

American Indian Survival in South Carolina

Chiefdoms, Collapse, and Coalescence | Independent Study

- On settling among their northern kin, these Tuscaroras wasted no time before seeking redress against any Piedmont Indians who had helped secure their defeat: Esaws, Catawbas, Waterees, Sugerees, Waxhaws, Saraws, Congarees, and a host of others. The Tuscaroras' new Five Nations allies were all too happy to support this ruthless pursuit. Since at least as early as the 1680s, Iroquois raiders had regularly penetrated into the Carolinas in search of slaves for the northeastern markets and prisoners for their ever-widening mourning wars, but the Tuscaroras' fury likely heightened the severity of these attacks. Thus, the Tuscarora War had never ended for Piedmont Indians (Ramsey 2008:130); worse yet, its battlefields now lay no farther away than the banks of their own Catawba and **Pee Dee rivers**. - **Chiefdoms Collapse and Coalescence**
 - **The chiefdoms of the Mississippian world were shattered, along with their political economies based on maize and tribute, surplus and hierarchy. In their place came two new modes of polity, chieftaincy and nation, founded in the gun-wealth resources of slaves and hides, the capitalist schemas of commodification.** - Chiefdoms Collapse and Coalescence
 - **By the late seventeenth century, the chieftaincy had emerged as the most inclusive form of regional political structure in the Native South** - Chiefdoms Collapse and Coalescence
 - **I suggest that we draw instead on Elsa Redmond's concept of *chieftaincy*, a closely related mode of polity that she has defined as a "centralized political leadership that operates from time to time among autonomous village societies but that is generally short-lived"** - Chiefdoms Collapse and Coalescence
 - *By 1701, there were no less than three chieftaincies along the lower Catawba and Wateree rivers: the Esaws, Sugerees, and Waxhaws. **Two others may have been forming along the Pee Dee under leadership of the Saraws and Waccamaws.*** - Chiefdoms Collapse and Coalescence

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- Only the Catawbas managed to hold onto common land. That tract and the circumstances under which they retained it made possible a range of options not available to other Indian people in the state. -Survival in South Carolina
- To the south **along the Pee Dee River were Cheraws, Keyauwees, and some Enos**, who had found a hiding place from the Iroquois and a trade outlet in Charleston. — The Indian's New World
 - “Occasional bands of immigrants arrived on the Lumber River *from ancient settlements toward the east*, while others moved west toward the Pee Dee, Catawba and French Broad Rivers.” -Indians of North Carolina: Letter from the Secretary of the Interior
 - In 1711, the Saