *Lizzie (Perkins) Cole, Albert* and *Cassie (Cole) Watkins*, *Simon Cole*, *Tom Cole*, *Lucus Cole*, and *Jessie Gibson's* son *James Austin Cole* who married a *McCarty*[1504]. Roy himself would close the store and, after spending a few years in Mayville with a dozen or more other Salyersville Indian families, would move to Michigan where he died in rural Tekonsha township in 1964[1505]. In the meantime, one of George and Mousie Cole's son's would successfully run for Deputy Sheriff in Magoffin County, and the local citizens would reelect him to that position a number of times[1506]. A least a dozen families of Saponi and Cherokee-Saponi *Collins* retained homes on Middle Creek and Burning Fork, while a number of *Gibsons and Collins* maintained nice farms near the Gifford-Gullett area. *Newt* and *Sally* Cole were among only a handful who would keep residence at the Lick during the 1960s, although some in Michigan kept their Big Lick Land titles (and do to this day). A few, like *Dennis Cole,* would even remain on the Lick into the 1990s[1507]. Indeed, to this day some places on the Big Lick and nearby Cole's Creek remain occupied by descendants of Salyersville Indians. But, during the 1960's, the Big Lick Indian village that was previously a prominent landmark of Magoffin County history was gone.

Back up North

When the geographer Ed Price visited Magoffin County in 1947, by far the largest percentage of the Salyersville Indian population were now living on a full time basis up around the "mucklands" in Ohio and Michigan, not in Carmel or Magoffin County. Up in the Michigan muckfields, however, the Salyersville Indians were still remained unseen or ignored by most outsiders as being "Indians". Instead they and their non-Indian peers from Magoffin continued to contend with different, albeit related type of pressure and prejudice regarding identity. Most Midwesterners simply lumped the people together as more derogatorily "Kentuckes" or "hillbillies". Most Michiganders saw all the "Kentucks" lifestyle as adversely contrasting to their own. It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that both the Indians and the non-Indians from Magoffin now living around the Michigan muckfields continued to battle these prejudices both on and off the onion fields.

The lack of distinction regarding the Salyersville Indians and their non-Indian mountaineer peers was also apparent from media and professional reports regarding Michigan's onion workers. Even prior to the 1950s, the other agricultural industries in Michigan were heavily recruiting seasonal laborers from parts of the south other than the Kentucky mountains, and so many used broad categorizations like "southerners" when speaking of these laborers. When noting differences among them, it was limited to two racial categories separating "southern whites" from "southern blacks". But quite telling as to why the media and government officials failed to distinguish Indian from non-Indian mountaineers from Magoffin was that the same papers and reports compliers

would often classify "Chicanos and Mexicans" as white, especially prior to the 1950s[1508]. However during the 1950s, as more Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking migrant workers made their way north, terms like "Latin American" and/or "Mexican" came into more common usage. That is, they were distinguished from "whites" only as their numbers in the north increased. Still, by 1954 the Governor's Commission on Migratory Labor was reporting that there were only "three types" of migrant workers in the state of Michigan, with 1/3 as being categorized as "southern white", 1/3 as "Negroes" and the final third as "Mexican or Mexican descent"[1509].

In 1951, the *Michigan Farmer* was reporting that, of all the Michigan crops, "onion is one of the few that does not need extra labor in the upcoming season"[1510]. Despite the fact that many had quit the fields, having succeeded in finding other jobs in nearby towns and villages since World War Two, the bulk of that steady workforce continued to be the families of Salyersville Indians and their non-Indian relations and peers from Magoffin County.

Stories abound among today's elders about being on the fields, while those of my mother's generation, born in the 40s and 50s, would be the last children to experience "life in the muck". My mother and her siblings and cousins recall that, when they were children, the youngest would play in the back of trucks or on the edge of the fields as their parents and older siblings worked weeding and topping onion or harvesting potato fields throughout Ingham, Eaton and Calhoun Counties[1511]. Sometimes they would stay in tents, sometimes in housing provided by growers, or with both Indian and non-Indian relatives such as *Kelly* and *Goldie (Patrick) Gullett, Winfred* and *Norma (Gullett) Collins,* or *Ray* and *Mergie* (*Cole*) *Gullett,* all of whom had acquired modest homes around the

old Partello-Duck Lake mucklands. Occasionally they would make trips back to Kentucky during the year to visit kin remaining there.

Roy Cole Jr. remembers working the "fields down by the Potawatami", as well as potatoes and onion fields near Stockbridge with his parents and siblings[1512]. Many of those who were kids at this time, mostly concur with him when he says that he was young enough to "kinda enjoy the experience"[1513]. Even today, when my Mom gets a whiff of a peat bog or muckfields powerful childhood memories are conjured up. Not all share Roy and Mom's opinion, however. *Harold Cole*, who recalls working and playing on the fields near Athens, Burlington and Union City with his siblings *Paul* and *Lois,* states quite bluntly that he hated those "...god forsaken onion fields..."[1514]. Many of today's generation also say they were amongst the last children people in southern Michigan to attend rural "one-room schoolhouses" that served primarily migrant children in the 50s, such as the "Old Messer School" and the "Barnhart School", both in Calhoun County[1515]. Others, like those around Stockbridge, would "go to town" for school. There are some stories of children being the brunt of verbal abuse and social prejudices from local Michiganders based on their families' economic predicament, physical appearance, or their parents thick Kentucky accents, or cultural practices of their people such as their continued use of midwives[1516].

Child Labor was a popular political issue in the 1950's, and in Michigan, state and county officials were making some attempts to invoke various "county aid projects" aimed at "bettering" the situation of the children of the families of all the state's field workers. But the extent to which these projects offered any aid to the workers was often questionable. For example, in the fall of 1951, Ingham County officials were given the

authority to move 30 families described as "white Kentuckians and Mexicans" living in the county seat limits of Mason out to a "rural area" closer to Dansville and the onion and cucumber fields located out that way[1517]. Similar "aid initiatives" were being taken up in Calhoun County, like the "Housing projects" developed around the Partello area fields but, again, they remained conspicuously far in the country and out of sight of the local villages.

But for the Salyersville Indians who continued to rely heavily on onion work during the 1950s, they now had many of their friends and relatives who had gained employment in other occupations or were continuing to acquiring small to modest size property holdings of their own, especially down near Union City, Partello, Duck Lake, and around Stockbridge and Dansville. These landowners "kin" then could and would put up temporary living quarters on the residences of these new landowners, enabling them to save money on rent and pool their economic resources and gather more privately for religious and social occasions. Furthermore, good blue-collar jobs were being gained in factories in Adrian, Marshall and Lansing, while others moved into other fields like teaching, as did *Rosemary Turner Lore*. Military service was voluntary for many during both the Korean and Vietnam Wars, and like Cpl. *Roy E. Cole* of Partello, dozens of men and women from the primary Salyersville Indian families were serve in these conflicts. Thus, while many of the Salyersville Indians and their non-Indian peers from Magoffin continued to work in the fields themselves in the 1950s they now had new local resources to tap into in times of need through their extended kinship network. This trend would continue to the point that, by the early 1960s, few of the Salyersville Indian families would still be working the onion fields.

Still, in the earliest part of the 1950s, many of the Salyersville Indians families continued working on the onion fields, as did many non-Indians from Magoffin County. And despite their nearly twenty years of doing so, they were still looked upon as troublesome "hillbillies" by the local Michiganders. In 1952, state authorities briefly focused particular attention on remedying the social and child welfare "problems" they saw associated with the onion workers who were still reported as being "mostly from Kentucky"[1518]. Speakers at the Michigan Welfare Conference held that year pointed out that all the worker's from Kentucky's Appalachia "come in family groups" as they always had. But they surmised, with a judgmental tone, that their seasonal movements from state to state, as well as their movements from farm to farm in the state, "prevents a normal family life". The Director of the Michigan Employment Service Division was however more astute. He pointed out that "many spend more time in Michigan than any other state but are not considered part of the community"[1519].

The pressures from outside authorities to clean up the image of the state's use of migratory agricultural labor were prompting some of the onion growers to pay more attention to welfare of the workers they hired every year. For instance, in 1952 a child-care center was set up on the prominent Baldwin farm near Stockbridge under the direction of two out of state and under funded missionaries. Besides teaching "arts and crafts" to the children, the missionaries also held "bible studies" for the kids on a regular basis. Despite these token efforts, Baldwin and most of the other big onion growers still held a less than respectful opinion of their workers, who they continued to speak of in a paternalistic tone. Professor Thaden of the MSU sociology department was reminding colleagues that year that "...you will recall Veril Baldwin's contention that the migrants

are poor managers and that they waste their earnings or spend them unwisely"[1520]. Baldwin could not see yet that many were indeed saving well and they were subtlety disengaging themselves from the industry altogether.

Indeed, any external talk concerning the betterment of the conditions faced by the onion workers seldom translated into action. Even if a day care existed, or if movies were being held on the farms, such actions did little to stop the harassment of their kids in school or, for that matter, even of the adults on the streets when they came into town for shopping or "entertainment". In the Stockbridge area, the consequences of this neglect would become apparent in the spring of 1952. The ever-lurking tensions existing between some of the workers at the Stockbridge area farms and some of the locals snapped. On May 24, a headline in the *Lansing State Journal* read "Law by Sawed-Off Shotgun: Deputies Stand Guard in Tiny Stockbridge"[1521]. The deputies had been employed as a consequence of what the reporter called a "flare-up" that occurred in the town the previous Saturday. As it was during most pay-day weekends during the onion season, the town was a bustling with activity as workers sought to get a break from the swampy mucklands and do a little socializing, find some entertainment, and otherwise try to "shake the muck off" for a few hours. But the atmosphere changed when county and state police were called in to arrest an onion worker "for causing a disturbance" in one of the town's cafes. Exactly what the "disturbance" entailed remains elusive, but the newspaper claimed that five other onion workers immediately jumped in to intervene in the arrest as "100 sullen migratory workers watched deputies' battle". The authorities would lose their prisoner in the ruckus and this, of course, more than irked the police. Thus "additional deputies poured into the town with sawed-off shotguns" to break up

what the paper exaggerated to be "a near-riot"[1522].

Almost a week after the initial confrontation, the *Lansing State Journal* claimed that "now violence or near violence once more lurks near the surface in the tension-ridden community"[1523]. The *State Journal* reporter remarked that "this sort of violence is not new to Stockbridge, nor is the situation unique", he also noted that such incidences are "peculiar to any community employing large numbers of migratory workers". The *Journal* pointed out that, being stuck out in the muck all week, the workers would naturally seek out entertainment in town on the weekend. Apparently most locals did not mind it when the workers were out in the fields far from the towns and thus out of sight, but many Stockbridge folk resented the fact that "on Saturday nights the village square is a jam-packed, brawling mass of humanity, spoiling for excitement"[1524]. Sheriff Barnes told the reporters that more "force" was called for, and the episode gave Barnes the excuse he needed to deputize extra men who were promptly equipped with "trouble-stoppers" (shotguns). Their job was to spend the upcoming Friday and Saturday nights on "night patrol" in the "riot threatened Stockbridge area"[1525]. The *Journal* bluntly reported to it's readers that the "peace officers were ready to break a few heads, if necessary, to preserve order. And the residents of the village, peaceful folks themselves, ordinarily, have given their blessing"[1526].

Stereotypes of violence and "backwardness" still constantly bombarded all the Stockbridge area workers with ties to eastern Kentucky. A prime example was illustrated in the same *Lansing State Journal* article. The reporter described how the mucklands around Stockbridge:

"pull in more than 350 transients each summer, many of whom hail from Magoffin County, Kentucky, an area not known for its serenity. The workers with their fierce pride, hair-trigger tempers and handy knuckles are away from home, and in this new country have on occasion shown an indifferent regard for the law"[1527].

Despite all these years, despite all the efforts, the Kentucky workers were still looked down upon as outsiders by those they had lived and worked among for nearly two decades now. They were still being called "transients" in a "new country", although an entire generation was now rising that knew only Michigan as their first home. The *State Journal* also stated that when the workers "first came to Stockbridge in 1935 & 36 to work in the onion swamps", that "For two years there was a continual round of head bashing, bloodletting and general Pier 6 brawling. Then a peace of sorts -- more of an armed truce -- descended upon the onion fields marred only by intermittent minor knifings and scuffling among the workers themselves"[1528]. That the impoverished social and material conditions the workers faced for almost two decades never really changed in the interim probably largely contributed to this new round of tensions was not mentioned. As for the outcome of this event, perhaps to the disappointment of Sheriff Barnes and his eager deputies, no riot ever erupted for which they would need to use their "trouble stoppers".

The Salyersville Indians as well as the non-Indians from Magoffin county living and working around Stockbridge, Partello, Athens and elsewhere were fed up with such treatment and, by the end of the decade, few would continue relying on the onion

industry to support their families here in southern Michigan. Through their own internally generated efforts and initiatives, a half-century tradition of spending the summers on the onion fields would come to an end. In the next few years, the growers could no longer be able to rely on the appearance of the long experienced workforce of old Magoffin county families[1529]. A few families would continue working the muck into the 1960's, but usually only to supplement the income of other family members with more stable jobs in other industries[1530]. Yet, even as the Salyersville Indians ended their long history with the Midwest onion industry, they nonetheless remained part of the local and regional landscapes of the "mucklands". And did their notion of their Indian identity, as well as their sense of kinship and community between them and their non-Indian mountaineer peers who remained in the north with them. By buying housing and even substantial farms in and around the old onion fields and the towns near them, they established a notable demographic pattern that remains distinguishable to this day.

Post Onion Work Settlement and Sentiments of the Salyersville Indians and Their Relations

As was now the case back in the mountains of Magoffin and Floyd Counties in Kentucky, by 1960 the Salyersville Indians living in Michigan and Ohio could not point to a specific "village" or any single location that solely held their people. Instead, their families were now scattered or clustered in a handful of particular areas. But since most families now had the means to access improved home to home communication through telephones, and with more stable jobs, and reliable automobiles, the intimate associations

between the localized concentrations of Salyersville Indian continued, and even strengthened since the early days when families were isolated on various onion fields with no telephones or easy means of transportation of their own to reach kin on fields only a few miles away, let alone in another county or state. The long established habit of continuing visitation to kin in Kentucky; Ohio, Michigan, and Oklahoma would actually increase in the 1960s. Some would even return to the mountains permanently.

As for the people's treatment as Indians in areas outside the mountains, some today say that back in those days (and occasionally even now), some Midwesterners looked at dark skin and long hair, or their parent's and/or grandparent's "Kentucky" accents with contempt. Consequently, some have been subjected to verbal abuses as "redskins", and "hillbilly Indians". Verbal slander and confrontations stemming from both "Injun" and the "Hillbilly" comments sometimes resulted in fistfights. Public school seems to have been the arena where this was most problematic for Salyersville Indians. This may explain why that, in the North, they preferred to remain in association other 'Salyersville Indians or with non-Indian mountaineer families who had historical ties with the Kentucky mountains. This is clearly reflected in the people's ongoing residence and marriage patterns. But these abuses slowly waned in the 1960s, although never fully disappearing. Adults were generally less subject to such abuses when off the onion fields and part of a more mainstream workforce.

By the end of the 1960s, the demographic of the Salyersville Indians looked much as it did during the past few decades, only with less residential fluidity among the four generalized locations that can be pointed to in southern Michigan as holding concentrations of their families. The two most notable would be the northeast Calhoun

county area around Partello, Springport and Duck Lake, and the southwestern part of the county around Union City and Athens, with families extending down to Coldwater in Branch County. Also notable at this time as being home to many Salyersville Indian is the Stockbridge-Danville-Mason area of Ingham County, and down to Jackson and Hillsdale counties. Back in Ohio, the long established band of Salyersville Indians living near Carmel, Ohio retained their presence in Highland County. Furthermore the old Scioto Marsh area in Hardin County and the old field areas near Plymouth-Shelby-Willard remained localized regions embracing notable populations of Salyersville Indians and their descendants, as did Magoffin and the surrounding counties back in Kentucky. The Oklahoma contingent of families rounded out the Salyersville Indian population's geographic "bands" at this time. The following brief summary will tough up the size and strength of these interrelated contingents of Salyersville Indians.

The Stockbridge/Dansville/Mason contingent of Salyersville Indians in Michigan comprised perhaps two to three dozen Salyersville Indian families in 1960s, mostly associated with the *Cole* and *Collins* families. For employment reasons, many were moving into other nearby towns like Mason, Jackson or Lansing by the late 1960s and early 70s. To help bring the people together on regular occasions, the Fitzburg Pentecostal church near Bunkerhill was established an the old one-room building in that tiny town. Expanded in the early 1970s, the church continues to serve Salyersville Indians and members of the old non-Indian Magoffin County families even today.

One of the largest contingents of Salyersville Indians during the 50s and 60s was comprised of those families living in the Springport, Partello, Duck Lake area in northeastern Calhoun County, Michigan. Elders living in the area today recall that, in the

50s, "everybody lived in Partello"[1531]. But as the fifties progressed, the declining yields of the fields there in combination with the ability of many people to find better paying and more stable work in other enterprises, or to head to nearby cities like Lansing or Battle Creek. A number of them had now purchased homes and farms in the area and their presence stabilized to about 4-5 dozen families, including those of *Adam* and *Ollie* (*Cole*) *Barnett*, *Ray* and *Mergie* (*Cole*) *Gullett*, *Alex* and *Goldie* (*Cole*) *Gullett.* These small farms were popular weekend gathering places for friends and relatives from other parts of the state, or Ohio and Kentucky. Other Salyersville Indians and the descendants in the area included *Winfred* and *Norma* (*Gullett*) *Collins*, *Emzy* and *Alice Collins*, *Richard* and *Etta* (*Stone*) *Collins*, *Sherman* and *Vergie* (*Cole*) *Watson*, and *Leonard* and *Minnie* (*Wireman*) *Cole*. Many *Perkins, Watson, Nickles, Gibson* and *Watkins* families associated with the Salyersville Indians also now called this area home.

Equally as large as the Partello contingent, the population of Salyersville Indians living in southwest Calhoun County and northern Branch County comprised some 4-5 dozen families in the late 60s. Although many remained living in the rural part of the county, local towns like Coldwater, Union City, Athens, Tekonsha and Burlington came to be associated with their residences. Salyersville Indian families here at that time include those of *Roy* and *Lizzie* (*Perkins*) *Cole*, *Wick Kendall* "*Son*" *Cole*, *Taylor Cole*, and others. *James Cole* consolidated much of his grandfather, George Cole's, sizeable land holdings and store interests from the Big Lick in Kentucky and upon arriving in Michigan would manage to purchase a rather large farm in the area from these resources. James worked over a thousand acres in sod and corn on his farm near Union City. His nephew, *Derek Cole*, remembers spending much time working and playing with his

siblings and cousins and a multitude of other relatives associated with that successful Salyersville Indian farmer[1532]. And so successful was he that, with the aid of other relatives, he was to make this one of the largest and most successful largest "non-corporate" farms in the area in the 1970s. *Jesse James* and *Cindy* (*Collins*) *Cole* were one of a number of couples who lived closer to Marshall, the county seat, as did *Robert* and *Virginia* (*Cole*) *Collins*, , *Lucy* and *Dayton Cole* and a few others. Besides numerous *Cole* and *Collins* families, other Salyersville Indians and their relations with the familiar names of *Fletcher, Nickles, Perkins, Gibson* and even some *Bowlings* could now be found in Calhoun County.

The Jackson-Hillsdale County contingent of Salyersville Indians in Michigan was numerically dominated by the *Cole, Marshall, Sexton* and *Nickles* families in the 1960s, which comprised the three dozen families that now lived there permanently. *Malcolm, Rollie* and *Ollie Cole* were among the men here that found good factory jobs in Adrian during the 50s and sixties[1533]. A number of old elders who were born back at the Big Lick Indian village would pass the end of their lives in this part of southern Michigan county, including *Emily* (*Barnett*) *Cole*, who died here in 1966, and her husband *Berdine*, who died here in 1976.

The Hardin County, Ohio contingent of Salyersville Indians remained present around the old Scioto Marsh during the late 50s and 1960s. About three dozen families, including the descendants of *Ed* and *Jim Cole*, as well as some of the *McCarty*'s and *Gibson*s remained, although many young couples were moving off to nearby towns like Findley, Kenton, Lima and Dayton for work. *Amelda* (*Cole*) *Stanley* and *Arminta* (*Cole*) *Tate-Magness* retained their "nice home places" near Alger, and elders like *Merkie Cole*

remained to tell stories of the old days back at the Big Lick Indian Village. The sister Ohio population of Salyersville Indians and their relations centered on the old Willard-Plymouth-Shelby muckfields had also remained steady since the 1940s, although many of the young couples were also moving off to nearby towns for work, such as Columbus, Dayton and Mansfield. Elder *Charley Cole*, born in the previous century at the Big Lick Indian village, was among the elders who were blessed to live long enough to see their families break from the grip of onion work and prosper in this part of Ohio. *Ernest* and *Fleeda* (*Collins*) *Cole*, *Bobby Gene* and *Roberta* (*Bailey*) *Cole* were also among the numerous interrelated Cherokee *Coles* and Saponi *Collins* families as well as descendants of *Goldenhawk Sizemore* that called this region home.

By the 1960s, the children of these Salyersville Indians had more fully integrated into the local schools and towns as parents gained more permanent jobs and secure residences. As a consequence, the overt segregation and shunning of the Kentucky mountaineers, be they white or Indian was curtailed as the families freed themselves from the infamous onion fields. Despite all this change, the Salyersville Indians did not simply melt away into the Midwestern landscape. Instead they deliberately worked to strengthen their close kinship associations and obligations towards friends and relatives, both Indian and non-Indian. In the process, their pride in and knowledge of their Indian and mountaineer identities would not fade, but strengthen as their families strategically accommodated to the rural Midwestern social environment in which most now lived.

By the end of the 1960s, the different contingents of Salyersville Indians still continued to maintain intense relations with "kin" living at these various points in Michigan and Ohio, and back in the Kentucky mountains. But they no longer did so the

for overt economic reasons prevalent in previous decades. No longer dependant on the onion season, or solely dependant on natural resources, steady solid wage labor or farm ownership made available the resources to maintain relations and keep in close contact with the other scattered contingents of Salyersville Indian relations. They now did so more for social and "family business" occasions as formal as funerals, to help ailing or aging relatives, or attend camp meeting revivals, or less formal reasons such as to visit friends and family. An often cited reason is to show the new generation the lands and lives embedded in familiar and historic faces and places, "lest we forget", and thus ensure that "The Circle" of families remains unbroken.

Chapter 15

The Salyersville Indians and Their Relations Today

Showing the relations of *Louisa* (*Cole*) *Marshall* as they existed at her death in 1963 provides a singular illustration of the size and breadth of this Salyersville Indian kin network at this time from an individual relational vantage, showing how far reaching through time and space these family relations can potentially extend for any given Salyersville Indian[1534]. Born and raised at the Big Lick Indian village in Kentucky, this daughter of Rev. *John Wesley Cole* and *Rebecca Nickles* was one of many Salyersville Indians who made their way to the Michigan onion fields in the 1940s. There she stayed until she died in Hillcrest, Michigan in 1963 at the age of 71. It is interesting to note the residences of her many still living siblings and offspring at that time. Her sister, *Izene Watkins* was living back in Kentucky, as was her brother *Garrett Cole*. Another brother, *Berdine*, lived in Pittsfield, Michigan, while another, *Wiley* resided in Litchfield, Michigan. Louisa had ten children living at her death and their residences were similarly spread to most of the primary locations of Salyersville Indian families. Her sons *Ernie* and *Bernie Fletcher* resided in Kentucky, as did her daughter *Mrs. Varnie Fletcher*. In Calhoun County, Michigan, lived her two daughters, *Mrs. Allie Watkins* and *Mrs. Mary Marshall*. Two other daughters, *Mrs. Marjorie Maull* and *Mrs. Marie Marshall* resided in the Jackson- Stockbridge, Michigan area. Only her son *Ervin Fletcher* and another daughter *Ellen Maynard* had decided to break the pattern and had moved to Buffalo, New York. Notably, most of Louisa children would marry other Salyersville Indians. At the time of her death in 1963, Louisa had 90 grandchildren, 75 great grandchildren, and 49

great great grandchildren. Most of Louisa's siblings, as well as first, second, third fourth and fifth cousins of her generation, would have comparably sized families, as had most of her aunts and uncles from the first to the fourth degree[1535]. The interconnections maintain between the Salyersville Indian families and bands thus continued to strengthen the population as a whole, and not factionalize or isolate it.

With the end of the onion era, and the successful integration of Salyersville Indians into the 'mainstream' labor market, there indeed existed the potential for the families to drift apart and the Salyersville Indians to fade into American society. But previous Chapters have shown that the Salyersville Indians have faced and have always overcome similar *potential* threats to their cohesiveness through deliberate strategic accommodations to changing times and situations. In the modern era, these challenges have been met with good success. These new strategic accommodations involve, in part, the organization of more than a dozen annual family gatherings of the principle Salyersville Indian families such as those described in this study's Introduction. Another strategy has been the establishing and ongoing participation in specific local churches which bring the families together as frequently as on a bi-weekly basis. Keeping the families together through these means and others serves to deliberately redeem the Indian identity. At least that is how one Salyersville Indian put it to me as we mulled over these issues on one hot summer day[1536]. Salyersville Indians realize that many outsiders nonetheless contest their identity as "real" Indians. But it should not, and consequently does not matter so much internally so long as it is reaffirmed by all that really matter, indeed all that has ever mattered, one's kin.

Showing the relations of *Louisa* (*Cole*) *Marshall* as they existed at her death in

1963 provides a singular illustration of the size and breadth of this Salyersville Indian kin network at this time from different relational vantages, showing how far reaching through time and space these family relations can potentially extend for any given Salyersville Indian[1537]. Born and raised at the Big Lick Indian village in Kentucky, this daughter of Rev. *John Wesley Cole* and *Rebecca Nickles* was one of many Salyersville Indians who made their way to the Michigan onion fields in the 1940s. There she stayed until she died in Hillcrest, Michigan in 1963 at the age of 71. It is interesting to note the residences of her many still living siblings and offspring at that time. Her sister, *Izene Watkins* was living back in Kentucky, as was her brother *Garrett Cole*. Another brother, *Berdine*, lived in Pittsfield, Michigan, while another, *Wiley* resided in Litchfield, Michigan. Louisa had ten children living at her death and their residences were similarly spread to most of the primary locations of Salyersville Indian families. Her sons *Ernie* and *Bernie Fletcher* resided in Kentucky, as did her daughter *Mrs. Varnie Fletcher*. In Calhoun County, Michigan, lived her two daughters, *Mrs. Allie Watkins* and *Mrs. Mary Marshall.* Two other daughters, *Mrs. Marjorie Maull* and *Mrs. Marie Marshall* resided in the Jackson-Stockbridge, Michigan area. Only her son *Ervin Fletcher* and another daughter *Ellen Maynard* had decided to break the pattern and had moved to Buffalo, New York. Notably, most of Louisa children would marry other Salyersville Indians. At the time of her death in 1963, Louisa had 90 grandchildren, 75 great grandchildren, and 49 great great grandchildren. Most of Louisa's siblings, as well as first, second, third fourth and fifth cousins of her generation, would have comparably sized families, as had most of her aunts and uncles from the first to the fourth degree[1538]. The interconnections maintained between the Salyersville Indian families and bands thus continued to strengthen the

population as a whole, and not factionalize or isolate it. Maintaining these connections beyond just 'blood' recognition is the challenge facing today's generations.

This project is equally the result of the work and inspirations of many Salyersville Indians and their relations. Broadly speaking, I have only continued in the footsteps of elders who have guided the present generations and therefore myself to this path. When my generation entered the world after the "onion era" ended in the 1960s, the Salyersville Indian families were mostly scattered through a few counties in southern Michigan and Ohio. There were also a significant number who remained back in east Kentucky. The Oklahoma contingent of Salyersville Indians, by the 1970s, were also reestablishing ties with their eastern relations. The elders of the time, ever concerned with "keeping the families together" despite the geographic separation, deliberately devised tactics to do so. But they faced new problems and challenges. By the late 1960s, it was no longer necessary to return to Magoffin County every year for material support from relatives and, in the north, families no longer interacted with each other as they did when they traveled from field to field as they did throughout the 30s, 40s and 50s.

As Others, They See Us

In the 1960s and 70s, the Salyersville Indians continued to stay one step ahead of academic awareness of and interest in the group. Geographer Edward Price's short article regarding them published in 1950 unfortunately did not spur further academic interest in the group. And the Salyersville Indians still mostly stayed beneath the radar of the Federal Government. A brief 1963 report distributed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and

published by the Department of the Interior entitled "Indians: Surviving Indian Groups in the Eastern and Southern States" shows that the agency's knowledge of this Indian population was limited at best. The report noted that "there are few Indians of identifiable groups living in Kentucky", but failed to mention where the "391 Indians" they identified in that state lived[1539]. The closest the report came to mentioning any of the Salyersville Indians is in its statement that "there are a few Indians in rural Hardin County, Ohio". But in failing to specifically identify them as Salyersville Indians who came there a half-century prior to work onions, the report erroneously suggested that these Indians in Hardin County "may represent a survival from earlier times in the Scioto Marshes"[1540]. Similarly, the report made a brief mention of the Salyersville Indians still living " at Carmel, where there is a small group of mixed-blood Indians, origin dating back to 1858"[1541]. But again the report failed to mention that these Indians had come there from the Salyersville area in east Kentucky. The report made no mention whatsoever of the Salyersville Indians living in Michigan, unless they were anonymously included in their total population count of Indians for that state[1542].

Since Price's 1950s article regarding his visits to Carmel and the Big Lick communities, the only other brief mentions of the Salyersville Indians outside of local circles were a few remarks made about them buried deep within the literature being published about the so-called "Tennessee Melungeons", (the Greasy Rock Indian Population) during this time. Most outsiders who contributed literature to this "Melungeon" dialogue remained concerned with "exotic origin" theories about them being Indians who had married Phoenicians, Lost Colonists, Portuguese Pirates and the like[1543]. Most of these works would merely note that the so-called "Tennessee

Melungeons" had relations living at Stone Mountain in Virginia, and certain counties in east Kentucky, but failed to elaborate any further on those latter relations past a sentence or two. As for the Salyersville Indians, such literature would often use the label "Magoffin County Indians" after Gilbert's 1948 Report, or adapted that label to call them the "Magoffin County Melungeons".

The longest reference regarding the Salyersville Indians mentioned in any of the literature of the Melungeon dialogue since Price's 1950 articles occurs in Bible's 1972 Book entitled <u>The Melungeons Today and Yesterday.</u> There, Bible focuses primarily on the people of the Greasy Rock Indian population, and she chooses to highlight the exotic origin theories described above in Chapter 16, suggesting that the Greasy Rock Indians were most likely the legacy of Phoenicians, the "Lost Tribe of Israel", the Lost Colonists of Roanoke, Portuguese and Spanish soldiers and sailors, Moors, and so on. Like all the writers of the Melungeon dialogue, Bible subtly implies that these speculative ancestors must have "taken up with Indian women" in order to form the present population of "Melungeons"[1544]. Buried within these speculations are brief descriptions of the relations of the Greasy Rock Indians that lived in east Kentucky, Stone Mountains, and a few other points.

Bible writes only two pages about those she calls the "Magoffin County Melungeons". Most of her summary description was a direct reiteration of Price's 1950 article (see Chapter 22). Not willing or able to seek out the people themselves to discuss their identity and history, or conduct further archival research on her own, Bible added to Price's descriptions only a few brief comments that she had received from an anonymous "friend". This informant lived in Gifford, just west of Salyersville in Magoffin County,

Kentucky, and apparently had resided in the area her entire life. The informant's answers to Bible's queries regarding the "Melungeons" in Magoffin County, and Bible's choice to quote them (and perhaps what she did not quote), provide a glimpse of some non-Indian's perspectives regarding this population of self-asserting Indians. The informant stated that "the most prominent family name is *Gipson*. The Gipsons in turn marry other Gipsons (first cousin marriages are very common) and then there are the *Cole*s, *Mullinses*, *Fletchers* and *Nicholses*. All of them are usually referred to as 'Gipsons' rather than Melungeons. They are still a very dark and handsome people. They are clannish through necessity but warm up to anyone who will treat them fairly and without prejudice...some of them are very skillful in carpentry and bricklaying"[1545].

That I have only found one first cousin marriage in this century of Salyersville Indian marriages goes to show that rumor and myth is often preferred over fact in dialogues about "Melungeons" such as Bible's. That many white families with no Indian blood whatsoever also carried these surnames and lived in the county, especially the Fletchers, Nickles and Mullins, Bible suspiciously failed to mention. Even so, this "friend" did accurately state that "All of the old timers here are of the opinion that the first Gipsons came to Magoffin County from Virginia in the early 1800s. My Dad (who is 82) says he remembers his Grandfather saying that is where they came from. There are about 200 in the county today, I would guess"[1546]. But beyond suggesting a genealogical connection between the Salyersville Indians and the "Tennessee Melungeons", Bible did not care to elaborate on the Magoffin County populations' history or current condition. And as with Price, Bible ignored or otherwise did not care to follow up on her informant's comment that "...Many have moved away and intermarried. They go to

Michigan and Ohio mostly"[1547].

Why Bible did not go visit the "Magoffin County Melungeons" herself, only she can say. But it has been suggested that perhaps her "friend's" remarks about treating them "fairly and without prejudice" scared her off. But Bible is not alone in being subject to this criticism. Indeed, throughout the century, similar newspaper reporters and regional color writers have made brief comments about the Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain and Salyersville Indians as they continue musing about the myths surrounding the "exotic" origins of the so-called "Melungeons". Few have taken the time to get to know the people, or make serious attempts to pursue in-depth historical or genealogical or anthropological investigations of the history and present condition of the people. Unfortunately, Price's article stands as the sole academic piece that can provide a snapshot, albeit skewed, of the old Indian communities at the Big Lick.

Despite the assertions of Bible and similar writers who chose to identify the Salyersville Indians as "Melungeons", the long-standing local recognition of the Salyersville Indians as Indians, and not "Melungeon" has remained throughout this century. For instance, when old *Tom Cole* died in 1970 at the amazing age 105, the local newspaper *The Floyd County Times* printed an obituary (written by the editor, not a relative) that simply and straightforwardly stated that he was "A Cherokee Indian"[1548]. Indeed, because of his great age and habit of wandering far and wide through Magoffin, Breathitt and Floyd Counties, Tom was well known among the non-Indians of the area. But despite his being 1/4 white, the paper notably did not call him "Melungeon", "Mixed-blood" or anything other than "Indian".

But while Indians remain a part of the Magoffin county landscape, there is no

longer any "village" that can be identified as an "Indian Village". Today the Big Lick road is paved. Familiar land marks like the old "Cole's Schoolhouse", George and Roy Cole's General Store, and familiar old homes like that of Farish's, the dirt path and swaying footbridge are gone, or are fallen and rotting. A few non-Indian homes are now scattered along the hollows lower reaches. But as of the year 2000, Salyersville Indian presence is not completely erased from here. Besides the living memories and oral histories carried with today's generation regarding the place, at least one Salyersville Indians maintained a residence on the Lick. Some that live in Michigan still own and pay taxes on small tracts of land there held by their families since the Civil War[1549].

Other Salyersville Indians and their descendants can be found throughout Magoffin and the surrounding counties. But while there are hundreds of people in the region who are descendants of Salyersville Indians, not all of them still subscribe to an "Indian" identity. Many consider themselves, and are considered by others, as "white", although such persons usually are proud to proclaim their Indian heritage, despite their degree of "blood-quantum". Many however still do assert themselves as Indian, both publicly and privately. And the issue is not based on "blood-quantum", for one can find people of "half-blood" or more who emphasize their white identity, while you can find people of a 1/4 blood or less who vigorously assert an Indian identity. But this is usually the case with any Indian population that has had considerable intermarriages with non-Indians. As is the case with Indian populations throughout North America, Salyersville "Indian" identity is grounded in dynamics that involve much more than just genealogical descent.

The late 60s and early 70s was the Civil Rights era, and cursory national attention

was being paid to the issues and concerns of the people of Appalachia as well as Indian county. But without official "recognition" as Indians by the Federal or any state Government, the Salyersville Indians' "Indian identity" remained ignored, and sometimes even contested by outsiders. Furthermore, the treatment of the Salyersville Indian by non-Indians on the local level has been markedly different in the Midwest than in the mountains of east Kentucky. Most of the same white mountaineer families who had been living in geographic conjunction with the Salyersville Indians for over two centuries still populated the mountains, and local histories kept alive local recognition of who "the Indian families" of the region were. Indeed, this dissertation shows that citizen Indians have been a part of Magoffin county society as long as it had been a county. By the late 20th century, many non-Indians could at least point to some affinial ties with the Salyersville Indians among their own relations.

But this long standing local recognition of the "Indians" in the mountains did not exist in the Midwest. There, Salyersville Indians were often simply perceived as "red skinned hillbillies" by locals[1550]. Furthermore, all American Indians, regardless of their tribal affiliation, were perceived as a threat by many Michiganders during the 60s and 70s. Some Salyersville Indians even recall being closely watched by local game wardens and harassed by "sporties" in the 70s as they were being confused with the Ottawa and Chippewa of Michigan who, at that time, were vigorously pursing the treaty rights to hunt and fish in that state. Ignorance prevented many locals from distinguishing between Michigan Indians who were vigorously and publicly pursuing legitimate treaty rights they held in the state, and Indians who came from out of state with no treaty rights whatsoever. Even though the Salyersville Indians were pursuing no Indian claims

whatsoever in any state, some of the Salyersville Indians recall occasionally suffering abuse from being perceived as Indians wanting to "take it all back" during the 1969s and 70s, a time when Indians throughout the United States were asserting their rights in a very public manner. But to many non-Indians, such distinctions were meaningless and misunderstood and this unfortunately is a problem that continues today.

Derek Cole, a Salyersville Indian who attended school in Calhoun and Branch Counties in the 70s and early 80s, recalls that skin color alone often triggered contempt in non-Indians when they dealt with the "more-full blood looking" Salyersville Indians. Being lighter skinned than his siblings, Derek remembers how family members would off-handedly joke how he was "the Great White Hope". He recalls defending his brother in fist fights over racial taunts, and often people would be openly shocked to discover Derek and his copper-skin brother were indeed siblings. Derek also recalls that when around other Michigan Indians, or when around Mexicans and Chicanos, his brother would have to defend *him* from verbal abuse and occasional fights[1551]. In the 1970's and early 1980s, some of the children of Salyersville Indians as well as some of their non-Indian relations, residing outside the tiny village of Dansville (near Stockbridge), recall being continued to be harassed in school as being "carrot-toppers", even though their parents had not worked agricultural labor for a decade or even more[1552]. But the solidarity of kinship continues to override the stings of racism and classism, and such contests only served to solidify the Salyersville Indians as a distinct population whose shared experiences served to help hold them together.

Involvement in Pan-Indian activities and activism did not really begin among any of the Salyersville Indians until the 1980s. On the most basic level, such activities

involved attending powwows held by the local Anishanabe in Michigan, or those held by the many tribes in Oklahoma. But the Salyersville Indians would do so as spectators, not as drummers, dancers or vendors. Some intermarriages between local Potawatomi and Miami by the Salyersville Indians in Michigan, and Creeks and Western Cherokee in Oklahoma had occurred, but the Salyersville Indians still have not adopted any of the traits of the their Michigan and Oklahoma Indian neighbors like the dance or drum of the Pow Wow. Oral history however recalls that the Salyersville Indians were quite vocally supportive of the Ottawa and Chippewa of the northern part of the state as the latter tribes came into conflict with non-Indians during the early 70s when those tribes attempted maintain their fishing rights as guaranteed them in a 1836 Treaty.

Most pan-Indian relationship, activism and support seems to have been initiated by a few Salyersville Indians while attending college, an arena where pan-Indian issues and concerns were more accessible, often for the first time for the Salyersville Indians. Outside of college student groups and activities, a few have even entered into dealing with pan-Indian issues on professional levels. For instance, *Derek Cole* has worked for groups like the Minnetrista Council of Great Lakes American Indians in the late 1980s, and later for Great Lakes Tribes like the Ho-Chucks on various issues and concerns. However, most Salyersville Indians prefer to stay aloof from inter-tribal political issues.

Such pan-Indian activity by Salyersville Indians has been as individuals, and not at the group level. But that does not mean that there has been no group level organization occurring among the Salyersville Indians. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, there occurred a sort of social and spiritual reorganization of the Salyersville Indian population. With their people no longer centered on one or two primary "villages" like the old east

Kentucky communities that previously existed on the Big Lick and Jennies Creek, a new form of "community" organization was implemented as the Salyersville Indians strategically accommodated to the situation. The most obvious of these forums by which this would take place are the "family reunions" and "the church".

The family reunions took root in the late 1960s and early 70s, and by the end of the 90s there would be a number of these gatherings held annually that sometimes drew together hundreds of Salyersville Indians and people of Salyersville Indian descent. As of the year 2000, one of these gatherings is held in the Plymouth-Willard-Shelby area of Ohio, while three are held in various Michigan locations, each some 30-50 miles apart. Most are held in mid to late summer, and are often held within a few days of one another. In east Kentucky, there are three more held ever year[1553]. In title, most are based on the most prominent family in the local area, such as "the Garrett Coles", "the Elbert Coles". Others more simply bring together a number of families under one title, such "The Cole/Watson/Collins" reunion now held near Marshall, Michigan every year.

The basis for the organization of these reunions is interesting, for the "family" that unites them is far more than the "lineal descendants" of a progenitors as are so many non-Indian "family reunions". For one, despite their titles, the Salyersville Indian family reunions are deliberately organized to unite their families as much by region as by genealogy. Instead of choosing to base the reunions on blood progenitors only, organization of the family gatherings in the north, for instance, are based on the families' present geography as it correlates to their own or their ancestors' out-migration from the old primary Indian villages of Big Lick or Jennies Creek. That is, they are usually based on descendants of the primary couples that originally settled the different muckland areas

where they worked onions earlier in the century, like *Garret Cole*, *Elbert Cole*, *Charley Cole* and *Purmela (Fletcher)*, *Ben Collins*, and dozens of others. As most these people and their siblings had immensely large families, and came north with many others who also did and thus were closely related to other families working and settling with them, these historical characters stand as representative figures for a number of kinship relations and means of recognition that are the true foundation of all these family gatherings.

Upon attending any of these reunions, one for instance quickly finds that it is not just blood descendants of the title individual or couple who attend and are invited as "family" or "kin". For instance, one can find people who are only descendants of the title person(s) siblings, aunts and uncles, and even cousins up to six-times removed. Quite often the reason cited by such people for attending is expressed in statements like "the one I should attend is held at *xxxx*, and it was easier to go to this closer one this year due to finances and all"[1554]. The reunions are usually purposefully coordinated so that they will not overlap with others held in their parts of the state, or in other states, in part, so the more ambitious can attempt to attend four or more a year if they so desired, and some do.

The manner of attendance at reunions demonstrates that the Salyersville Indians also continue to emphasize bi-lateral descent reckoning. This typically inclusive rather than exclusive method of descendent reckoning means that, at any of these reunions, a Salyersville Indian or person of Salyersville Indian descent can find consanguine ties that "legitimately" connect them to most of the other primary families around which the reunions are organized. So many people attend more than one reunion a year, or

occasionally attend different ones in different years just to "catch up" on what has been happening with those relations who live too far way for "everyday" interaction to occur. Spouses from Salyersville Indian families other than those of their husbands or wives also allow for families to cross-cut the formal titles of the reunions and helps to keep the scattered parts of their families different "bands" together. "Kin", in this case, goes far beyond lineal descent from genealogical progenitors.

Some of these annual reunions are quite large. The two-day "Nickles-Cole" held in Hillsdale County, Michigan, has drawn up to 300. Others, like the "Farish Cole Reunion" held in southeast Calhoun County, Michigan, brings together only three to four dozen people. For those who don't live within the immediate area of the reunion, the travelers will usually stay with friends and family in the area. With much planning and organizational effort, the control or organization is held by usually just a few who will reserve a large park or public building big enough for the occasion and then begin "calling in the kin" via mail and phone solicitation. Besides the organizers, who arrive early to set thing up, the bulk of attendees will arrive in late morning to "sign in" in the larger gatherings, then go about setting up their food, and catching up on news and gossip with those around them. Food, prayers and music are three features that stand out during these gatherings. Around noon, people gather for prayers, and then hear announcements before hitting the communal food table adorned by an assortment of meats, breads, vegetables, and the kid's favorites, sweets.

At the "Garrett Cole Reunion" held in southern Michigan, one of the largest and most elaborately coordinated of the various annual reunions held by the Salyersville Indians, "business meetings" are also included. And the moment at this gathering is

particularly dramatic, when all 250 in attendance gather hands to sing "Will The Circle Be Unbroken" and, while holding tight to that circle, give prayers giving thanks for such a large gathering coming together again for yet another year. Later in the afternoon, after everyone eats, small groups of people begin to break off into "music circles". Banjos, guitars (both electric and acoustic) accompany a long line of singers who come forward one by one, or in pairs or more, to sing gospels and "mountain traditionals", or, in one case in 1999, a song that came to an elder in a dream only the night before that was played in a particular bluegrass style. Notably, no alcohol is allowed at these reunions, and none is found[1555]. Storytelling and music remain the focus of these reunions until the families slowly break up and make their way home as the evening descends.

There is often talk of organizing "One Big Indian Gathering" by people at these reunions each year. But besides the financial limitations that would be involved in organizing such an event, the most frequently cited reason for not doing so is that it would, depending on what geographic location was finally chosen, by necessity exclude certain elders who cannot travel too far . So in deference to allowing the elders to attend at least one reunion during the year, the planners of the Salyersville Indian gatherings still devote their energies to maintaining the regional reunions, which still usually entails a lot of time, money and work.

Besides the annual family gatherings, the church is the other primary means by which formal community organization by the Salyersville Indian population takes place on a deliberate and regular basis. The congregations of six protestant churches in Michigan, Kentucky and Ohio are primarily Salyersville Indian and their descendants, or both Salyersville Indians and non-Indian families whose parents and/or grandparents

originated from the mountains in and around Magoffin County. These include the Quickstep Church in Hardin County, Ohio, a Pentecostal church set near the Big Lick in Kentucky, the Fitzburg Pentecostal near Stockbridge, Michigan, and two Faith Temple Churches in Calhoun and Branch Counties also in Michigan.

I was a child in the early 1970s when my parents attended the tiny one room church in Fitzburg when the people had gained enough funds and support to build a handsome addition. This was a proud moment for the families, both Indian and non-Indian mountaineers, whose funds and labor supported the project, most of whom had worked onions on the surrounding lands not so long ago. These same families continue worshiping there today as they did when I was a child, although the congregation has fallen in membership in the past decade. I also recall attending the "grand opening" of the Duck Lake Faith Temple Church when I was 13. This large church, set up near Springport by the leadership of the Salyersville Indian sisters *Mergie (Cole) Gullett* and *Vergie (Cole) Watson*, serves many of the families that settled in the Partello area and who had worked the Calhoun County fields. I recall hundreds of people in attendance during its inception and its first year, with nearly all in attendance being affinial or consanguine relations of the Salyersville Indians, or of old mountaineer families that settled the Duck Luck-Partello-Marshall region concurrently with them. This spacious place of worship holds up to 300 hundred people, and its seats are uniquely arranged in a circle around the pulpit.

Those two aforementioned sister's "cousin", *Lois Cole* similarly led the way in establishing a Faith Temple Church near Coldwater, Michigan, in the 1970s. Lois Cole was a prominent elder born at the Big Lick Indian Village, whose parents brought her and

her siblings to Calhoun County Michigan when they were young. As an adult, Lois became well known throughout Indian and non-Indian Christian circles in Michigan, Ohio and Indiana for her heartfelt preaching style. Notably, the leadership of the Faith Temple churches has stayed in the hands of the Salyersville Indians and their friends and relations. And it is also notable that it was "grandmothers" who spearheaded the move to gain the funds to build the Faith Temple Churches for Salyersville Indians and who provide their primary leadership.

Until very recently the Rev. *Winford Collins* with his wife *Norma* (*Gullett*) was pastor of the Eaton Rapids Assembly of God Church, about 15 minutes southwest of Lansing, Michigan. This small congregation of a few Indian relatives as well as many more non-Indian "friends and believers" held steady for a number of years under their leadership, and a revival grounds was built adjacent to the church for larger outside gatherings. A Cherokee Saponi born near the Big Lick back in Floyd County, Winford actually grew up in Partello, Michigan during the height of the onion years[1556]. For some four decades now he has continued to serve as a pastor, and has "ministered the gospel" throughout Michigan, Ohio and Kentucky. The couple had previously led another church in Lansing, the Michigan state capitol, prior to establishing the one in Eaton Rapids. Norma and Winford were set to retire in 1996, and handed the reigns of the latter church leadership over to friends. But in such high demand is the couple to "guest Minister", that they stayed just as busy in their retirement performing guest services, marriages, funerals and so forth. They mostly performed such services for Salyersville Indian families as well as non-Indians who have long standing kinship ties with the Salyersville Indian families such as the Gulletts, the Patricks, and Adams. Then, just a few years ago,

Winford was asked to serve full time in a Battle Creek Assembly of God church, an invitation he accepted and the couple are once again full time ministers. As it has for nearly three centuries, the Christian religion remains an important focus for most Salyersville Indians and their relations.

I have repeatedly been told, and have confirmed with my own experience, that the hardest part of being a Salyersville Indian is convincing outsiders that "we are real Indians". A particular problem that my "cousin" Derek Cole experienced while attending a midwestern University provides an illustration. Derek grew up in southern Michigan, but also spent a number of years on military bases as a child, including Japan and Texas. After reaching the age where he spent a short stint in the armed forces, a path taken by many young adult Salyersville Indians, Derek chose to spend an number of years living "out in the world". Derek then decided to return to the Midwest to get a college degree. Most Salyersville Indians today who have or do attend college like Derek and myself, do not start until their mid-twenties or later, unlike many Americans who send their kids to college directly out of high school if the funds are available. Many Salyersville Indians simply can not afford such luxury, so military bonuses or day jobs and night school have been the most feasible way to pursue higher education for those who desire it.

Returning to the story at hand, having lived in Washington D.C., Chicago, New Orleans, and elsewhere, Derek had been exposed to and participated in a great deal of pan-Indian activism during the 1980s and 1990s. Indeed, his pan-Indian activities are the exception for most Salyersville Indians who prefer to stay focused on their own families' issues and concerns, by choice or necessity. Derek was made aware of the much publicized but greatly misunderstood "Indian Tuition Waiver", something most

Salyersville Indians had never heard of except perhaps when a non-Indian harassed them as being "Indians wanting everything for free". Willing to push the envelope at the prompting of some unrelated Indian friends, Derek thought it would be interesting to see how a Salyersville Indian would fare pursing a waiver in the state of Indiana.

At that time, an Indian in the state of Indiana could receive tuition benefits if one was "1/4 blood" or more[1557]. Derek had no problem in showing that he was well over a quarter "Indian", but only through birth and death certificates and a pile of other vital statistics documentation which he presented to the University in order to "prove" his Indian identity as mandated. But then Derek would find that being "Indian" was not enough, and as a few other Salyersville Indians have learned in the past decade, the catch was in proving a "tribal" identity, that is, their ties to *federally recognized* tribal political entities. As this dissertation demonstrates, many Salyersville Indian families can show their ancestors have rightfully long claimed to be "Cherokee". But in forwarding that assertion, they have run into the same kind of problems their ancestors did while asserting claims under that tribal identity during the Court of Claims fiasco back in 1907 and 8. That is, the Cherokee families of the Salyersville Indians are not *enrolled* Cherokee and thus are not recognized as such with the federal authorities as such.

The Indiana University was dumbfounded as to how to handle Derek's case. Confronted with a person who was most obviously "Indian", and confused and concerned with being fair in their own affirmative action polices, the University ultimately allowed Derek a scholarship as a "minority" student while rejecting his bid for assistance under an "Indian" identity because he could not confirm a "tribal" identity[1558].

As this dissertation has shown time and time again, the contemporary problem of

Salyersville Indians in convincing outsiders that they are "real Indians" is not new by any means. But none of this has dampened the assertions of Derek and most of the other Salyersville Indians in their ongoing assertions to an Indian identity. As with so many other Salyersville Indians, the number of obstacles placed before them and the "contesting" of their Indian identity has caused many to become even more forceful in asserting that Indian identity. Indeed, Derek was not discouraged. He is among a few Salyersville Indians who now reach out to other tribes to educate them on our own history and experience in order to help them "avoid the problems we have experienced over the generations in trying to maintain our Indian identity", and to teach other tribes about how the Salyersville Indians have preserved their identity and the cohesiveness of their families without the benefit of Federal or state recognition

Aside from the ministers who travel to many different congregations as guest speakers and preachers, college students who interact with other Indians in school, and those few Salyersville Indians who work in pan-Indian affairs on a professional level, some of the best ambassadors of the Salyersville Indians to the rest of Indian County and beyond has been it musicians. Like the ministers, the Salyersville Indians have a number of musicians that travel often to both Indian and non-Indian gatherings, both religious and not, to perform traditional banjo, guitar and fiddle music. Indeed, it is by this means that many outsiders learn of and come to have respectful relations with the Salyersville Indians.

The Salyersville Indians and their ancestors have long been known for their musical abilities, and fondness for dance and song, and this continues today. Bluegrass picker *Sam Cole* for instance travels all over Michigan, Ohio and the Appalachian states

with his Indian wife *Shirley Cole* at others' invitation to play local, regional and national bluegrass festivals[1559]. Sam has been invited by nationally known players to sit in on their live performances as a guest musician, and has made some recordings that have received national attention and distribution. Also high in demand by outsiders for musical performances are the aforementioned *Winford* and *Norma Collins* who, in addition to singing and playing in churches and camp meetings, often go to retirement homes and hospitals to perform for the old and the sick. *Roy Cole Jr.* of Calhoun County has been singing and playing in country music bands for over 30 years throughout Michigan[1560]. My brother Randy is also blessed with the gift of music and has played with country, Christian, and rock groups in many different countries and contexts.

As for internally keeping the Indian identity alive among the people, storytelling remains a primary, albeit more subtle way to instill pride in that identity in their children. And the stories run deep, as most can count four to five living generations around them. That is a lot of generations together at one time to learn, confirm, and reaffirm stories of the ancestors. Indeed, that my great-great-grandfather and great grandfather were still with us until the mid 1970s is not atypical for Salyersville Indians, and their non-Indian mountaineer relations for that matter. Stories from such elders make quite an impression on the youngsters, and reinforce what we learn from our parents, aunts and uncles, and other relations. As child care is still mostly spread among relatives, and not so much with "day-care" as with many Americans, the stories of Salyersville Indian identity and history are affirmed and reaffirmed throughout childhood from many different internal sources. While not necessarily requiring the economic support of labor and harvesting as in past decades, older children and teenagers still often spend entire seasons with older relatives,

or relatives living elsewhere simply "for the experience". Furthermore, kinship obligations and Indian identity are simultaneously earned and mutually reinforced through these means. Starting at a young age, kinship relations provide the source of knowledge regarding identity, history and tradition. Multileveled and multigenerational, overlapping from family to family, knowledge from and about one's kin is simultaneously reified through the interactions of numerous generations on a "everyday" level. But as has become apparent through this dissertation, convincing others of the validity of this Indian identity is more difficult.

Occasionally there is talk of either approaching the Federal Government for "readdressing the old Indian claims", and/or group recognition, or "skipping the government" and instead petitioning the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma for "readmission" as a group. But the Salyersville Indian elders usually shun these actions, many of whom say they do not want to be "wards of the government", or as some of my relatives put it, "welfare Indians". And the latter option would likely exclude their Indian relations of Saponi and "Sizemore" heritage. As stated above, oral histories still recall "the time the government conspired against us", and thus many predict a repeat of the disappointments such as those received during the Court of Claims event back in 1907-8. Most state that being "citizens" and "Indians" is enough for them politically at this time, and they do not care for government interference in their lives in anyway whatsoever.

As has always been the case, preserving the families, the histories, and their identity as Indian thus ultimately falls on the Salyersville Indians themselves, and they deserve credit for their ability for having successfully done so for so many generations[1561]. As with most Indian people, the majority of the Salyersville Indians carry on everyday

life without too much concern with genealogy, or published opinions of their history and identity. There are a core of mostly elders, however, who work hard on these issue and concerns, and feel that preserving history promotes and preserves identity. Elders like *Irene Farmer*, *Sam* and *Shirley Cole*, *Janice LaFountain*, *Ollie Barnett*, *Faye Green*, *Roberta Cole*, *Paul Tate*, *Rosemary Turner Lore*, and *Dovie Cole Alstrom*, and younger adults like *Rita "Mighty Mouse" Roe*, *Derek Cole* and myself, all concertedly work on documenting the history of their Salyersville Indian ancestors and, as they disseminate information throughout the family, interest in such matters is increasing. And with new technologies like e-mail and the internet, stories gathered and gleaned from documents as well as oral tradition now quickly make it through the network of Kin from Oklahoma to Kentucky to Ohio and Michigan in a matter of hours or days.

Returning to my narrative, as dusk had approached, a long day of work had come to a close. After a lengthy business meeting with elders and other concerned attendees, I loaded my boxes of documents for "The Book" into my car. I felt more confident and assured than ever before that our Salyersville Indian identity remains strong and distinct. Indeed, the Circle remains unbroken on the dawn of this new century. As I drove back to my new home in Lansing, Michigan, I was followed by others whose vehicles sporadically turned away for their own residences in Coldwater, Battle Creek, Jackson, Stockbridge, Mason and other places. As did I, all felt renewed with the strength and power that is sustained by kin.

In writing this dissertation, I hope to do justice to all our elders effort's, and all those before them who have worked to hard to maintain the families and identity of the Salyersville Indian population. There is no difficulty in telling our own rising generation

that we are Indians, even as we prepare them for the rest of the world that will undoubtedly continue to contest their ancestor's claims. No matter, for if we have faith and conviction our elders, if we remain true to the intense family orientations that have sustained the people for more that three centuries, so too will the Indian identity remain true. Reinforced through the stories we hear, tell and retell, and actualized in the manner in which we act and teach in everyday life, "the Circle" that sustains Salyersville Indian identity, at least to this point in time, remains unbroken.

Conclusion

A Circle of Life That Remains Unbroken

What we have here is a Circle of Life that remains unbroken. This study shows that actions grounded in prioritizing kinship relations and commitment to 'family' in every sense of the term has always been central to the maintenance and assertion of Salyersville Indian identity itself. In this case, only an examination of the people's actions through the long duration could show this to be true. The findings also uphold the contention that race and class based political structures strongly influence social relations, and the construction of 'ethnic' identites. The Salyersville Indians have never lived in isolation from non-Indians. So a primary concern here has been ascertaining if and how internal and external attitudes about race, class, ethnicity, religiosity, political affiliation, and kinship relate to each other, and the extent to which they do or do not serve to enhance, obscure, or otherwise define Salyersville Indian identity. In doing so, we find that this group has not succumbed to the repressing and divisive race-based politics described in by some as strongly influencing Indian identity in similar situations[1562]. The Salyersville Indian's self-identity as Indian has not faded or inevitably disappeared as some have predicted because functional kinship dynamics have enabled the maintenance of a distinct and yet inclusive Indian identity throughout the generations. In this case, the prioritization of interfamily relations has actively maintained a kin based social identity that culminates in an articulation of 'Indian' identity.

The Salyersville Indians' abilty to sustain the kin group over time is revealed through a historical analysis of their patterns of affiliation and cooperation through time

and space. This is manifested in people's actions, such as intra-familial relations, land tenure and ownership, and access to and redistributions of resources. Long-term patterns of cultural practice, exhibited through inter-tribal marriage patterns, collective subsistence strategies, family gatherings, and other activities and experiences relevant to the Salyersville Indians give meaning and culminate in Salyersville Indian identity. Informal means such as intergenerational child care equally serve to reinforce family history, and its accompanying Indian identity, on a everyday basis. The families' ability to retain an Indian identity is thus directly tied to long-term collective, cumulative attempts and intentions to maintain stable 'relations' through the mutual material, social and emotional interdependence and economic reciprocity expected from 'kin'. When these attempts are successful, the oral traditions and intergenerational knowledge of one's relationship in the network of extended families are reified and reinforced. Today, people's participation in family reunions, religious events, and other group activities further serve to "preserve the past" and "define identity for support"[1563]. Such activities are a good example of the ritualization of kinship[1564]. Such practices bring it all back together, and reaffirm the observation that it takes a lot of work to keep kin going.[1565]

More overt manifestations of such 'work' are exhibited through the social and economic cooperation between extended family households, church building, child care, marriages, and so on. During some periods, the benefits of kin are more obvious than others. The former includes social and economic support exhibited between the primary Salyersville Indian families during years when the people where migrating back and forth between Kentucky and the northern muckfields. But while this economic necessity waned in the 1960s, commitment to family has remained strong. This is particularly evident

when members are having difficulty, be it material, emotional or physical. Even when sources of outside aid are available, such as counseling, relief service, day care, and so on-- the members will rarely go outside their own kin network for such services. Prioritization of kin is still seen through people's action, and such actions are informed by values, beliefs and commitments. I know from my own experience that whenever a relative has been wronged by someone not of the kin group, the entire Family feels slighted as well as responsible for rectifying justice into the situation. Oral histories tell me this has always been the case. Family shapes and sustains the Salyersville Indian as they follow their life path from birth to death.

Kin Keeps the Circle Unbroken

This study shows that functional kinship relations provide the frame that supports and defines Salyersville Indian identity. Their operational definition of 'Indian' is based on a history of family relations that provide kinship links, social integration, cooperative efforts, and sources of information. This is articulated from the levels of semantics to that of action.

Numerous examples in this ethnohistory show that the people define and talk about their Indian identity as kin-based social identities. The documents from and interviews with the Salyersville Indians clearly show that the people overwhelmingly use terms and phrases like we, relatives, my/our People", and the Families when discussing individual or group Indian identity. More specifically the Indian identity ties to family labels like The Coles, The Collinses, The Gibsons. The latter are more often evoked to define and explain that identity to themselves and others. A person whose family hails

from the Magoffin County area, Indian or not, usually will know certain families to be Indian from their own family history. When asked 'Who's Your People', the response will inevitably be first I'm a Cole, or Mom's a Collins. If it is known or suspected that the listener knows of The Cole's, The Gibson's, or The Collinses', the answer might include an additional geographic or genealogical indicator, like a Cole from Big Lick, or a progenitor lineage association indicator like the Boone Collins, or The Garrett Coles. If asked directly how they know somebody is Indian, they will usually get the same answer: 'because his Mom's a Cole', or 'they're all Collinses'. To those completely unfamiliar with these families' histories, a Salyersville Indian however might articulate their identity as Cherokee, Hillbilly Indian, or simply Indians from Kentucky.

That this labeling pattern accompanying this Indian identity has always been underwritten by family history is apparent in the historical record. In 1908, Salyersville Indians told the Court of Claims investigators that their history was based on what "The Grandfathers always told us", which told of certain *families'* migrations from 'Old Virginia' and 'The Cherokee Nation'. Many local whites, in turn, simultaneously informed Washington officials that "I think these Coles are entitled..." and thus validated and reinforced the Indian identity as a family identity, the federal definition of "Eastern Cherokee" notwithstanding (see Chapter 9). Other outsiders have also recognized this primacy of family labels. One 19th century observer noted that, as they came from New River prior to their move to the Salyersville area, the families' names like "the Collinses" and "the Gibsons", first represented "tribes", then "clans", and then "families"[1566]. A century later, other outsiders stated they were still "usually referred to as the Gipsons...and then there are the Coles, the Mullinses, Fletchers and Nicholes"[1567].

The people's own idea of what it means to be Indian remains embedded in the living narratives about who they are. This extended living history narrative base has existed as long as the Salyersville Indian population has. The intergenerational transmission of family history has always run long and deep and wide among, what at first appears to be, just a few family names. The primary families associated with the Salyersville Indian population have always been few in name, but by modern mainstream American terms, have been quite large in number. When social relations are maintained with kin, multiple generations of verbal messages reaching far into the past are simultaneously spread and sustained by the teachings of even one's most direct relations, to those extending well beyond. From birth, family is who most are taught to trust and have the most faith in and that source of knowledge is a hard thing to break without breaking up the families themselves.

This identification of these citizen Indian's prioritization of family has long been documented by outsiders. In the mid-1800s, outsiders visiting the families living at the Greasy Rock Indian Community cast them as "...poor and ignorant, but apparently happy"[1568]. As for their Indian relations living in the Salyersville area, records generated from that time show that most of their families continue to prefer to live in tight clusters of large, extended family households. The majority were recognized as self-supporting farmers, unlike many non-Indian neighbors who were classified as laborers and servants, and many held land throughout the 1800s. When most Salyersville Indians did come to depend on wage labor in the Midwest onion fields and mountain coal towns in the early to mid 1900s, outside observers continued to note that the workers kinsmen back in Kentucky would still raise enough corn to 'bread the whole clan' for the winter[1569]. The

social and economic cooperation between the primary Salyersville Indian families living in the mountains and the Midwest muckfields continued to remain strong after World War Two. Ed Price, the cultural geographer who visited the Salyersville Indian's homes in the Kentucky mountains reported that the "200 or so Magoffin County Mixed-Bloods" who remained there were locally "...famous for their large families and their ability to keep them going with no apparent means of support"[1570]. These examples demonstrate that commitment and obligation towards one's Indian kin through active, ongoing economic reciprocation is a theme apparent throughout the history of the people as outsiders have reported it.

In the case of the Salyersville Indians, social and economic cooperation and long term obligation to family typically outweighs short-term obligation or economic advantages for self. Such mechanisms have provided the means to maintain their large families and deal with changing social relations even in the most dire circumstances. But a kinship-based identity is also situationally limited. For instance, geographic distance can cause one to be without relatives in a given community to reaffirm one's identity[1571]. To overcome this, the Salyersville Indians have usually opted to bring their relatives with them in large extended family groups, as they did to the Thacker Coal Town, Oklahoma, and the Midwest Mucklands. This is notable in that such a strategy mitigates against more lucrative factory jobs gained by so many other non-Indian mountaineers in the Midwest urban industrial centers at that time. As this latter option usually allowed only an individual or a nuclear family to move to such places, the short term economic benefit for those leaving would disrupt the long term benefits to be accrued by drawing on a broader unit of local kin. In contrast, the Salyersville Indians have historically opted for

work that would not disrupt kin ties.

Today's elders know that kin remains an important reserve for long term benefits that may be needed again, as many recall the difficult years of working onions or coalmines. The elders know time can change, and thus the reserve of kin must be kept alive through deliberate strategies like the annual family gatherings. All throughout history, the degree of social and economic cooperation between the families has always ebbed and flowed though the centuries. In rough times, like the onion years of 1920 to 1960, or during the Civil War or the Revolution, we see that sometimes scattered families have 'come back' into the family fold. The community in such times then become tighter, more closed. During better, more prosperous times, the kin group loosens up, as in today, or in the pre and post Revolutionary War periods. This ebb and flow has always occurred, and each period provides a new 'test' to the tenacity and resiliency of the families to stay together.

This flexibly is advantages, but family still must remain resilient enough to snap back when times of social or economic stress return. Thus, the importance of value, beliefs and commitments cannot be underestimated. The value system keeps the group together and at the ready if the social or economic situation changes for the group[1572]. For example, today it is expected that those who move away will continue to maintain contact with those remaining 'at home'. Those living 'out in the world' are expected to return on certain occasions, such as family gatherings, funerals, weddings, or times of illness. When they do come back, it is expected that they will not only visit their immediate family relations, but all of their kin. Those not visited may have their feelings hurt, and accuse them of becoming 'to good' to maintain their obligations with kin.

Organization by kin relationships has allowed this Indian population to remain distinct in the documentary record. The extended family networks typifying the Salyersville Indians have remained geographically consolidated, although the geography itself has changed through time. Analysis of long term residence and marriage patterns show how some of the mechanisms suggested through this study's thesis are an ongoing process by nature of design. Anthropologically speaking, *endogamy*, that is, marriages within the group, typified the Salyersville Indians until the 1960 or 70s. Even after moving to the Midwest muckfields, most Salyersville Indians still married other Salyersville Indians, while most of the remainder married among old non-Indian mountaineer families with deep historical ties to the Salyersville Indian Population. In 1937, a Michigan Welfare Relief agent noted of the Salyersville area migrants laboring the Stockbridge onion fields, both Indian and not, that "the young people who have married since coming to Michigan have chosen persons of the same racial or family background", and were noted for returning to Ohio or Kentucky "for a husband or a wife"[1573]. In 1970, other outsiders noted that, back in Kentucky, the Indian families living there still mostly married among other local Indian families[1574].

Multiple 'bands' of Salyersville Indian families have existed throughout all of Salyersville Indian history. The people have looked to others spread among all of these geographic bands for many purposes such as marriages, intra-family economic support, religious leaders, and other issues and activities. Such actions serve to strengthen the bonds between the families and their ability to maintain their relations, even across geographic distance. These marriage patterns among the primary Salyersville Indian

families have served to connect the scattered bands. This kinship dynamic expands the social whole of this population by connecting people together and is similar to the 'trajectory' concept employed in anthropology to help explain how clans unite bands to strengthen the connections between the families[1575]. For the purpose of sustaining their cumulative identity as Indian, we can see how, when thus united, the bands expand the kinship network's cultural and material resources . This same network is what creates, dispenses and reinforces ideas of history and identity throughout their families.
Cross checked and reified by a wide range of elders, family histories are shared and validated across this kin network and thus the people are able to retain a meaningful Indian identity even as they have literally moved across the American landscape through time.

Kin, Race and Ethnicity

Issues of internal versus external definitions regarding 'Indian' identity come to the forefront in trying to determine to what extent race/ethnicity act against or support a kin group over time. In the case of the Salyersville Indians, the kin group can and often does embrace several racial and ethnic criteria, such as Indian, white, black, Scots-Irish, Cherokee, Spanish, hillbilly, and so on. A family may therefore include several racial or ethnic subsets. *Race*, that is, identity based on biological criteria, physical appearance and/or geography, and *ethnicity*, which entail identity boundaries based on racial, cultural, political and/or geographic specifics, are therefore subsets of identity in that they depends on kin criteria by definition. For example, if one is a member of a Magoffin County Patrick family, they will likely bring an idea of "Arish blood" into their identity. The Salyersville Indians' oral histories also reflect this attitude, such as when Dovie Cole states that her parents "...lived like Indians, had an Indian way of doing things", but openly states they each were of *both* "Cherokee Indian and Irish" descent[1576]. Such observations lead to he second major proposition of this study, that the operationalization of kinship acts to focus Salyersville Indian identity on a definition of family or 'kin' that subsumes various attitudes about race and ethnicity that are encountered at specific times and under specific circumstances. This ethnohistory's analysis supports this proposition.

Ideas of kin, race, and most applied concepts of ethnicity are linked to concepts of '*blood*'. This has given rise to many complex issues and concerns regarding being Indian in the social context of the United States. The consequence of people's actions and interactions based on racial labels often creates stigmatized "caste-like" social structures

that designates by exclusion[1577]. Such labels are often used to qualify and quantify physical attributes and assumed, but not always asserted, notions of biological ancestry.

Consider the census data applicable to this case. This ethnohistory clearly shows how they externally generated documents that employ racial definitions that often seem to act against the kin group by dividing it along different racial categories. Local non-Indians perceived of the New River Indians who moved to the greater Cumberland Gap region as being comprised "fullbloods, halfbloods and quarterbloods"[1578] in the early 1800s, yet were inconsistently cast in censuses and tax lists as 'white' or 'Free Person of Color' at the same time. The number of Salyersville Indians of these quantum's generally stayed the same throughout the 1800s, perhaps 300 to 500, but the number of 1/8, 1/16, etc increases with time, as does the number of people no longer associating with the primary kin group's Indian identity, regardless of their blood quantum. This dynamic, in part, perplexed census enumerators as to how to classify them, especially prior to 1870 when Indian was not an official census category. Examples are found where the same person is inconsistently racially labeled as Indian, White, Black, "W", Mulatto, or Free Persons of Color from enumerator to enumerator, from decade to decade and from county to county. In 1894, the Department of Interior admitted that in prior censuses most Salyersville Indians, as well their relations at Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain, were "enumerated as they looked (white, Indian, black, or mulatto)" by the person doing the enumerating[1579]. Yet, the community of interrelated families remained distinct despite any changing racial classification on the census. The core of the kin group always remained a geographic and socially viable constant in the same censuses, featuring communities large extended family households of *self-supporting farmers* who still mostly married

within the group. In this case, these external census definitions, or laws based on them, did not affect the functionality of the kin network in everyday life. The 1800s censuses, then, really have nothing to do with the internal attitudes regarding 'Indian' as the racial criteria employed in them are subject to change by both personal biases and legal mandates external to the Indians themselves.

The censuses also reveal how ideas of race often coincide with place in external perceptions of Indian identity. An obvious example of the link of place to ideas of race/ethnicity is found back in 1900 and 1910, the Big Lick Indian Village was shown in censuses as being the "Salyersville Indian Subprecinct", which, while having no fullbloods among them, was obviously considered an Indian community by these non-Indian enumerators. In the 1870 federal censuses, those Salyersville Indians living in Magoffin County were labeled as 'mulatto', while their kin living just a few miles away in Johnson County were counted as Indian. Those living over the border into Floyd County were, in contrast, counted as white. Here, racial classification was clearly linked with an externally mandated political-geographic boundaries.

That political and other criterion has continually linked with racial and ethnic identity in external dialogues is obvious. But political situations are always subject to change and this is a lesson long learned by these Indian families. Racial boundaries regarding Indians as practiced and perceived by non-Indians during the colonial and early American era were often less important in social relations on the early frontier than labels such as "savage", "Christian", "citizen" or "civilized"[1580]. Losing their politically sovereign status as "Tributary Indians", the Christian Saponi, like the Cherokee Coles, became citizens in the colony and states in which they lived and were subject to county

courts and laws and sociopolitical boundaries that linked to racial classifications. In the meantime, the general social and political climate of the southeast continued to became even more intensely concerned with race and restricting the rights of people based on phenotype differences more than ever before. The people's place in a particular social and geographic space thus has continually played into these Indians strategic accommodations, as well as influence external perceptions of their Indian identity.

Anthropologists like Sahlins contend that it is crucial to distinguish both "the cultural order as constituted by society" and "as lived by the people"[1581]. Imposed mandates of the dominant society are meaningless if not adhered to in action. In this study, local differences regarding identity are juxtaposed with, for example, state laws of the 1830s that forbade intermarriages, denied suffrage, and restricted the rights of all "free colored" persons, blacks, Indians and mixed-bloods alike. In this case, when examining people's actions at the county level, I found that state and national laws suppressing rights for 'Free Colored' people were simply ignored by non-Indians at the local level in regards to the Salyersville Indians. County politics thus successfully supported the kin groups that comprise the Salyersville Indian population. The documentary record shows that these citizens Indians participated fully in local county affairs throughout the 1800s and continued to practice rights not allowed African Americans and other 'Free Colored' citizens. At one point in time the early 1900s, two of the five Magoffin County magistrate seats were even held by Salyersville Indian brothers. Basically put, most of the non-Indian mountaineers that the Salyersville Indians knew as friends, family and neighbors did not object to these citizen Indians living as social and legal equals in their midst.

The mixed racial and ethnic (in as far as tribal heritage is concerned) heritages of these citizen Indians has led many non-local outsiders to prefer using the externally imposed label of 'Melungian Indians' or 'Melungeon' (ie. mixed), to refer to all the families associated with the Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain and Salyersville Indian populations. As applied to the Salyersville Indian families, the use of the Melungeon label, like the racial label of Indian, includes, but goes beyond physical appearance as some writers strive to point out 'ethnic traits', such as hunting, gathering, and herb doctoring. persisting among them. In 1950, Price for instance noted a woman at Big Lick gathering Indian arrwood, goldenseal, ginseng, and "...interplanting corn with beans. She claims to be 3/4 Cherokee and appears to be partially correct"[1582]. Other traits that are also continually pointed out to link to 'race' by such authors include being 'clannish' and 'superstitious'. Yet, most of the same writers failed to point out that these traits were often also shared by non-Indian mountaineer neighbors. For instance, Dromgoole, when speaking of 'Melungeons'in the 1890s, concluded "Bah, he's no more a mountaineer than am I"[1583]. By contrast, other outsiders have perceived little difference between the so-called 'Melungeons' and non-Indian mountaineers. In the 1950s, geographer Price felt that they were distinguished from other "mountain residents" only by "names, color and reputation"[1584]. Still, all these observers have found it difficult to explain how these relatively few interrelated families, as one observer noted during the late 19th century, were still "...carefully preserving their identity as a race, class, or whatever you may call it"[1585].

Those employing the label of Melungeon show one way in which racial identity linked to an ethnic one, in this case, one that dilutes the people's own Indian claim

without rejecting it. The 1896 Chattanooga Daily Times article referring to the event where William Bowling, who they described as being a "half-witted Indian from that peculiar people called the Melungeons", was robbed by men posing as Federal Indian agents, is an example of how the Melungeon label links with Indian in order to undermine the latter identity while not denying the Indian claim[1586]. In this case, the 'Melungeon discourse', or even the constraining 1800s federal censuses, are good examples of what Foley describes as the process of how "living and practicing the constant construction of factitious realities ultimately socializes one to believe that discourses or words, not deeds, are reality"[1587]. Ethnohistorians must be aware of the possible existence and influence of such "cultural based mythologies" when dealing with non-Indian perspectives regarding Indian peoples[1588]. Externally generated myths and mandates have indeed affected the assimilation of information *about* the Salyersville, Greasy Rock, and Stone Mountain Indian populations[1589]. But like the inconsistent trail of racial classification evident in federal censuses, the discourses accompanying the Melungeon label has had little, if any, direct effect on Salyersville Indian identity internally. Indians and non-Indians alike from the area confirm that the term was never local used in the Magoffin County region in their lifetime or in their elders' oral histories. Very few have ever seen any "Melungeon" literature, or the racial classifications of ancestors on censuses.

In sum, that ideas of *race* (blood), and *ethnicity* (usually defined through a mix of biological, cultural, and/or geographic associations) link to kinship (blood, descent and function) in various ways, is certain. But in the case of the Salyersville Indians, attitudes regarding race and ethnicity are subsumed, or in the case of 'Mountaineer' or 'Kentucke'

identity, otherwise accommodated by the operational definition of kin. In the case of the Salyersville Indians, kin does not link with racial attitudes beyond mutually reinforcing family recognition of decent reckoning from lineages of Indian 'blood'. If racial identity is based on solely physical appearance or blood quantum, the extent of assumed or asserted non-Indian heritage, or the enforcement of racial castes, Salyersville Indian identity should not exist as strongly as it does today. Internally, differences in racial appearance and stereotypical 'ethnic traits' has not undermined this Indian identity because the culmination of this Indian identity remains grounded in knowledge from and attitude and actions toward 'kin'.

Class, Religion, Politics, and Place

The above examples show some of the ways in which attitudes about race and ethnicity link not only with each other in people's notions of Indian identity, but at specific times and in specific circumstances, with certain political, class and religious attitudes and even place based associations. This is important to consider because such associations can create economic and social alliances which may fragment or replace kin groups, and may pose barriers to intra-family cooperation. While such associations do not erase tacit kin affiliation, all are potentially disruptive to functional kin networks because kin groups are limited in size, location and composition. Because religion, politics and class can act against or support the solidarity of the kin group over time, the extent that they are *linked* to and support, obscure, or otherwise influence kin-based social identity in this case had to be ascertained.

This study found that religious practice has often linked to and supported the kin

group in this case. Ever since certain Christanna Reservation families banded together under the label "Christian Saponi", they and the expatriate Cherokee Coles and other non-Saponi Indian families (like the Sizemores) who eventually joined them have tied their identity to that of a Christian one. That link that remains strong today. On both the family and church institutional levels, practicing Christianity has reinforced the group and its Indian identity in a positive, proactive manner. For instance, the Church has functionally served to link the people together physically and socially, such as in revival gatherings, and has provided them with their own official leaders, like ordained preachers who could solemnize marriages. The charismatic Holiness sect in particular has provided a formal means of leadership and group organization which has helped to strengthen the cohesiveness of the families internally. Today, most Salyersville Indians lean still mostly associate with the Assembly of God and Pentecostal 'holiness' sects, although many others associate with the Baptists, Methodists, and even the Mormons. Notably, an equally large number cast themselves as a Christian believer, but not a church goer, as they have reservations affiliating with any recognized religious institution. But none are subject to any negative stigma by other family members because of differing or lack of institutional affiliation. A good example of how openly religion still links to the people's Indian identity is evident from a brief biography statement on a event advertisement which reads "Evangelist Lois Cole from Coldwater, Michigan, will be ministering the Word of God and operating in the Gifts of the Spirit. Evangelist Cole is an Indian woman who has experienced many supernatural miracles (see Figure 69). This public statement promotes the Cole *family* label as Indian identity, while linking family reputation and religious identity. The loose instituitonality of Christian religion as

practiced by the Salyersville Indians thus does not disrupt kin association, but enhances it.

In the mountain context, local level politics and economic frameworks have also positively reinforced kinship associations among the Salyersville Indian families . Ever since the mid 1700s, most of the primary families later associated with the Salyersville Indian population have successfully participated in local political and economic affairs with non-Indians. While some of the Salyersville Indians have always been poor, more so at some times than other, the majority have always done quite well by the political economic standards of the Kentucky mountain counties, and have cross-cut boundaries delineating laborers, paupers and tenants from local politicians and landowners. Private ownership of land has also aided in enhancing the position of the Salyersville Indians in local political arenas, especially in the Magoffin County area. Even before these Indian families' move to the Salyersville area, this had been important. Evidence of corporate activities among these families is seen in land buying patterns in the 1740s, 1790s, and later in the 1860s, when adjoining plots were simultaneously purchased by members of the primary families living at the Flatt River, New River, and then Salyersville Indian communities. Land ownership likely enhanced social status with non-Indians as well as provided both material and emotional security that could be shared with kin in times of bounty or stress.

In the case of the Salyersville Indians, class boundaries *within* the mountains, as with racial and political ones, have not and do not undermine or even entered into the internally held definition of Indian. Again, the reoccurring theme of place stands out as a factor in considering class and status. The social atmosphere at the county level in the

mountains served to enhance the Indian identity of the primary Salyersville Indian families. Their Indian identity was not socially or economically debilitating because non-Indians from the mountains have been willing to accept the Indian identity of the Salyersville Indians as distinct but compatible with their own for many generations. Shared lifestyles, such as rural living, hunting and gathering, bartering and trading, have not posed the typical boundaries delineating Indian from non-Indian populations as clearly as in other parts of the U.S. In the Magoffin County area (as with most rural communities), the people there have known each other for generations. Most mountaineers resent and resist relationships that are impersonal[1590]. Social contacts are most often conducted on a personal basis, for individuals are well acquainted with each resident of the community[1591].

The Salyersville Indians have come to embrace and share the 'mountaineer' identity in the 20th century. Most take pride in adhering to certain cultural features that they share with non-Indian mountaineers, such as preferences in styles of music and Christian worship. But this is especially true regarding ideas about kinship solidarity, promoting of family self-sufficiency, and a desire to keep the extended family together through time and space. In the Magoffin County region Indian/non-Indian relationships have served to promote identity without it being a negative interaction for many generations. Intermarriage and differential social and economic positioning in relation to non-Indians has *not* led to intense factions or divisions among the Salyersville Indians as might be expected among both recognized and unrecognized Indian populations. Indeed, the "Kentucky Way" described by Halperin as practiced among non-Indian Appalachians has been shown here to influence Salyersville Indian identity as well as being part of

it[1592]. The Salyersville Indians have thus always fit right into mountain society instead of standing at the margins of it. Or, put another way, mountain culture fit with the already existing Indian framework. This shared prioritization of family relations in everyday activities has serves to maintain links made by Salyersville Indians with specific non-Indian families which share these values. The latter, in turn, have continued to reinforce and recognize their affinial relations' assertions of an Indian identity. Meaningful identities are held between them, specifically the identification of some people as Indian based on family affiliation, to persist. This allows me to also conclude that the Appalachian context--that is, the factor of place and its people--has served to help internally sustain the Salyersville Indian's continuity as a group in a positive, proactive manner through time. From this vantage, the Salyersville Indian identity might qualify for what Foley calls a "context-bound identity", for in this part of Appalachia "people share a greater stock of background knowledge about each other"[1593].

The effects of place and changing class positioning linking with the Salyersville Indian identity becomes apparent as influencing outsider perceptions in the first half of the 1900s. During that crucial time of change, the coal, timber and gas industries began forever changing the physical and social landscape of eastern Kentucky. The Salyersville Indians as well as their non-Indian neighbors' ability to sustain their families by more "traditional" means (such as hunting, trapping, gardening, bartering and trading) was ultimately adversely affected. The strategic accommodation of many Indians and non-Indians from the Magoffin region to these dramatic changes was to seek seasonal, and then permanent employment in certain 'coal towns', and then on to the mucklands of Ohio and Michigan. Yet, the amiable local delineation of Indian and non-Indian families

in both the mountains and on the muckfields would continue because social and economic cooperation among the Indian and non-Indian mountaineer laborer families did. Interlocking communities of families superimposed upon the mucklands would continue to define the local and internal criteria of who is Indian in everyday life.

The Appalachian context serves to internally enhance the persistence of Salyersville Indian identity, but often has obscured Salyersville Indian identity from the public by ambiguously positioning the latter as *an other within an other*. External attitudes regarding 'white mountaineers' that are kin to the Salyersville Indians has often come up against the latter's assertion of Indian identity. Appalachia has been noted as the poorest region of the United States throughout this century. This situation is often erroneously blamed on "hillbilly culture" and not generations of imposed relations of dominance and dependency. In many popular and professional dialogues their Indian identity is intertwined with outsider's ethnic definitions 'hillbillies'. Non-Indian folk from Appalachia are cast as "problematic" and "different" because their "way of life" -- derogatorily described as backward, primitive, lawless, alcoholic, or lazy -- doesn't correspond with external expectations of the racial status of "white" (which ironically is often described as 'Indian like')[1594].

The 'hillbilly' example show that what often appears to be a description of an ethnic identity is actually defined by class criteria. This is important to understand because the hillbilly stereotype complicates outsiders understanding of Salyersville Indian identity. For Salyersville Indian families living outside the mountains, external attitudes regarding the people's class position has often obscured Salyersville Indian identity under the broad rubric of the Kentucky mountaineer migrant worker class. Being

a numeric minority among them, most Midwesterns ignored or failed to see the Salyersville Indian families' presence among the overall Magoffin migrant worker population they lumped together as 'Kentuckes' and 'hillbillies' while on the muckfields. In the 1930s and 40s, many noted that the Magoffin workers still had "...attributes of a distinct ethnic group...", but often failed to note what those attributes were beyond "depressing economic status"[1595].

The Salyersville Indians indeed have often been considered "poor", and have been subject to intense exploitative political and labor positions at different points in history. The Salyersville Indians themselves, however, have not, and do not use poverty or socioeconomic status indicators to promote an ethnic identity of Indian. As one member of the Oklahoma band of Salyersville Indians sees it, "...the rain falls on the just and the unjust. What separates us in life is how we physically and spiritually react to that rain"[1596]. While linking Salyersville Indian identity to that of "Kentucke" or "mountaineer" has obscured that Indian identity to some outsiders, among the 'in group' of Mountaineers as a whole, this link actually still enhances the Salyersville Indian families' long standing Indian identity. This is because a meaningful notion Indian identity here remains based on long term family histories and associations and culminates in mutually agreeable understandings of these histories. As long as their non-Indian mountaineer kin and acquaintances have remained with them, so has some level of external recognition of their Indian identity.

In sum, through the long term, this kin-based cumulative identity of Indian has effectively cross-cut and overridden definitions of Indian based on the dialogues of status, alienation and/or isolation. In this case, Indian identity has cross-cut political,

religious and class based boundaries through cultural practices based on reciprocity and commitment toward one's own relatives, as well as in other relations that act like and serve the purpose of kin.

Kin as Cumulative Identity

So what does this all mean for identity analysis, and the study of Indian identity in particular? One lesson learned here is that any theory of identity maintenance should expose the social construction of identity components, but in doing so should reconcile the motivations and meanings that culminate in the competing internal and external perspectives held toward an identity *through time*. In this case, a concomitant yet historic perspective held toward 'race' or 'ethnicity', 'class' would only show only how arbitrary such categories can be. It would do little to explain how the Salyersville Indians own notions of an Indian identity persist over the long term. Similarly, without historical analysis to show the actual social impact of certain associations over time and space, the true relevance of kin dynamics would also remain in question. Identity analysis therefore must deliberately account for a wide array of historical processes potentially informing any identity variable's construction and use, and be careful when analyzing classifications that are/were generated under very different conditions and motivations. What may appear at first as an important boundary of difference, such as the racial categories of 1800s' census enumerations, may or may not prove to be meaningful 'on the ground'. Until their effects can be shown, the extent of external influences on internally held identities should not be taken for granted, nor overemphasized.

As functional kinship relations are the constant feature of Salyersville Indian

history, I have concluded that culturally defined "kin" thus defines and provides the center from which this Indian identity emanates. The individual's and the group's claims to Indian identity is a cumulative understanding is passed to them from-- and constantly reified and reinforced--by their culturally defined social network of kin. Indeed, knowledge about their Indian identity is *relational* for the Salyersville Indians in every sense of the word. It is the knowledge from and about one's kin relations that culminates in Indian identity.

In this case, kinship operates as a living and creative cultural resource that prioritizes people's past experience in guiding present actions. It is natural for people to apply and revise their ideas and actions based on their cumulative life experience and this process needs to be emphasized as influencing the people's perspective of identity. Here it was important to delineate sociocultural practices used to support the families of the Salyersville Indian population since the 1700's. Juxtaposed within this framework of kin and time, the culmination of the historical experience as it informs Salyersville Indian identity has thus accounted for the *religious* and material distinctions used by outsiders in delineating the savage from the civilized, the ongoing and ever-changing social ramifications associated with *political* definitions of Indian, everchanging *racial* paradigms and their accompanying legal and social segregations, and the proliferation of *class* and *ethnic* explanations used, for example, impose and to legitimize 'tribal', 'Melungeon' and 'Hillbilly' labels.

Identity analysis must account for the differences between history as lived and history as recorded while accounting for the broadest array of evidence possible. Historical influences informing identity articulations are hard to ascertain if only focusing

on a few 'expressive events', or 'boundaries' pulled from time, such as a family gathering, or a singular census. The study of identity requires a open-ended concept that can implicate both a verifiable reality and its subjective apprehension. *Identification* implies a historical process, so *identity* is a historical entity. People's *actions*, guided by certain beliefs, impositions, accommodations and commitments, give meaning to identities, and sustain or bring change to this meaning. As *Culture* is historically reproduced in action, a concern with *historicity*, "the culturally patterned way of experiencing and understanding history"[1597] should thus be fundamental to any concept of identity.

With these concerns in mind, this study's framework has allowed me to develop and posit the concept of *cumulative identity*. This concept aims to aid anthropological analysis in revealing factors that can potentially support or undermine people's identities in social relations. This theoretical position holds that, at any point in time and space, identities are the specific culmination of experiences advised by internally held resources and/or externally imposed influences. Cumulative identity analysis strategically looks at long-term social relations in order to to reveal that which in turn reifies or undermines socially relevant categories of affiliation through time and space. A cumulative analysis of identity in situations of use aims to illuminate any social constructs that may be used as criteria for inclusion or exclusion on different occassions. When certain identity articulations seem to align with certain social, political and economic dynamics, analysis tries to distinguish their range of meanings through actions based on them. This approach is wary of overemphasizing specific attitudes encountered at specific times. Identity analysis must try to connect any factors which culminates in identities to their

cultural reinforcements, but do so in relation to both socially dominant and internally held historicities. Put another way, cumulative identity analysis tries to account for "long term structure and shared meaning with people acting"[1598].

This cumulative concept forces analysis to recognize and account for the fact that "different cultural orders have their own distinctive modes of historical production"[1599], and to remain sensitive to "the process by which experience is defined, ordered, organized and by which knowledge become the basis of public and private action"[1600]. The saliency of the variables informing identities can be ascertained only if any given situation is looked at in context as a cumulative product of historical processes. Cumulative identity analysis thus attempts to account for the presence of the past in the people's everyday lives. In sum, this premise is that all individual identity articulations, either internally held or externally imposed, written or oral, are the specific culmination of the interrelational dynamics of culture and history actualized in social relations.

The development of the cumulative identity approach has been influenced by the insights and frustrations others have found analyzing identity issues surrounding similar populations. In this case, the themes of race, class and ethnicity, for instance, cannot fully explain the people's persistence assertions of an Indian identity through the long term. An exclusive focus on such factors is constraining and misleading when tested against the Salyersville Indians' own continual references to family and the past to explain their identity in the present. It is my hope that the strengths of the more holistic concept of *cumulative identity*, will make a useful contribution to the anthropological literature on identity formation and maintenance in this regard.

As applied to the Salyersville Indian situation, cumulative identity analysis

demonstrates that notions of 'kin' serve to consistently sustain this population's Indian identity. While subjects of many different racial, ethnic, class, political dialogues, the *culmination* of identity for the Salyersville Indians is overwhelming defined through a 'kin' based orientation that, among other things, serves to prioritize their families' knowledge of the past and cohesiveness in the present. Their *cumulative* kin-based identity *as Salyersville Indians* has successfully crosscut and overriden imposed definitions of 'Indian' based on notions of class, race and ethnicity, or political positioning encountered at specific times under specific circumstances. The resilient 'thread' of kinship continues to bind them, not the effects of status, alienation or isolation. Cumulative identity analysis applied to this case shows that this is an identifiable consequence of the people's ongoing prioritization of family relations. This has allowed them to deal with changing social, political and economic situations in a way in which they can continue to define their Indian identity on their own terms. The Salyersville Indians have, for generations, employed durable, yet flexible kinship oriented modes of social, political and economic organization and exchange that enable and "promote well-being and a sense of identity to those who follow it"[1601]. The cultural idiom of kinship is what provides the formula by which Salyersville Indian identity is meaningfully expressed through time and space. Family provides the institution through which Indian identity is actively and successfully maintained throughout changing social relations.

Anthropology, Identity, and American Indians

As for the issue of Indian identity in particular, this cumulative analysis of Salyersville Indian identity returns anthropological discourse regarding Indian identity to what Eli Parker had shown Lewis Henry Morgan so long ago: that it is kin that makes one Indian, and the Indian, in his or her everyday relations, is the one who defines who and what this kin comprises through time and space[1602]. Applying the *cumulative identity* approach, it becomes evident that explaining the persistence of Salyersville Indian identity only makes sense by showing how a prioritization of kinship relations underwrites people's ideals, actions and definitions. This study thus builds upon the legacy of Morgan, Schnieder, Halperin, Ottenheimer, Segalen, and others who, over the years, have reminded the discipline of the importance of kinship studies in general[1603]. This study will hopefully contribute to a growing body of recent literature by Feinburg and Ottenhiemer, Krouse, and Medicine who advocate a return of anthropological focus to the cultural *and* historical analysis of kinship as being of paramount importance in understanding people's identities in the modern world, especially relatively small populations like the Salyersville Indians[1604].

This study shows that we must always consider the local, regional and national political climate in which people operate in and by which they have been influenced. These families' success in influencing local level politics, for instance, reversed as the Salyersville Indian families moved from Kentucky on to the Michigan and Ohio onion fields. And then there are broader political complications. Political influences from the State regarding Indian identity have affected and complicated external perceptions of this

identity both negatively and positively. An example of the former is illustrated through the example of Salyersville Indian being classified as a "minority" but not as an "Indian" by an Indiana University in the 1990s. This story reflects how political definitions at state and federal levels act against Salyersville Indian identity in today's climate (see Chapter 15).

When working with *Indian* identity in the United States, a unique set of problems face the anthropologist interested in identity issues. For example, what constitutes legitimate criteria for a 'tribe' in anthropological definitions from what legally constitutes 'tribe' for the federal, provincial or state governments[1605]. To be 'Indians' to the government, one has to 'prove it' , using specific but often changing criteria such as being heirs of treaty signers and mandated blood-quantum's. That is, Indian identity is filtered through a set of legal criteria--often differing from the people's-- in order to be legitimately represented. Salyersville Indian history shows that not all Indian people are on an equal footing in these representations. Like every self-asserting Indian population, they maintain and assert their own criteria and definitions of "Indian" that may or may not correspond or link with those of others.

With the possible exception of the Cole family prior to 1805, the Salyersville Indian families have been recognized by the United States government only as 'Civilized (Self-Supporting) Indians'. But while being acknowledged as 'civilized Indians', an unrecognized population does not constitute a 'tribe' by the government. This has led to the Salyersville Indians being periodically cast not as Indians, but as 'Melungeons', 'isolates' or 'mestizos'. Based on erroneous assumptions about race, class, and assimilation, some academics employing these labels made predictions in the 1940s, 50s,

60s and 70s that, as with most Eastern Indians, the Salyersville Indian population would 'disappear' in a generation or two[1606].

The lack or even refusal of 'recognition' often perplexes both the government and academia on how to deal with such populations. Considering the flurry of other groups in the U.S. who have done so in the past two decades, some readers may perhaps question why the Salyersville Indians have not acted to pursue federal recognition as an Indian tribe. This case study suggests that their *cumulative* historical experience as Indians has a lot to do with it. For instance, while replying to a Special Commissioner who briefly investigated some of the Salyersville Indian families' Cherokee land claims in 1908, a Salyersville Indian woman, bluntly replied:

> "I never knew we had a master in Washington D.C. My belief was that all men there was elected or appointed these Indians never was slaves or don't want to be- we only ask the right to prove our claim".[1607]

In that event, they neither desired nor sought affirmation of the *Indian* identity. They sought only monetary claims they felt due them as specific *Cherokee* Indian families. This attitude remains strong among the Salyersville Indian families like the Coles who continue to assert a Cherokee as well as Indian identity. Notably, the government's political definition of "Eastern Cherokee" did not, and still does not, reconcile with the Salyersville Indians' notion of the same. But this has not resulted in the latter discarding that identity.

Today, too much focus is often given to the suggestion that some people in the United States seem to organize their Indian identity around perceived political and economic incentives to be gained by being classified as "Indian". But it should again be made clear that, in this case, other then the 1908 Court of Claims event, there have existed no externally generated incentives or benefits, such as per capita payments, serving to maintaining or motivate this Indian identity. For the Salyersville Indians, struggles with government 'recognition' have had nothing to do with their persistence as a self-identified Indian group. The label "welfare Indians" is even sometimes sarcastically thrown around today by some of the older generation of the Salyersville Indians[1608]. Frowning upon dependency to the government at any level, many do not fully understand the complexity of the treaty rights of most "recognized" tribes whose members receive monetary or other benefits stemming from those rights.

In this stance the Salyersville Indians are not unique, for the refusal to pursue recognition is an opinion shared by some other Indians in the United States. For example, consider the Traditional Band Seminole of Florida which refuses recognition despite Federal pressures to join up with a nearby recognized reservation Seminole population. The band's spokesman, Danny Billie, in answering why they walk this path, says "They ask me too many questions. Who are they to recognize me? They should come to me for recognition"[1609]. But there are consequences. Greenbaum points out that lack of recognition can stigmatize such group's identity as Indians, so that, as a result, "good scholarly inquiry and investigation is shunned and hampered by this bias"[1610]. When self-proclaimed Indian identity is not validated by the government, local mythologies and skewed race and class based discourses often tend to carry more weight with the public

and influence academic writers more than they would otherwise. This has been true in the case of the Salyersville Indians[1611].

Herein lies an important issue not only for anthropological theory, but also for Indian Country itself. That is, faced with such potentially adverse pressure from the outside, how can a meaningful Indian identity be maintained and kept salient by the people through the long term? While surely influencing the Salyersville Indians' perspectives regarding Indian identity, in the long term, cumulative identity analysis shows how it is neither class, race, ethnicity, religion or politics that socially or 'culturally reproduce' Salyersville Indian identity. When applied to the Salyersville Indian case, the approach employed here instead reveals that there is much more that cumulates in their present 'status'. Instead, cumulative identity analysis shows that it is the historical actions and experiences generated and interpreted through a network of kin that, via a prioritization of 'family' relations, reinforce and sustain this Indian identity through time and space. By prioritizing family relations, they have managed to keep their kin affiliations, and thus their Indian identity, from being obscured over time. This study shows that, even in this day and age, kinship can remain both flexible and resilient enough to subsume contesting attitudes about race, class, ethnicity and other potentially divisive affiliations encountered at specific times under specific circumstances in order to allow a meaningful Indian identity to persevere.

With regard to ideas about Indian identity in particular, it is the kinship oriented social activities long practiced by the Salyersville Indians provide the means whereby internally held ideas about identity are maintained, disseminated and reinforced on a communal and individual level through time and space. These observations are in line

with Fogelson's assertion that ethnohistorians must be able to recognize "the internal strengths of Indian societies as expressed through the idiom of kinship"[1612]. In this case, the actions and ideas of, and expectations from, one's kin thus inform relations in a manner by which identity can redeem the past, meaningfully express itself in the present, and successfully cast itself into the future[1613].

It has been noted history does not just happen to some people, but instead is a force "they actively utilize" in survival[1614]. That said, here I have come to define culture as *shared, meaningful action in the service of power*, and this suggests that there exists an aspect of *power* wherein binding culture and history together through kin provides the capital that reinforces the people's distinct identity. This alternative idea of power is reflected by one Salyersville Indian elder's statement that "we want to, we must, and we do stay humble"[1615]. Anthropologists have noted that among some peoples, "wisdom ... teaches them to appear powerless in order to reveal power"[1616] and typifying this idea of power for many American Indians is the degree to which "one can manage, channel and circulate life energy"[1617]. This study makes it clear that the life energy for the Salyersville Indians hinges on kin, and this energy provides the power that has sustained this Indian identity for so long. Balancing the influences of culture and history, the ongoing priority of kin relations among the Salyersville Indians maintains a reassuring network for people to draw strength from and refer back to as they face the world. Balancing the influences of culture, history and identity, through the vehicle of family, kinship thus *reassures*. In this case, it reassures both the individual and the group of the validity of their identity as Indian. Beliefs, commitments, and obligations based on the cultural metaphor of 'kin' are prioritized by and thus reify Salyersville Indian identity by reconciling the social,

spiritual and biological components of family relations. It means that being Salyersville Indian is not about being "part something, but it is about being part of something"[1618].

That being said, both anthropologists and the people of Indian Country should reaffirm their commitment to kin in their concerns with Indian identity. This would help to sort out so many of the pressures and problems now faced in various communities regarding their identity, and instead help to reaffirm the promise and persistence of the people. As one Salyersville Indian today expresses it, "the people who are my ancestors are alive in my life and their history has effected me"[1619]. So long as the Circle of families remains unbroken, so will this Indian identity.

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"WHO'S YOUR PEOPLE?"- CUMULATIVE IDENTITY AMONG THE SALYERSVILLE INDIAN POPULATION OF KENTUCKY'S APPALACHIA AND THE MIDWEST MUCKFIELDS, 1677-2000.

VOLUME IV

By

Richard Allen Carlson, Jr.

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Acronyms and Bibliography

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Bibliographic Essay

The availability of the types of source materials impacts my conclusions. Therefore, a general review of the strengths and weaknesses of the major sources that I have relied on is merited, as they differ in nature related to their temporal availability. All have strengths and weaknesses as far as what I could learn from them. Ascertaining the meaning of identity gained through historical documents can be limited by the uneven availability and types of data that can address the questions at hand, as well as the fact that the data can be incorrectly used[1620]. Indeed, much of the information presented here is neutral in position to the issue of Indian identity and sometimes, identity can go underground and be hidden from public view[1621]. Historical identity thus must be deduced from samples of data taken out of the continuum of everyday life to make plausible deductions. The research supporting this study resulted in an extensive database of over 10,000 historical documents, printed materials, maps and photos collected from national, state, county and family archives. These documents were compiled and catalogued chronologically, and this data is complimented by my own field notes, observations, interviews. This dissertation makes only a small part of the products of this research available to the public.

The first half of Section 1 (Chapters 1-2) relies largely on colonial Government reports and correspondences, particularly from Governor Spotswood and the Virginia and North Carolina Council. These documents, covering the mid 1600s to the mid 1700s, provide descriptions of Saponi sociopolitical relations with other Indians and non-

Indians. But as these documents are the product of government to government relations, they are limited in showing us the everyday life of the Saponi. However, this documentation is augmented with the journals of Colonel Byrd and Reverend Fontaine. They provide first-hand descriptions of into Saponi community and family life, subsistence practices, gender roles, and religious ideas. Colonial maps also help to trace migrations as well as the 'tribal' naming complexities surrounding the Saponi and the related Siouan tribes at that time.

Unfortunately, these valuable sources mostly dry up with the end of the 'Tributary Nation' status of the Christian Saponi families in the mid-1700s. Chapters 3-4 mark this new period of the subsequent citizen status of the Christian Saponi and the non-Saponi Indians that later joined them. The sources available here shift to state and county court records, such as deeds, probate records, tax lists, and vital statistics. From tax lists we can discern how the people were 'racially' labeled by others, but only for the purposes of taxation at a particular place and point in time. Still such local political documents are restricted in showing internal perspectives or coherent pictures family and community life, especially when taken individually. But when amassed together, and analyzed in conjunction with each other and subsequent backward looking documentation (see below), they show significant trends in marriage and residential affiliation, racial labeling, economic positioning of individuals within the group, as well as their relations to people and political pressures from outside the group.

Fortunately, different kinds of records become available which allow me to expand upon the story gained from such specific sources. For instance, Chapter 5 draws heavily upon the Stoney Creek Church minutes, covering the period of 1801-1814. They

show migration patterns, people's participation in church activities, and the people's social treatment by non-Indians around the Stone Mountain Indian community. Similarly, the Revolutionary and Civil War Applications submitted by the Indian soldiers themselves contain affidavits that are often supplemented with statements from friends, relatives, and unit leaders in which the New River Indians served. These documents show the people's place in the Wars, as well as what path the applicant had followed in the time since, and often reflect on family and local relations, as in who lived with who, where, and when. One drawback with these source materials is that Salyersville Indians not participating are not directly covered.

Section Two of this dissertation, roughly covering the period from 1800 to 1910, again must draw largely on military, church and county court records, and vital statistics. The Federal censuses also comprise a prominent part of the sources available pertaining to this period. They provide an effective means to place individuals in a particular place and a particular time, and indicate relations in households and villages, between kin and non-kin neighbors[1622]. When used in conjunction with Court records and vital statistics such as birth and marriage records, they are used to trace migrations, determine property, and prove parentage[1623]. This data helps to document family and local demographic relations, and the political and economic positioning of the individual and the group. In this case, the censuses reveal an ongoing continuum of large extended 'self-sustaining' family households linked to numerous other households through kin relations. Such data has helped to lead me to the conclusion that the ongoing social and economic cooperation of kin has worked to successfully maintain the size and strength of the families through this period. On the other hand, the pre-1930 census racial enumerations reflect only an

enumerator's personal suppositions in combination with mandated federal categories of 'race and color', all of which clearly changed from specific times to specific circumstances.

Chapter 9 draws heavily on personal memoirs and scores of correspondences to and from the Salyersville Indians in Kentucky and Federal Court of Claims and Office of Indian Affairs investigators in Washington D.C. These are immensely important, as they supply first hand perspectives of why and how the people at that time knew themselves to be Indian. They contain historical and genealogical knowledge from the people extending far back into the previous century, as well as describing their present condition. Many local non-Indians were also asked by both the government and the Salyersville Indian applicants to give their opinion regarding this validity of this Indian identity. Unfortunately, because this event was limited to Cherokee claimants, many Salyersville Indians who were of Saponi descent did not participate.

Chapters 10 and 14 draw upon the popular and professional literature calling these citizen Indian 'Melungeons'. These descriptive sources regarding the Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain and Salyersville Indian populations provide snapshots of the condition of the families since the mid-1800s, but they are inconsistent and skewed as they are an outsider's fleeting opinion, per se[1624]. Even 'professionals' like Mooney and Burnett relied heavily on local derogatory myths and legends myths as they presented the earliest 'official' anthropological comments about so-called 'Melungeons'. Despite their conjectural histories, these sources are valuable in showing a identifiable community of people asserting, and being locally accepted, as 'Indian'. Such sources consistently identify the same families as claiming an Indian identity over the years. Chapter 14

compares my data with geographer Ed Price's 1950 work regarding those he called "The Magoffin County Mixed-Bloods", which is still the closest thing to a ethnographic description of the Salyersville Indians ever printed in professional journals.

Section Three begins by drawing from a yet different type of source, *The Kentucky Mountaineer*, (the first newspaper in Magoffin County, starting 1912). Like most local papers at that time, it presents 'personal' perspectives on local social, political and economic affairs. The host of issues the paper reflects on range from the impact of coal, gas and timber industries into the mountains, or that a revival was being held on the Big Lick, to more personal issues such as 'so and so visited so and so', or 'Joe Doe trapped a dozen foxes and sold the furs'. For the period of the 1920s to the 1960s, when many Salyersville Indians began seeking wage labor outside of Magoffin County, available newspapers, oral histories, court records, and professional literature are used to follow the Salyersville Indian families to and from the mountains. A few outside popular writing comment on the people's asserted Indian identity. However, they usually only paid attention to the Kentucky end of this network. For the Midwest 'onion period' of 1920 to 1960, much available source material comes from government relief workers and local media visiting the Ohio and Michigan onion camps. Another major source for this period are the papers of Michigan State College (now University) sociologist Dr. Fred Thaden, held at the Michigan State Archives. They hold personal field notes and correspondences collected by Thaden from his fieldwork and activism with Michigan migrant labor populations in the 1940s. While his work was mostly focused on Chicano labor on the beet fields, some of his research provides a close look at the families working the onion fields, and their relations with the growers and the local Midwest

populations. But like most popular and professional literatures regarding the Salyersville Indian families living and working in the north, Thaden lumped them together with non-Indian mountaineers under the homogenizing label of 'Kentucks' and never investigated the Kentucky end of the Magoffin migrant's kin network. Still, such data shows that the compilation of kinship networks has always supported these families on a community level that met the direct material, social and emotional needs of individuals and the group.

For all the 20th century period, interviews and oral histories from the Salyersville Indians themselves are used to clear up some of the contradictions and ambiguities of the above types of externally generated source materials. With their permission, I primarily interviews from persons born in the 1920s to 1950s. These elders held a wealth of information they have gained from their own parents and grandparents, and many of this age have lived in both eastern Kentucky and the Midwest muckfields and/or in Oklahoma. The peoples' own articulation of life experiences are also used as 'backward-looking' in order to cross-check it with the other kinds of source material described above. Chapter 15 draws on many types of sources, but more so on my own ethnographic data, interviews, and my own personal experience than other chapters. This data is used to show kin working in defining identity and keeping the families together today. An acronym code for endnote sources is presented below, as is a complete bibliography of the sources cited herein.

Code:

[a.p.] = associated press
[a.u.] = author unknown
[n.d.] = no date
[s.u.] = source unknown
ctb. = contributed by

[a.p.] 1934 "Anti-Unionists Seize Ohio Town After Mayor's Home is Bombed", *The New York Times*, August 26: 1, 25.

[a.p.] 1934 "Onion Strikers Ready for Pay Compromise: Federal Council Confers with Leaders and Growers- Is Hopeful of Result", *The New York Times*, August 28: 28.

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[a.u.] 1894 "A Famous Case, Recalled By a Recent Application for a Pension: The Interesting Story of How William Bowen, a Half-Witted Malungeon, Was Robbed of His Pension", *Chattanooga Daily Times*, March 31.

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Endnotes

[1] CA-NIC-1999: Farish Cole Reunion Notes. See Chapter 15.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Vanisa 1985, 196.
[4] Deloria,1997, 23.
[5] Burnett 1889; Mooney 1907; Swanton 1946; Speck 1935; Weeks 1948.
[6] Carlson 1996; Carlson 1998; Everett 1999.
[7] Cleland 2001b, vii.
[8] Barth 1959. This premise is developed in by Barth in his introduction, pages 1-38.
[9] Meyer 1987, 261; Foley 1990, 169. See also Ortner 1994, 385-388; Moore 1993, 2-23; Roseberry 1989; Weber 1947; and McClurken 1988, for various other definitions, as well as critiques and applications of political economy approaches.
[10] Forbes 1989; Owens 1996; Jaimes 1992; Greenbaum 1991; Sider 1990.
[11] Frankenberg 1993, 19-21. See also Mills 1996; Ottenheimer 1996; Segelan 1986; Schnieder 1973; Stack 1974
[12] Krouse 1999, 11.
[13] Hirschfeld 1986, 1989, 1994.
[14] Lowe 2002, 125.
[15] CA-NIC-1999/2000. Misc. Notes.
[16] Napps 1993; Batteau 1979; Caudill 1972.
[17] Halperin 1990; Krouse 1999, 11; Schnieder 1968, 21-29.
[18] 1990.
[19] 1973.
[20] 1974.
[21] Halperin 1990, 45.
[22] Ibid, *i*.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid, 39.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Krouse 1999, 11; Schnieder 1968, 21-29; Halperin 1990.
[28] Parry and Doan 1994, 5; See also: Mills 1996, 30, 37-8; Segalen 1986, 7, 13-17, 92-3; Schnieder 1968,: 201.
[29] Bible 1970, 31-32. See also Chapter 10.
[30] Anthropolgists who's work forefronts this premis include Sahlins 1981; Sioui 1992; Marty 1997; Martin 1979; White & White 1995.
[31] See Neely 1991; Barth 1959.
[32] Weber 1946.
[33] Ibid, 1-2.
[34] See, for example, Sider 1993; Neely 1991.
[35] Calagoine, Francis and Nugent 1992, 5.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Sider, 1991. Sider's idea of collective intentionality was first introduced in his 1986 work, Culture and Class (1986, 194).
[38] See Cohen (1980) for a simular critique.
[39] Worden 1947, 29; Carlson and Everett (1995).
[40] Forbes 1989, 38. See also Sider (1993), Foley (1990), Harrison (1991); Kennedy and Kennedy 1994.
[41] Greenbaum (1991): 112.
[42] SAM-TP RG69-69, B226. March 1941. Interview with Newt Cole.
[43] U.S. Department of the Interior 1894, 594.
[44] NAM M1104 R324: 42249. October 21, 1908. Susan Risner to Special Commissioner.
[45] Price 1950, 287.
[46] Berry 1963, 18; Beale 1957, 188; Price 1951, 291.

[47] This is clearly shown by Sider (1993) and Neely (1990) in their studies.
[48] Jarvis 1903.
[49] Foley 1990, 183.
[50] CA-NIC 1999: Misc. notes.
[51] See Foley 1990, Fairclough 1989, and Black-Rogers 1986.
[52] Sider 1990; Greenbaum 1991.
[53] Shapiro 1978, ix.
[54] Schnieder 1973, 25, 63-65, 72-75.
[55] Branch and Philippon 1998, 20.
[56] Cohen 1980; Fogelson 1989.
[57] Dominguez 1994
[58] Fogelson 1989; Segalen 1986; Mills 1996; Schnieder 1968.
[59] Cleland, 2001b: 2.
[60] Cleland 2001b:2-7.
[61] Cleland, 2001b: 2
[62] Cleland 2001b: 3-4.
[63] Cleland 2001b:5
[64] Cleland 2001b: 5.

Chapter 1

[65] VSA-OCOB Roll 30: n.f.n, 1740; Scott 1907,56.
[66] VSA-OCOB Roll 31: n.f.n. May 12, 1742.
[67] VSA-OCOB Roll 31: 309. January 1743; Grinnen 1890, 189-90 ; Scott 1907,56.
[68] VSA-OCOB Roll 31: 309; Grinnen 1890, 189-90.
[69] Sider (1993) makes a similar conclusion of the Lumbee Indians.
[70] Good discussion of the effects of these issues upon Indians throughout the colonial southeast is available in Silver 1990, Merrill 1989, Roundtree 1990.
[71] CVSP, V1: 133-134. October 27, 1709. Petition of Robin, a Pamunkey Indian, to President and Council.
[72] Ibid.
[73] CVSP, V1: 133-134. October 27, 1709. Petition of Robin, a Pamunkey Indian, to President and Council.
[74] Barker 1992: 68.
[75] Robinson 1957, 9. Since 1645, Captain Abe Wood had maintained at trading post here. Later *Captain Bolling*, a mixed-blood Pamunkey-Virginian, would take over the trading operations at Fort Henry.
[76] Robinson 1957, 6-9, 32. EAID-TL, V15:68, Doc. 87, Oct 10, 1665 and Doc. 89, Oct 23, 1666 and Doc. 32, Feb 17, 1645 and Doc 35, March, 1646.
[77] For a good overview of the situation of these tribes during the 17th and early 18th centuries, see Brown 1966, Lewis 1951, Merrill 1985, Mooney 1984, and Speck 1935, 1942.
[78] Kegley and Kegley 1938: 9-11 quoting Alvord and Bidgood, 186-7; WMQ, V15:234-241. "A Journal From Virginia" by Batts, Woods and Fallen, entries dated September 1671 to October 1671.
[79] The Staunton and Yadkin Rivers both were known as the Saponi River at this time.
[80] Kegley and Kegley 1938: 9-11 quoting Alvord and Bidgood, 186-7. WMQ, V15:234-241. "A Journal From Virginia" by Batts, Woods and Fallen, entries dated September 1671 to October 1671. Kegley thought this Tutelo site was between present day Tinker Creek and the Roanoke.
[81] Briceland 1987, 3. For full transcriptions of Lederer's original journal entries, see The Discoveries of John Lederer, William P. Cummings, editor (1958 Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press).
[82] The Iroquois referred to the Saponi, Occoneechi, Tutelo and Catawba all as "Toderickoons", although they sometimes independently designated the Tutelo as "Choponick".
[83] VMHB V14: 289-297. May 29, 1677. Treaty Between Virginia and the Indians. Accompanying names of the Saponi were leaders and spokesmen for the other primary Indian Nations in Virginia. They included the "Queen of Pomuckey on behalf of herself and several nations under her", *Captian John West* (the son of the Queen of Pamaunky), *Peracuta* (the King of the Appomattux), the Queen of Wayonoke, the "King of the Nottaways", the King of the Nanzem'd Indians, *Pattanochus* (King of Nansaticos, Nanzemunds, & Portabacchoes), *Shurenough* (King of the Manakins), *Vnuntsquero* (Chief man of the Meherians) and *Horehannah* (next Chief man of the Maherians).

[84] Ibid. One exception to this clause was made for the Queen of Paumunky "to who several scattered Indians...owe their ancient subjugation" (ibid).
[85] EAID-TL:93. Doc. 11, May 1, 1688; Robinson 1957, 8-9.
[86] VMHB V28: 24-25. [n.d.1691]. Wm. Byrd to Gov. of Virginia.
[87] Ibid.
[88] John Lawson, A New Voyage to Carolina, Hugh Talmage Lefler, editor (1967 Chapel Hill, NC).
[89] CVSP V1: 131-132. July 14, 1709. Ben Harrison to Mr. President Jennings.
[90] Ibid.
[91] CVSP V1: 131-132. July 14, 1709. Ben Harrison to Mr. President Jennings.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Mooney 1894, 42. This was located near present day Windsor in Bertie County, North Carolina.
[96] VHS-OLAS V1: 18-25. October 24, 1710. Spotswood to Council of Trade.
[97] Briceland 1987, 175.
[98] Dotson 1932, 86. Members of the Virginia Indian Company included Alexander Spotswood, E.Walker, Wm. Robertson, Mann Page, T.Nelson, Ed Kearney, Tom Jones, Henry Irwin, Rob Innes, Jn.Baylor, Peter Beverley, Charles Chiswell, A Bickerridge, Richard Bland, John Holloway, Nate Harrision, Cole Digges, and William Cole. (Beaudry 1985, 142).
[99] VHS-OLAS V1: 163-173. July 26, 1712. Spotswood to Council of Trade.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] VHS-OLAS V2: 52-55. March 18, 1713. Spotswood to Earl of Dartmuth and Lords Commr's of Trade.
[103] VHS-OLAS V2: 40-43. November 16, 1713. Spotswood to Lord's Comm'r of Trade.
[104] Ibid.
[105] EAID-TL: 220-24. Feb. 1714. Treaty with the Saponi, Stukanox, Occoneechi and Totero; EAID-TL: 211-216. Feb. 1714. Treaty with the Tuscarora; EAID-TL: 216-220. Feb. 1714. Treaty with the Nottaway.
[106] Ibid.
[107] WMQ V.3 Ser.3: 153-154. October 15, 1714. Journal of Virginia Council Proceedings; VHS-OLAS V2: 76-77. October 25, 1714. Spotswood to Lords Commr's of Trade.
[108] Byrd 1967, 208.
[109] WMQ V.3 Ser.3: 153-154. October 15, 1714. Journal of Virginia Council Proceedings; VHS-OLAS V2: 76-77. October 25, 1714. Spotswood to Lords Commr's of Trade. An equivalent sized tract on the opposite side of the River was laid out for the Nottoways and Meherrins. But due to the ongoing friction between the Siouan speaking Occoneechi, Saponi and Tutelo and the Iroquoian speaking Meherrin and Nottaway, the latter refused to occupy the new reservation set aside for them. The Nottaway would renegotiate with the Virginians to secure themselves a reservation farther north up on the Nottaway River, while the Meherrin would move farther down the Meherrin river.
[110] WMQ V3 Ser.3: 153-154. October 15, 1714. Journal of Virginia Council Proceedings.
[111] Byrd 1967: 310. As late as 1722, Spotswood still separately recognized the Stenkennocks/Stukanox/Stukanoe, as he did during the Albany conference with the Iroquois diplomats during that year (*Documents of Colonial History of New York,* V5: 673; VMHB V12: 343-347, see footnote by volume editor Kemper).
[112] VHS-OLAS V2: 139-141. February 15, 1715. Spotswood to Lords Comm'rs of Trade.
[113] CVSP-V1: 178-180. March 2, 1715. Spotswood to Col. Hunter.
[114] CVSP-V1: 178-180. March 2, 1715. Spotswood to Col. Hunter.
[115] VHS-OLAS V2: 63-65. March 13, 1713. Spotswood to Bishop of London.
[116] Ibid.
[117] VHS-OLAS V2: 52-55. March 18, 1713. Spotswood to Earl of Dartmouth and Lords Comm'rs of Trade.
[118] Besides those cited in this Chapter, there are dozens of similar letters written by Spotswoods echoeing these sentiments in VHL-OLAS.
[119] WMQ V3, Ser.2: 40-45. Journal of Lt. Governor's Travels and Expedition: "The Spotswood's Mileage Accounts", entry dated March 30, 1715.
[120] Fontiane 1972, 90-1.

[121] Ibid., 12
[122] Ibid., 91
[123] Ibid., 94
[124] Ibid., 90-94. Fontaine later learned that " They call those house sweating houses" (1972: 97).
[125] Ibid., 94 .
[126] Ibid., 94.
[127] Ibid., 93.
[128] Ibid., 93-94.
[129] Ibid., 96, 98.
[130] Ibid., 95.
[131] Ibid., 97.
[132] Ibid., 91,98.
[133] Ibid., 98.
[134] Ibid.
[135] The day before they departed, the Governor and Fontaine were visited by ten Meherrin Indians who came to the Fort to do some trading. Testifying to the underlying friction existing between the Saponi and their Meherrin neighbors, Fontaine noted that the Meherrins "would not lie in the Indian town but went in the woods where they lay until such time as they had done trading" (Fontaine 1972:100).
[136] VHS-OLAS V2: 158-9. May 23, 1716. Spotswood to Bishop of London.
[137] WMQ V3, Ser.2: 40-45. Journal of Lt. Governor's Travels and Expedition: "The Spotswood's Mileage Accounts", entries dated May 1716; July 9, 1716; August 1716; and November 27, 1716; VHS-OLAS V1: 41. September 17, 1716.
[138] Briceland 1987: 175; VHS-OLAS V2: 224-5. April 5, 1717. Spotswood to Lords Commr's of Trade.
[139] VMHB V4: 367-8. May 4, 1717. Proceedings of the Virginia Council; WMQ V3, Ser.2: 40-45. Journal of Lt. Governor's Travels and Expedition: "The Spotswood's Mileage Accounts", entry dated April 8, 1717; See also VMHB V4: 331-335. August 13, 1717. Proceedings of the Virginia Council.
[140] VMHB V4: 331-335. August 13, 1717.
[141] VMHB V.4: 370-371. November 12, 1717. Proceedings of the Virginia.
[142] VMHB V4: 370-1. November 12, 1717. Proceedings of the Virginia Council.
[143] VHS-OLAS V2: 300-313. September 27, 1718. Spotswood to Board of Trade.
[144] Ibid.
[145] VHS-OLAS V2: 300-313. September 27, 1718. Spotswood to Board of Trade; VMHB V22: 410-416. [n.d. 1719] "Animadversions on a Paper Entitled Virginia Addresses", prepared by the Virginia House of Burgesses.
[146] Ibid, and WMQ V21: 252. November 24, 1718. Journal of the Virginia House of Burgesses.
[147] VHS-OLAS V2: 300-313. September 27, 1718. Spotswood to Board of Trade.
[148] See CVSP V1: 198-199. March 1, 1720. Minutes of the Virginia Council. The Saponi Indian School was now located six miles above Fort Christanna at the far end of the reservation, all of which remained under the jurisdiction of Brunswick County .
[149] Byrd 1967: 118.
[150] *Documents of Colonial History of New York,* V5: 673; VMHB V12: 343-347, April 1, 1723. Journal of the Virginia Executive Council. ; VMHB V12: 343-347, April 1, 1723. Journal of the Virginia Executive Council.
[151] VMHB V12: 343-347, April 1, 1723. Journal of the Virginia Executive Council, referring to the Proceedings of December 12, 1722.
[152] VMHB V12: 343-347, footnotes.
[153] VMB V13: 1-2. November 5, 1724. Virginia Council Journal-Proceedings of Council.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid. It is notable that Sawnie never required an interpreter during any part of this episode.
[156] VMHB V13: 4-7. February 1, 1726. Virginia Council Journal-Proceedings of Council.
[157] VMHB V33: 4-5. February 2, 1726. Virginia Council Journal-Proceedings of Council.
[158] VMHB V32: 114-117. April 26, 1727. Journal of the Virginia Executive Council-Proceedings of Council.; CSRNC V2: 673-675. April 3, 1726. North Carolina Council Journal; CVSP V1: 210-211. April 4 1727.
[159] Ibid.

[160] VMHB V32: 123-124. August 17, 1727. Journal of the Virginia Executive Council-Proceedings of Council.
[161] Ibid.
[162] VMHB V13: 8-9. October 17, 1727. Virginia Council Journals-Proceedings of Council.
[163] CVSP V1: 212-213. October 30, 1727. Everard to Sir Avandale.
[164] Ibid.
[165] CVSP V1: 214. n.d. 1727. Abstract of letter from President Carter to Sir Richard Everard.
[166] CVSP V1: 212-213. October 30, 1727. Everard to Sir Avandale.
[167] VMHB V32: 246-251. November 2, 1727. Virginia Council Journals-Proceedings of Council.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Testifying to this, in the spring of that year the Virginia Council approved a petition to increase the pay of Charles Kimball as interpreter for the Saponi to a hefty 4000 pounds of Tobacco a year (VMHB V33: 15-17. April 27, 1728. Virginia Council Journals- Council Orders).
[170] VMHB V33: 183-185. August 14, 1728. Virginia Council Journals- Council Orders.
[171] Ibid.
[172] VMHB V33: 293-294. August 16, 1728. Virginia Council Journals-Proceedings of Council.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.
[177] VMHB V33: 294-296. August 22, 1728. Virginia Council Journals-Proceedings of Council.
[178] Ibid.
[179] CVSP V1: 215. September 1728. T. Avent to Sir; VMHB V33: 294-296. August 22, 1728. Virginia Council Journals-Proceedings of Council.
[180] CVSP V1: 215. September 1728. T. Avent to Sir.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid.
[183] VMHB V33 N1: 296-297. November 1728. Virginia Council Journals-Proceedings of Council.
[184] Ibid.

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[185] Byrd 1967: 29.
[186] Ibid., (reprint of 1732 original).
[187] Ibid. :13.
[188] Ibid.: 17, 92.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid.: 2.
[192] Ibid.: 4.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid., 17, 72
[195] Ibid., 17, 92.
[196] Ibid., 74.
[197] Ibid., 104.
[198] Ibid., 92, 95.
[199] Ibid., 106.
[200] Ibid., 112-113.
[201] Ibid., 115-116.
[202] Ibid., 116.
[203] Ibid., 115, 122.
[204] Ibid., 122.
[205] Ibid., 118.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid., 120.

[208] VSA-OCOB Roll 31: 309. January 1743
[209] Byrd 1967, 120.
[210] Ibid., 121-122.
[211] Ibid., 143.
[212] Ibid., 155.
[213] Ibid., 158.
[214] Ibid., 152, 156-7.
[215] Ibid., 160. There is no indication of what a "hunting name" was and how it differed from other names.
[216] Ibid., 106, 163-5.
[217] Ibid., 178.
[218] Ibid., 198.
[219] Ibid., 202.
[220] Ibid., 204.
[221] Ibid., 218.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Byrd 1967, 306.
[224] Byrd 1967, 312.
[225] Byrd 1967, 308.
[226] Ibid.
[227] VMHB V38: 116-121. March 26, 1729. "A Colonial Scottish Jacobite Family", by Col. Edgar E. Hume. The author cites Aspinwall's Transcipts, XI: 435 (Virginia State Library) for this information.
[228] VMHB V34: 102-3: April 23, 1739, Journal of the Virginia Executive Council-Proceedings of Council.
[229] VMHB V37: 291-307. .June 29, 1729. Gov. Gooch to My Lords.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Byrd 1967: 310.
[232] Byrd 1967: 310.
[233] VMHB V 35: 267-268. October 22, 1729. Virginia Council Journals- Council Orders.
[234] Mitchell's Notes and Alvord's Comments, n.p., 1755.; Kegley and Kegley (1938):11.
[235] Byrd 1967: 310.
[236] See Cummings 1958: Plate 49. Pieter vander Aa. Virginie, et...Florida. 1729.
[237] Byrd 1967: 312.
[238] See EAID-TL V.1: 278-380. August 6, 1733. Provincial Council: Meeting with the Conoys. It is notable that, even when maintaining their primary village on the Saponi Reservation in southern Virginia, the Tutelo still made seasonal excursions into the mountains where they sometimes clashed with the Conoy and Shawnee. See for example, EAID-TL V1: 264-265. January 25, 1722/23.
[239] Jefferson (1825: 100); Schoolcraft (1857, PtVI, and 1855: 666-670. It is notable that none of these Tutelo/Saponi carried names from known Christian Saponi families of the 1730s and 40s (Hale 1883; Speck 1935; Mooney 1894).
[240] VMHB V 35: 267-268. October 22, 1729. Virginia Council Journals- Council Orders.
[241] VMHB V 35: 267-268. October 22, 1729. Virginia Council Journals- Council Orders.
[242] CSRNC V3: 89. September 14, 1730. Lt. Gov. Gooch's answers to query regarding the fighting strength of tribes; Byrd 1967: 290.
[243] Byrd 1967: 300.
[244] VMHB V37: 120-121. December 10, 1730. Virginia Council Journals-Council Orders
[245] See CSRNC V2: 10-15. May 10, 1731. Mr.Wates Journal to North Carolina- Minutes of Meeting with the Tuscarora.
[246] Ibid.
[247] Decriptions of Sara/Cherew history are provided in Gregg (1867), Lewis (1951), Merrill (1985), Mooney (1894).
[248] VMHB V13: 137. May 5, 1732. Journal of the Virginia Executive Council-Proceedings of Council.
[249] VMHB V8: 286. October 20, 1732. Journal of the Virginia Executive Council-Proceedings of Council.
[250] VMHB V8: 290-292. October 28, 1732. Journal of the Virginia Executive Council-Proceedings of Council.
[251] Ibid.
[252] Ibid.

[253] VMHB V8: 292-293. December 15, 1732. Proceedings of the Virginia Council.
[254] Ibid.
[255] Ibid.
[256] CSRNC V3: 537-538. April 3, 1733. North Carolina Council Journal.
[257] Ibid. Pushing the idea of consolidation even farther, the North Carolinia Board also stated that they "also will allow the Chowan Indians to also do so if the King will accept them" (ibid).
[258] VMHB V13: 294-295. June 13, 1733. Proceedings of the Virginia Council.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Mosley 1733.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Bricknell 1737: 343-345.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Armelia County Courthouse, VA, Deed Book 1. November 8, 1737. Deed from Taylor to Bruce. See also Holland (1982).
[265] Col. *John Bolling* lived from 1700 to 1757 (Byrd 1967: 311, 316-7).
[266] VSA-OCOB Roll 31: n.f.n. May 12, 1742; VSA-OCOB Roll 31: 309. January 1743; Grinnen (1890: 189-90); Scott 1907:56.
[267] VMHB V 14: 224-245. Petition of Alex'r Maurchtoon; VSA-OCOB Rolls 30 and 31
[268] VSA-OCOB Roll 30: n.f.n, 1740; Scott 1907:56.
[269] Ibid.
[270] VSA-OCOB Roll 31: n.f.n. May 12, 1742.
[271] VSA-OCOB Roll 31: 309. January 1743; Grinnen (1890: 189-90); Scott 1907:56.
[272] Ibid.
[273] Ibid. Although I have not seen the document supporting her claim, one contemporary Collins descendant asserts that another Court document states that at least some of the Saponi were able to put up their own security during that episode (Blackburn el at., 1998).
[274] NCSA-RBCO, M. 2.4-132-n. August 22, 1743. Gooch to Colonial Office
[275] Byrd 1967, 17, 22, 55, 72, 92.
[276] Rev. David Brainerd, a Presbyterian missionary who visited Shamokin in 1744 reported that the Shamokin Tutelo population as rejecting Christian and "civilizing" efforts (Hanna 1911, 195-196).
[277] The Stengenocks and Meitpotski are never mentioned as separate tribal entities after 1728/9, likely having fully merged with the Saponi, Tutelo and Occoneechi.
[278] VHS-OLAS, V2: 139. February 16, 1716. Gov. Spotswod to Lord's Commissioner of Trade.
[279] NAM M.1104 R.302: App. 38901. August 28, 1907. Elex Sexton to U.S. Court of Claims; NAM M.1104 R.302: App. 38904. August 28, 1907. Dean Sexton to U.S. Court of Claims.
[280] VSA-OCOB Rolls 30 and 31: n.f.n.
[281] For some interestingly illustrations of the manner in which Indians could gain Christian and anglicized surnames, see James Mooney's "Evolution of Cherokee Personal Names", *American Anthropologist*, (Jan. 1889: 61-62).
[282] Brockman 1959, 33. One of Captain Joe Collin's sons, Lewis Collins, removed to Granville County North Carolina later in the century (ibid). This white Lewis Collins should not be confused with the Christian Saponi named *Lewis Collins* who served in the Revolutionary War.
[283] A really good discussion of the identity issues regarding the mixed blood descendants of the Pamunkey girl , *Pocahontas*, and the Englishman *John Rolfe* is presented in Tilton (1994) .
[284] Grinnen 1890, 190.
[285] Kegleys 1938; Houck 993, 31-35; "General Map of the Middle British Colonies and the Country of the Confederate Indian", by Lewis Evans, Second edition, 1755, Philadelphia. Not far south of the Nassayn on the James were a number of "Monacan" Indians who frequented the Trading posts of Hughes and his wife *Nikketti* (a Pamunkey woman), or the post belonging to their mixed blood son *Davis* who opened a new post about this time on Pedlers River. There very likely was personal interaction between these "Monacan", the Powhatan mixed blood traders and the Christian Saponi during the mid-1700s.
[286] Davis 1981, 157. Louisa County Court Documents, entry dated June 25, 1745. Also shown living here and concealing tithables was men named *William Hall*, *Benjamin Brannum* and William Donathan. I have yet to confirm these men's connection to the Christian Saponi, but at least two probably were white men connected through intermarriage. The Branham surname becomes common among the Monacan Indians of

this region later in the century, suggesting a genealogical connection between the Christian Saponi and the Monacans existed during this era. The Benjamin Brannum charged here with concealing tithables on the aforementioned 1745 list was apparently a white man who had lived in the county since at least 1745. Benjamin married a daughter of *Gilbert Gibson* (see below). See Houck (1993), and Elder (1999), for more in depth discussions on the Monacan Branham families.

[287] EAID-TL V4: 152. Act of May 9, 1723. This Act was revised in 1748 and held until 1777. For a discussion of the complications involved in interpreting old tax lists like these, see Carroll (1996: 5).

[288] EAID-TL V4: 104. Act of October 23, 1705, and footnote 192, p366. Vaughn writes that this definition of "mulatto" held in Virginia Law throughout the next century. Vaughn also agrees that "mulatto" was also used in North Carolina to define white and Indian mixed-bloods "to the third generation" while simultaneously using the term to define any degree of mixed white and black heritage (ibid). For a more elaborate discussion on the legal definitions of Indian, mulatto, mestizo, black, and free colored during the colonial period, see Higginbotham (1978) and Forbes (1982, 1989).

[289] See NAM M805-355: 55-62. January 19, 1839. Revolutionary War Pension Application of Charles Gibson.

[290] Louisa County, VA- Deed Book. n.d. 1747. Deed from Tom Collins to John Powell for 186 acres.

[291] Ibid.

[292] Louisa County, VA- Will Book. n.d. 1747. Will of Gilbert Gibson.

[293] Cumming (1958): Plate 57, " A Map of the Inhabited Part of Virginia 1751 [1753], by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson; "General Map of the Middle British Colonies and the Country of the Confederate Indian", by Lewis Evans, Second edition, 1755, Philadelphia.; Bowen (1752): "An New and Accurate Map of the Provinces of North and South Carolina &c" n.p.; John Mitchell, Map of North America, 1755.

[294] Louisa County, VA- Deed Book. n.d. 1747. Deed from Tom Collins to John Powell for 186 acres.

[295] Granville County, NC, Tax List, 1750, "John Wades List" (CR 44.701.23).

[296] Granville County, NC Land Grants 31-31. n.d.1751 and May 2, 1751. Deeds to Thomas Gibson on Flatt River. The Earl of Granville was John Carteret.

[297] Ramsey 1964, 106.

[298] Mitchell (1755). Se also "Mitchell's Maps and Alvord's Comments", n.p. as quoted in Kegley (1938: 11).

[299] Bowen (1752): "An New and Accurate Map of the Provinces of North and South Carolina &c" n.p

[300] Revealing problems one encounters in reading colonial cartography, Mitchell's map does not reflect that Orange County had been formed from Granville 2 years prior.

[301] See Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, SC 1958, 454. Proceeding of the Council Concerning Indian Affairs. July 23, 1753. Robert Steel to Gov. Glen.

[302] Tilley 1934, 1-19.

[303] Ibid.

[304] CSRNC V5:144h-151. November [nd.] 1754. Abstracts of County Returns listing men eligible for Service; CSRNC V5: 320-321. January 4, 1755. Enclosure with Gov. Dobbs letter-List of Tithables in 1754 and Number of Indians in North Carolina.

[305] Cited in Lee, 1963: 49-50. As a side note, of the Tuscarora remaining far to the east in Bertie County, NC, the Bishop wrote that "those that have remained here are treated with great contempt and will probably soon be entirely exterminated" (ibid).

[306] CSRNC V5:144h-151. November [nd.] 1754. Abstracts of County Returns listing men eligible for Service; CSRNC V5: 320-321. January 4, 1755. Enclosure with Gov. Dobbs letter-List of Tithables in 1754 and Number of Indians in North Carolina. That colony's *Catawba* contingent were reported as living far toward the mountains in Anson County under *King Hagler* and numbered 240 people. Many more simultaneously lived just across the border in the South Carolina.

Chapter 3

[307] Granville County, NC, Land Grants 31:2. May 2, 1752. Patent to Thomas Gibson.

[308] Granville County, NC, Deed Book. n.d.1752. Deed to Thomas Collins

[309] Granville County, NC, Tax List, 1750, "John Wades List" (CR 44.701.23).

[310] EAID-TL V4: 105, 366.

[311] OCNC-AMCPQS: 6. September [n.d] 1753. Petition of Mary Torrington.

[312] Extract of Lunenburg County, VA, Tax List, as cited in Carroll (1996): 16.
[313] Extract of the 1748 and 1750 Lunenburg County, VA, Tax Lists , as cited in Carroll (1996): 16.
[314] Elder 1999, 223, 323. Like the Sizemores, Moses Ridley's own tribal heritage remains unknown. From this information one might assume that Riddle and the Sizemores were of the same tribal affiliation, although one cannot say for sure. It is thought by some descendants today that Moses may have be the father-in-law of *Tom Collins, Jr.* (see Blackburn el at, 1998: 5).
[315] NCSA File No. T.O. 105.1: 1755 Orange Co, NC, Tax List.
[316] This name "Mager" may be a misspelling of the Biblical name "Micager". However, it too could be a misspelling of "Major", referring to a commission like the earlier "Captain Tom" up in Orange county over a decade before.
[317] NCSA File No. T.O. 105.1: 1755 Orange Co, NC, Tax List.
[318] See the 1728 North Carolina Act of the Assembly; CRNC V6: 982. [n.d. 1762-3]. Petition from sundry inhabitants of Granville and Edgecombe Counties; CRNC V6: 902. November 9, 1762. Petition from Mr. Swann and Sundry Inhabitants of Town of Halifax; CRNC V9: 95-97. [n.d.1771]. A Petition from Sundry Inhabitants of Granville County & Parish of Granvillle; CRNC V9: 146-7. November 27, 1771. Mr. Person presents petition from Sundry inhabitants of Granville County.
[319] Ramsey 1964, 194-5.
[320] Ramsey 1964, 195.
[321] Fontaine 1972: 28.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Ramsey 1964, 199.
[324] Jarvis (1905); Dromgoole (1890, 1891); See also notes enclosed in TSL-DHA WPGP, M. 501, William P. Grohse, Personal Papers, Rolls 1-4.
[325] "Wise County Has It's Own Story of Braddock's Death", [n.d., n.s.], by James T. Adams, as reprinted in AQ V2 N2. This version of the story was taken from an undated newspaper article titled "Wise County Has It's Own Story of Braddock's Death". Apparently it was published 1890 from a paper in or around Wise County Virginia now held at the Southwest Virginia Historical Society at Big Stone Gap. The author gained this version of the story from an interview 94-year-old William Bowling of Flatt gap in that county.
[326] Ibid.
[327] See EAID-TL V5: 231-232. April 4, 1757. Audience with Tuscaroras, Meherrins, Saponies, and Nottoways About Supplies to Fight the French, Executive Journals, VI, 34, 38-39. See also EAID-TL V5, for numerous documents relating to the Winchester conference.
[328] By May 14 almost 400 warriors from the Cherokee, Catawba, Tuscarora, Nottaway and Saponi had assemble in the Virginia Mountains at Winchester for a joint punitive expedition against the "French Indians" (See British Museum, London: Letters, Colonial Office, 5/18 Original Correspondences, Sec. of State: folio 65. Letter dated May 14, 1757; See also Official Letters of Robert Dinwiddie, 1884, V2:628-29. May 18, 1757. Gov. Dinwiddie to Earl of Loudoun).
[329] OCNC-AMCPQS: 10. Minutes, March [n.d.] 1754. M. Synott vs Thomas Gibson, in case. There is an interesting side note for researcher concerning the "Gibsons" or Orange County during this era. In 1757, a non-Indian named "John Gibson, gentleman" emigrated to Orange County, N.C. from Prince William County. There is no known relation or association between this man and the Gibsons who intermarried with the Christian Saponi. See OCNC-AMCPQS: 66. Deed Book 12: 422. November 24, 1757.
[330] OCNC-AMCPQS: 25. Minutes, June 2, 1756, S. Benton vs. Gideon Bunch. OCNC-AMCPQS: 26. Minutes, September 5, 1756. J. Dunnagan vs. Charles Gibson.
[331] OCNC-AMCPQS: 30-34. Minutes, March [n.d.] 1757.
[332] OCNC-AMCPQS: 30-34. Minutes March [n.d.] 1757. Stroud vs. Thomas Collins, Jr., and Sam Collins vs. Stroud; June [n.d] 1757. Stroud vs. Collins.
[333] OCNC-AMCPQS: 30-34. Minutes, March [n.d.] 1757.
[334] OCNC-AMCPQS: 34, 35. Minutes, June 7, 1757. Wm. Reed's account; NCSA File No. T.O. 105.1: 1755 Orange Co, NC, Tax List.
[335] OCNC-AMCPQS: 36-8. Minutes, September [n.d.] 1757.
[336] OCNC-AMCPQS: 30-35. Minutes, March [n.d.] 1757 and June 7, 1757.
[337] OCNC-AMCPQS:38-40. Minutes, December 1757 Cary & Welson vs. John Collins; OCNC-AMCPQS: 45. June [n.d.]1758 Dan Welson vs. Sam Collins; OCNC-AMCPQS: 50-52. March [n.d.] 1759, N. Cary vs. John Collins, and June[n.d.] 1759, Joe [Moobry?] vs. Paul Collins, debt.

[338] OCNC-AMCPQS: 66. Minutes, February [n.d.] 1761. Ogle vs. Ben Bolin.
[339] For example, see CRNC V7: 306. November 17, 1766. "A Bill to prevent hunting for and killing deer..."
[340] [a.u.]. 1763. "The British Goverments in Nth. America", *The Gentleman's Magazine, (London);* McDonald (1899): 267-79. Proclamation of October 7, 1763.
[341] Ibid.
[342] Ibid.
[343] CRNC V5: 141-44. August 12, 1754. " Treaty...Between Alexander Osburn and James Carter, Esq., Commissioners, and the Catawba Indians"; VMHB V13: 225-65. 1756. "A Treaty Between Virginia and the Catawbas and Cherokees". See also CSRNC V11: 179-205. November 5-10, 1763. Minutes of Governor's Conference Minutes (Ft. Augusta) with the Chickasaw, Choctaw, Catawbas and the Cherokees". At that conference, King Hagler, the primary chief of the Catawbas, represented "The Catawbas and their Several Tribes or Nations".
[344] Schoolcraft 1853, Pt3, citing "Col. Bouqet's Warrior Census of Indian Nations, 1764"; Cumming 1958: "A Compleat Map of North Carolina", 1770, by John A. Collett.
[345] Kegleys 1980, 27-42; Thomas 1926, 244-45, 379, citing Boone autobiography by John Filson. This William Cole, a frequent partner of John Findley and Daniel Boone in trading with Shawnee and other Indians living at the Red River in eastern Kentucky in the 1750 and 60s, is often seen written as William Cool.
[346] Orange County, NC, Deed Book 3: 468, 471, 622. May 26, 1770. Deed of Thomas Gibson to James, George and Joel Gibson.
[347] In 1807, George testified in court in a land dispute that he had settle Peach Bottom in 1767. See Chalkey's Chronicles of the Scotch Irish, Volume 2: 143.
[348] VG, V10 (1966):51+. "Boutourt County, VA., Tithables 1770-1771," Ctb. by Pollyanna Creekmore. Boutourt County was formed from Fincastle County in 1771.
[349] The lands presently held by the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians are in part a legacy of these arrangements. See Finger (1984), King (1979) and Iobst (1979).
[350] Johnson (1906): 140-145.
[351] WSA-DC-PVP, 3QQ64. July 13, 1774. Capt. Russell to Col. Preston. WSA-DC-PVP, [n.d. 1772]. Capt. Russell to Col. Preston.
[352] *Magazine of Virginia Genealogy*, V35, N3: 208-211. Delinquent Tax List of Botetourt County, VA, 1773, transcribed by Julia Case; and V25, N1:11-19 "A Tithable List for Botetourt Parish, Fincastle, Co., VA", Ctb. Richard Slatten; Kegley and Kegley 1980, 35; Kegley 1938.
[353] Ibid. Old *Tom Collins,* however was not shown although other documents suggests he was in the area at that time. It may be that he was living far enough downstream on the New River to be considered in North Carolina jurisdiction that year (see Wilkes County, NC, Land Entry Book 1012. June 9, 1779. Deed of Jn. Livingston). Kegley and Kegley (1980): 35, also lists people who had "runaway" from the county without paying their taxes, and included *Charles* and *William Sexton*, William Cox, the famous Longhunter James Newman, and a number of men from the Blevins family. The Blevins' would become intimately tied with the mixed-blood *Sizemore* family after the Revolution.
[354] *Magazine of Virginia Genealogy*, V35, N3: 208-211. Delinquent Tax List of Boutourt County, VA, 1773, transcribed by Julia Case; and V25, N1:11-19 "A Tithable List for Botetourt Parish, Fincastle, Co., VA", Ctb. Richard Slatten; Kegley and Kegley 1980, 35.
[355] Ibid.
[356] NAM M.1104 R.302: App. 38901. August 28, 1907. Elex Sexton to U.S. Court of Claims; NAM M.1104 R.302: App. 38904. August 28, 1907. Dean Sexton to U.S. Court of Claims.
[357] For a interesting perspective on the debates surrounding setting the Indian Boundary line in the Cherokee Treaties of 1767/8 and 1770 (the Lockabee Treaty), see VMHB V12: 26, "Virginia and The Cherokees: The Treaties of 1768 and 1770", which also contains correspondences and a copy of the Treaty of Ft. Stanwix. These Cherokee Treaties fixed the Cherokee Boundary Line at the Laurel Fork of the Holston which divided Virginia from Lord Granville's property in North Carolina (see Map 7).
[358] [a.u.]. 1763. "The British Governments in Nth. America", *The Gentleman's Magazine, (London);* McDonald (1899): 267-79. Proclamation of October 7, 1763.
[359] Schoolcraft (1853): 580-586, citing T. McKenny to the Secretary of War, dated January 20, 1825.
[360] WSA-DC: Militia Rosters. [n.d. , Fall 1774].

[361] WSA-DC-PVP 3QQ1920. April 15, 1774. Among Preston's many titles and offices was that he was "Sheriff" of Fincastle County.
[362] WSA-DC-PVP: June 22, 1774. Christian to Preston; WSA-DC-PVP: July 3, 1774. Preston to Christian; See also See WSA-DC-PVP 38894 [n.d. 1774], and WSA-DC-PVP: Militia Rosters, giving distances from Fort Blackmore, dated August to November, 1774. See also Jarvis (1903). .
[363] WSA-DC-PVP: August 25. Preston to [--]; WSA-DC-PVP: October 9, `774. Preston to Smith.
[364] WSA-DC-PVP: October 9, 1774. Preston to Smith; WSA-DC-PVP: October 13, 1774. Campbell to [Preston?].
[365] In a interesting side note, the last known reference to the Saponi band which had confederated with the Catawba occurred in March of 1775, when the Catawba's white "benefactor", Richard Spright, was authorized by Carolinian officials in New Bern to expend a considerable amount in "presents" to the allied "Catawba and Saponi" in efforts to secure their allegiances. Similar overtures were being made to nations, tribes and bands throughout Indian country.(See CSRNC V5: 320-321. September 13, 1775. Report of the Committee of Public Claims, New Bern). Oral histories recorded by Speck (1938) show that after the War; however, this band of Saponi did finally meld into the overall "Catawba" identity . For information on Richard Spright and his activities with the Catawba, see Brown (1966).
[366] NAM M.805-355: 0055-62. January 19, 1839. Revolutionary War Application of Charles Gibson.
[367] Ramsey 1964, n.p.n.
[368] NAM M804 R614: s21142. August 16, 1834. Revolutionary War Application of Lewis Collins;
[369] Ibid; see also NAM M804 R1642. Revolutionary War Application of Salethial Martin, which contains affidavit by Joseph Collins. Lewis may have been wounded in service in 1778, for he spent his last month's duty "making crop to Charles Thompson", a white planter from back down in Montgomery County, North Carolina.
[370] Orange County, NC, Will Book A: 195. Will of George Gibson (proved May 1776). Old *Tom Gibson*, or his son *Tom Jr.*, was the executor of George Gibson's will, which was witnessed by *Joel Gibson* and *Lucrecy Collins*.
[371] See Pruitt: 47, Caswell County, NC, Land Entires. Land entry of Andrew Gibson, dated August 25, 1778, and entry of Mary Gibson, dated July 26, 1779). *John Gibson* (b.16 Sept 1760), would join the continental army out of Guilford County, where he was employed mostly to collect cattle for the use of Army troops. John however would leave Guilford County after his service in the continental army, and rejoin his father's Saponi kin out in Tennessee in 1805. NAM M804 R1067:S 3395 July 16, 1833. Revolutionary War Application of John Gibson).
[372] NAM M804 R614 Revolutionary War Application of Meredith Collins.
[373] Ibid. Friendly Indians often served as "Indian Scouts" for colonial and state militias, but so did many non-Indians. For example, William Moore was employed as an "Indian Scout" on the Clinch in 1774. WSA-DC-PVP 3QQ63: July 12, 1774. Col. Christian to A. Preston; WSA-DC-PVP 3QQ1920. April 15, 1774.
[374] Kegleys 1938, citing the Montgomery County, VA Tax List for 1777 and list of Cox's militia unit. Montgomery County, Virginia, was formed from Botetourt County in 1777.
[375] Kegley 1938, Montgomery County Tax Lists, 1780s.
[376] NAM 804 R614: s21142. August 16, 1834. Revolutionary War Application of Lewis Collins; see also NAM 804 R1642. Revolutionary War Application of Salethial Martin, which contains affidavit by Joseph Collins. Italics mine.
[377] Hurt 1976, 41. By 1767, Moses Ridley/ Riddle and his family had moved back into Virginia and set up a home on Polecat Creek off the Bannister River in Pittsylvannia County very near were the *Sizemores* were enumerated on the "Old Indian Man's List" in 1750 (see above).
[378] Kegley 1938. Montgomery Co., Tax Lists, 1780s, and Montgomery County, VA, Tax List 1782.
[379] Jarvis (1903).
[380] Ibid.
[381] Ibid.
[382] Ibid.
[383] Ibid.
[384] Wilkes County, NC, Land Entry Book. January 2, 1779, Land entry of Ben Herndon.
[385] Wilkes County, NC, Land Entry Book. January 2, 1779 [?], Land Entry of Wm.Lenior.
[386] Wilkes County, NC, Land Entry Book. January 7, 1779 [?], Land Entry of Ben Cleveland.

[387] Wilkes County, NC, Land Entry Book, No.1012. June 9, 1779. Land entry of Jn. Livingston.
[388] See Fothergill and Naugle (1940), Virginia Taxpayers, 1782-87. There are a number of "white" families with surnames the same as those of the primary New River Indian families living in the region at this time, such as Riddle, Bowlin, Gibson, Sexton, Bunch, and Griffen. Without more thorough genealogies on these families, however, I must assume the majority are of non-Indian heritage.
[389] Wilkes Co., NC, State Census, 1787.
[390] The 1790 Virginia Census for this area has long since been lost or destroyed, and so this information is taken from the 1771, 1772, 1773 and 1793 Tax Lists of Wythe County Virginia, the "New River District" (Yantis 1972, 1-4, 45, 28, 81-88, 103-5). That movements of families between Virginia and North Carolina during this time is of course likely and probable, and should be kept in mind when comparing the 1790 and 1793 lists.
[391] NAM M637 R7: Wilkes Co., NC, Morgan District.
[392] Ibid.
[393] Ibid. The *Moores* descended from John Moore (b. 1758 Orange Co., NC) have been recorded as "Indian", "Mulatto" and "half breeds" since living in Orange County, North Carolina in the 1750s and 60 ("Moore" by Sherry Shop Rehr, OFCKF, VIN2:27). If they acquired their Indian heritage from intermarrying the Christian Saponi, or if they were Indians who migrated into that community from another locality is however still unknown to me.
[394] UNCL-WLP, Wilkes Co., Deeds, No.290. July 9, 1791. Elisha Collins.
[395] UNCL-WLP, Wilkes Co., Deeds, No.290. July 9, 1791. Lewis Collins, Joshua Collins.
[396] UNCL-WLP, Wilkes Co., Deeds, No.290. July 9, 1791. George Collins, David Collins
[397] Wilkes County, NC Court Minutes. Entries of January 26, 1791.
[398] Wilkes Co.,NC, Deed Book A: 142, 147. November 3, 1796. Grant to Thomas Gibson; Wilkes Co., NC, Deed Book D: 750. December 13, 1796. Grant to Vardy Collins.
[399] Wilkes Co.,NC Deed Book D: 412. December 27, 1797. Grants to David Collins and Griffen Collins.
[400] Ashe Co.,NC Deed Book D: 329. April 4, 1798. Land purchase of Thomas Collins; Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book A: 4. June 3, 1798. Grant to Elisha Collins. Ashe County was created from Wilkes County in 1797/8.
[401] Wilkes County, NC, Deed Book: 42. December 20, 1791. Grant to George Reeves.
[402] Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book A: 147. January 18, 1800.
[403] Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book A: 174. March 26, 1800.
[404] Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book B: n.p. May 1, 1800. Deed entry of Ambrose Collins.
[405] Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book B: 197. August 21, 1800. Deed entry of Volentin Collins
[406] Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book A: 264. November 14, 1800. Deed entry of Griffen Collins.
[407] Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book A: 264. January 1, 1801. Deed entry of Griffeth Collins.
[408] Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book B: n.p. March 9, 1801. Deed entry of Thomas Collins; Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book B: n.d. October 7, 1802.
[409] See also. Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book B: n.p. November 18, 1801. Deed entry of Ambrose Collins). In the fall of 1803, Ambrose entered another deed for an additional 300 acres that included "good vacant land" (Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book B:258. November 24, 1803. Land entry of Ambris Collins). *Milleton Collins* also frequently shows up in county records buying and selling land across the state line in Virginia. 1783, 80 acres was surveyed for him on "middle Big Reed" and in 1793 he received a grant for 80 acres on Big Reed Island on the New River, adjoining the property of Benjamin Bailey. See Montgomery Co., VA Deed Book: 182. In 1802, *Milleton* and *Avy Collins* sold these lands to a James Bobbit. See Grayson Co., VA Deed Book 1: 480. All entries are found in Alderman [n.d.] as cited in Elder 1999, 211.
[410] Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book B:258. November 24, 1803. Land entry of Ambris Collins.
[411] See Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book A: n.p.. March 8, 1802. Deed entry of Elisha Collins; Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book A:434. May 12 1802). Most of the other deeds applied for by the Christian Indians in 1801 and 1802, for some reason, would not be made official until the winter and spring of 1803 (See Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book B: n.p. November 29, 1802. Grant to Thomas Collins; Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book A: n.p. December 12, 1802. Grant to Elisha Collins; Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book B: 69. December 17, 1802. Grant to Ambrose Collins; Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book B: 466. November 29, 1803. Grant to Griffen Collins).
[412] Such as Joshua Cox, William Richardson, Elijah Estep and Henry Davis. See Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book D: 11, 71, 391.
[413] Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book B; n.p. February 10, 1803. Deed to Thomas Collins. *Elisha Collins* also kept

up his real estate activities that year, selling 50 acres to a Bill McGaha, and then recouping his holdings by purchasing 150 acres encompassing both sides of the North Fork of the New (Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book B: 258. March 14, 1803; Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book B: 906. May 10, 1803. Land entry of Elisha Collins). Later that fall Elisha managed to buy another 200 acres adjoining the property of the local families of James and Steven Reed (Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book B: n.p. November 8, 1803. Land entry of Elisha Collins).

[414] Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book V: 284. n.d. Deed of Trust, Thomas Collins to Richard Gentry.

[415] For examples of dozens of instances where Indians have deed land in trust to individuals, such as state governors, or organizations, like missionary societies, in order to ensure such lands would remain safe for future generations, see examples in Cleland (1992, 2001a) and Brown (1966).

[416] The pressures brought by the new wave of non-Indian settlers into the area during the turn of the century are reflected in a 1797 petition to the State made by a community of these old frontier families living on the eastern side of the Blue Ridge mountains separating the New River valley from that of the Yadkin. They stated that they were being denied the fish that used to "come up the river" by a mill dam that had been erected many miles downstream by an outside entrepreneur. Led by Captain Ben Hammonds, Steve Adams, Jim Caudill, Billy Williams, and others, these nearby neighbors of the New River Indians would unsuccessfully argue that the "mill really does not benefit the public", and they requested that the dam be removed "so fish may come up the river for the benefit of the inhabitants" (See North Carolina State Legislative Papers as cited in AQ V3 N2: 36-45. Petition from the Inhabitants of Roaring River, 1797).

[417] NAM M32 R29: Ashe Co., NC.

[418] NAM M637 R7: Wilkes Co., NC; For applications of these categories to Indians elsewhere in the southeast, see Roundtree and Davidson 1997; Hazel 1991; Forbes 1984, 1989; Garrow 1979.

[419] NAM M32 R29: Ashe Co., NC.

[420] Ibid.

[421] One interesting perspective regarding some of the problems in the taking of the Federal censuses is reflected in George Washington's Diary (taken from Washington's Southern Tour, as reprinted in *The North Carolinian,* V1 N4). Referring to the 1790 census of North Carolina, in a diary entry dated April 24, 1791, Washington wrote that "it is agreed on all hands that the Census in this state has been very inaccurately and shamefully taken by Marshall's deputies". He described how instead of going to people's houses, county authorities advertised meeting places and those who did not attend went unnumbered, or were enumerated on another's word. He noted how widows and entire families often went unnoticed.

Chapter 4

[422] See The Life and Adventures of Wilburn Waters, by Charles B. Cole 1878, and *Appalachia Heritage*, V28:75-77, "Wilburn Waters: A Man for His Time", by Ruth Trimble. Notably, other "citizen Indians" and mixed-blood families were also attracted to the Yadkin and New River watersheds during the era following the French and Indian War. There were for instance the mixed-blood *Dunnahoos* (Donaho, Dunahoo) from the upper James River area in Virginia who set up homes on the Yadkin River. In 1907, an the Indian Claims Commission Report remarked that, by that time, the descendants of Dunnahoo "were recognized as white people in the community but...they prided themselves in their Indian blood". (See NAM M685, Misc. Testimony. Poindexter Case: 13, March 23, 1908, Test. of John K. Martin, Pilot Mnt; Jordan 1987: 253; see also NAM M.1104 R8: Appl. 664, Sarah A. Mashburn, Andrews, NC, and NAM M685, Misc. Testimony. Poindexter Case, pg1-29; Jordan 1987: 236-266; see also NAM M.1104, R.171, Appl.19285. March 18, 1908. Ellen L. Dorsett).

[423] NAM M685 R7-11: Misc. Testimonies, Sizemore Case: 21-22. April 1, 1908. Testimony of James Woody, Laurel Springs, NC; Jordan (1987): 144-145.

[424] See EAID-TL V5: 18-19. December 11, 1734. "Cherokee Seek Closer Relationship with Virginia, Tributaries and Northern Indians".

[425] Ibid.

[426] Kappler **(date):** 30-33. Treaty with the Cherokee, 1791. Buncombe County was created from the "Indian Lands" of Rutherford and Burke Counties in 1792.

[427] NAM M.1104 R.151: Appl.16346. February 1, 1907. Shephard Cole, Gullett KY; NAM M.1104 R253: Appl.31699. August 7, 1907. Brainard, KY.; NAM M1104, R278: Appl. 35326. Sookey Nickles, Sublett, KY.

[428] NAM M637 R7: Wilkes Co., NC, Morgan District; NAM M32 R29: Ashe, Burke and Buncombe Counties.
[429] NAM M.1104 R335: Appl.43987. October 14, 1907. Aggie Montgomery, Hagar, KY; also Eakin **(n.d.)**: 22-23.
[430] NAM M.1104 R.151: Appl.16346. February 1, 1907. Shephard Cole, Gullett KY; NAM M.1104 R253: Appl.31699. August 7, 1907. J.M. Collins, Brainard, KY.; NAM M1104, R278: Appl. 35326. Sookey Nickles, Sublett, KY; NAM M.1104 R324: Appl.42247. June 2, 1908. E.Bailey to SCOIA.; NAM M1104 R253: July 29, 1908. Misc. Testimony of Anderson Cole to Asst. Spec. Comm'r.
[431] CA-NIC- 1999: Gary Bettinger; NAM M1104, R131: Appl. 13894. Emmaline Conner, Bedford, OK; NAM M1104 R253: Appl 31698. July 30, 1908. L. Pocket to SCOIA. See NAM M1104 R131: Appl. 13895. James M. Brummett, Denver, CO.
[432] Some suggestion should be made to the reader as to why I have this suspicion as to their being at least part "Catawba". One of John and Cuzzie's granddaughters by *Louanna* would claim that Louanna had her by a Indian man named *Sanders*, or that Louanna herself was not John Cole's daughter, but the daughter of Cuzzie Anderson and an Indian named *Sanders*. The *Sanders* name is notably prominent among both the Catawba and Cherokee Nations in the 1800s, and quite probably the two families are themselves interrelated. See NAM M1104, R131: Appl. 13894. Emmaline Conner, Bedford, OK; NAM M1104 R131: Appl. 13895. James M. Brummett, Denver, CO; NAM M1104, R 5: Appl. 407, September 28, 1908. Misc. Testimony of George Sanders, Locust Grove, OK.See NAM M21 R99: 493. April 7, 1871. Clum to Jones.

Another major evidence that gives me the suspicion that Cuzzie was from a Catawba or mixed Catawba Cherokee family is tied to an obscure group of Indians that, in the mid to late 1800s, repeatedly petitioned Congress to help them remove from their home at Sandy Creek in Macon County, North Carolina out to Indian territory under government protection and sanction. Senate Documents show this small group of families, mostly dominated by the *Guy* (aka. "*Squirrel*" family, were claiming a "Catawba Identity", and that family offered proofs of their migration from Virginia into Orange County North Carolina and eventually into Macon County by 1802. Here at Sandy Creek, adjacent to the Cherokee Nation at that time, they apparently met up with the Andersons. By the late 1880s, a few *Anderson* and *Gibsons were* being counted among them. Interestingly, some descendants of the Guy family today claim that their ancestors were originally of Tutelo and/or Occoneechi descent, which would not be to surprising in light of the diversity of tribal heritages that were lumped under the "Catawba" name during the 1700s. That there somehow exists a connection between the "Sandy Creek Band of Catawba" and the Christian Saponi seems more than likely, and begs for further investigation. (See U.S. Senate Document No.144, 54th Congress, 2nd Session. February 23, 1897. "The Catawba Tribe of Indians: Memorial on behalf if the Individuals formally comprising and belonging to the Catawba Tribe of Indians", with enclosure letter dated October 19, 1869, McDowell to Parker; see also NAM M.1104 R134: Appl. 13812. January 28, 1907. George L. Guy, Whorley, TN; Hazel (1991).

It may also be that these Andersons were connected to the large Cherokee family by that name that moved to Arkansas in the early 1800s. Known as or "The Old Emigrates", they were closely tied to the *Blairs* and other "Cherokee Old Settlers". The Cherokee *George Anderson* served in a friendly Cherokee unit that was attached to George Washington's command in either Dunmore's War or The Revolution. Oral tradition amongst the Cherokee Cole family of the Salyersville Indian population claim that John Charles Cole had also served in a unit of friendly Cherokee under a Cherokee named Anderson during those times. The aforementioned *George Anderson's* son named *John Anderson* married *Nancy Gentry*, who was of mixed Creek and Delaware descent. Nancy's father *Sam Gentry* was a Creek while her mother *Sallie Helton* was a Delaware. Like many of the "Old Emigrants", the Andersons were "well to do", and owned slaves and established large farms. Some of these Andersons would maintain ties and even residences with the people of the Pea Ridge Indian Community that existed in Cumberland County, Kentucky prior to the Civil War. Old timers living in Cumberland County in the early 1900s recalled that "there were lots of Indians in Cumberland County at that time", including the Andersons, the equally wealthy *Coes,* as well as the mixed-blood *Perkins* families. The Cherokee-Catawba family of *Nettles* was also associated with the Indians and mixed-bloods living here during this time. See NA RG 75, "Old Settler" Enrollment 1852, reprinted in Cherokee Roots, Vol.2: Western Cherokee Rolls (1992), by Bob Blankenship, pg.14; NAM M. 1104, R74: Appl. 7282, Wm. A Poindexter; NAM M685, Misc. Testimony. Poindexter Case: 28, October 16, 1908, Test. of Wm.Poindexter, Sayre, OK; Jordan (1987): 264-66.
[433] Finger (1984), Mooney (1894, 1900), Thornton (1990) and Swanton (1946).

[434] See SSROL-HCRO, Hawkins County Grant Books, 1787-1819, Grant Book 1: 271 and Grant Book 2: 121, 124, 138, 140, 155.
[435] Grainger County, TN, Tax List, 1799, cited in AQV3N4:6. It is interesting to compare the federal census enumeration of Elisha in the New River Indian community in 1800, where county authorities recorded him as "free colored", and that of Grangier County Tennessee in 1799, which recorded him amongst the "white" tithables.
[436] Local history from those long familiar with the area recalls how Greasy Rock was named. One typical rendition, published in 1903, tells of how a party of Hunters from the New and Yadkin Rivers in 1762 made their way to Greasy Rock itself. The local historian recanted the remembered tale of how "Some of the party of hunters went down to the country to where Sneedville, Hancock County, now stands and hunted there during that season. Bear were plentiful here and they killed many, their clothing becoming greasy, and near the camp a projecting rock on which they would lie down and drink, and the rock became very Greasy, and named the creek Greasy Rock Creek, a name by which it has been known ever since..." (Jarvis 1903).
[437] Another early local "fort" was "Gibson's Station" located at the "Indian Old Fields" in Powell's Valley, established by Major George Gibson in 1785. Born in Ireland, Major Gibson was of no relation to the Christian Indians carrying the same surname that would move to area at the turn of the century.
[438] See CVSP V3: 406-408. December 30, 1782. Col. Christian to Col. Mathews ; WSA-DC-PVP n.d. Letter from John Redd to Draper.
[439] CVSP V1: 613. March 31, 1781. Martin to Gov. Jefferson.
[440] NASP V1: 260-261. [n.d.] 1783. An Act for appointing Agent, holding Treaty with Cherokees, etc.
[441] CVSP V3: 406-8. December 30, 1782. Col. Christian to Col. Mathews; see also WSA-DC-PVP n.d. Letter from John Redd to Draper.
[442] See Mooney (1900) and Cox (1999). Betsy was the daughter of the "Beloved Woman" *Nancy Ward*, who was the daughter of Chief *Oconostota* and niece of *Attatakullakulla* (*Dragging Canoe*).
[443] See How To Research A Little Bit Of Indian, by Afton E. Reintjes, (1986, Salt lake City: Family World History), pgs 55-56.
[444] WSA-DC-PVP n.d. Letter from John Redd to Draper; CVSP V3: 406-8. December 30, 1782.
[445] U.S. Statues at Large, Treaties With Indian Tribes (Washington D.C.: GPO) V7: 93-94. October 25, 1805. Articles of Treaty with Commissioners Meigs and Smith.
[446] CVSP V3: 406-8. December 30, 1782. Col. Christian to Col. Mathews; see also WSA-DC-PVP n.d. Letter from John Redd to Draper, and 1791. Martin to Gov. of Virginia.
[447] Ibid
[448] Ibid.
[449] The Cherokee hunting ground around Cumberland Gap and Powells Valley were reserved under the 1785 and 1791 Treaties. See U.S. Statues at Large, Treaties With Indian Tribes (Washington D.C.: GPO) V7. November 28, 1785. Treaty with the Cherokee (Treaty of Hopewell) and Kappler (1904): 29-33. July 2, 1791. Treaty with the Cherokee.
[450] National Archives, Central Map Files, RG75, Map 820. November 8, 1802. Sketch of the 'Indian Boundary Line' in Claiborne and Knox Counties.
[451] Ibid.
[452] Ibid.
[453] Jarvis (1903).
[454] KPL-PR. 145890: 1. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated February 21, 1801.
[455] KPL-PR. 145890: 2. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated December [n.d.], 1801
[456] KPL-PR. 145890: 3. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated January 18, 1802.
[457] KPL-PR. 145890: 2. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated December [n.d.], 1801.
[458] KPL-PR. 145890: 3. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated February 27, 1802; KPL-PR. 145890: 3. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated April 24, 1802. Late in January, 1802, the church also accepted a "Brother Bolling" into the flock of Christians (Ibid). However, if this Bowling was white, or of either the Saponi or Powhatan families of the same name is not known.
[459] KPL-PR. 145890: 4. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated May 22, 1802.
[460] KPL-PR. 145890: 4. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated June 23, 1802.
[461] Certain white persons, namely William Nolen, Tom Marshall and Violett Flannery, were also received into the church that same day. These surnames would be associated with some of the descendants of these

Indians for generations to come.
[462] KPL-PR. 145890: 4. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated July 25, 1802.
[463] KPL-PR. 145890: 4. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated August 29, 1802.
[464] KPL-PR. 145890: 4. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated Sept 22, 1802.
[465] The Indian *Gibsons* often had their names written as *Gipson* all throughout the 19th century records.
[466] KPL-PR. 145890: 5. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated November 25, 1802.
[467] KPL-PR. 145890: 5. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated December 23, 1802].
[468] KPL-PR. 145890: 5. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated February 26, 1803; KPL-PR. 145890: 5. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated January 22, 1803; KPL-PR. 145890: 6. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated March 20, 1803.
[469] KPL-PR. 145890: 5. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated Febrauay 26, 1803.
[470] KPL-PR. 145890: 1-2. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated November 14, 1801.
[471] KPL-PR. 145890: 6. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated March 26, 1803.
[472] KPL-PR. 145890: 6. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated April [n.d.],1903.
[473] KPL-PR. 145890: 7. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated September [n.d.]1803.
[474] KPL-PR. 145890: 7. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated December 21, 1803.
[475] KPL-PR. 145890: 8-9. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated April 28, June 23, and September [n.d.] 1804;. Rules also crept into the domestic sphere and the church considered it wrong for "any of their brethren for to suffer their children to live in disorder". See KPL-PR. 145890: 9. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated November 20, 1804.
[476] KPL-PR. 145890: 7-8. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entries dated January 24 and April 28, 1804.
[477] KPL-PR. 145890: 8. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated May 24, 1804; KPL-PR. 145890: 8. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated July 28, 1804.
[478] KPL-PR. 145890: 7. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated March 23, 1804; KPL-PR. 145890: 8. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated July 28, 1804.
[479] KPL-PR. 145890: 8. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated April 28, 1804; KPL-PR. 145890: 8. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated May 24, 1804.
[480] KPL-PR. 145890: 9. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated September 22, 1804.
[481] Ibid.
[482] KPL-PR. 145890: 8. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated July 28, 1804.
[483] KPL-PR. 145890: 11. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated January 25, 1806.
[484] KPL-PR. 145890: 12. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated June 28, 1806
[485] KPL-PR. 145890: 16. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated November 18, 1807; KPL-PR. 145890: 16. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated December 12, 1807.
[486] KPL-PR. 145890: 19. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated July 23, 1808; KPL-PR. 145890: 18-19. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated July 26 1808.
[487] KPL-PR. 145890: 21. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated February 26, 1809.
[488] Ashe Co., NC, Deed Book B: 339, entry date March 5, 1805.
[489] Schreiner-Yantis (1971): Grayson Co., VA, Tax List, 1810.
[490] Chalkey's Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish, V2: 143.
[491] Schreiner-Yantis (1971): Grayson Co., VA, Tax List, 1810.
[492] NAM M252 R39: Ashe County, NC.
[493] The elder generation of the mixed-blood Sizemore brothers wandered far and wide in the years since the Revolutionary war. *Dave* and *George Sizemore had* wandered from Virginia down to the border territory of Cherokee Nation and Buncombe County North Carolina before moving on to New River and then Greasy Rock. *Henry, Ephriam* and *Nevedon Sizemore* would work their way to the Dan River near the old "Sara Town" and also would briefly spend time down among the Catawba at the Broad and Pee Dee Rivers before working their way out to the mountains to join his brothers. After serving as a "friendly Indian" during the War of 1812, the U.S. Government would provide "*Arthur Sizemore* and other Red Stick War claimants" with a pension and he would resettle out in Alabama. See NAM M21 R49: 70-71. April 19, 1854. Manypenny (COIA) to Hon. Fitzpatrick; NAM M21 R50: 223. February 16, 1855. Manypenny (COIA) to Hon. Fitzpatrick; See NAM M637 R32: Robeson Co., NC; NAM M32 R32: Stokes Co., NC and Robeson Co., NC; NAM M.1104 R.7-11: Misc. Testimonies, Sizemore Case, pages 1-80; Jordan (1987); 70-73.
[494] NAM M687, Misc. Testimony, Sizemore Case: 51-51, Testimony of David Tucker, April 7, 1908.

Weasels, NC; Jordan (1987): 163.
[495] NAM M252 R39: Ashe County, NC.
[496] NAM RG.75 M.1104, R.171: Appl.19252, John Riddle. NAM M687, Misc. Testimony, Sizemore Case: 29; Jordan, p.150.
[497] See Report of Guion Miller in NAM M687, R.7-11: Misc. Testimonies, Sizemore Case, pages 1-80 ; Jordan (1987); 126-181.
[498] NAM M.1104 R5: Appl.417. Geo. Washington Plummer; See Report of Guion Miller in NAM M687, R.7-11: Misc. Testimonies, Sizemore Case, pages 1-80 ; Jordan (1987); 126-181. *John Sizemore* went by many names, including "*Doctor Johnny*", "*Johnny Gourd*", "*The Old Gourd Doctor*", "*The Gourd*" and "*Yo-hun*". John was a herb doctor whose abilities in that field were well respected amongst whites and Indian alike, and he was recalled as living to nearly one hundred years of age. Around 1830, *Isom* and *Keziah Sizemore*, two of The Gourd's sons, would move their families over to the Greasy Rock Indian community. But they would leave within two years and go back to the Yadkin River and Pilot Mountain areas were they each raised large families. See NAM M687, Misc. Testimony, Sizemore Case: 6-8, 11, all dated March 25, 1908; Jordan, p.136-9
[499] NAM M687, Misc. Testimony, Sizemore Case: 51-51, Testimony of David Tucker, April 7, 1908. Weasels, NC; Jordan (1987): 163.
[500] NAM M1104 R63; Appl. of Martha J. Francis; NAM M687, Misc. Testimony, Sizemore Case: 40, Grassy Creek, NC, April 4, 1908; Jordan, p.157
[501] See NAM M.1104, R87: Appl. 8584, Wm. Blevins. NAM M687, Misc. Testimony, Sizemore Case: 60-62, Marion, VA, April 11, 1908; Jordan 1987: 169
[502] ref...NAM RG.75, M.1104, R71: Appl. 6941, John Parker. [n.d.1907].
[503] NAM M.1104 R.151: Appl.16346. February 1, 1907. Shephard Cole, Gullett KY; NAM M.1104 R253: Appl.31699. August 7, 1907. J.M. Collins, Brainard, KY.; NAM M1104, R278: Appl. 35326. Sookey Nickles, Sublett, KY; NAM M1104 R253: Appl.31696. August 1, 1907. Anderson Cole, Ivyton, KY; NAM M1104 R252: Appl. 31624. August 1, 1907. J.W.Cole.
[504] KPL-PR. 145890: 5. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated February 26, 1803.
[505] 1809-12 Hawkins Co., TN Tax Lists, as cited in Grohse (1975).
[506] Jarvis (1903).
[507] Creekmore (1980): 170-172. Capt. Looney's Militia Company Tax List, Hawkins County, TN, 1810.
[508] Ibid.
[509] 1806 Grainger Co., TN, Tax List as cited in Blackburn et al (1998): page.
[510] Jackson [n.d.] Grainger Co., TN, 1810 Census Index: 1,3,7,8, 12, 13, 24, 26, 29, 30.
[511] 1809-12 Hawkins Co., TN Tax Lists, as cited in Grohse (1975); NAM M252 R39: Ashe Co., NC.
[512] Elder 1999, 242-60.
[513] Old *Solomon Gibson's* marriage to *Jince Gwin/Goins* would be one of the earliest proven "marriages" (1800-1810) between members of the Gwin/Goins and the old Christian Saponi families (if Gwin and Goins are one in the same surnames as commonly assumed in this case). See Grohse (1975), and multiple entries in TSL-DHA M. 501, William P. Grohse, Personal Papers, Rolls 1-4..
[514] 1809-12 Hawkins Co., TN Tax Lists, as cited in Grohse (1975)..
[515] Local historian William Grohse had compiled a list of people who acquired land in Blackwater Valley prior to 1812, all of whom were citizen Indians or whites who had or would marry into the Indian families. Besides Vardy and Ben, these early Blackwater area landowners included *Jim Mullins*, *James Johnston*, *Thomas Mizer*, *Elisha Nelson*, *Dave Burke*, *James Fletcher*, *John Wolf*, and *Mourning*, *Ben*, *Shepherd*, *Charles*, and *Andrew Gibson*. See TSL-DHA, M. 501, William P. Grohse, Personal Papers, Roll 3: [n.p.], Notes by Rev. Taylor, and [n.p.], Vardy Notes 1972-73.
[516] Schreiner-Netti (1971): Lee County, VA., 1810 Tax List.
[517] For early Dotson-Collins family connections, see Blackburn, et al (1998).
[518] Caudill 1972, 93-98.
[519] Caudill 1972, 93.
[520] NAM M805 R355 and M804 R614. Revolutionary War Application of Meredith Collins; Young 1982: 161.
[521] See Grohse 1975, 5; Blackburn et al., 1998, Young 1982, 161.
[522] Wells (1995): 124. Floyd County Marriage Bonds, dated July 5, 1810 ; Jackson [n.d.] Grainger Co., TN, 1810 Census Index: 1,3,7,8, 12, 13, 24, 26, 29, 30.

[523] This Bowling information come from a Mr. Ledford and his wife as recorded by Bible 1975, 31.

Chapter 5

[524] War of 1812 enlisted East Tennessee Drafted Militia, as cited in AQ V3 N4: 7, Blackburn el at (1998: 7); Dromgoole (1891), see Chapter 15.
[525] Ibid.
[526] Jarvis (1903).
[527] NAM M635 R385: Magoffin Co., KY. Also, testimonies taken from the "White Top Band of Cherokee" in 1907 reflect that it was tradition there that "Old *Ned Sizemore*" had also "took part in the War of 1812". See NAM M.1104 R112: Appl. 11083. Celey Hart; See Report of Guion Miller in NAM M687, R.7-11: Misc. Testimonies, Sizemore Case, pages 48-49, Testimony of Celey Hart, April 6, 1908, Weasels, NC; Jordan (1987): 161.
[528] KPL-PR. 145890: 23. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated August 26, 1809; KPL-PR. 145890: 22. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated May 27, 1809.
[529] See KPL-PR. 145890: 20. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated November 21,1808; KPL-PR. 145890: 21. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated December 24, 1808.
[530] Schreiner-Yantis (1971): Russell County, VA., 1810 Tax List.
[531] NAM M1104 R292: Appl. 37538, Roscoe Dale; NAM M1104 R316: Appl. 41130, Miranda J. Collins.; NAM M1104 R253: Appl. 31697. Anderson Cole.
[532] Schreiner-Yantis (1971): Russell County, VA., 1810 Tax List; Kennedy 1995; NAM M1104 R292: Appl. 37538, Roscoe Dale.
[533] For some attempts as establishing an etymology of the word "Malungian/Melungeon", see Carlson (1997, 1995a), Elder (1999), Kennedy (1998) and Everett (1999). See Chapter 15 for a more detailed discussion on the various usages and meanings surrounding this label as it was used later in the 1800s.
[534] Southwest Virginia Historical Society Archives- Map of Southwest Virginia, circa 1820. As per notes of C.S.E. and B.K. I have not yet personally seen this map as it has been misplaced or removed.
[535] KPL-PR. 145890: 37. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated September 26, 1813.
[536] KPL-PR. 145890: 35-36. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated n.d.1813; KPL-PR. 145890: 39. Stoney Creek Church Minutes, entry dated August 27, 1814.
[537] KPL-PR. 145890: 40-49.
[538] Southwest Virginia Historical Society Archives. Map of Southwest Virginia, circa 1820. As per notes of C.S.E.
[539] Lee County, VA., Court Records, July 27,1821, as cited in Grohse (1975): 6.
[540] Jarvis (1903).
[541] Jarvis (1903).
[542] NAM M19 R178: Hawkins Co., TN; NAM M19 R181:Grangier and Claiborne Counties, TN.
[543] NAM M19 R178: Hawkins Co., TN.
[544] Ibid.
[545] Ibid.
[546] Hawkins County, TN, Land Plat Book, entry dated November 6, 1937, as cited in [a.u.] 1990.
[547] NAM M19 R178: Hawkins Co., TN.
[548] Ibid, and R191: Lee Co., VA
[549] NAM M19 R181:Grangier County, TN.
[550] Ibid.
[551] NAM M19 R181: Claiborne County, TN.
[552] NAM M1104 R151: Appl. 16346, enclosure, April 27, 1908. Shephard Cole to Special Commissioner.
[553] NAM M1104 R259: Appl.32512, enclosure, July 25, 1908. Anderson Cole to G.Miller, Special Commissioner.
[554] See "Elisha Bailey", by Zendal Brooks, in MCHS-LBG V1: 224.
[555] See Finger (1984), Iobst (1979), King (1979), and Carlson (1998a).
[556] Hawkins County, TN, Land Platt Book, entry dated November 6, 1837. Survey for James Livesay, as cited in [a.u.] 1989, <u>Hancock County, Tennessee, and Its People, 1844-1989</u>.
[557] NASP V1: 265 (49). Acts of Tennessee, Tennessee State convention, 1834.

[558] NASP V1: 265 (49). Act of the Territorial Assembly of Tennessee, 1794, entitled "An Act to amend an act establishing courts of law, and fort regulating proceeding therein", Section 32.
[559] "Plan of Colonization of the West of the Mississippi", Address by Pres. J. Monroe, [n.d.] 1825 (Schoolcraft 1853: 406-415). President Monroe's comments were based primarily on a report sent from T.McKinney to the Secretary of War. See Report of T. McKenney to Secretary of War, January 20, 1825, (Schoolcraft 1853: 580-586).
[560] NAM M805 R615: 231142. August 16, 1834. Revolutionary War Application of Lewis Collins; NAM M805 R344: 197. July 16, 1833, Revolutionary War Application of John Gibson; NAM M805 R344. Revolutionary War Application of Meredith Collins; NAM M805 R344: 55. Revolutionary War Application of Charles Gibson.
[561] Hawkins County Will Book 1: 224, Will of *Shephard Gibson* dated Dec 7, 1842. *Vardy Collins* was executor of the Will, which was witnessed by *Tim Williams*, Vardy's son-in-law.
[562] Hawkins Co, TN, Will Book 1: 224.
[563] See *The Whig* (Jonesborough, TN): [a.u.] October 7, 1840, "Negro Speaking" ; [a.u.] November 4, 1840, "Keep It Before The People"; [a.u.] October 21, "The Negro Speaker Again"; [a.u.] October 21, 1840, "Movements in Sullivan"; [a.u.] October 28, 1840, "Reprint from the Tennessee Mirror".
[564] *The Whig* (Jonesborough, TN): [a.u.] October 7, 1840, "Negro Speaking".
[565] [a.u.] 1849. *Littell's Living Age*: 618-619. *Littell's* was a popular national journal much akin to say, the *Atlantic Monthly.*
[566] Jonesville, Virginia, had a population of about 50at this time and was one of the largest towns anywhere near the Greasy Rock community, being only about fifteen miles from Blackwater and Vardy's hotel across the Virginia line in Lee County.
[567] See Grohse 1975, 5; NAM 432 R881: Hancock Co., TN.
[568] [a.u.] 1849. *Littell's Living Age*: 618-619.
[569] See Carlson (1995a, 1997), Greenbaum (1991), Everett (1999), and Sider (1993).
[570] See Elder (1999) and Kennedy and Kennedy (1994).
[571] TSL-DHA M501 "Vardy Notes" [n.p]
[572] NAM T496 R1; Finger (1990): 51-52. These people of "Spanish Cherokee" descent lived mostly in Alabama, with a few in Georgia. None were recorded living the part of the Nation that extended into Tennessee and North Carolina. Nearly 400 more people, of the total of 16,542 Cherokee living in their Nation that year, who were recorded on this census as "mixed Catawby" (Catawba) and Cherokee heritage.
[573] [a.u.] 1849. *Littell's Living Age*: 618-619.
[574] In 1897, a Presbyterian missionary visiting the Greasy Rock Indians noted that "Chief" *Beatty Collins'* family still ran the place by that late date (see Chapter 8). The missionary described how "in this valley are the famous Vardy Springs of health giving sulfur water, around which, before the War, were many cabins for visitors...now crowds come every Sunday to drink water or picnic. It was supposed our object was to "tend the springs". The missionary described how the "hotel" was only a 12 by 14 foot log structure, that in 1897 was "decorated with a variety of McKinley and Hobart pictures". Humble (1897): 243-246.
[575] [a.u.] 1849. *Littell's Living Age*: 618-619.
[576] Ibid.
[577] Ibid.
[578] Barr 1965, 21. As late as 1945, regional newspapers were reporting the Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain Indian's "dissatisfaction with present hunting and fishing laws" because they restricted an integral part of their families' economic stability. An article published that year for instance stated that in the case of these citizen Indians, "he wants to be free to take his food as the Indian took it here in 'the reserved hunting ground' when this part of Virginia was yet a wild and bloody frontier" (Addington 1945).
[579] See [a.u.] 1973 History of Baxter County Arkansas: 6-7. In an interesting side note, this writer mentions that the aforementioned James Mooney was well as Jacob Wolf were acquainted with the Greasy Rock Indians. Wolf was the government Indian agent stationed at the Federal agency / trading post complex at Matney Mountain which was maintained for the emigrate Cherokees during this time. Wolf had lived for some time in the area of Greasy Rock prior to his removing to the Arkansas trading post in 1810. As both Wolf and Mooney still had friends and families in Hancock County, both men are noted to have returned frequently to Tennessee from their ventures in Arkansas territory (Mooney's wife would remain in Tennessee until 1834). The Greasy Rock Indians that partnered with Mooney likely did the same (ibid).
[580] [a.u.] 1849. *Littell's Living Age*: 618-619.

[581] Fiddle dances are still common among the Salyersville Indians today. The fiddle was adopted and incorporated into the lives of many Indian populations during the 1700 and 1800s. For example, see Plains Chippewa/Metis Music for Turtle Mountain, (1992) Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings, SF40411.
[582] [a.u.] 1849. *Littell's Living Age*: 619. All italics are in the original copy.
[583] NAM 432 R881: Hancock Co., TN; Local Hancock County historian William Grohse also noted this trend among many Indian and non-Indian families in Hancock County. See Grohse (1984).
[584] NAM M1104 R259: Appl.32512, enclosure dated July 25, 1908, Anderson Cole to G,Miller, Special Commissioner, and Misc. Testimony taken by Special Agent J.Baker, July 29, 2908, Salyersville, KY.
[585] Ibid, and NAM M432 R203: Harlan County, KY.
[586] *George Cole* for instance traveled back to Tennessee from up in Kentucky in order to marry *Nancy Musgrove* down at the Cumberland Gap. They quickly returned to Kentucky however to raise their new family . See NAM M1104 R253: Appl31692. Harrison Cole, August 1, 1907, Pierce, OK; NAM M1104 R259: Appl.32511, Serilda Cole, August 7, 1907. Dozens of similar instances can be cited.

Chapter 6

[587] The Seven Primary Clans of Cherokee Society are the Anisahoni (Blue, Panther or Wild Cat Clan), Anigilohi (Long Hair, Twister or Wind Clan), Anitsiskwa (Bird Clan), Aniwodi (Paint Clan), Anikawi (Deer Clan), Anigatogewi (Wild Potato, Bear, Raccoon or Wild Savanna Clan), and the Aniwayah (Wolf clan). For more in depth discussions of the Cherokee Clan system, see Mooney (1900), and French and Hornbuckle (1981). Admittedly *John Cole's* clan affiliation among the Cherokee remains uncertain, so the status of his Cherokee identity prior to leaving the nation in the 1790s in unknown. However, one of *John Cole* and *Cuzzie(Anderson)'s* grandsons, *Hiram Cole*, was also known as "*Hiawassee*" (CA-NIC-1999/2000: Gary Bettinger). Usually this name, roughly translated as "Savanna", is associated with the "Wild Onion" sub-clan of the Anigatigewi.
[588] See Mooney 1894; Speck 1935, 1938 and Speck and Schaffer 1942.
[589] See Speck 1935, 1938 and Speck and Schaffer 1942.
[590] See Dromgoole 1891b, and "A Strange People: Habits, Customs and Characteristics of the Malungeons; Little Given to Social Intercourse With Neighbors; A Schoolteacher Who Can Neither Read Nor Write---Dancing the Favorite Pastime", by Will Allen Dromgoole, *Nashville Daily American*, September 14, 1890: P10, C15,16. Hereafter cited as NDA, September 14, 1890.
[591] Dromgoole 1891b, 751.
[592] Ibid., 746
[593] Dromgoole 1891b, 747-8.
[594] Ibid., 748.
[595] Ibid., 478-9. Dromgoole was in error stating that it was Jim Mullins, and not his son John, who married old Sol's daughter Mahala. See Grohse (1975):5; TSL-DHA M501 Grohse Papers.
[596] Dromgoole 1891b, 746.
[597] Dromgoole 1891b, 748
[598] Ibid., 747
[599] NDA, September 14, 1890; Dromgoole 1891a, 477; 1891b, 747.
[600] Dromgoole 1891b, 747.
[601] NAM M1104 R253: Appl. 31698, Louanna Pocket; NAM M1104 R252: Appl. 32511, Serilda McCarty.
[602] NAM M1104 R292: Appl. 37538, Roscoe Dale; NAM M1104 R316: Appl. 41130, Miranda J. Collins.
[603] JMCHS, V 22 N2:54. "The Wireman Mill of Maytown", by Bill Patton.
[604] See Clift 1966: 58, Madison Co., KY; NAM M252 R6: Floyd County, KY.
[605] Elam 1955, 16.
[606] Elam 1955, 16; NAM M252 R6: Floyd Co., KY.
[607] NAM M1104 R253: Appl. 31698. Louanna Pocket, August 1, 1907, Brainard, KY; NAM M1104 R259: Appl. 32513. Tiney Cole Jr., August 7, 1907, Ivyton, KY; NAM M1104 R151: Appl. 16346. Shepherd Cole, Gullett, KY, and enclosure Misc. Testimony taken by Special Agent Baker, July 29, 1908, Salyersville, KY., and April 27, 1908, S. Cole to G. Miller, Special Commissioner.
[608] NAM M1104 R259: Appl. 32512. Adam G. Cole, August 7, 1907, Ivyton, KY; NAM M1104 R292: 37543. Ben Perkins, August 26, 1907, Salyersville, KY; NAM M1104 R253: Appl. 31696. John Nickles, August 1, 1907, Ivyton.,KY; NAM M1104 R324: Appl. 42249. Susan Risner, August 31, 1907. See also

enclosure, October 31, 1908. S. Risner to Special Commissioner.

[609] See U.S. Dept. Of Interior 1894, Plate 3. Distribution of the Population of the United States (excluding Indians Not Taxed). Eastern Kentucky would always have a relatively sparse population and this factor would allow for such mobility to be an option for many families, Indian and not, well into the 1900s (see White 1995; Fetterman 1967; Halperin 1990; Higgs, Manning and Wayne 1995).

[610] Henderson, Job and Turnbow n.d., 187-9. NA-Central Map Files, RG75, Map 165.1795 Map of Kentucky.

[611] Henderson, Job and Turnbow n.d., 187-9.

[612] Ibid.

[613] Ibid.

[614] Ibid, and; [a.u.] 1960,4-5, 18-20.

[615] Ibid.

[616] See Floyd Co, KY Court Order Book 1, entry dated October 26, 1808; Wells (1995): 48-49.

[617] William James Mayo was one of the largest Floyd County landowners in the area at the time, himself owing tens of thousand of acres. The wealthy business entrepreneur and county politician resided near present day Prestonsburg.

[618] See "John Baily of Hawkins Co., TN", by Linda Bailey, JMCHS V.17 N.2:106-7. A person could make $1.00 for a wolf scalp from the Floyd County government in 1808. See Floyd Co, KY Court Order Book 1, entry dated October 26, 1808; Wells (1995): 48-49.

[619] Fetterman 1972, 83, 90.

[620] Floyd Co., KY, Deed Book A. October 1, 1816. Tom Mallett to Lewis Perkins (Wells, 1995: 32).

[621] Floyd Co., KY, Deed Book A. May 18, 1816. Rich Dameron from Meriday Collins (Wells, 1995: 29).

[622] Floyd Co., KY, Deed Book A. May 19, 1817. James Pratt to Ezekial Gibson; (Wells, 1995: 37)

[623] Floyd Co., KY, Deed Book A. .Jan 29, 1818: 41. Wm. James Mayo to Meriday Collins, Booker Mullins.

[624] Kentucky Land Warrants, Book F: 471. Zachariah S. Gibson April 1, 1818; Jillson 71 V1: 512; Floyd Co., KY, Deed Book B. June 8, 1820. James Sewell to Zachariah Gibson; Wells (1995): 235.

[625] A plaque commemorating the Saponi's service in the Revolutionary War today stands in Pikeville, KY.

[626] Floyd Co., KY, Deed Book B. August 6, 1819. Article of Agreement between Muriday Collins and William Tackett, (Wells 1995: 253).

[627] Floyd Co., KY, Court Order Book 1: entry dated August 18, 1817. (Wells 1995:116). If these men were of African and/or Indian heritage was not recorded. It may be they had some connection to Ludvick Grant, a prominent trader who lived in the Cherokee Nation in the mid to late 1700s. He had many children by his Cherokee wife, and he was associated with Joseph Martin of the Cumberland Gap Indian Agency.

[628] NAM M252 R6: Floyd Co., KY; NAM M33 R22: Floyd Co., KY.

[629] See Grohse 1975; Jackson n.d., 3, 7, 8, 12, 13, 24, 26.

[630] NAM M33 R22: Floyd Co., KY.

[631] NAM M33 R22: Floyd Co., KY. In the early 1950s, Cultural Geographer Edward Price recorded that "local tradition" held that these *Mosleys* were "of Indian decent". See Price 1950b, 290. By 1907, the mixed-blood *Allens* of this region, who gained their Indian blood from the *Howards* from intermarriage, described their Indian heritage as " Cherokee". See NAM M1104 R302: Appl.38943. Green Howard, August 28, 1907, Lambric, KY; NAM M1104 R296: Appl.38097. Preston Bradley, August 26, 1907, Decoy, KY.

[632] NAM M1104 R216: Appl. 38102. Jerry Carpenter, August 26, 1907, Lambric, KY; NAM M1104 R296: Appl. 38100. Wilson Howard, Labric, KY; NAM M1104 R324: Appl. 42249. Susan Risner, August 31, 1907, Ivyton, KY, w/enclosure, October 21, 1908. Susan Risner to G. Miller, Special Commissioner.

[633] NAM M1104 R253: Appl. 31698. Louanna Pocket, August 1, 1907, Brainard, KY; NAM M1104 R259: Appl. 32513. Tiney Cole Jr., August 7, 1907, Ivyton, KY; NAM M1104 R151: Appl. 16346. Shepherd Cole, Gullett, KY, and enclosure Misc. Testimony taken by Special Agent Baker, July 29, 1908, Salyersville, KY., and April 27, 1908, S. Cole to G. Miller, Special Commissioner.

[634] Brown 1966, 23, 109, 179, 232; See also EIAD-TL V1 and 2.

[635] NAM M252 R6: Floyd Co., KY.

[636] For these families Cherokee identity claims at the turn of the century, see NAM M.1104 R317: Appl. 41219. Louisa Cole, Ivyton, KY; NAM M1104 R259: Appl. 32504. McClelland Perkins, Ivyton, KY. For notes concerning the Shawnee *Perkins* families, see NAM M21 R64:502. Nov. 1860. Greenwood to

Martin.
[637] Floyd Co., KY, Deed Book A: October 26, 1816. Tom Mallett to Lewis Perkins. (Wells 1995:32).
[638] Ibid, and NAM M33 R22: Floyd Co., KY; Floyd Co., KY, Marriage Records: May 30, 1818.
[639] NAM M33 R22: Floyd Co., KY.
[640] Lawrence Co., KY, "First Tax List", Book 1, entry dated August 30, 1822 (KA V21: 206-209).
[641] NAM M33 R22: Floyd Co., KY.
[642] Berry Brown may be connected to the Catawba *Brown* families that descended from a trader of that name who took a Catawba wife. See Brown (1966).
[643] NAM M33 R22: Floyd Co., KY.
[644] "19th Century Engraving: Kentucky & Tennessee", 1825, Shepard Books Reprints (S2).
[645] RP-Knox Co., KY Records and Will Book: 14, entry dated March 7, 1805.
[646] RP-Knox Co., KY, Will Book A: 14, entry dated May 15, 1807.
[647] Blackburn el at. (1998):21-23.
[648] See Roundtree and Davidson (1997), and Garrow (1979).
[649] The Mason County Tax List of 1793, which would have include this region at that time, shows that a Samuel and Dan Moore, as well as a "Isaac Riddle" were living in the area at that year. See Mason Co., KY, Tax List, 1793; JMCHS V16 N3:V16 N3:48-49, trb. Claire Kelly. If these men were somehow related to the *Moores* and *Ridley/Riddles* who were associated with the Christian Saponi holding those surnames back at the old New and Flatt River Communities I have not yet determined.
[650] Lawrence County Tax List, August 29, 1831. Microfilm copy of original held at Kentucky State Archives received of Irene Framer (CA-NIC-2000: Irene Farmer).
[651] As is apparent from various records, a few other familiar citizen Indian and mixed-blood families were at least temporarily frequenting Lawrence County in its first few decades, including other Collins, as well as certain individuals associated with *Bowling*, *Sizemore*, *Musgrove* and *Dale* families. See multiple entries in RP-Lawrence Co., KY, Marriage Records VI and NAM M1104 applications cited throughout Chapter.
[652] Lawrence Co., KY, "First Tax List", Book 1, entry dated August 30, 1822 (KA V21: 206-209).
[653] As already demonstrated, *John Charles Cole* and his son *Jack Cole* were both up in the region in 1809, and one of them *may* have been the "John Cole" recorded as having had a attorney file an injunction on his part regarding an unknown judgment filed against him by William Holliday. If this John was one of the Cherokee's holding that name, or a white man with the same name I have not yet determined (there was an unrelated white Cole family established in Floyd County at that time). The court granted this John Cole a stay of processing the claim against him "until matters can be heard in equity, upon his giving bond and security, before the next court". OFCKF V2 N3: 11. Floyd Co., KY, Civil Order Book B. [n.d.] 1809. Wm. Holliday vs. John Cole.
[654] Lawrence County Tax List, August 29, 1831. Microfilm copy of original held at Kentucky State Archives received of Irene Framer (CA-NIC-2000: Irene Farmer).
[655] NAM M1104 R260: Appl. 32683. Jesse Cole, August 8, 1907, Wireman, KY; NAM M1104 R287: Appl. 36655 Tennessee Cole, August 1907, Salyersville, KY; NAM M1104 R316: Appl.41130. Miranda Collins, August 31, 1907, Ivyton, KY; NAM M1104 R253: Appl.31697. Anderson Cole, Misc Testimony by Special Agent Baker, July 29, 1908, Salyersville, KY.
[656] NAM M19, R38: Lawrence Co., KY, R36: Floyd Co., KY, and R181: Claiborne Co., TN; NAM M1104 R253: Appl.31624. J.W.Cole, August 1, 1907, Ivyton, KY; NAM M1104 R335: Appl.42987. Aggie Montgomery, October 14, 1907, Hagar, KY; NAM M1104 R140: Appl.14720. Katy Montgomery, January 30, 1907, Lakeville, KY.
[657] NAM M1104 R151: Appl.16346. Shephard Cole, February 1, 1907, Gullett, KY. enclosure: Misc. Testimony taken by Special Agent Baker, July 29, 1908, Salyersville, KY.
[658] An 1825 map of Kentucky shows an "Indian Town" existing on the Red River at this time. See "Map of the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, 1825", [a.u.]. J. Shepherd Books: Albany, NY (1996 reprint). The location is right were many the mixed blood and Indian *Nickells*, *Perkins*, *Gibson* and *Hale* families are known to have lived at this time. However, I hesitate to say conclusively that it was these citizen Indian families that comprised the people of this "Indian Town". But then again, I have yet found no evidence that any other people of Indian identity lived here in 1825.
[659] Floyd Co., KY, Deed Book A. Deed from R. Johnston to Mason Williams for tract on Licking River, Floyd Co. Tom Nickles, John Williams and Archibald Prater, witnesses (Wells 1995: 7).
[660] NAM M33 R22: Floyd Co., KY; NAM M252 R6: Floyd Co., KY; MCHS, The Patrick Family of

Eastern Kentucky, Volume 3 (1982), Magoffin County Historical Society. Many other white families followed the Christian Saponi's migration patterns quite closely, as did the Gulletts, the Adams, and the Dotsons.
[661] NAM M704 R110: Floyd Co., KY.
[662] Morgan County was cut from the eastern portion of old Floyd County in 1822.
[663] Kentucky Land Warrants, Book f-2: 449. August 17, 1829. Grant to Valintine Collins, 100 acres, Newcomb Fk., Morgan Co., KY.
[664] NAM M19 R36: Floyd Co., KY.
[665] Ibid. Living either adjacent or among Tiney Collins' band of Cherokee-Saponi was a old "white" man named John B. Fitzpatrick. Although definitive evidence is lacking, I suspect that Fitzpatrick might be the old Catawba trader of the same name, or the son of that man. See Brown 1966, px.
[666] NAM M19 R181: Claiborne Co., TN; NAM M1104 R282: Appl.35995. Lizzie Gullett, August 22, 1907, Gullett, KY., and NAM M1104 R293: Appl. 37591. Kezziah Gibson, August 26, 1907, Gullett, KY.
[667] NAM M19 R36: Floyd Co., KY.
[668] Ibid.
[669] NAM M19 R36: Floyd Co., KY; NAM M19 R181: Claiborne Co., TN.
[670] NAM M704 R110: Floyd Co., KY.
[671] NAM M1104 R259: Appl. 32512. Enclosure, July 25, 1908. Anderson Cole to G. Miller, Special Commissioner; NAM M704 R566: Lee County, VA.
[672] JMCHS V23 N2: 57. "Stone Coal Church Minutes, Pt.4", contributed by Fred Vanderpool.
[673] For example, see Kentucky Land Warrants, Book E-2: 231, entry dated September 2, 1834; Book 1-2: 83, entry dated June 29, 1836; Book 11: 35, entry dated January 26, 1843; Book 4: 404, entry dated March 17, 1838; Book o-2: 242, entry dated June 11, 1840; Book 20: 387, entry dated February 10, 1846; Kentucky County Court Orders, Book 14: 236, entry dated March 17, 1844; Jillson 71 V1: 512, 1285, 1130.
[674] Kentucky Land Warrants, Book F-2: 450, entry dated October 1, 1833 (Jillson 71 V1: 512)
[675] Kentucky Land Warrants, Book L-2: 373, entry dated November 17, 1831. (Jillson 71 V1: 512). Whether the lands on the Newcomb were sold or "abandoned" is unknown.
[676] Floyd Co., KY Survey Book D: 42 [n.d.] 1836 (Skeens 1995: 12); NAM M1104 R292: Appl. 37538. Roscoe Dale, August 26, 1907, Salyersville, KY; NAM M1104 R 316: Appl. 41130. Miranda J. Collins. August 31, 1907, Ivyton, KY; NAM M1104 R253: Appl. 31700, enclosure, April 8, 1908. Jim Collins to G. Miller, Special Commissioner.

Chapter 7

[677] Charley was also known as *Charles Campbell.* His father was a white man who *Louanna* never formally married named William Campbell. Lounna would have children by 4-5 more men, but like Charley, nearly all would use their mother's surname of *Cole.* See NAM M1104 R151: Appl.16346. April 27, 1908. Shep Cole to G.Miller, Special Commissioner.
[678] NAM M432 R200: Floyd Co., KY. *Margaret Collins'* ex-husband, Christopher Auxier, was a "French American". By this time he had left the Saponi woman to raise their numerous children on her own.
[679] Ibid.
[680] Margaret Collins and Lottie Cole, both of who were in Floyd in the prior decade, had been recorded as "white" in the 1840 census.
[681] NAM M704 R526: Hawkins Co., TN; NAM M432 R882: Hancock Co., TN.
[682] It is interesting to note how an "official" enumerator got the job in the first place. Until the beginning of the 19th century, this task usually fell to the head of the local militia companies, a carry over method from old colonial days. For the 1850 census, a new bill had provided for the appointment of "Special Marshalls" and "Assistant Marshals" recruited from the local county population to do the job of enumeration. With such an appointment the Marshall would receive $1.00 for every 1000 persons they accounted for, as well as a .10 cents per mile travel stipend (see "The Census of 1850", [a.u.], *Lake Superior Journal*, May 1, 1850: 1). Therefore, there was really no such thing as a "professionally" trained Federal enumerator. Instead local men sub-contracted to be enumerators, and were not Federal employees.
[683] Ibid.
[684] See KY County Court Orders, Floyd County, Book 33: 367-368, entry dated August 17, 1849 (Jillson 71

V1: 1133).
685 NAM M432 R200: Floyd Co., KY.
686 Ibid.
687 NAM M432 R200: Floyd Co., KY.
688 NAM M432 R200: Floyd Co., KY.
689 NAM M432 R795: Russell and Scott Co., VA.
690 NAM M432 R200: Floyd Co., KY.
691 Ibid.
692 *The Kentucky Mountaineer,* January 12, 1912, P3, C1: Letter to the editor, by "Mack" of Salyersville, KY, dated January 10, 1912.
693 Johnson County, KY, List of Deaths: Amanda Collins, April 5, 1854, Joshua Collins, February 2, 1854, and Elisha Collins, April 20, 1854; Wells (1993):195-6.
694 Kentucky County Court Orders, Book 33: 370, entries dated April 6 and 7, 1849 (Jillson 71 V1: 1285).
695 Kentucky County Court Orders, Book 46: 338, entry dated February 27, 1849 (Jillson 71 V1: 1591).
696 "Reincarnation", KM, Dec. 11, 1913: P1C5.
697 Kentucky Land Warrants, Book R-2: 167, entry dated May 11, 1849 (Jillson 71 V1:512).
698 NAM M1104 R151: Appl.16346, enclosure, April 27, 1908. Shepherd Cole to G. Miller, Special Commissioner.
699 For an interesting overview of the changing national social and political climate in the United States in this year, see America in 1857: A Nation on the Brink, by Kenneth M. Stampp (1990, Oxford University Press).
700 See Kentucky County Court Orders, Book 55: 209, entry dated March 13, 1857; Book 58: 70, entry dated September 1, 1857; Book 53: 160, entry dated October 1, 1857; Jillson 71 V1: 1131.
701 See "Wiley C. Patrick Store Ledger," 1859-1861,ctb. by Barbara Griesheimer JMCHS V17 N1: 14-17.
702 Kentucky Vital Statistics Bureau (Frankfort), File No. 7582. June 21, 1855. Birth Certificate of John Wesley Cole NAM M653 R385: Magoffin Co., KY.
703 NAM M1104 R259: Appl.32502. George W. Fletcher, August 7, 1907, Ivyton, KY. Castle among this mixed Cherokee family line is often spelled Castile and Castee in the records. For more information on these Castiles, see Kegley (1938).
704 NAM M653 R385: Magoffin Co., KY.
705 Ibid.
706 Ibid.
707 An example of how personal opinions and bias creep into official census is illustrated well in the 1860 census by the examples of *George "Goldenhawk" Sizemore*'s occupation was recorded in the census as "nothing in the world" (ibid).
708 Ibid. Also living close to Dickey and Wallace Perkins was old *John Denham*, who was born and lived most of his life in Tennessee. Although not confirmed, I suspect that this Denham is the same as or the son of the same *John Denham* who had married an Indian from the Greasy Rock Community (see Chapter 10). As for John Denham of Magoffin, he died soon after the 1860 census was taken, and his Will cited his only surviving heir as his sister *Lodisky* who remained unmarried. See Magoffin Co., KY, Will Book 1: June 16, 1869. Will of John Denham (JMCHS V1 N2:6, ctb. Connie Arnett Wireman).
709 NAM M653 R385: Magoffin Co., KY.
710 NAM M653 R385: Magoffin Co., KY.
711 Ibid.
712 NAM M653 R357; Breathitt Co., KY. Porter's tribal heritage is unconfirmed, but is thought to be Cherokee. Porter was born in Tennessee in 1807. He eventually moved his family to Breathitt via southwest Virginia in 1853. Porter's wife *Mary*, some 20 years younger, had been born in Virginia, as well as all of their children.
713 Ibid.
714 NAM M1104 R135: Appl.13894. Emmaline Conner, January 28, 1907, Valley, OK., enclosure, Misc. Testimony taken by Asst. Special Commissioner, H. Kentron; NAM M1104 R135 : Appl. 13895. John B. Brummett, January 28, 1907, Denver, CO.; See Chapter 14.
715 NAM M653 R371: Harlan Co., KY..
716 NAM M593 R468: Harlan CO., KY; NAM T9 R418: Harlan Co., KY.
717 NAM M653 R1357: Lee Co., VA.

[718] NAM M1104 R259: Appl.32512. enclosure, July 25, 1908. Anderson Cole to G. Miller, Special Commissioner. Jack Cole's parent's "Indian claim" apparently was associated with the old Cherokee hunting reserve west of Greasy Rock, once connected with the old Virginia Indian Agency run by Col. Joseph Martin (see Chapter 4).
[719] Ibid.
[720] NAM M653 R367: Floyd Co., KY.
[721] NAM M653 R388: Morgan Co., KY.
[722] Ibid.
[723] Roundtree (1990), Forbes (1988), Garrow (1979), Roundtree and Davidson (1997).
[724] NAM M653 R388: Morgan Co., KY.
[725] NAM M653 R388: Morgan Co., KY. For more information on this Nuckells family, see NAM M1104 R141: Appl. 14956. Margaret Nuckolls. August 30, 1907, Ivyton, KY. Of these families of *Phillips* and *Reffitt* mentioned here I admittedly know little of their past. It may be that these "Phillips" were somehow related to the mixed-blood "*Phipps*" family that also lived in the Morgan-Magoffin mountains at this time "Family tradition" today holds that they descend from a Cherokee named "*Old Horse*" . See MCHS-LBG: 1322. "John Martin Phipps", by Kenneth Dimmick.
[726] NAM M653 R388: Morgan Co., KY.
[727] Ibid.
[728] Magoffin County Court Orders, Book 1: May [n.d.]1862. JMCHS V10N1: 23, ctb. Connie Wireman (hereafter shown as ctb. C.W.)
[729] Magoffin County Court Orders, Book 1: 22, [n.d.] September 1860. Special Court Term. JMCHS V2N4: 33 ctb. C.W.
[730] Magoffin County Court Orders, Book 1: [n.d.] November 1869. JMCHS V6 N2: 81-82 ctb. C.W.
[731] Magoffin County Court Orders, Book _: 22, [n.d.] September 1860. Special Court Term. JMCHS V2N4: 33 ctb. C.W.
[732] Ibid.
[733] Magoffin Co., KY Court Orders, Book 1: 52. entry dated June 10, 1861.JMCHS V7N3:94 ctb. C.W.
[734] SLO, Kentucky County Court Orders, Book 63: 30. July 26, 1871 (Jillson 71 V1:1134).
[735] "The Civil War in Magoffin County, Kentucky," by Stephen D. Rudd. MCHS-LBG V1: 10.
[736] Magoffin Co., KY., Court Order Book 1: 121. December 21, 1863. JMCHS V20 N1: 35 ctb. C.W.
[737] See OFCKF V3 N4: 16. January 7, 1864. Capt. Wm.Hall to Major Johnson; JMCHS V2 N2: 73-4. "The Civil War In East Kentucky", by Clara Jacobs.
[738] See MCHS-LBG 1999 for information elaborating on these men's participation in the war.
[739] CA-NIC-1999: Irene Farmer. Copy of original Pension application, dated May 24, 18[8]9.
[740] NAM M593 R461: Floyd Co., KY.
[741] "Biggs," by Denise L. Sturgill, in [a.u.] 1989. Hancock County Tennessee and Its People, 1844-1989. 1989, 86-87.
[742] Magoffin Co, KY., Court Order Book 1: 132, entry dated June 20, 1864. JMCHS V20 N3: page/compiler. Tempy is recorded as both a "Nickels" and a "McCallister", but which is her maiden name remains elusive. If a Nickles, then here ancestors were tied to the old New River Indian or the Cherokee Cole families. If a McCallister, she may then been of "Creek" heritage.
[743] NAM M593 R484: Magoffin Co., KY.
[744] Magoffin Co, KY., Court Order Book 1: entry dated May [n.d.] 1865. JMCHS V21 N3: 129-30, ctb. C.W.
[745] Magoffin Co, KY., Court Order Book 1: 133, July 18,1864. JMCHS V20 N4:146, ctb. C.W.
[746] Magoffin Co, KY., Court Order Book 1: entry dated August [n.d.], 1864. JMCHS V20 N4: 147, ctb. C.W.
[747] Magoffin Co, KY., Court Order Book 1: entry dated May [n.d.], 1865, JMCHS V21 N3: 129-130, ctb. C.W. Magoffin Co, KY., Court Order Book 1: entries dated November-December 1864. JMCHS V21 N3: 130, ctb. C.W.
[748] Kentucky State Archives, Governors Papers, B32 F688. February 20, 1867. Magoffin Co., vs. Wiley Adams, Petition for Pardon to Gov. Branlett; JMCHS V18 N2: 80-81, ctb. Nancy Cowan.
[749] Magoffin Co, KY., Court Order Book 1: entry dated March 20, 1865. JMCHS V21 N3:127 ctb. C.W.
[750] SLO, Kentucky County Court Orders, Book 76: 13-15, entries dated February 15 and 16, 1866 (Jillson 71 V1: 1591).

[751] SLO, Kentucky County Court Orders, Book 66: 256, entry dated February 28, 1865 (Jillson 71 V1: 1131).
[752] SLO, Kentucky County Court Orders, Book 75: 78, entry dated January 6, 1869 (Jillson 71 V1: 1134).
[753] SLO, Kentucky County Court Orders, Book 75: 184-6, entries dated May 3, 1869 (Jillson 71 V1: 1134).
[754] SLO, Kentucky County Court Orders, Book 75: 79,81, entries dated June 1, 1869 (Jillson 71 V1: 1134).
[755] NAM M593 R484: Magoffin Co., KY.
[756] Deer, elk, bear, turkey, chinquapins, chestnuts, cane, huckleberries, and ramps were just some of the natural subsistence resources still available in substantial quantities at this time.
[757] MCHS-MCK, MFFY:159. March 4, 1869. James Cole to Minty Hampton at "the Cole's Schoolhouse".
[758] Ibid. An article published in the *Knoxville Journal* in 1890 claimed that "the state made special provisions for educating them, building a separate schoolhouse". See " The Malungeons: A Peculiar Race of People Living in Hancock County", [a.u.], *Knoxville Journal*, September 28, 1890. However intriguing these claims may be, I have found no primary documentation support them (Price also grossly underestimated the date that the school was established, stating it was at the turn of the century, see Price 1950, 286. Instead, it appears to have been funded and run in the same manner as the other rural schools, that is, by state funds funneled through county officials in combination with local community support. Most likely, "The Cole's Schoolhouse" served an Indian population and was an "Indian school" only because the people there happened to be Indian.
[759] NAM M593 R484: Magoffin Co., KY; NAM M593 R477: Johnson Co., KY
[760] NAM M593 R461: Floyd Co., KY.
[761] NAM M593 R484: Magoffin Co., KY
[762] Ibid.
[763] See MCHS, MCK MFFY: 166 June 25, 1870.
[764] Ibid. Why Mariah's husband *Tiney Cole* was not shown in the house this year remains a mystery. He appears to have left the area and his family for a couple of years, but he eventually returned and remained at the Lick for another 20 years.
[765] NAM M593 R461: Floyd Co., KY.
[766] NAM M593 R484: Magoffin Co., KY.
[767] NAM M593 R484: Magoffin Co., KY; NAM M593 R490: Morgan Co., KY.
[768] NAM M593 R484: Magoffin Co., KY.
[769] NAM M593 R484: Magoffin Co., KY.
[770] Ibid. "Biddy" Rebecca Watkins was the daughter of Billy Anderson Cole and Rebecca Watkins. Rebecca "Jr" was also married and had children with Jack Patrick.
[771] NAM M593 R477: Johnson Co., KY.
[772] Ibid.
[773] Ibid.
[774] Ibid.
[775] NAM M593 R477: Johnson Co., KY
[776] NAM M593 R477: Johnson Co., KY.
[777] An *Elizabeth Salyers* seems to be recorded as "Indian" in 1870, but the writing on the original census is not clear enough to say for sure. NAM M593 R477: Johnson Co., KY.
[778] See various citations in Price (1950). There were Perkins families among the Shawnee who moved from Ohio to Missouri and Kansas with those tribe in the mid-1800s. See NAM M.21 R64: 502. Nov., 1860. Greenwood to Mastin. However, I have not yet found any connection between the Shawnee or Wyandot Perkins and the Salyersville Indian families with that name. However, in 1870 there was a small community of Shawnee that remained in Ohio. They lived only some 30 miles southeast of Carmel near a place called "Blue Lick" (Tanner 1974: Map 33). A thorough investigation of both the Carmel band of Salyersville Indians and the Blue Lick Shawnee community during this era may show that some association did occur between the two groups.
[779] NAM M593 R1222: Highland Co., OH.
[780] Ibid. It is notable however that *Wallace Perkins'* wife *Nancy*, who was living in Magoffin County in 1860 and 1870, had been born somewhere in Ohio around 1843. See NAM M653 R385: Magoffin Co, KY.
[781] NAM M593 R1222: Highland Co., OH.
[782] Ibid.
[783] Ibid.

[784] Ibid.

Chapter 8

[785] For example, see Kentucky Vital Statistics Bureau, Death Certificates. File No. 7582, Reg. No. 6, March 5, 1911. The Death Certificate of *John Wesley Cole* says "copper" under the column titled "race/color".
[786] MCHS, MCK_MFFY: 158. April 10, 1873, at Harrison Howard's home.
[787] See MCHS, MCK-MFFY: 166. November 23, 1883; and other entries.
[788] OFCKF V3 N4: 12-24. 1872 Enrolled Militia List, Floyd Co., KY; OFCKF V4 N1: 16-21. August 14, 1873. Enrolled Militia List, Floyd Co., KY. (The original copies of these lists held at County Courthouse in Prestonsburg were rediscovered and transcribed by local historian Cornelius Carroll in 1998).
[789] Ibid and NAM M593 R461:Floyd Co., KY.
[790] OFCKF V3 N4: 12-24. 1872 Enrolled Militia List, Floyd Co., KY; OFCKF V4 N1: 16-21. August 14, 1873. Enrolled Militia List, Floyd Co., KY.
[791] Ibid.
[792] Shapiro (1978); Williamson (1995).
[793] Magoffin Co, KY., Court Records. [n.d.] 1877, as reprinted in "Titbits of Magoffin County, History", no ctb., JMCHS V16 N4: 146.
[794] See Waller (1998), Shapiro (1978), and Mann (1995). Waller for instance has brilliantly described and explained how the infamous Hatfield-McCoy feud stemmed from such tensions.
[795] Dabney (1974): 82.
[796] Ibid.
[797] NAM T9 R431: Magoffin Co., KY.
[798] Ibid, and NAM T9 R:425 Johnson Co., KY.
[799] Ibid.
[800] Ibid.
[801] NAM T9 R413-4: Floyd Co., KY.
[802] CA-NIC-1999. Irene Farmer.
[803] NAM T9 R413-4: Floyd Co., KY; NAM M1104 R253: Appl. 31692. Harrison Cole, August 1, 1907, Pierce, OK; NAM M1104 R287: Appl. 36655. Tennessee Cole, August 23, 1907, Salyersville, KY.
[804] Ibid.
[805] NAM T9 R1033 Highland Co, OH.
[806] NAM T9 R431: Magoffin Co., KY. Ibid.
[807] Ibid.
[808] Ibid.
[809] See Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: [n.d.] 1877, "Tidbits...", no ctb., JMCHS V17 N3:123-124; and November 1, 1879, "Tidbits ...", JMCHS V18 N1: 7. It appears that the practice of "binding out" of children was halted during or right after the Civil War.
[810] See Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: [n.d.] September, 1882, "Tidbits..., JMCHS V17 N3:123.
[811] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: November 12, 1897, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V17 N3: 123.
[812] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: [n.d.] 1878 , "Bits...", no ctb., JMCHS V16 N4: 146.
[813] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: January 17, 1878 , "Tidbits..", JMCHS V17 N3: 125.
[814] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: October 2, 1880, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V17 N4: 155-156.
[815] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: October 27, 1880, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V8 N7: 7; Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: entries dated September 1879-November 16, 1880, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16 N3:11.
[816] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: March 26, 1881, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V17 N3:124.
[817] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: "Commonwealth vs...", entries dated [n.d.] November, 1880, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16 N3: 111.
[818] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: January 13, 1881 , "Tidbits...", JMCHS V17 N3:123; Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: January 18 and 19, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V17 N3: 124.
[819] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: entries dated September 5-October 23, 1882, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V17 N3: 126.
[820] See Days Of Darkness: The Feuds of Eastern Kentucky by John Ed Pearce (1994: 95-114), University of Kentucky Press.
[821] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: January 3, 1883, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V17 N3: 126.

[822] For more information regarding the local Indian Hales, see NAM M1104 R : Appl.39587. Eliza Hale, R306, Salyersville, KY, and NAM M1104 R288: Appl. 36825. John Hale (Jr), Salyersville, KY. The former had also married an Indian or mixed-blood "Cherokee" woman named *Sally Fawbush.* Little is known of John and Sally's life prior to their emigration to the Magoffin area from East Tennessee via Perry County, Kentucky.
[823] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: October [n.d.] 1883, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V17N2: 55.
[824] See Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: [n.d.] 1888, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16N1:21-22.
[825] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: October 22, 1886, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V19 N3: 114.
[826] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: December 5, 1886, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V19 N3:114.
[827] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: July 27, 1887."Tidbits...", JMCHS V16N2: 50.
[828] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: December 1, 1887, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16N1: 21-23)
[829] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: [n.d.] 1888, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16 N1: 21-22.
[830] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: October 29, 1888, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16N1: 21-23.
[831] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: September 26, 1889, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16 N4: 141. Burdell Poe was white man whose extended family was closely tied to the Salyersville Indians
[832] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: September 26, 1889, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16 N4: 141; See also November 1889.
[833] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: September 26, 1889, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16 N4: 141.
[834] Ibid.
[835] Ibid.
[836] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: [n.d.] 1889, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16 N4: 146.
[837] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: October 31, 1889, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16N1: 22; Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: February 14 and June 24, 1889, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16 N1: 21-22.
[838] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: October 7, 1889, "Tidbits....", JMCHS V16 N2: 50; Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: December 5, 1889, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V18N1: 6. Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: February 14, 1889, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16 N1: 22. Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: October 28, 1889, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V17N4: 155.
[839] MCHS-MCK, MFFY: 166, entry dated February 6, 1890.
[840] See Batteau 1979, Halperin (1990), and Shackelford and Weinburg (1977).
[841] A few examples of those getting married by Wallace during his tenure as Justice of the Peace include *Leander Cole's* marriage to *Rosanny Cole* at *John Cole's* home (MCHS-MCK, MFFY: 116, February 6, 1890), *Dicy Cole's* marriage to *Jefferson Cole* at *Adam Cole's* home (MCHS-MCK, MFFY: 165, November 3, 1890), *Apperson Cole's* marriage to *Hazetta Collins* at "his own home" (MCHS-MCK, MFFY: 159, October 11, 1891), *Tiney Cole Jr.s* marriage to *Susan Collins* at the District 25 Schoolhouse (MCHS-MCK, MFFY: 166, October 21, 1891), and *Laura Cole's* marriage to *Willie Cole* also at "the Cole's schoolhouse" (MCHS-MCK, MFFY: 179, January 20, 1894).
[842] U.S. Department of the Interior (1894): 328.
[843] Ibid. As for the remainder of the Kentucky enumerations, the Interior Department recorded 14 living in Jefferson County, and another 43 were reported spread throughout "other counties" not specifically identified. This made a total in that state of 71"Civilized (Self-Supporting) Indians" (41 males and 30 females) thus recognized (ibid). This of course did not include other counties that, like Magoffin that did not have any 1890 census records in Washington for the Department to review as they were lost in the infamous fire of 1891.
[844] Ibid.
[845] Ibid.
[846] Ibid: 499.
[847] Ibid: 594.
[848] [a.u.] " The 'Malungeons': A Peculiar Race of People Living in Hancock County", September 28, 1890. *Knoxville Journal* (Knoxville, TN).
[849] I have yet to locate any publications or notes by this man Henderson concerning this issue.
[850] Ibid.
[851] See [a.u.] "Mineral and Timber Lands: Abstracts of Titles", September 13, 1890, *Louisville Courier Journal,* P12).
[852] See [a.u.] "Declare a Dividend: Licking Valley Oil Company of Lexington, Kentucky", January 7, 1904, *Sault Evening News,* P1.

[853] See "A Strange People: Habits, Customs and Characteristics of the Malungeons: Little Given to Social Intercourse with the Neighbors: A Schoolteacher Who Can Neither Read Nor Write--Dancing a Favorite Pastime", by Allen Dromgoole, *Nashville Daily American:* P10, C5-6.
[854] That September, the elder *Dicy Nickles* was in jail for a "fine". That same month, *Tyre Gibson* was jailed, being accused of petty larceny. That October, *Isaac Perkins* was once again arrested, this time for "petite larceny and selling liquor". He was convicted and thus was "worked in irons on the public highway" for five days as a sentence (see Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: entries dated September 30-October 31, 1890, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16N3: 112. *Jim Gullett* (who was married to *Lizzie Gibson*) was held by Jailer J.M. Patrick for "carrying a concealed weapon" that fall (ibid).
[855] *Leander "Lee"* and *Trim Nickles* would pass on while under care in the county Poor House Farm (see Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: June 2, October 20, 1890, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16 N1: 21; Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: entries dated November 1889-August 1890, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16N4:146; Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: entries dated October-November 1890, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16N3: 111-112). The county also would help supply children of some of their families with school books, as they did little *John Hale*, *Eliza Collins*, and young *Dicy Nickles* (ibid).
[856] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: November 24, 28, 1892, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V16 N2:55.
[857] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: October 24, 1893, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V17N2: 54. This involved taking care of the election booths and ballot boxes, and returning the same to the county authorities who would then tally up the votes.
[858] MCHS-MFC, MFFY. January 20, 1894. Willie Cole to Laura Cole at Schoolhouse District 25 ("The Cole's Schoolhouse"). Wallis Cole, Justice of the Peace.
[859] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Orders: April 4, 1894, "Tidbits of Magoffin County History", JMCHS V19N3:114.
[860] Ibid. Squire here is the man's actual Christian name, and has nothing to do with the political title of "Squire" given to Justices of the Peace. Another Salyersville Indian, *Squire Gibson,* also held this as a given name, but he was not actually a Squire. As for this event, all three men were released soon after.
[861] See Magoffin Co., KY, Court Orders: entries dated April-May 1896, "Tidbits....", JMCHS V17 N1: 11; Magoffin Co., KY, Court Orders: May 26, 1896, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V17 N2: 18.
[862] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Order Book: [n.d.] February 1896, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V19 N3: 114-5.
[863] Ibid.
[864] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: January 8, 1896, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V17 N1: 19; Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: November 9 and 24, 1896, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V18 N1: 7.
[865] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: May 3 to June 10, 1897, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V17 N1: 18.
[866] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: October 18, 1897, "Tidbits of Magoffin County History", JMCHS V19 N3: 44.
[867] Ibid and Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: entries dated May 3 to June 10, 1897, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V17 N1: 18.
[868] NAM T623 R541: Magoffin Co., KY.
[869] Ibid.
[870] Ibid.
[871] NAM T623 R520: Floyd Co., KY.
[872] NAM T623 R541: Magoffin Co., KY.
[873] Ibid. Nancy however had been shown as "M" (mulatto and/or mixed) in previous censuses, and was claimed by her children living in 1908 to have been "part Indian". See NAM M1104 R260: Appl. 32682. Alonzo Cole, August 8, 1907, Ivyton, KY; NAM M1104 R319: Appl. 41517. Susan "Sussia" Perkins, August 31, 1907, Ivyton, KY; NAM M1104 R259: Appl. 32529. Martha Cole, August 7, 1907, Ivyton, KY; NAM M1104 R260: Appl. 32633. Jesse Cole, August 8, 1907, Wireman, KY.
[874] NAM T623 R541: Magoffin Co., KY.
[875] Ibid.
[876] NAM T623 R541: Magoffin Co., KY.
[877] Ibid.
[878] U.S. Department of the Interior (1894): 594.
[879] NAM T623 R520: Floyd Co., KY.
[880] NAM T623 R541: Magoffin Co., KY.
[881] Ibid.

[882] Ibid.
[883] NAM M1104 R313: Appl.40691. Green Harmon, August 30, 1907; NAM M1104 R306: Appl.39585. Kiah Gibson, August 29, 1907, Ivyton, KY; NAM M1104 R293: Appl.37591. Kezziah Gibson, August 26, 1907, Gullett, KY; NAM M1104 R253: Appl.31695, enclosure, Misc. Testimony of Kezziah Gibson, taken by Special Agent Baker, July 24, 1908, Salyersville, KY.
[884] NAM T623 R541: Magoffin Co., KY.
[885] Those who did find themselves in that situation however included *William Auxier* who spent time there in the summer of 1902. That same year, *Virgil* and *Lizzie Gipson*, *Louanna* and *Lester Gipson*, as well as *Mary Fletcher* and her baby were all at the Poor House Farm for various periods of time. See Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: September 9, 1902, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V19 N3: 114; Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: September 24, 1902, Invoice of John Reed, Keeper of the Poor, "Tidbits ...", JMCHS V19 N2: 114; Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: December 8, 1902, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V19 N3: 114.
[886] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: April 1, 1905, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V18 N1:8.
[887] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: January 20, 1903, "Tidbits...", JMCHS V17 N1:20.
[888] Magoffin Co., KY, Court Records: October 26, 1903, "Tidbits of Magoffin County History", JMCHS V16 N2: 57.
[889] Magoffin Co., KY, Records Books: March 27, 1903, July 25, 1905, JMCHS V18 N1: 8, 125.
[890] CA-NIC-1999: Irene Farmer.
[891] See MCK-MFFY: 188, entry dated June 12, 1903, and NAM M1104 R269: 32713. Laura Cole West, August 8, 1907, Ivyton, KY.
[892] Carlson (1995).

Chapter 9

[893] NAM M1104 R135: Appl.13895. John B. Brummett, January 28, 1907, Denver, CO.; NAM M1104 R135: Appl.13895. Emmaline Conner, January 28, 1907, Valley, OK, with enclosures September 1, 1908, Misc. Testimony taken by H. Ketron, Asst. Special Commissioner, and May 24, 1909, E. Conner to Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Old Louanna had children by at least five different men, of which only William Campbell, *Wils Musgrove* and Rueban Parl are positively identified. Musgrove was said to be Indian or part Indian, while Campbell and Parl were apparently white men. NAM M1104 R259: Appl. 32511. Serilda Cole, August 7, 1907, Ivyton, KY; NAM M1104 R253: Appl. 31699. Clara Miller Cole, August 1, 907, Ivyton, KY; NAM M1104 R316: Appl.41129. Page Cole, August 31, 1907, Ivyton, KY.
[894] Ibid and NAM M1104 R253: 31698. July 30, 1908. Louanna Pocket to G. Miller, Special Commissioner.
[895] NAM M1104 R253: 31698. July 30, 1908. Louanna Pocket to G. Miller, Special Commissioner.
[896] See NAM M1104 R135: Appl.13895. John B. Brummett, January 28, 1907, Denver, CO.; NAM M1104 R135: Appl.13895. Emmaline Conner, January 28, 1907, Valley, OK, with enclosures September 1, 1908, Misc. Testimony taken by H. Ketron, Asst. Special Commissioner, and May 24, 1909, E. Conner to Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
[897] CA-NIC-2000: Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom.
[898] James Shepard was born 1841-44 in Pike County, Kentucky, and was the "illegitimate" son of James Jackson and *Sally Howard*. In 1973, James' daughter *Edna* made an interesting statement before the Notary Public in Benton County, Arkansas regarding James' Civil Wart pension and Cherokee enrollment claims. In the statement, she claimed that "...I have heard both my father and mother state many times that *James Sheppard*'s mother, *Sallie Shepherd* nee *Howard*, was a full blood Cherokee, and that she had been a frequent visitor to their home...this fact that she had been a member of their family on many occasions is further stated in the Civil War records of James". Edna continued, stating " Furthermore, I have heard my father state many times that he did not believe at the time of the enrollment of the Cherokees in 1906 in Indian Territory that land of any value would be given to the Cherokee Indians, and therefore did not bother to enroll. By the time he found out that the Cherokees were indeed being given valuable allotment and he had then made application, being one-half Cherokee, he found the rolls were closed. He received a letter from the Indian bureau in Washington D.C. stating that if the toll were ever opened that he would be eligible. At the time he was a resident of Stilger, San Bois County, Indian Territory and was 66 years of age....". See "Statement of *Edna Prudence Killman* before John Meade, Notary Public of Newton County, Arkansas", October 30, 1973, as recorded in MCHS-LBG: 1627, ctb. Dovie Cole.

[899] Interestingly, but not really surprisingly, the Civil War enlistment records do not show James as "Indian", but as with most other Salyersville Indians, simply described the recruits physical characteristics, which in James case was "dark complexion, dark eyes, black hair, farmer" (MCHS-LBG:1630/"James (Jackson) Shephard", contributed by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom).
[900] Samantha was the daughter of *Mary Blevins*, born in 1801 in either Virginia or Tennessee, and may have been genealogically associated with the White Top Band of Cherokee Indians(see Chapter 4).
[901] MCHS-LBG:1630/"James (Jackson) Shephard", contributed by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom.
[902] MCHS-LBG:1623/"James (Jackson) Shephard", contributed by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom.
[903] NAM M1104 R260: Appl. 32682. Alonzo Cole, August 8, 1907, Ivyton, KY; NAM M1104 R260: Appl. 32633. Jesse Cole, August 8, 1907, Wireman, KY; CA-NIC-1999: Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom.
[904] See JMCHS V5 N3:107-109, Letter from R.M.Carpenter to Fielding Carpenter, dated March 2, 1898 and Letter from Jerry Carpenter to Fielding Carpenter, dated March 2, 1898. contributed by Iva P. Baker.
[905] "Migration to Oklahoma-1905", by Bess Lowe Rivers, JMCHS V1 N2: 16-17; CA-NIC-2000: Mary Cole.
[906] Ibid.
[907] Ibid. See also "The Blankenship Family", by Charles M. Starks, JMCHS V17 N2:56-62.
[908] CA-NIC-2000: Paul Tate.
[909] NAM M1104 R151: 16346. March 23, 1909. Chief Clerk of Special Commissioner to Geo. B. Gardner.
[910] NAM M1104 R151: 16346. January 29, 1907. Howard to Commissioner of Indian Affairs; NAM M1104 R140 : Appl. 14720. Catherine Montgomery, January 30, 1907, Middle Creek, KY; NAM M1104 R141: Appl. 14760. Isabell Holbrooks, January 30, 1907, Gapville, KY; NAM M1104 R141: Appl. 14763. Amanda C. Smith, January 30, 1907, Mima, KY; NAM M1104 R141: Appl. 14759. Rachel E. Blevins, January 30, 1907, Orphir, KY. For more background on "The White Top Band of Cherokee", see Chapter 4.
[911] Carlson (1998a). Goiun Miller maintained this geographic bias. When reviewing an applicant from Ashe Co., North Carolina, he stated "it may be well to note that the Cherokee Nation surrendered all claims to the terrritory that now constitutes Ashe Co., NC, by the Treaty of 1777, and no portion of Ashe Co., is within one hundred miles of what constituted the Cherokee Dominion in 1835". NAM M685, Summary of Sizemore Case by G. Miller, SC; NAM M1104 R5: Appl. 417, Geo. Washington Plummer (Jordan 1987: 131).
[912] NAM M1104 R151: 16346. January 29, 1907. C.Howard to Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
[913] Ibid.
[914] Ibid.
[915] NAM M1104 R141: 14763. July 15/October 2, 1907. Smith to Special Commissioner, Court of Claims.
[916] NAM M1104 R141: 14763. July 19, 1907. Special Commissioner to Smith.
[917] NAM M1104 R253: 31624. November 25, 1907. Hon. Jno. W. Langley to G. Miller, Special Commissioner. John W. Langley and his family hailed from Floyd County. The Langley farm was on Middle Creek outside of Prestonsburg, and the Big Lick Indian Village lay some seven miles up at the headwaters of that stream. Langley represented the 10th KY District, which was most of Eastern Kentucky.
[918] Ibid
[919] NAM M1104 R253: 31624. November 26, 1907. Special Commissioner to Langley.
[920] NAM M1104 R253: 31692. December 5, 1907. Harrison Cole (Ivyton, KY) to Special Commissioner; NAM M1104 R253: 31700. December 14, 1907. J.M.Collins (Ivyton, KY) to G. Miller; NAM M1104 R253: 13897. February 17, 1908. M.Whittaker (Yale, KY) to SCOIA, Feb 17, 1907.
[921] NAM M1104 R274: 34765. February 17, 1908. Langley to G. Miller to Special Commissioner; NAM M1104 R274: 34765. February 19, 1908. Special Commissioner to Langley.
[922] NAM M1104 R151: 16346. March 14, 1908. John H. Gardner (Salyersville, KY) to Geo. B.Gardner (Interior Dept.).
[923] Ibid.
[924] Ibid.
[925] NAM M1104 R151: 16346. March 23, 1908. Special Commissioner to Geo. B. Gardner.
[926] NAM M1104 R151: 16346. April 27, 1908. Shepherd Cole (Gullett, KY) to G.Miller, Special Commissioner.
[927] Ibid.
[928] One Sizemore claimant of the White-Top Band however gave a different reason as to why the mixed-

bloods claiming Cherokee ancestry and identity had not tried to enroll in 1851. Over at White Top, they did receive word of the enrollment of 1851 for the North Carolina Cherokee. In writing to the Special Commissioner in 1908, *William Blevins* of that band recalled "I have heard my father and his brother talk something about the enrollment of 1851. They were afraid of the enrollment, were afraid they would be hauled off to Indian Territory and scattered on that account". See NAM M1104 R127: Appl. 12716. Scott Heath; NAM M685 R7-11: Misc. Testimonies, Sizemore Case, P.56, Testimony of Scott Health, April 10, 1908, Abington, VA (Jordan 1987: 166). Such sentiments may have very well been shared by some of the Salyersville Indians in 1851.

[929] Steve was a nephew of old *Black Hawk Sizemore* and was born and raised in Magoffin County among Blackhawk and Goldenhawk's families. NAM M1104 R293: 37626. Geo. B. "Dry Gourd" Sizemore, August 26, 1907, Fargo, KY.

[930] NAM M1104 R 302: Appl. 38906. Steve Sizemore, August 26, 1907, Fargo, KY., with enclosure date June 23, 1909. Steve Sizemore (Fargo, KY) to Hon. J.B. Bennett, M.C. June 23, 1909.

[931] There are a few of today's elders of the Salyersville Indians as well as non-Indians from the Magoffin area who recall that *their* elders referred to the Collins and Gibsons as "originally being Pony Indians", but that they all thought this referred to the equine, and not a shortening of "Saponi" as it most likely is. CA-NIC-2000: misc. family notes.

[932] See NAM M1104 R71: Appl. 6951. John Peake, Grayson Co., NC, Misc. Testimony (p36) taken April 4, 1908, Grassy Creek, NC (Jordan 1897: 153).

[933] See NAM M1104 R5: Appl. 417. Geo. Washington Plummer, Savatoga, WY; Sizemore Summary statement of G. Miller, Special Commissioner (Jordan 1987: 126-127); NAM M1104 R120 : Appl. 11809. Aaron Osborn. Misc Testimony taken March 31, 1908, Laurel Springs, NC (Jordan 1987: 147-8).

[934] See NAM M.1104 R5: Appl.417. Geo. Washington Plummer; See Report of Goiun Miller in NAM M687, R.7-11: Misc. Testimonies, Sizemore Case, pages 1-80 ; Jordan 1987; 126-181.

[935] The White Top band would remain present in the area throughout the 20th century and, since the 1960s, they have reorganized as a political body called "The New River Metis" (See List of Petitioners for Federal Recognition by State as of 11/23/1993, as listed by the Falmouth Institute, Fairfax, Virginia; See also Atlas of The North American Indian, by Carl Waldman , 1985, New York: Checkmark Books, page 299).

[936] NAM M1104 R302: 38906. December 30, 1908. S. Sizemore to G. Miller.

[937] NAM M1104 R253: 31698. Dingus (Prestonsburg, KY) to Special Commissioner.

[938] NAM M1104 R296: 38095. May 18, 1908. Special Commissioner to Ides Carpenter (Lambric, KY).

[939] NAM M1104 R324: 42249. May 25, 1908. Special Commissioner to Susan Risner.

[940] NAM M1104 R324: 42247. June 2, 1908. Bailey (Ivyton, KY) to G. Miller..

[941] NAM M1104 R253: 31700. April 8, 1908. J.M.Collins to G.Miller, Special Commissioner. *James Collins* was of both Cherokee and Saponi ancestry. By this time, he had left Jennies Creek were he was raised, and had taken up residence with his mother's people at the Big Lick Indian Village.

[942] NAM M1104 R253: 31698. June 4, 1908. L. Pocket (Braynard, KY) to G. Miller, Special Commissioner.

[943] NAM M1104 R296: 30895. May 25, 1908. I.Carpenter (Lambric, KY) to Court of Claims.

[944] Ibid.

[945] NAM M1104 R319: 41518. June 5, 1908. F. Collins (Ivyton, KY) to G.Miller, Special Commissioner.

[946] NAM M1104 R274: 34765. May 15, 1908. P. Nickels (Saslyersville, KY) to Special Commissioner, Court of Claims.

[947] NAM M1104 R259: 32512. July 25, 1908. Anderson Cole (Ivyton, KY) to Special Commissioner.

[948] Ibid.

[949] NAM M1104 R151: 16346. Misc. Testimonies of Shephard Cole, Anderson Cole, and Kissiah Gibson, taken by Special Agent Baker, July 29, 1908, Salyersville, KY.

[950] For instance, the mixed-blood Sizemore descendants remaining remaining back at White Top were often subject to local prejudices by non-Indians for being of Indian descent. Many of their letters to the Special Commissioner, for example, mention local instances of non-Indians "throwing the Indian up in our face...when people got mad at us.". See NAM M1104 R135:13989. Misc. Testimony of John Baldwin, taken April 4, 1908 (Sizemore Case P42; Jordan 1987: 131; R303: 39010. Misc. Testimony of Tabitha Stallings, 1908, East Bend, NC (Sizemore Case P10; Jordan 1987: 138).

[951] NAM M1104 R151: 16346. Misc. Testimonies of Shephard Cole, Anderson Cole, and Kissiah Gibson, taken by Special Agent Baker, July 29, 1908, Salyersville, KY.

[952] Ibid.
[953] Ibid
[954] Ibid.
[955] Ibid.
[956] Ibid.
[957] Ibid.
[958] NAM M1104 R1: Appl.66. Robbin Lawson, September 8, 1906, Bigfall, TN (Hancock Co.), with enclosure, Misc. Testimony taken by Special Agent Baker; NAM M1104 R302: Appl. 38903. Lousia Gibson, August 28, 1907, Pineville, KY.
[959] NAM M1104 R296: 30859. September 26, 1908. Mrs. I.Carpenter (Lambric, KY) to G. Miller, Special Commissioner.
[960] NAM M1104 R253: 31698. July 30 1908. L. Puckett (Brainard, KY) to G.Miller, Special Commissioner.
[961] Louanna was refering to *Polly "Siss" Cole,* see Chapter 14.
[962] NAM M1104 R253: 31698. July 30 1908. L.Puckett (Brainard, KY) to G.Miller, Special Commissioner
[963] NAM M1104 R253: 31698. August 17, 1908. L. Puckett to G.Miller, Special Commissioner.
[964] Ibid.
[965] Ibid.
[966] NAM M1104 R301: 38906. September 28, 1908. Sizemore to G.Miller, Special Commissioner.
[967] Ibid. Indeed, back in Magoffin, Salyersville Indian claiments *Wilbur Nickells* and *Roscoe Dale* would both pass on shortly before the process was completed. See NAM M1104 R292: 37558. June 10, 1909. G Miller to Wm.Nickels (returned, marked "Dead"); NAM M1104 R292: 37538. June 10, 1909. G Miller to Roscoe Dale (returned, marked "Dead").
[968] NAM M1104 R302: 38906. June 23, 1909. Sizemore to G.Miller, Special Commissioner.
[969] NAM M1104 R324: 42249. October 21, 1908. Deposition if Susan Risner of Ivyton, KY, taken by Logan Marshall, D.C.
[970] Ibid.
[971] Ibid.
[972]NAM M1104 R253: 31698. January 7, 1909. Hon. Jno. Langley to G.Miller, Special Commissioner; NAM M1104 R274: 34765. March 21, 1909. Hon. Jno. Langley to G.Miller, Special Commissioner.
[973] Ibid (see enclosures).
[974] For example, see NAM M1104 R292: 37528. June 10, 1909. Wilbur Nickels to Special Commissioner.
[975] Ibid.
[976] NAM M1104 R151: 16346. August 17, 1909. H.Nickels (Cridersville, KY) to Court of Claims. Italics added.
[977] CA-NIC-1999: Farish Cole Reunion Notes
[978] NAM M1104 R253: 31698. August 17, 1908. M.Pocket to Clerk, Court of Claims.
[979] NAM M1104 R253: 31698. July 30, 1908. L.Puckett to G.Miller, Special Commissioner.
[980] NAM M1104 R296: 3085. September 26, 1908. Carpenter to Miller.
[981] NAM M1104 R253: 31698. July 30, 1908. Pocket to Miller.

Chapter 10

[982] See Carlson (1995a, 1996, 1997), Elder (1999), Everett (1999), Ivey (1976), and Sovine (1982).
[983] Burnett (1889): 347-9. Burnett was medical doctor and not a trained ethnologist, historian or anthropologist.
[984] Burnett (1889): 347-9.
[985] Ibid.
[986] Ibid.
[987] Moore (1887): 790.
[988] Burnett (1889): 347-9.
[989] Ibid.
[990] Ibid.
[991] Ibid.
[992] Ibid. Overtly concerned with the issue of "miscegenation" between "the races", Burnett felt the need to

say that "...no one seemed to know positively that they or their ancestors have ever been born in slavery", but he did suggest that that "there (was) evidently a caste distinction as there was between white and negroe, and there was also a difference between them and free negroes"(ibid).

[993] Ibid.

[994] Cocke County borders North Carolina, and thus is actually closer to the White Top Band of Cherokee and the now defunct New River Indian community. Burnett may have indeed encountered more people from White Top than Greasy Rock while living in Cocke County, although families from both areas did occasionally hired out as laborers "in the Valleys".

[995] Ibid.

[996] Ibid.

[997] Ibid.

[998] Ibid. Revealing some of his sources, Burnett thanked a Dr. J.M. Price of Hawkins Co (not Hancock county) and Dr. Gurley of the Smithsonian for assistance in giving him information. I have yet to locate any writings or notes made by either of these men concerning the topic at hand.

[999] Ibid.

[1000] Ibid.

[1001] McMillan (1888). For others promoting similar theories at that time, see Week (1891).

[1002] Burnett (1889): 347-9.

[1003] Laws of North Carolina, 1885, Chapter 5; Sider (1993): 80-83..

[1004] Sider (1993): 75, 79, 82, 88, 170.

[1005] Sider (1993): 74-82.

[1006] This seems analogous to the manner in which the term "Metis" was and is often used in the Great Lakes to describe some people of French Indian heritage. Some embraced the term, while other denied it, favoring instead a French or Indian identity (see Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Families in Indian Country, by Jennifer Brown, 1980, University of Columbia Press, and "Riel, Red River, and Beyond: New Developments in Metis History", by Denis Madill, in New Directions in American Indian History, 1988, University of Oklahoma Press). The label Melungeon has indeed shown up in conjunction with other Indian and mixed-blood groups in the southeast not directly associated with the Greasy Rock, Stone Mountain or Salyersville Indian populations. Often referred to as the "Rockingham Indians", a small group in north central North Carolina who apparently moved here from Robeson County at least by 1860 have been called "Melungeons" by local whites. See "A Comparison of the Social Situation of Two Isolated Indian Groups in Northern North Carolina", by Louise Virginia Nunn, 1937, Master's Thesis, Columbia University; Rights 1947: 22, 31; NAA-SMG, No.4126. Letter [n.d., before 1958], Rights to Swanton.

[1007] See Dromgoole (1891a, 1891b) in *The Arena*, and her earlier articles published in the *Nashville Daily American* (hereafter cited as NDA) under the name "Will Allen". See "Land of the Malungeons", by Will Allen. August [n.d.], 1890, NDA:P10; "Will Allen Comes Back at her Critics in Gallent Style", September [n.d.] 1890, NDA: P3; "A Strange People: Habits, Customs and Characteristics of Malungeons", September 14, 1890, NDA: P10, C5-6.

[1008] "A Strange People: Habits, Customs and Characteristics of Malungeons", September 14, 1890, NDA: P10, C5-6.

[1009] Dromgoole (1891a): 471.

[1010] "A Strange People: Habits, Customs and Characteristics of Malungeons", September 14, 1890, NDA: P10, C5-6.

[1011] Ibid.

[1012] Dromgoole (1891b).

[1013] Dromgoole, however, had obviously gained some sort of impression of who the "Melungeons" were prior to her visit to the Greasy Rock settlements. Before traveling to Hancock County to visit the Greasy Rock Indians, she first queried different State Legislators regarding the who and what of the State's so-called "Malungeons". One from the Nashville area told her that he thought a Malungeon was a "Portuguese Nigger", while a legislator from yet another district said a Malungeon was simply "a dirty Indian Sneak". The legislator in whose jurisdiction the Greasy Rock Indians resided however supposedly told her that "a Malungeon is not a Nigger, he is not an Indian, and he is not a white man. God only knows what he is. I should call him a Democrat, but he always votes the Republican Ticket" (Dromgoole 1891a, 472). Dromgoole notably contradicted herself by ignoring this statement, for she also claimed that the

Greasy Rock Indians were disenfranchised.
[1014] "Land of the Malungeons", by Will Allen. August [n.d.], 1890, NDA:P10.
[1015] "A Strange People: Habits, Customs and Characteristics of Malungeons", September 14, 1890, NDA: P10, C5-6.
[1016] Ibid.
[1017] Ibid; See also Dromgoole (1891a)
[1018] "A Strange People: Habits, Customs and Characteristics of Malungeons", September 14, 1890, NDA: P10, C5-6.
[1019] Dromgoole 1891a: 425-26.
[1020] Dromgoole 1891a, 474-5, "A Strange People: Habits, Customs and Characteristics of Malungeons", September 14, 1890, NDA: P10, C5-6.
[1021] Dromgoole 1891a: 475-6.
[1022] "A Strange People: Habits, Customs and Characteristics of Malungeons", September 14, 1890, NDA: P10, C5-6.
[1023] Ibid.
[1024] Grohse (1982); Humble (1897): 243-4.
[1025] "A Strange People: Habits, Customs and Characteristics of Malungeons", September 14, 1890, NDA: P10, C5-6.
[1026] For example, see Wordon (1947).

[1027] "A Strange People: Habits, Customs and Characteristics of Malungeons", September 14, 1890, NDA: P10, C5-6.
[1028] Dromgoole 1891a: 471. Perhaps the most often quoted claims emerge from her article entitled "The Malungeons" published in 1891. In this work, she erroneously implied that the Greasy Rock Indians had been disenfranchised by the 1834 Act of the Constitutional Convention in Tennessee not as "Indians" or "free persons of color", but specifically as "Malungeons" (see Dromgoole 1891, 470. Regarding this 1834 Constitution, see Chapter 11. No mention is made anywhere within this document regarding "Melungeons").
[1029] Ibid., 471
[1030] See Elder 1999; Grohse 1975.
[1031] Dromgoole 1891b, 745.
[1032] Dromgoole 1891b, 476-7. This myth about these Greasy Rock Indians settling in Present day Hancock County before the first whites would provide fodder for all sort of later writers who made claim the "Melungeons" were actually descendents of Juan Pardo's expedition, the Lost Tribe of Israel, Phoenician sailors, Turkish soldiers, wandering bands of gypsies and Shepherdic Jews, and even the Welsh "Chief Modoc" (see this Chapter, 1030). Of course, all these myths had to subtly add that they "stole" Indian wives somewhere along the way.
[1033] Dromgoole (1891b): 745-6. Dromgoole also wrote that "the story I knew to be true. There are reliable parties still living who received it from old Vardy himself, who came here as a young man and lived, as Malungeons generally live, to a ripe old age" (ibid: 745).
[1034] "A Strange People: Habits, Customs and Characteristics of Malungeons", September 14, 1890, NDA: P10, C5-6. See also Dromgoole 1891a, 1891b: page.
[1035] Dromgoole 1881b, 748 He was known in the community as "*Irish Jim*" and "*Hairlip Jim*". See Misc. Notes in TSL-DHA M501, R4.
[1036] Dromgoole 1891b. 748.
[1037] Ibid.
[1038] Again, Dromgoole was in error about Denham being the first indication of Iberian heritage existing among these citizen Indians. *Vardy Collins'* wife, *Peggy Gibson*, was known as "*Spanish Peggy*" long prior to Denham's emigration into the Greasy Rock Community (Grohse 1975: 5).
[1039] Dromgoole 1891b, 750.
[1040] Dromgoole 1891b, 749.
[1041] Ibid., 479. The parenthesis are Dromgoole's.
[1042] Ibid., 479. She did not note that the Goins/Gowens surname was common in eastern Tennessee by the 1830s and many families there holding this common name were not related to each other in any way. Some

of the "white" Goins families in particular would become of the some most socially, politically and economically successful characters residing around Cumberland Gap and Tazewell. See citations in Elder (1999) for further sources regarding the various Goins families' associations with the Greasy Rock Indian population.

[1043] Dromgoole 1891a, 479.

[1044] Dromgoole 1891b, 746.

[1045] Dromgoole 1891b, 479.

[1046] Dromgoole 1891a, 475.

[1047] Dromgoole 1891b, 749.

[1048] "In Davidson County: A Settlement of People Bearing Some of the Characteristics of the Malungeons", J.A. Cartwright to editor, September 2, 1890, NDA: P2; "The Malungeons: They are Believed to Be in Some Way Connected with the 'Portuguese' in this County", J.A.Cartwright to editor, September 10, 1890, NDA:4.; "Will Allen Defended", J.W.S. to editor, September 14, 1890, NDA: 10. Everett (1999: 395) makes an interesting speculation that the "Portuguese" assertions made by some of these people may have been a misinterpretation of the name "Pohichick", a tribe that existed in the eastern shores of Virginia and North Carolina in the 1700s (see Maps 1-2).

[1049] "The Malungeon: They are Nothing More than Mulattos, Says Correspondent", letter from "24th District/Watuga" to editor, September 7, 1890, NDA: P10.

[1050] Ibid.

[1051] Ibid.

[1052] "Is This a Solution? Further Light Upon the Malungeon Brought Out By Some Ante-Bellum Stories", C.H. to editor, September 14, 1890, NDA: P1, C6.

[1053] Ibid.

[1054] "The Word Malungeon", [a.u.], signed 'Watuga' of Elizabethtown, TN, September 15, 1890, NDA: P4C4.

[1055] "Stories and Comments", R.M.Ewing (Franklin, TN) to editor, September 21, 1890, NDA:P4C4.

[1056] Ibid.

[1057] "The Malungeons: A Peculiar Race of People Living in Hancock County", [a.u.], September 28, 1890, *Knoxville Journal*.

[1058] Ibid.

[1059] Ibid.

[1060] Ibid.

[1061] Ibid.

[1062] Ibid.

[1063] Ibid.

[1064] U.S. Department of Interior 1894.

[1065] U.S.Department of Interior 1894, 594.

[1066] Ibid: 594.

[1067] Ibid. There was no mention in the Interior Department's report of Indians, be they "Cherokee" or "Malungeon" as living in Hancock County, where the bulk of the Greasy Rock Indian population resided. Hancock and Hawkins county enumerators instead counted them as "white" with few exceptions, and they had consistently done ever since 1830. The most notable exception was in the 1880 census, when a number were shown as "xW", apparently meaning "half-white". See NAM T9 R1259: Hancock Co., TN.

[1068] "A Famous Case, Recalled by a Recent Application for a Pension: The Interesting Story of How William Bowen, A Half-Witted Malungeon, Was Robbed of His Pension", [a.u.], March 31, 1894, *Chattanooga Daily Times*.

[1069] Ibid.

[1070] Ibid.

[1071] Ibid.

[1072] Ibid.

[1073] Ibid.

[1074] Ibid.

[1075] Ibid.

[1076] Ibid.

[1077] Ibid.

[1078] Ibid.
[1079] This establishment would be known as "The Vardy Mission".
[1080] Ibid..
[1081] "A Visit to the Malungeons",by C.H. Humble, 1897, *Home Mission Monthly* V11: 243-6.
[1082] Jarvis (1903).
[1083] Ibid.
[1084] Jarvis (1903). Italics mine.
[1085] [a.u.], 1989, History of Hancock County and Its People.
[1086] Mooney (1907).
[1087] See Mooney (1894).
[1088] Mooney (1907): 180, 365.
[1089] Ibid.
[1090] Ibid.
[1091] Mooney (1907): 180, 365.
[1092] Ibid.
[1093] So confusing were the claims being asserted by outside discourses concerning the ancestry of the Greasy Rock Indians and related populations that one dictionary/cyclopedia published in 1906 could only define "Melungeon" as "one of a class of people living in eastern Tennessee, of peculiar appearance and uncertain origin". (See [a.u.] 1906, Century Dictionary/Cyclopedia, P3702). The dictionary even questioned the commonly accepted claim of the French origin of the word by stating that "Melungeon" was of "obscure origin; perhaps ult.< French. melange; a mixture".
[1094] Worden 1947: 28.
[1095] Barr 1965, 13.
[1096] Aswell 1937. Aswell also worked on part of the WPA Tennessee Folklore Project entitled God Bless the Devil; Liar's Bench Tales (Aswell and Miller, 1940). In the introduction of his aforementioned WPA publication entitled God Bless the Devil (1940), Aswell forwarded his own conclusions regarding the "racial" background of the Greasy Rock Indians, that being that "...if you ask me, I say them Melungeons is just a god-awful mess of Cherokee Indians and white scoundrels that run off in the hills to cheat the hanging rope. And I reckon they's right smart lick a nigger comes in their somehow" (Aswell and Miller ,1940).
[1097] Davis, 1963. See also Worden (1947), Barr (1965), and Carlson (1997).
[1098] Indeed, the very titles of the literature growing out of these various aspects of the Melungeon dialogue published since 1910 reveal the ongoing speculative and derogatory nature of the descriptions and characterizations. A sample of the titles of these writings perpetuating this "Melungeon Dialogue" since 1910 are most revealing, and include, in part: "'Mysterious Race' in the Mountains of Tennessee" (Shepherd 1910), "Strange People of East Tennessee whose Origin is Shrouded in Mystery" (Heiskell 1912), "Melungeons, Mystery Race Settle in Hancock County After South Carolina Hegira", (a.u. 1923); "Says Melungeons are Phoenician" (Gibson 1928), "Is the Lost Tribe of Israel Next Door to Us in the Little Valley of Blackwater Creek? Story of An Isolated Hill Folk" (a.u. 1952), "A Romance of the Melungeons: Mysterious Racial Group in East Tennessee, Descendants of Phoenicians of Ancient Carthage" (Rogers 1936), "Melungeons Remain Tennessee Mystery: A Race of Strange Dark Hill People whose ancestry is Portuguese, they have Bloody and Dramatic history" (Knight 1940), "America's Mystery Race" (Ball 1944), "Mountain Melungeons Let the World Go By" (Addington 1945), "Sons of the Legend" (Worden 1947), "Status of Indian 'Lost Tribes' in N.C. Is Still an Unsettled Issue" (Sharpe 1949), " The Melungeons: Their Origin Remains a Mystery" (Harvey 1951), "Hancock County: Land of Melungeons and a age old Mystery" (a.u. 1956), "East Tennessee Melungeons have past Clouded in Myth" (Rawlins 1958) , "The Mystery of the Melungeons: The Story of a Vanishing people of East Tennessee" (Davis 1963), " Mysterious E-T Mountain Clan Becoming Extinct: Origin Uncertain, but Theory Points to Ancient Carthage" (Gamble 1964) , "Daughter of the Legend" (Stuart 1965), "Hancock 'Fables' Are True" (Yarbrough 1966), "The Secret of the Melungeons buried Deeper as Progress Takes its Toll of Mysterious People" (Smith and Rogers 1966), "The Melungeons: Did The Mysterious People of Appalachia find the New World 2,000 years before Columbus" (Fetterman 1969), "Legends vary on Melungeons" (Yarbrough 1969), "The Mystery of Newman's Ridge" (Fetterman 1970), "Who are the Melungeons and were their ancestors ahead of Columbus and the Vikings?" (Ewing 1970) , "Burial Stone Links Melungeons to Jews" (a.u. October 9, 1970), "Melungeons: A Tennessee Mystery" (Endicott 1970) ,

"Melungeons Seeped in Mystery, Many Theories of Their Origin" (Peters 1970), "The Melungeons: Who are these People" (Lynch 1973), "The Melungeons: Descendants of a Lost Tribe of Israel" (Hodge 1976), "Exotic Theories Explain the Origin of a Mysterious Dwindling Hill Clan" (Morgan (1977), "There is Many a Haunting Story out there, Shrouded in the Haze of History" (Pearce 1980), "The Mysterious Melungeons" (Sovine 1982), "Ancestry of Melungeon still Shrouded in Mystery" (Walker 1985), "The Melungeon Legend" (Cavender 1986), "In Search of Melungeons" (Shroeder 1991), "Melungeons Subject of study: Historians Hope to find answers to Centuries Old Mystery" (Watson 1992), "Dark Featured Folk From Appalachia Discover Ethnicity" (Lloyd 1993), "Unraveling the Mystery of the Melungeons" (Brewer 1993), "The Melungeons Become a Race" (Henige 1998), "The Melungeons: Mystery in the Mountains" (Anthony 1998), "The Melungeons: History and Myth" (Everett 1999).
[1099] Humble, C.H. 1897, 245.

Chapter 11

[1100] *Steve "Monk" Cole*, for example, was a stonecutter. How he gained this skill, from apprenticeship or schooling, eludes me (CA-NIC-1999: Irene Farmer).
[1101] Elam 1955, 196.
[1102] Ibid.
[1103] Elam 1955, 197.
[1104] Elam 1955, 197.
[1105] Elam 1955, 198.
[1106] Ibid.
[1107] Elam 1955, 199, 201.
[1108] Elam 1955, 204.
[1109] See "Salutatory", by S.S. Elam, January 12, 1912, *The Kentucky Mountaineer*: P2, C1-2. 1912 and Elam 1955:16.
[1110] "Our School Muddle", S.S. Elam, Mar 15, 1912, *Kentucky Mountaineer*: P2C2..
[1111] Johnson 1908.
[1112] Ibid., 177.
[1113] Ibid., 179.
[1114] Ibid., 178.
[1115] Ibid., 182.
[1116] See Shapiro (1978), Williamson (1995), and Caudill (1967).
[1117] Recall that Wallace had been elected to this position at least once during the late 1800s (see Chapter 7). Although I cannot confirm the date he was reelected, records show that he was again holding this position in 1910. See MCHS, MCK-MFFY: 165. July 1, 1910. Marriage Certificate of Adam G.Cole to Rosa Fletcher. Wallis Cole, Justice of the Peace.
[1118] NAM T624 R494: Magoffin Co., KY.
[1119] Ibid.
[1120] Ibid.
[1121] Ibid.
[1122] Ibid.
[1123] Ibid.
[1124] Ibid.
[1125] Ibid.
[1126] Ibid.
[1127] NAM T624 R474: Floyd Co., KY.
[1128] Ibid.
[1129] NAM T624 R494: Magoffin Co., KY. For more information on this family, see NAM M1104 R282/3: Appl.35995/6. Walter and Lizzie Gullett, August 22, 1907, Gullett, KY.
[1130] I suspect that Wallis' land titles extended from the Ivyton Precinct into the Atkeson Precinct.
[1131] NAM T624 R494: Magoffin Co., KY.
[1132] See Forbes (1982, 1984, 1988) and Higgenbotham (1978).
[1133] NAM T624 R494: Magoffin Co., KY.; NAM T624 R474: Floyd Co., KY.
[1134] "Magistrate's Court", January 12, 1912, *The Kentucky Mountaineer*, P4C4. The *Kentucky Mountaineer*

will hereafter be cited as KM.
[1135] Ibid.
[1136] See any issue of the *Kentucky Mountaineer*..
[1137] "Salutatory", by S.S. Elam, January 12, 1912, KM: P2.
[1138] Ibid.
[1139] Ibid.
[1140] "Ordway", January 26, 1912, KM: P3, C2.
[1141] "Do You Know Your Kinfolks", August 28, 1913, *Paintsville Herald*, Aug 28, 1913.
[1142] NAM M1104, R292: Appl.37527, Los Nickles, and Appl. 37528, Wilbur Nickels. *Dorcus Nickels* was also a single mother living in Sublett in 1907. See NAM M1104 R309:Appl.39993, Dorcus Nickels.
[1143] "Sublett", March 1, 1912, KM: P3, C4.
[1144] *The Kentucky Mountaineer* first makes mention of people going to the Hardin County, Ohio, onion fields in the March 1, 1912 issue (see "Wireman", C1, P1). Remarks about people coming and going from Magoffin to the Ohio onion fields would continue almost ever issue during the season.
[1145] NAM M1104 R288: Appl.36824, Joe Nickles, August 24, 1907, Salyersville, KY; NAM M1104 R253: Appl. 31700, J.M.Collins, August 1, 1907, Brainard, OH, and enclosure August 1, 1908, J.M.Collins (Ft.Hill, OH) to G.Miller, Special Commissioner.
[1146] CA-NIC-1999: Roxie McCarty.
[1147] "Travis", by R.E.J., January 26, 1912. KM: P1, C1.
[1148] See "Ivyton", February 9 1912. KM: P3, C5; "Wireman", March 1, 1912. KM: P1, C2;"Seitz" and "Gapville", March 8, 1912. KM: P6, C2.
[1149] "Cisco", February 2, 1912. KM: P2, C3.
[1150] See nearly every issue of the *Mountaineer* from January 12, 1912 forward.
[1151] "Cisco", February 2, 1912, KM: P2, C3.
[1152] "Reincarnation", Dec. 11, 1913, KM: P1, C5.
[1153] "Big Coon", January 6, 1914, KM: P3, C3.
[1154] Dingus 1915,183.
[1155] Ibid., 185
[1156] Offitt (1993): 15.
[1157] For example, see "Remarkable Negro: Sam Keeton, Colored of Bloomington, Is a Money Prodigy", September 11, 1913, KM: P1, C4. At this point in time, the small black population of the county included dozen or so families who mostly held the surnames of Gardner, Reed, Caudill, Keeton and Arnett.
[1158] "Local News", January 19, 1912. KM: P2 C2.
[1159] "Brownlow", March 1, 1912. KM: P2 C2.
[1160] "Fiscal Court", January 12, 1912. KM: P3 C2.
[1161] "Local News", January 12, 1912. KM: P4 C3.
[1162] "Bloomington", by F.C.G., February 23, 1912. KM: P1 C1.
[1163] See "A Day and One Half Out", by Elim Elam, December 11, 1913. KM: P1 C2.
[1164] "Ivyton", February 23, 1912. KM: P1 C5-6. The illegible word may say "bootleggers".
[1165] "Whiskey and Lawlessness: Correspondent Tells of the Helplessness of Law Abiding Citizens to His Section-Ordway", by Uncle Red, March 29, 1912. KM: P4 C1-2.
[1166] Ibid.
[1167] "Editorial-Our Court House", April 26, 1912. KM: P2 C3.
[1168] "Road and Bridge Claims", May 9, 1912. KM: P2 C4; "Sheriff's Settlement Statement", May 9, 1912. KM: P2 C3.
[1169] "Financial Statement of Magoffin County for Year 1911", May 10, 1912, KM; "$5.00 Reward", by John L. Adams, November 1, 1912. KM: P4 C4.
[1170] See "The Grand Jury", editorial, June 12, 1912. KM: P4 C3.
[1171] "Local News", May 17, 1912. KM: P4 C3.
[1172] "Gapville", July 19, 1912. KM: P1 C1; "Gapville" and "Ivyton", August 2, 1912. KM: P1 C1.
[1173] "Salyersville Threatened by Cloudbursts: Many Leave Home at Midnight and Go To High Ground", July 26, 1912. KM: P3 C3.
[1174] "Ivyton", August 2, 1912. KM: P1 C3.
[1175] "Sheriff's Settlement: For Keeping, Medical Aid and Burial of Poor", May 3, 1912. KM: P2 C3-6.
[1176] Ibid.

[1177] Ibid. In contrast, none of the few black families in the county were shown on the "pauper" lists.
[1178] "Editorial", May 24, 1912, KM: P2 C2. Elam did not mention which names he thought should be excluded.
[1179] "Contrary Fork of Pricy-Our New State", by Ruie Johnson, May 24, 1912. KM: P4 C5-6.
[1180] "Julian", by Welcome, May 31, 1912. KM: P1 C5.
[1181] "Ivyton", May 31, 1912. KM: P2 C2-3.
[1182] "Ivyton", June 14, 1912. KM: P4 C3.
[1183] "Ivyton", July 12, 1912. KM: P1 C2.
[1184] Ibid.
[1185] Ibid.
[1186] "Ivyton", July 19, 1912. KM: C2 P1.
[1187] "Another Murder For Magoffin-Lee Patrick, Held by Ern Arnett, Is Stabbed by Clarence, Ern's Brother, Patrick Dies Instantly-State Guards Ordered to Guard Jail Three Days", by Jack Minix, July 26, 1912. KM: P2 C2-3.
[1188] Ibid.
[1189] The only incident reported in the Mountaineer or the court records involving any "liquor problem" out of Wallace's Ivyton district occurred down in the small coal town of town of Sublett. That August, a man named *Sam Mullins* had been accused by his neighbors of "putting a blind man out to selling whiskey" (see "Blind Man Selling Liquor at Sublett", by O.J., August 16, 1912. KM: P1 C4).
[1190] "Ivyton", August 30, 1912. KM: P4 C4.
[1191] "Boosting the Wrong Way", October 11, 1912. KM: P2 C5.
[1192] "Contrary Fork of Pricy", by Ruie Johnson, September 20, 1912. KM: P5 C5.
[1193] "Mr. Crace Indicted on Account of Statements Made About Squire Wallis Cole-He Now Says Cole was Influenced By Money", by D.C.Crace, October 26, 1912. KM: P1 C2.
[1194] "Ivyton", January 3, 1913. KM: P4 C1.
[1195] "Ivyton", January 17, 1913. KM: P1 C4.
[1196] Ibid.
[1197] "Ivyton", March 7, 1913. KM: P2 C4.
[1198] Ibid, and "Railroad News-Ivyton", March 14, 1913. KM: P2 C2.
[1199] "'Big Tiger' Doings", March 14, 1913. KM: P1 C3-4.
[1200] Ibid.
[1201] "Gifford", by Judge, November 20, 1913. KM: P3 C3.
[1202] See "The Black Guard Held Up The Pedagog", reprint from *The Prestonsburg Monitor* entitled Bonanza", July 3, 1913. KM: P1 C3).
[1203] "Local News", March 28, 1913, KM: P2 C2-3; "Gapville", April 4 1913. KM: P1 C4.
[1204] "Ivyton", April 4 1912. KM: P1 C4.
[1205] "Gapville", April 4 1913. KM: P1 C4.
[1206] "Ivyton", April 18, 1913. KM: P1 C4.
[1207] See C.W.Whittaker (McGuffy, OH) to editor, May 23, 1913. KM: P2 C4.
[1208] T.Knuckles (Alger, OH) to editor, June 10, 1913. KM: P1 C3.
[1209] "Local News", April 4, 1913. KM: P2 C4.
[1210] See "Grand Jurors", April 25, 1912. KM: P2 C4.
[1211] See "Ivyton", May 2, 1913. KM: P1 C3.
[1212] "How Names Will Appear on Ballot", June 24, 1913. KM: P2 C2.
[1213] "Gifford Gleanings", August 7, 1913. KM: P4 C1.
[1214] See "Voters Calm Political Storm- W.J.Patrick, Smith Adams, David Rudd and S.S,Elam Nominated: Magoffin County Campaign Hot and Fierce, but Passed Off Quietly, Only One Man in County Being Hurt", August 7, 1913. KM: P1 C1-2.
[1215] "Republican Majority Big: The County is Absolute", November 6, 1913. KM: P1 C2.
[1216] [title] January 8, 1914, KM: page; NAM T624 R494: Magoffin Co. *Willie Collins*, who the *Mountaineer* described as "the happy mail engineer", still ran his hack line on the rough road between Paintsville and Salyersville (see "Our Trip to Paintsville", December 4, 1913. KM: P1 C2).
[1217] "The Ivyton Prophecy", by Amanda Kelly (Wenatchee, WA), January 1, 1914. KM: P1 C3-6.
[1218] See "Excerpts from the *Salyersville Herald*", entry dated June 24, 1915, contributed by Sue Shackelford. JMCHS V16 N2.

[1219] Kentucky Registrar of Vital Statistics: Death Certificate of Shepherd Cole, October 15, 1917.
[1220] The creek that housed this part of the Salyersville Indian Cole families off Middle Creek for so long still bears that family's name. It was still known as "Shep Cole' Creek" in 1913, but today is simply known as "Cole's Creek" (see "Things Local", October 9, 1913, KM: P3 C3).

Chapter 12

[1221] "Greenup County Nonagenarian Story; Life Covers more than 9 Decades, from Oxen to Airplane, John Sizemore Sr., Born in the Early Days of Last Century, Tells of Pioneer Customs in This State and of Indian Chief, Who Was His Sire", reprinted in MCHS-LBG: 1654-1657.
[1222] Ibid. In a 1914 letter that *Bill Hawk Sizemore* wrote to a pension examiner in 1914. In that letter, *Bill Hawk* explained that " the '*Hawk*' part of my name is a sort of nickname for our family of Sizemores", which was used to distinguish them from the '*Gourd*' branch of Sizemores. (See William Sizemore "Hawk" to W.J. Stone, February 18, 1914. MCHS-LGB: 1663).
[1223] "Greenup County Nonagenarian Story; Life Covers more than 9 Decades, from Oxen to Airplane, John Sizemore Sr., Born in the Early Days of Last Century, Tells of Pioneer Customs in This State and of Indian Chief, Who Was His Sire", reprinted in MCHS-LBG: 1654-1657. *John Sizemore Sr.* recalled that his father *Bill Hawk* held slaves prior to the Civil War, one of the few Salyersville Indians to ever do so. John stated that, in 1930, "you will still find their descendants in that part of the Country" (ibid).
[1224] Price 1950b.
[1225] Less satisfied with the physical trapping of a church, open-air meetings were common at established "Camp grounds" at places like Frank Risner's farm, or the Forks (aka The Flats) at the Big Lick Indian Village ("Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*-Gypsy", January 22, 1922, contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V16 N3: 117).
[1226] NAM M1104 R259: 32512. July 25, 1908. Anderson Cole to G.Miller, Special Commissioner.
[1227] aka. *Jahaza Anderson*.
[1228] "My Life History", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V18 N4: 135-138.
[1229] Joseph was a full blood, the son of *William Wills* and *Amy*. See Full Blood Creek Indian Roll #8970, Indian Roll Card #3198 Filed #3859.
[1230] Mobility was a characteristic of the Oklahoma contingent of Salyersville Indians during this era. For example, *Robert Cole* (b. 1886 at the Big Lick Indian Village), and his wife Ola Lee, could be found in Mays, Oklahoma, in 1909, in various parts of Muskogee County from 1914-16, in Creek County in 1922, in Waganer County in 1923, back in Creek County in 1927, and then in Sapulpa (Creek County), in 1930. This couple had and raised nine children during time. Ola would be buried at the Gibson Cemetery at Stone Bluff, Oklahoma in 1937 (CA-NIC-1999: Dovie Cole-Alstrom). The movements of the family of *Allamander* and *Lola* (*Cole*) *Perkins* also illustrates well the mobility typical of the Salyersville Indian families. While also raising a family of nine children, the family moved from Magoffin County, Kentucky to Wapanucka, Oklahoma in 1909. A year later, they moved back to Magoffin, but then moved back to Oklahoma in 1912. Later that year, they moved to Wisconsin for some unknown reason. They stayed there for less than a year, and then they moved back to Wapanucka. Their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren could still be found in that area in the 1980s, (CA-NIC-1999: Dovie Cole-Alstrom).
[1231] "My Life History, Part Two", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V19 N1: 15-18.
[1232] Ibid, and "My Life History, Part Two", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V19 N1: 15-18; "My Life History, Part Three", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V19 N2: 66-70; CA-NIC-1999/2000: Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom. Roy Cole's wife was the daughter of Reverend John Turner Casey and *Mary Belle Sheppard* (see Chapter 8).
[1233] "My Life History", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V18 N4: 135-138.
[1234] "My Life History, Part Three", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V19 N2: 66-70.
[1235] "My Life History, Part Two", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V19 N1: 15-18.
[1236] One of the places they lived near Inola was in a "old shack out in the country at Inola down by Salt Creek". History, Part Two", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V19 N1: 15-18.
[1237] "My Life History", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V18 N4: 135-138.
[1238] Dovie recalls how she and her brother *Royal* would look forward to laundry day, for they would get a half-day away from the fields in order to take their tubs and scrub board to the creek.
[1239] "My Life History", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V18 N4: 135-138.

[1240] "My Life History, Part Three", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V19 N2: 68. Dovie also remembers how her Dad and brothers would go "rob a bee's nest to get us honey to eat. They would wear heavy clothes. They would bring a big honeycomb home. We would chew the comb for gum. Sometimes the comb would have young baby bee's in it" (ibid).
[1241] "My Life History, Part Three", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V19 N2: 66-7.
[1242] "My Life History, Part Two", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V19 N1: 15-18.
[1243] Ibid. Dovie recalls one time in the 1930s when her father ran a whiskey still when that family lived back in the woods on lower land near the Verdigris River near Inola. One occasion in particular stands out. Dovie described how one day "My Dad started the brew for his whiskey still. Before the brew was ready to run off whiskey my dad was drunk. He went home and fell asleep in the bed next to the wall". Later that night, "the revenuer came and broke down the door. My mom covered my dad's head so the revenuer could not find him. After this episode I do not think that my dad set up whiskey stills. This made mom happy" (ibid).
[1244] Ibid. Bertie Casey Cole died at age 78 on December 29, 1989.
[1245] Ibid. Amongst the Salyersville Indians, Daniel Cole was known to be "3/4 Indian", while Jahaza was called a "full-blood" (CA-NIC-1999/2000).
[1246] "My Life History, Part Two", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V19 N1: 15-18.
[1247] "My Life History, Part Three", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V19 N2: 66-70.
[1248] Ibid: 69.
[1249] So bad were the times that, despite his W.P.A. job, Roy and Bertie had to resort to ingenious means of acquiring food for the family. At that time, the family lived in town in a "small shack", and their daughter Dovie remembers how "once my Dad cut a hole in the floor. People would let their chickens run loose and the chickens would run under the floor. Dad would drop feed through the hole. When a chicken would come to eat, my dad would catch it and kill it. We had chicken and dumplings". (See "My Life History, Part Two", by Dovie Cole Hobbs Alstrom, JMCHS V19 N1: 15-18).
[1250] Ibid.
[1251] Until the 1950s most of the Salyersville Indians descendants would choose to marry other Indians or non-Indians from "back in Kentucky". In the 50s and 60s, numerous marriages took place with "Oklahoma Indians".
[1252] CA-NIC-1999/2000: Misc. Notes, Irene Farmer, Roberta Cole. *Charles* and *Purmela* can be shown living briefly in Louisa County, KY in 1912, showing that this family had been searching for stable work outside of Magoffin County for at least a year or so.
[1253] NAM T625 R1965: Mingo Co., WV. Other adult Salyersville Indians enumerated here in 1920 included *Elzie's* wife *Sola Fletcher, Coon* and *Darkey (Nickles) Cole (*Coon's 77 year old mother *Nancy* and his brother *Adam "Jr"* also lived with this couple in this year*), Louesly* and *Gersey Cole, Jasper* and *Louisa Bailey, Preston* and *Virginia Bailey, Wick Kendell* "*Son*" and *Sarah Izania* (*Barnett) Cole, Rosie Cole* (who, at age 16 worked as a "Cook" in the town), *Newt* and *Lury (Emily Marshall) Cole, Richard Malcolm Cole, Oscar* and *Nancy Cole, Willey* and *Sarah Cole, Dave and Louisa (Cole) Fletcher, Charles* and *Nancy Bailey, Taylor* and *Lora Cole*, Mrs. *Zelpha Chaffin, Ashland Cole, Garrett* and *Jeanette (Cole) Cole,* and *Elzie* and *Birchie (Fletcher) Cole* (ibid).
[1254] Alternatively, Elzie Cole's daughter *Samantha* and the families of two of her children would stay most of their lives in the Thacker area. Her daughter *Laura* by Rich Stone would marry *James Chaffin* and would remain in the area. Her son *Newt Cole* by Jack Hamilton married another Salyersville Indian from back in Magoffin, *Louisa Cole*, and they lived there his entire life (CA-NIC-1999: Irene Farmer).
[1255] The coal towns became worlds in and of themselves. See Shifftlett (1991); Shackleford and Weinburg (1977).
[1256] In the earliest days, it would be mostly single "Welsh" men who were brought in to work the first few small mines in East Kentucky, as was done in Floyd County before the Civil War. Out of the 20 "miners" shown on the 1850 Floyd County census, 9 were straight from Wales, 2 from Scotland, and only one was a native born Kentuckian. See NAM M432 R200: Floyd Co., KY.
[1257] So diverse was the cadre of people now coming into the mountains in these years that in the summer of 1921, the *Salyersville Independent* even reported that "several strangers recently passed here on their way to a railroad station and are supposed to be Laplanders". See "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*", June 24, 1921, contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V21 N2: 77.
[1258] NAM T625 R589: Magoffin Co., KY; R595: Perry Co., KY; R569: Floyd Co., KY.

[1259] CA-NIC-1999/2000. Marvin is one of my mother's many Uncles.
[1260] See Shackelford & Weinburg (1977): 262-3 for a published version of this interview. The original interview with Marvin Gullett was taken as a part of the Kentucky Appalachia Oral History Project. Transcriptions and the original interview are held at The McGain Library, Alice Lloyd College, Pippa Passes, KY.
[1261] NAM T625 R589: Magoffin Co., KY.
[1262] NAM T625 R1965: Mingo Co., WV.
[1263] Dr. Charles Cleland, personal communication.
[1264] Jarvis 1903.
[1265] See Kentucky Registrar of Vital Statistics. File No. 7582, Reg. No. 6. March 1, 1911. Death Certificate of John Wesley Cole, etc.
[1266] "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*", May 12/August 18, 1922, contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V16 N3: 118-119.
[1267] "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent:* Ivyton", June 10, 1921, contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V19 N4: 130.
[1268] See "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*: Gypsy", July 1, 1921, and June 24, 1921contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V21 N3 and JMCHS V21 N2: 77.
[1269] See Thomas 1926, 288.
[1270] One local man who would accumulate substantial revenue from smartly negotiated oil and gas leases was William Prater ("Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*", January 12, 1923, contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V17N2: 77). Experiences like his were the exception, however, not the rule.
[1271] Thomas 1926, 289.
[1272] "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*-Salyersville Must Have a Hospital", January 23, 1923, contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V17 N2: 77.
[1273] "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*-Foraker", November 28, 1924, contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V19 N2: 65.
[1274] "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*", February 1, 1924, contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V19 N1: 111.
[1275] For instance, in the fall of 1924 folks living at Middle Fork and Hendricks reported "small pox is raging around here...we hope there will be some way fixed to keep it from being scattered around so much" (see "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*-Hendricks", November 14, 1924, contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V19 N2: 65).
[1276] Gibbons 1919, 408
[1277] "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*", June 24, 1921, cotb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V21 N2: 77.
[1278] "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*", December 23, 1921, cotb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V16 N2: 67.
[1279] See also Thomas 1926, 289.
[1280] The image of this unfortunate occurrence is commemorated by an engraving carved on a small knife in possession of Web's great grandnephew. This cousin of mine explained to me that one of Web's nephews had it made down in Blue Diamond during the 1930s or 40s. The etchings are laid on both sides of the knife. The first side shows a number of shotgun-wielding revenuers leaving their paddy wagon at the foot of the mountain. The other side shows Web Gullett up on his still at the top of the same mountain.
[1281] "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*-Man Almost Loses Scalp", February 23, 1923, contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V17 N2:79.
[1282] "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*", June 22, 1923, contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V17 N3: 86.
[1283] "Shooting Affair Proves Fatal to Willie Jones", April 6, 1923, in "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*", contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V17 N3: 86, and "Report from Grand Jury", September 23, 1921. in "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*", contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V16 N2: 65-66.
[1284] "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*-Gypsy", August 29, 1924, contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V19 N1: 12.
[1285] For instance, in September in 1921, four men had been accused of murder, including one Indian, *McKinley Gibson*, who for some unknown reason had killed Kelly Fletcher. As was often the case, because

of the lack of witnesses, the charges against all four were dropped (see "Report From the Grand Jury", September 23, 1921, in "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*", contb. by S. Shackelford, JMCHS V16 N2: 66). Another obscure reference notes that in the winter of 1922, *Raleigh Collins* was prosecuted for "killing Lonnie Cooper's child...defendant comes clear" (see "Circuit Court", December 8, 1922, in "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*", contb. by S. Shackelford, JMCHS V17 N1: 27). The following spring, *Ronney Perkins* of Ditney Ridge shot Lige Blair six times in the leg, reportedly "the result of a grudge". Blair crawled an entire mile to get help with his wounds and report the incident (see "Man Shot Six Times Travels One Mile Unassisted", April 23, 1923, in "Excerpts from *The Salyersville Independent*", contb. by S. Shackelford. JMCHS V17 N3: 86). Perhaps the most ominous reference regarding any of the Salyersville Indians in Magoffin during this period is noted in an Ivyton based doctor's notebook. In an entry dated the spring of 1929, Dr. Rice noted "the Green Rock murder of *Frank Gipson* and others", but particulars regarding the incident yet elude me (see "The Rice Notebook of Ivyton, Kentucky", entry dated 1929, JMCHS V10 N2: 62. Parenthesis mine).

[1286] Ibid, and NAM M1104 R288: Appl. 36824, Joe Nickels, August 24, 1907, Salyersville, KY; NAM M1104 R253: Appl. 31700, J.M.Collins, August 1, 1907, Brainard, KY. For the Salyersville Indians, seasonal migration may have began even earlier than the 1910s. One local history records a story about a *Collins* man who was killed while dredging in the Scioto swamp in the late 1800s (see Drumm 1940: 21-22). If this Collins was related to the Indian families of that name assocaited with the Salyersville Indian poplation is however unknown.

[1287] Valdez 1991, 34.

[1288] Some sources claim that there were recruiting advertisments placed in some county newspapers or "personal solicitation" wherein "entire families were promised work". See U.S. Department of Labor (1935); Sternsher (1986, 43); Drumm (1940, 53); Valdez (1991, 34. I have reviewed the newspapers from Magoffin and its surrounding counties emanating from 1912 to 1930 any they contain not a single recruitment ad. So exactly how the Ohio growers gained the earliest Magoffin recruits therefore remains elusive.

[1289] Son and Malvanie's daughter *Ardelia* died as a teenager in Alger, Ohio in 1918. Malvanie died in September 1918, preceeding her daughter by a few weeks. *CA*-NIC-1999: Paul Tate.

[1290] Two types of onion workers were engaged in production on the Marsh. Some families, like that of Lark Puckett's, sharecropped small three to five acre plots. Those not sharecropping worked instead for wages. The wage worker was, at first, meant to merely augment the sharecropper. But as Valdez points out, by 1930 "this less stable arrangement" of wage laborers typified the vast majority of the workforce (see Valdez 1991, 34).

[1291] Drumm 1940, 56; Valdez 1991, 34.

[1292] Gibbons 1919, 406; Varvel 1931, 20, 21, 26-27.

[1293] Proceeding of the 15th Annual Convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor: 36-38, First day, July 9, 1934, Morning Session : "The Strike in the Onion Fields of Ohio"; CA-NIC-1999: Misc. Notes.

[1294] Drumm 1940, 23-26.

[1295] Ibid., 26.

[1296] Ibid.

[1297] Ibid, 23-24.

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[1298] Drumm 1940, 54.

[1299] Ibid., 55.

[1300] Gibbons 1920, 413-14.

[1301] The reader will also recall the similar "Criminal origin" myth surrounded some of the conjectural literature regarding the Greasy Rock Indians written by people perpetuating the dialogue concerning "Melungeons" (see Chapter 10).

[1302] See "The Onion Fields", by Omar Stephens as told by Nola Montgomery Stephens, JMCHS, V22 N2: 91-97.

[1303] Gibbons 1919, 406-418.

[1304] Ibid., 406-7.

[1305] Ibid., 407, 409.

[1306] Gibbons 1919, 408.
[1307] This man lived on Puncheon Creek and was the father of 13 children. Like most Magoffin County folk, this self-described "Arish" family were subsistence farmers. But this family did not engage in onion work in the north. Logan instead supplemented farming with income made from "selling off his timber", because, he said, "there was no money to be had" (ibid., 412.
[1308] Ibid., 406, 409, 413, 415, 416
[1309] Ibid., 414.
[1310] Ibid., 415.
[1311] Ibid., 415-16.
[1312] Varvel 1931, 17-21.
[1313] Ibid., 24. In the past 10 years, not only had the amount of workers from Kentucky joining in the seasonal migrations increased four times, but they now included people from beyond Magoffin particularly from Breathitt, Perry and Letcher Counties (ibid.)
[1314] Ibid., 25
[1315] Ibid., 24-25.
[1316] Sternsher 1986, 52.
[1317] Varvel 1931, 24. see also U.S. Department of Labor 1935, 4; Sternsher 1986, 43.
[1318] CA-NIC-1999/2000: Irene Farmer, Roberta Cole.
[1319] CA-NIC-1999/2000: Roberta Cole, Irene Farmer. Most of these families had worked at least for a few years to a decade or more in the Thacker coal mines prior to moving here to work onions.
[1320] Varvel had noted that by 1930, 3,500 acres were being harvested on the Great Scioto Marsh, but that the yields had begun to slightly diminish in recent years. See Varvel 1931, 27.
[1321] U.S. Department of Labor 1935, 4.
[1322] Proceedings of the 15th Annual Convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, July 9, 1934. First Day, Morning Session: "The Strike in the Onion Fields of Ohio": 36-38. ; U.S. Department of Labor 1935, 4.
[1323] Sternsher 1986, 46. For instance, the US Dept. of Labor (1935, 5) reported that, in 1934, Hardin County Ohio had the highest rate of TB anywhere in the state.
[1324] Drumm 1940, 53.
[1325] Ibid., 53-54.
[1326] U.S. Department of Labor 1935b, 327
[1327] Sternsher 1986, 53, 83.
[1328] Taylor 1940, 26.
[1329] Valdez 1991, 39.
[1330] U.S. Department of Labor 1935, 5; 1935b, 324.
[1331] [a.p.] August 26, 1934. "Anti-Unionists Sieze Ohio Town After Mayor's Home is Bombed", *The New York Times*: 1, 25; U.S. Department of Labor (1935). Thirty-eight year old Odell was not from Magoffin County, but hailed from West Virginia The Odell family name is however also common in many parts of East Kentucky.
[1332] Proceedings of the 15th Annual Convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, July 9, 1934. First Day, Morning Session: "The Strike in the Onion Fields of Ohio". pgs. 36-38.
[1333] Valdez 1991, 41-41.
[1334] Ibid., 39-40. Interestingly, this tactic had often been used in the coal company towns in Kentucky, Pennsylvania and West Virginia and is perhaps the precedent from which the Judge took his cue.
[1335] Sternsher 1986, 62, 76, 78.
[1336] Valdez 1991, 39.
[1337] See Proceedings of the 15th Annual Convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, July 9, 1934. First Day, Morning Session: "The Strike in the Onion Fields of Ohio". pgs. 36-38.
[1338] Drumm 1940, 60-69; Sternsher 1986, 68-71.
[1339] Sternsher 1986, 66
[1340] Sternsher 1986, 57, 58, 67. "The Black League" was offically known as "The United Brotherhood of America", and was very much akin to the Ku Klux Klan. It was most active in in Detroit and other industrial cities in the Midwest. Clinansmith provides a good discussion of this group, which he describes as "skilled manipulators of racial, religious and class hatred...combining the philosophies of Nativism, anti-semitism, anti-Catholicism, and often using anti-communist rhetoric". See "The Black Legion: Hooded

Americanism in Michigan", by Michael S. Clinansmith, *Michigan History Magazine* (1971), V55 N3: 243-262.
[1341] Sternsher 1986, 63.
[1342] Proceedings of the 15th Annual Convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, July 9, 1934. First Day, Morning Session: "The Strike in the Onion Fields of Ohio". pgs. 36-38.
[1343] Ibid.
[1344] Ibid.
[1345] Ibid.
[1346] Ibid; see also Proceedings of the 15th Annual Convention of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, July 9, 1934. First Day, Morning Session: "The Strike in the Onion Fields of Ohio". pgs. 36-38).
[1347] Valdez 1991, 40
[1348] The only initative the Labor Department did accomplish was to place some 33 boys from the onion worker families with the CCC, safely away from the violence on the Marsh.
[1349] Sternsher 1986, 52
[1350] Ibid., 61.
[1351] Ibid., 69, 74.
[1352] Ibid., 74.
[1353] Ibid., 71-71.
[1354] Ibid., 72
[1355] Ibid., 73
[1356] [a.p.] August 26, 1934. "Anti-Unionists Sieze Ohio Town After Mayor's Home is Bombed", *The New York Times*: 1, 25.
[1357] Ibid, and U.S. Department of Labor (1935).
[1358] [a.p.] August 26, 1934. "Anti-Unionists Sieze Ohio Town After Mayor's Home is Bombed", *The New York Times*: 1, 25.
[1359] Ibid.
[1360] Ibid, and Sternsher 1986, 77.
[1361] [a.p.] August 26, 1934. "Anti-Unionists Sieze Ohio Town After Mayor's Home is Bombed", *The New York Times*: 1, 25.
[1362] Drumm 1940, 66.
[1363] Sternsher 1986, 73
[1364] [a.p.] August 28, 1934. "Onion *Strikers* Ready For Pay Compromise: Federal Conciliator Confers with Leaders and Growers- Is Hopeful of Result", *The New York Times*: pg.28.
[1365] Ibid.
[1366] The local Grand Jury was presented with the positive identification of 67 people who aided in attacking and kidnapping Odell but not one was ever indicted. Hardin County justice instead called for trying and convicting Odell himself for pointing a gun at two of the mob's men. Interestingly the two "Kentucky" men, *Richard Nichols* and Elmer Risner, employees of the Scioto Land Company, were among the few Magoffin Countians who had sided with the growers in the dispute. I have not yet determined if Richard was of the "Indian" or "white" Nickels families, as both had people coming here from the Magoffin region (Sternsner 1986, 80).
[1367] Valdez 1991, 41
[1368] U.S. Department of Labor 1935.
[1369] Drumm 1940, 69.
[1370] [a.u.] January, 1935. "Living and Working in the Onion Fields of Ohio", *Labor Information Bulletin*: 4-5.
[1371] CA-NIC-1999/2000: Paul Tate, Irene Farmer, Roxie McCarty. The Preston Cemetery located at Alger, Ohio, has been used continuously by Salyersville Indians and their relations at least since 1918.
[1372] CA-NIC-1999/2000.
[1373] CA-NIC-1999: Paul Tate.
[1374] CA-NIC-2000: Roxie McCarty.
[1375] Valdez 1991, 41
[1376] Valdez 1991, 41; Sternsher 1986, 48.
[1377] see SAM-TP, RG 68-69. June 14, 1937. Norm Kunckle, Adm. Ingham County Welfare Relief Committee, to Mrs. Ada Freeman, Bureau of the Homeless and Unattached, Lansing, MI.

[1378] Sternsher 1986, 48-49, 82.
[1379] Valdez 1991, 41; Sternsher 1986, 48. Perhaps, too, the growers move was meant to elude the Federal government, which continued to investigate the Great Strike in '34 in the years to come. The Federal Investigative Committee, composed of representatives of the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Agriculture and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, was appointed on August 29, 1934, right after the bombing of the Mayor's home in McGuffy, Ohio. (See U.S. Department of Labor 1935 and 1935b).
[1380] It is probably reasonable to assume that there was some sort of "blacklist" floating around to keep out "agitators".
[1381] CA-NIC-1999: R. Harold Cole Sr.
[1382] SAM-TP, RG 68-69. June 14, 1937. Norm Kunckle (Adm. Ingham County Welfare Relief Committee) to Mrs. Ada Freeman (Bureau of the Homeless and Unattached, Lansing, MI).
[1383] Ibid.
[1384] Ibid.
[1385] Ibid.
[1386] Ibid.
[1387] Ibid.
[1388] Ibid.
[1389] Benyon 1938, 335.
[1390] Thaden's massive collection of documents and field notes accrued during this period of his tenure at Michigan State College (now Michigan State University) are now held at the State Archives of Michigan. Most of the collection however has to do with Chicano and Mexican migrant labor, especially involving the sugar beet industry that was Thaden's primary interest.
[1391] SAM-TP, RG 68-69, B226 F7. October 2, 1939. Fieldnotes, "Stockbridge Onions", Interview with Mary Conway (Ingham County Relief Commissioner). Other notes of Thaden's show the other town was Ivyton. All three are Magoffin County towns.
[1392] SAM-TP, RG 68-69, B226, F7. April 28, 1939. N. Kunckle (Adm. Ingham County Welfare Relief Committee) to Carl Krummery (Stockbridge, MI).
[1393] Ibid.
[1394] The owner of the Drake, "Stub" Owens, had originally come from Kentucky and was reported as being "related to some of its occupants" (ibid).
[1395] Ibid.
[1396] There had apparently been some fights and other friction between the onion workers and local people and police in the village when the workers converged on the town on weekend evenings to "let loose" during the harvest of the year prior. See "Law By Sawed-Off Shotgun: Deputies Stand Guard in Tiny Stockbridge", *Lansing State Journal*, May 24, 1952.
[1397] SAM-TP, RG 68-69, B226 F7. January 21, 1941. "Results of Transient Problem and Vote", a blank questionarre enclosed with form letter from The Stockbridge Civil Improvement League.
[1398] Ibid.
[1399] Ibid, and SAM-TP, RG 68-69, B226 F7. January 22 and February 19 1941. Minutes of Meeting for the Stockbridge Civil Improvement League. See also SAM-TP, RG 68-69, B226 F7. [March 1941]. "Transient Survey Form" by Stockbridge Civil Improvement League. Showing this group's influence, another member suggested that they secure some support for their cause from the Ingham County Health Department. Apparently the Department had informed them that, if the Stockbridge community would appoint a health officer, the so-called "nuisance law" could be invoked to close down any questionable housing provided to the onion workers. The League voted to pursue enforcing that law as it pertained to overcrowding, which some saw as "a source of filth or cause of sickness"SAM-TP, RG 68-69, B226 F7. January 21, 1941. "Results of Transient Problem and Vote", a blank questionarre enclosed with form letter from The Stockbridge Civil Improvement League; SAM-TP, RG 68-69, B226 F7. January 22 and February 19 1941. Minutes of Meeting for the Stockbridge Civil Improvement League.
[1400]SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. March 1941. Thaden fieldnotes taken from "Survey Forms filled out for som Ohio and Kentucky families who are Onion Workers in the Stockbridge Community".
[1401] Ibid.
[1402] Ibid.
[1403] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. April 8, 1941. H.Muir to A.J.Stroud. Again at the request of the League,

the Ingham County Health Department in late April came out to inspect three spaces in Stockbridge being rented by the onion working families of Dora Horn, Floyd Pinks and Lally Fletcher (see SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. June 19 1941. Stroud, Ingham Co., Health Dept., Mason, MI, to Floyd Gibson, Stockbridge Village Clerk).
[1404] Ibid.
[1405] [a.p.] "Boy Dies, Two Hurt in Fire: Blaze in Stockbridge Home Fatal to Troy Pink, 7", *Lansing State Journal*, November 13, 1941.
[1406] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Ruth Howard and Mr. John Brogan.
[1407] Ibid, and SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Mrs. Lillie Cool.
[1408] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. [n.d. 1941 or 1942]. FSO-Interview with Mrs. Bowen.
[1409] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Paul Hamar. Like Louis Meyer, Veril Baldwin did not live on or even near his onion farms around Stockbridge but, instead, resided 15 miles south down in the city of Jackson. Therefore, the growers hired other men to "manage" their considerable holdings of Mucklands in the surrounding countryside. Baldwin also operated an onion farm outside of Partello, in northern Calhoun County.
[1410] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 18, 1942. FSO-Interview with Mrs. Helen Cool.
[1411] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. [n.d.] 1942. Report of the Stockbridge Civil Improvemnt League entitled "The Transient Labor Problem in Stockbridge and Vicinity".
[1412] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with C.D. Barrett (Director, Ingham County Health Department).
[1413] "Living Conditions Improved For Onion Workers", by Cephas Smith, *The Stockbridge Sun*, September 24, 1942. A copy of this article is held within SAM-TP RG69-69, B224, F2.
[1414] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Mrs. Lillie Cool.
[1415] "Living Conditions Improved For Onion Workers", by Cephas Smith, *The Stockbridge Sun*, September 24, 1942.
[1416] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 18, 1942. FSO-Interview with Helen Cool.
[1417] Ibid. Average rent was $12 per month, and many of the houses had only one room and contained no privy.
[1418] Ibid.
[1419] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. [n.d.] 1942. Report of the Stockbridge Civil Improvemnt League entitled "The Transient Labor Problem in Stockbridge and Vicinity".
[1420] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with C.D. Barrett (Director, Ingham County Health Department).
[1421] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Supt. Stroud.
[1422] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. [n.d.] 1942. Report of the Stockbridge Civil Improvemnt League entitled "The Transient Labor Problem in Stockbridge and Vicinity".
[1423] Ibid, and SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Supt. Stroud.
[1424] Ibid.
[1425] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with C.D. Barrett (Director, Ingham Co., Health Department).
[1426] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7.October 28, 1942. Fieldnotes, "Stockbridge Onions-Jackson County".
[1427] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with C.D. Barrett (Director, Ingham Co., Health Department).
[1428] Ibid and SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Mrs. John Brogan.
[1429] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO- Interview with C.D. Barrett (Director, Ingham Co., Health Department).
[1430] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO- Interview with Mrs. Ruth Howard.
[1431] "Living Conditions Improved For Onion Workers", by Cephas Smith, *The Stockbridge Sun*, September 24, 1942; SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 18, 1942. FSO-Interview with Voll Risner; SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Mrs. Ruth Howard.
[1432] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Mrs. Ruth Howard.
[1433] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. [n.d.] 1942. FSO-Interview with Mr. Lowie.
[1434] Ibid.
[1435] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 18, 1942. FSO-Interview with Helen Cool. William "Bill"

Marshall was born at or near Bradley, off the Burning Fork, down in Magoffin County.
[1436] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 18, 1942. FSO-Interview with Helen Cool.
[1437] Ibid.
[1438] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Brooks Patterson.
[1439] CA-NIC-2000: Misc. Notes.
[1440] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Brooks Patterson.
[1441] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 18, 1942. FSO-Interview with Voll Risner.
[1442] Ibid, and SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. [n.d. 1941/2]. Fieldnotes, "Stockbridge Onions-Labor".
[1443] CA-NIC-1999/2000.
[1444] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Mrs John Brogan.
[1445] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Mrs Lillie Cool. Cool pointed out to sociologist Thaden that "all will go to the family bible for family record" (ibid).
[1446] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Mrs John Brogan; and SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 18, 1942. FSO-Interview with Helen Cool.
[1447] Indeed, the rummage sale was much like the weekend "flea markets" that are still common throughout Appalachia. Halperin (1990) describes and explains in detail the importance of flea markets in the local and family economies of East Kentucky.
[1448] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Mrs John Brogan.
[1449] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Mrs Ruth Howard.
[1450] Oral tradition tells of how *Jason Anderson Cole*, a Salyersville Indian who was mostly associated with the Plymouth-Willard area fields down in Ohio, entertained many people by dancing on an onion crate while simultaneously singing and playing the fiddle. He could make the onion crate "spin" underneath his feet as he danced and played (CA-NIC-1999: Irene Farmer).
[1451] SAM-TP, RG69-69, B226 F7. November 17, 1942. FSO-Interview with Supt. Stroud.
[1452] Ibid.

Chapter 14

[1453] Price 1950b,285.
[1454] SAM-TP, RG 68--69. Misc. Clippings from *The Michigan Farmer* (February, 1943) entitled *"Muck Farmers Meet"* and *"Haring Crowned Onion King"*
[1455] SAM-TP, RG68-69 B225 F3. [n.d.] 1943. Annual Progress Report, Federal Grant Projects- MI Agricultural Experimental Station.
[1456] Ibid.
[1457] CA-NIC-2000: Roxie McCarty.
[1458] CA-NIC-1999: Paul Tate, Irene Farmer. It is interesting to note that in 1939, Sol went back to Magoffin County, Kentucky, to marry Marie Cole (the daughter of *Ashland Cole* and *Amery Anderson*).
[1459] For instance, *James Monroe Oney* married *Ella Cole* here. *Herman Cole* would marry *Allie Wireman*, and they would eventually purchase some land near Wakeman, Ohio (CA-NIC-1999: Irene Farmer).
[1460] CA-NIC-1999/2000: Interviews with Faye Green, Ollie Barnett, Faye Baldwin.
[1461] Ollie (Cole) Barnett recalls struggling to get a small farm established in Michigan. She writes "Adam's Granddad Perkins, came to Michigan in 1939. Adam had to sign papers so that his granddad could sell his farm (in Kentucky). Adam received an inheritance of $35.00 from the sale of the farm which was his mother's share. We used this small inheritance to put a little electric in our little home in Partello. Granddad Perkins died in Kentucky in 1953. This home in Partello we first rented for $1 to $1.50 per week. We later bought the house for $175.00 from Art Thomas. It had two long rooms. We later remodeled it to included 4 rooms and made a basement under it" (see citation referenced below). Previous to living in this place, Ollie remembers that "we didn't have water at first at the house in Partello. We would have to carry water from quite a distance. I was pregnant. I lost the baby at about 3 1/2 months. We later had a hand driven well put down, but still had no water inside. We had the electric put in early 1939. We had lots of borders: Leon Gullet, Dillard Proffitt, Wendall Murphy, Orville Watkins" (Ibid). Ollie and Adam kept this farm until 1974, when they acquired a new home in nearby Springport. CA-NIC-2000: "Ollie Barnett Memoirs-Marriage", page 2, taken 2-4-95 by Faye Green. Copy received by author from Ollie Barnett and Faye Green.
[1462] Price 1950b, 287-8.

[1463] Price 1950b, 287-8.
[1464] Price 1950b, 288.
[1465] Gilbert 1948. Besides Gilbert's article, there were few other references mentioning the Indian identity asserted by the Salyersville Indian's relations from the 1930s until 1947. They include Nunn's 1937 Thesis, but she only briefly mentions the Carmel Band of Salyersville Indians, whom she call "tri-racial"isolates. Alfred Melville Neilson's 1947 Thesis (Ohio State University), titled "A Study of certain 'Racial Islands' in the Eastern United States" devotes only a few lines. Goodridge Wilson's article "The Southwest Corner", published in the February 25, 1934 edition of *The Roanoke Times* (pages 5-6) cited figures showing the *Coles* were the only people recorded as "Indian" living in Lee County, Virginia in 1930, but he failed to tie them to their relations community in Magoffin County, Kentucky.
[1466] Gilbert, 426.
[1467] Ibid., 427. Gilbert erroneously speculated that the "Hardin County Indians...represent a survival from earlier times (a few refugees) in the Scioto marshes" (ibid., 426).
[1468] Ibid., 426.
[1469] CA-NIC-1999/2000, misc. notes.
[1470] Kentucky Registrar of Vital Statistics. June 15, 1968. Certificate of Death for John M. Cole.
[1471] CA-NIC-1999: Harold Cole.
[1472] CA-NIC-1999: Harold Cole Sr., Mary Cole, and Derek Cole.
[1473] Price 1950a, 3.
[1474] Price 1950a, 1950b.
[1475] Price 1950b, 282.
[1476] Price noted that "one or two other names have been added to the group by marriage", but he failed to elaborate on who or when (Price 1950b, 282).
[1477] Ibid., 284
[1478] Ibid., 282. This figure forwarded by Price is in contrast to that of Gilbert. Of the Carmel band of Salyersville Indians, Gilbert stated that "many migrated from the area during World War Two, but about 50 still remain in the neighborhood" (Gilbert 1948, 427).
[1479] Price 1950b, 282.
[1480] Ibid., 282
[1481] Ibid., 283 In this instance, Price's description echoed that in Gilbert's report. Gilbert had stated that "the present day Carmel Indians live in shacks on the farmer's land, where they provide occasional labor...and subsist by hunting, sale of ginseng and yellow root, and by their scant livestock of chicken and pigs....a few own small plots" (Gilbert 1948: 427).
[1482] Ibid.
[1483] Price 1950b, 284.
[1484] Ibid., 283.
[1485] Ibid.,284
[1486] Ibid., 284 Price himself was heavily influenced by the popular "culture of poverty" theories pervasive during this time. Any person familiar with the literature regarding both Appalachians and American Indians will note the similarities in stereotypes imposed on both, such as their being "shiftless, lazy" and so forth. (For a critical analysis of the erroneous application and influence of the "culture of poverty" theories as applied towards Appalachia, see Shapiro 1978, and Batteau , 1983).
[1487] Price 1950b., 284.
[1488] Price also supposedly interviewed some "local farmers" in Magoffin County regarding their Indian neighbors. He wrote that they, "on the surface at least, accept good naturedly the claim of the former to Indian ancestry. Privately however the question of Negro blood may be raised" (Price 1950b, 285).
[1489] Price 1950b, 285-6.
[1490] Price 1950b, 286
[1491] Ibid.,287. Again, by associating surnames from partial census records, a few secondary sources, and a couple of "local' informants, Price presented a skewed and incomplete list of family names he claimed to "belong to the mixed- bloods" of Magoffin County. These names included *Barnett*, *Harmon*, *Cole* and *Hale*, as well as some family names he already knew from visiting the Carmel band, *Gibson*, *Perkins* and *Nickles*. Stemming from his lack of proper research, he however failed to mention that there were just as many or more families in the county holding some of these surnames that were in no way "blood relations" to the Salyersville Indians.

[1492] CA-NIC-1999/2000: Mary Cole, Harold Cole Sr.
[1493] Ibid., 285
[1494] Ibid., 286-7.
[1495] Ibid., Figures 7 and 8.
[1496] Ibid.,285
[1497] Ibid.,290.
[1498] Ibid.,286
[1499] Price 1950b, 288-9.
[1500] Price 1950b, 290.
[1501] Price 1951, 271.
[1502] Price's work would heavily influence many later writers concerned with "Melungeons", "Indian Survivals", "racial isolates" and other similar topics. For example, Calvin Beale's 1957 article published in the dubious *Eugenics Quarterly* would draw heavily from Price's work. Beale made more generalized inferences about numerous "mixed-racial communities" throughout the east (Beale 1957, 187). Beale only briefly mentions "Melungeon and related groups", but stated that ,in 1950, there remained 670 in Magoffin County, 420 in Johnson County, and 1680 in Floyd. His population statistics were a gross exaggeration however of those who locally asserted an "Indian" identity, as his data behind these statistics were based on pulling surnames from census and phone books. He thus counted many families that had no Indian ties whatsoever. Interestingly, Beale also noted that the census of 1950 reflected that Highland and Hardin County, Ohio had the highest rural Indian populations of that state. But, like Gilbert, Beale failed to recognize their ties to Magoffin County (Beale 1957, 193).
[1503] CA-NIC-1999: Misc. Notes.
[1504] CA-NIC-2000: Mary Cole.
[1505] CA-NIC-2000: Mary Cole.
[1506] CA-NIC-1999: Harold Cole Sr, Derek Cole, and Mary Cole.
[1507] Ibid.
[1508] SAM-TP RG 68-69 B225 F2. 1951. Journal article titled "Federal Child Labor Investigations in Agriculture-Michigan".
[1509] The Governor's Study Commission on Migratory Labor. September 1954. "Migrants in Michigan: A Handbook on Migratory, Seasonal, Agricultural Workers in Michigan" (Lansing, MI).
[1510] SAM-TP RG 68-69 B224 F2: Clipping from *The Michigan Farmer* dated 1951 and titled "To Have and Hold Migrant Labor" [a.u.].
[1511] *Ollie* (*Cole*) *Barnett* recalls that her son *Barry* was "topping" for pay at age 4 on these same fields (CA-NIC-2000: Ollie Barnett).
[1512] The Farm called "Potawatomi" or "Potawatomi fields" were outside of Burlington MI in Calhoun County. Since the 1960s, at least one marriage has occurred between the Huron Band of Potawatomi Indians and the Salyersville Indians. *Laura Gene Cole* married a "1/2 blood" Potawatomi in Union City in 1971. Their children thus are "1/4 Potawatomi" and "1/4 Salyersville Indian" of Cherokee-Saponi heritage (CA-NIC-2000: Mary Cole).
[1513] CA-NIC-2000: Roy and Mary Cole.
[1514] CA-NIC-1999: Harold Cole Sr.
[1515] CA-NIC-1999: Harold Cole, Debbie Carlson.
[1516] CA-NIC-1999/2000: Derek Cole, Misc. Notes.
[1517] SAM-TP RG 69-69, Box 223 F1. November 1, 1951. Michigan Migrant Committee, Minutes of Meeting, Lansing, MI. While these "Kentuckians" still continued to prefer the onion industry, most of those here called "Mexican" were involved in the growing pickle Industry centered out of Mason.
[1518] SAM-TP RG68-69 B226 F2. October 6, 1952. Memo: Shirley Green to Thaden, Johnson and McClure.
[1519] Ibid.
[1520] SAM-TP RG68-69 B226 F1. August 6, 1952. Thaden to Greene.
[1521] [a.u.]. May 24, 1952. "Law by Sawed-Off Shotgun: Deputies Stand Guard in Tiny Stockbridge", *Lansing State Journal:* 1.
[1522] Ibid.
[1523] Ibid. The paper hinted at the fact that "internal rumblings" were heard even before the cafe incident.
[1524] Ibid.
[1525] Ibid.

[1526] Ibid.
[1527] Ibid.
[1528] Ibid.
[1529] In 1959, the *Michigan Post-Season Labor Report* noted that the "onion muckland of southern Michigan did better this year". However they also noted that due to a labor shortage--the first of its kind-- early in the onion harvest, "the use of foreign workers was recommended" and were subsequently recruited (1959, Michigan Employment Security Commission, Employment Service Division, Detroit, MI).
[1530] CA-NIC-1999: Harold Cole Sr.. Even today, a handful of young Salyersville Indians will occasionally take up part time work in the fields that remain around School Lake and Partello, or outside Dansville.
[1531] CA-NIC-2000: Ollie Barnett, Faye Green, Faye Baldwin.
[1532] Unfortunately, James would lose the farm in the "great Farmer Crash of 1980" (CA-NIC-1999; Derek Cole).
[1533] Malcolm died in 1960 in Adrian, Michigan. His wife was *Orpha Sexton*.
[1534] CA-NIC- 1999: Obituary of Louisa Cole [Obituary in unknown Hillsdale County, Michigan, newspaper, 1963]. Received Courtesy of Irene Farmer. Louisa was first married to Grover Cleveland Barnett.
[1535] The 1976 obituary of *Charley Cole* further demonstrates the expanse of this overlapping kinship network, but from a different geographical and genealogical vantage. Charley was the fourth cousin of the aforementioned *Louisa* (*Cole*) *Marshall*. Born in 1886 and raised on Cole's Branch of the Big Lick Indian Village, Charley moved to the Plymouth/Willard, Ohio area in 1926 with his wife *Purmela Fletcher* where he remained until his death in 1976. At his death, his sister *Lola Perkins* lived in Tishomingo, Oklahoma. Three of Charley's four living daughters, *Lyda Cornett Castle*, *Ella Oney*, and *Della Bailey* remained in the Plymouth-Willard area, as did the families of his three sons *Dock*, *Earnest* and *Clyde*. Another daughter, *Lucy Cole*, resided in Marshall, Michigan (and still does). By 1976, Charley had 64 grandchildren, 189 great grand children, and 31 great great grandchildren all living. (CA-NIC-2000: Memorial Obituary of Charley Cole, received courtesy of Roberta Cole).
[1536] CA-NIC-1999: Garrett Cole Reunion notes.
[1537] CA-NIC- 1999: Obituary of Louisa Cole [Obituary from an unknown Hillsdale County, Michigan, newspaper, 1963]. Received Courtesy of Irene Farmer. Louisa was first married to Grover Cleveland Barnett.
[1538] The 1976 obituary of *Charley Cole* further demonstrates the expanse of this overlapping kinship network, but from a different geographical and genealogical vantage. Charley was the fourth cousin of the aforementioned *Louisa* (*Cole*) *Marshall*. Born in 1886 and raised on Cole's Branch of the Big Lick Indian Village, Charley moved to the Plymouth/Willard, Ohio area in 1926 with his wife *Purmela Fletcher* where he remained until his death in 1976. At his death, his sister *Lola Perkins* lived in Tishomingo, Oklahoma. Three of Charley's four living daughters, *Lyda Cornett Castle*, *Ella Oney*, and *Della Bailey* remained in the Plymouth-Willard area, as did the families of his three sons *Dock*, *Earnest* and *Clyde*. Another daughter, *Lucy Cole*, resided in Marshall, Michigan (and still does). By 1976, Charley had 64 grandchildren, 189 great grand children, and 31 great great grandchildren all living. (CA-NIC-2000: Memorial Obituary of Charley Cole, received courtesy of Roberta Cole).
[1539] U.S Department of the Interior (1963): 6. The report's author admitted that "for the most part", the data contained therein was taken from Gilbert's 1948 Report which did identify the "Magoffin County Indians" as the most prominent Indian population in Kentucky (see Chapter 14).
[1540] Ibid: 5.
[1541] Ibid. The report does briefly mention the Greasy Rock Indian population, simply stating that, in Tennessee, there is "a group of mixed blood descent known as Melungeons" (ibid: 8). The report also made short mention of the Stone Mountain Indian population, who they said were locally known as "Melungeons or Ramps (ibid: 8). Ramps are the regional term for wild onions, but this has also been a local nickname pinned on the Stone Mountain Indians by local non-Indians since at least since the beginning of the century. See Addington (1945), Price (1951), Ball (1960, 1975, 1992), Barr (1964), Bible (1975).
[1542] Not including the local Ottawa, Chippewa and Potawatomi, there were thousands of other "out-of-state Indians" that lived in Michigan at this time. Mostly living in the big urban centers like Detroit, Lansing and Grand Rapids, thousands of Indians including Iroquois, Navaho, Lumbee, eastern and western Cherokee, and others, were also not separately mentioned in this report. Indeed, there were many more Indians in

Michigan than anywhere in Ohio or Kentucky, and thus Indian families on the landscape were not as "unique" to Michiganders than to non-Indians in those other states.

[1543] See Chapter 16. See also Carlson (1995a, 1996, 1997), Elder (1999). Everett (1999), Ivey (1976, 1977), and Sovine (1982) for critical examinations of the use of these theories in explaining so-called "Melungeon origins".

[1544] See Chapter 10, endnote 1030, which provides a glimpse of the prolific literature that has touted such theories since the previous century.

[1545] Bible 1972, 31. Bible was astute enough to note that, by the turn of the century, many locals spell "Gibson" as Gipson because local accents make the sound of a "p" out of a "b". Gifford is only 2-3 miles from the now defunct town of Gullett, and about five miles from Salyersville. The Gibsons have been the most populous Indian family living in that area since the 1920s. That non-Indians in that part of the county would uses the label "Gibsons" to identify all the county's interrelated Indian families therefore makes sense in the context of local parlance.

[1546] Ibid.

[1547] Ibid.

[1548] "Tom Cole" , JMCHS V23 N4: 159, newspaper clipping contributed by Harlen "Sarge" Rowe. Tom's paternal grandfather was William Campbell. His paternal grandmother, *Louanna Cole* and maternal grandfather, *Billy Anderson Cole* were Cherokee, while his maternal grandmother was a Saponi named *Biddy Collins*.

[1549] CA-NIC-2000: Mary Cole.

[1550] CA-NIC-1999: Misc.notes.

[1551] CA-NIC-1999: Derek Cole.

[1552] CA-NIC-1999, misc. notes.

[1553] To my knowledge, the Oklahoma contingent of Salyersville Indian families have not consistently held similar gatherings since the 1940s.

[1554] CA-NIC-1999: Misc. Notes.

[1555] Only the Nickles Reunion in Hillsdale County, Michigan allows bingo. The back to back "Nickles" and Cole" reunions held in Hillsdale in August of each year are separated not for reasons of different family names, for most could find a ties that would legitimize their presence in the other's reunion, and many do attend both. The reason instead is because many of the Salyersville Indians condemn gambling of any sort. In deference to their wishes, as well as of those who differ in opinion, the Cole reunion is the "gambling free" alternative for the weekend. The Nickels reunion is held on a Saturday, while the Cole reunion is fittingly held the following day. Note: in 2002, the Cole/Nickles reunion was combined, and bingo was allowed by consensus of the families.

[1556] Winford learned the trade of barber as a young man, and performed that service for friends and family in Partello for a few years before going on to learn and practice a number of trades before following his path as a preacher. Winford and Norma also sing and play music at formal religious and secular gatherings, and are well known for their abilities in playing and singing.

[1557] Many people do not fully understand the complex web of issues like treaties and agreements between different tribes and federal and state governments, and the difference between federal and state polices concerning this issue. In Michigan, for instance, the Comstock agreement (based on Federal treaties) made between the state and the Tribes of Michigan allows only for those tribes' children to attend state colleges and universities free of charge, but *not* out of state Indians, be they federally recognized or not.

[1558] Derek recalls joining a "Native American Student Group" on this campus. After indirectly finding out of its existence (not being told) Derek was eager to join. However, when he showed up at their first meeting, he found it was all whites who joined because they were interested in "things Indian". As they went around the table to let people make introductions and voice their interests, most romantically talked about wanting to sit in a sweat lodge, take peyote, or "help those poor Indians". Derek was then somewhat put off when they asked him what being Indian meant to him, and he explained that "whiskey, Jesus and Jail" were some of the more common themes in his people' history, "and just what did they know about that". He said that the people around him were disillusioned and disheartened to receive such a blunt view of the other side of Indian reality (CA-NIC-1999: Derek Cole).

[1559] Sam and Shirley maintain a permanent residence in Coldwater, Michigan, but spend a few months of

the year in their "cabin" in Breathitt County, just south of the Magoffin County line. Oral history recalls a Saponi Collins ancestor of Sam's who was a particularly good fiddle player. After performing for the President of the United States who was touring the mountains of East Kentucky, the President was so impressed with his playing, but thrown off by this "full-bloods" lack of Indian attire, that the President gave Collins a full Plains Indian headdress that the executive had received as a gift from a western tribe (CA-NIC-1999: Sam Cole). I have not yet confirmed this story, the full name of the Collins man, or the date this occurred.

[1560] CA-NIC-2000: Mary and Roy Cole Jr.

[1561] The Salyersville Indians today receive their best support in working on their history from the Magoffin County Historical Society. While steadfastly rejecting overtures by outsiders to cast that county's historic Indian population as "Melungeons", those who run the society stay true to printing primary documents that are relevant to Salyersville Indian history with respect for their family and community history in and beyond that county. There has been a small amount of literature written by "Melungeon hunters" in the past decade who have come closer to accepting the documents and the people's claim to Indian heritage and an Indian identity. These literatures however focus primarily on the Greasy Rock and Stone Mountain Indian populations, and make only cursory mention of their "relatives in Kentucky" who they still choose to erroneously designate Melungeons (see Elder 1999, Everett 1999, Kennedy and Kennedy 1994, McGlothen 1993). Other than this dissertation, Price's 1950 article the only academic piece devoted solely to the Salyersville Indians.

Conclusion

[1562] See, for example, Sider 1990; Neely 1991.

[1563] Quotes by Harrision (1995, 35), referring to family reunions among certain African American families.

[1564] Phrase borrowed from Dr. Bob McKinley (personal communication).

[1565] Dr. Laurie Medina and Dr. Charles Cleland (personal communication).

[1566] Dromgoole 1891b.

[1567] Bible 1970, 31.

[1568] [a.u.] 1849. "The Malungeons", _Littleton's Living Age_: 618-9.

[1569] Gibbons 1919, 415.

[1570] Price 1950b, 285.

[1571] Krouse 1999, 15.

[1572] Knapps 1993.

[1573] SAM-TP RG69-69, B226, F7. June 14,1937. N.Kunckel (Adm. Ingham Co. Welfare Relief Committee) to Mrs. Ada Freeman (Bureau of Homeless and Unattached).

[1574] Bible 1970, 31.

[1575] The Salyersville Indians seem to reflect a segmentary lineage system grounded in bilateral kinship reckoning. A segmentary lineage system is loosely defined as a type of political organization in which the larger group is segmented into clans, which are then divided into lineages (this similar to, but different from, tribal clans societies). Segementary lineage systems allow people to join together over time, but are sometimes more rigid than others. This is very similar to what Dromgoole(1890b) described as happening to the Saponi Collins, Mullins and Gibson families in the early 1800s,which is described and analyzed here in Chapter 6. The *Cole*, *Collins*, *Gibson*, *Nickles*, *Perkins*, and other primary Salyersville Indian families have maintained this manner of identification, so much so that the families today officially organize gatherings around lineages grounded in 'family lineages' that emphasize their relations with the other primary Salyersville Indian family groups, and not their separateness.

[1576] CA-NIC-1999/2000: Dovie Cole.

[1577] Sider 1993, Neely 1991, Foley 1990.

[1578] Jarvis 1903.

[1579] U.S. Department of the Interior 1894, 594.

[1580] Berkhoffer 1979; Forbes 1989; Higgenbothem 1978.

[1581] Sahlins 1985, ix.

[1582] Price 1950b, 290.

[1583] Dromgoole (Allen) 1890, P10, C6.

[1584] Price 1950b, 290, 293.
[1585] [a.u.] 1849. _Littleton's Living Age_: 618-9.
[1586] [a.u.] March 31, 1894. "A Famous Case...", _Chattanooga Daily Times_.
[1587] Foley 1990, 184. Foley goes on to state that discourse and 'displaying' an image or reality becomes what Roland Barthes (1972) calls a second order language or 'mythology'. See Barthes, Roland (1972) _Mythologies_. Trans.Annette Lavers. New York: Hill and Wang.
[1588] Cleland 2001b, 6.
[1589] Carlson 1995; 1996; 1997; Everett 1999; Ivey 1976; Sovine 1982.
[1590] Knapps, 1993.
[1591] Ibid.
[1592] Halperin 1990.
[1593] Foley 1990, 184-5.
[1594] Caudill 1967; Shapiro 1978; Williamson 1995.
[1595] Sternsher 1986, 52.
[1596] CA-NIC: "Daniel C. and Jahaza Cole- Thier Daughter Delila's Family", by Carelen Foster Rector McKinney. Copy recieved of author.
[1597] Ohnuki-Tieney 1990, 4.
[1598] Roseberry 1989, 4-14.
[1599] Sahlins 1985, x, 34.
[1600] Shapiro 1978, ix.
[1601] Halperin 1990, abstract, back cover.
[1602] Morgan 1851.
[1603] Morgan 1851; David Schnieder 1968; Halperin 1990; Ottenheimer 1996; Segalen 1986.
[1604] Feinburg and Ottenhiemer 2001; Krouse 1999; and Medicine 2002
[1605] The criteria are reflected in the published rules mandated for non-recognized tribes who wish to pursue recognition through petitions for acknowledgment sanctioned by the federal government. See *Federal Register* 43, no.172 (Sept.5, 1978): 39361-4.
[1606] For example, Brewton Berry's 1963 map of "Surviving Indian Groups in the Eastern United States", which was republished in the *American Anthropologist* special section on "American Racial Isolates" of 1972, shows how gross in error have been such predictions of the imminent demise of most of these groups'--including the Salyersville Indians-- Indian identity have been (see Berrv 1963, inside cover; *American Anthropologist*, V74 (1972). "The American Isolates". Special Series). Comparing this 1963 map with the number of recognized and unrecognized, but self-asserting Indian groups that would be shown on this map today, we clearly see that such predictions have utterly failed.
[1607] NAM M1104 R253:31698. August 17,1908. Louanna Puckett to Clerk, Court of Claims.
[1608] CA-NIC-1999: Misc. notes.
[1609] Taramargo 1994.
[1610] Greenbaum 1991, 109, 117-118.
[1611] For example, one government employed anthropologist, discussing how to research "Indian Survivals" in the eastern United States in the 1940s, including "the Magoffin County Indians", openly asserted that "...it seems impossible to reconstruct for each community the circumstances that have determined its present status ... physical appearance and local tradition may be most important" (Gilbert 1948, 410).
[1612] Fogelson 1989, 135.
[1613] Halperin 1990, 45-46.
[1614] Fogelson 1989, 140.
[1615] CA-NIC-1999: Misc. notes.
[1616] Black-Rogers, 1986, 373.
[1617] Sioui 1992, 12; Tedlock 1975, 5.
[1618] Quote from Hopi sociologist Dr. Gonzalez, speaking about Indian identity at a recent Cornell University forum, printed in an editoral entitled "Going Home, Improving Communities", *Indian Country Today*, Dec. 11, 2001: A4.
[1619] CA-NIC-1999: C.Hobbs.
[1620] Cleland 2001b: 2-7.
[1621] Ibid.
[1622] Carrol 1994, P3-4.

[1623] Ibid.
[1624] Cleland 2001b: 2-7.

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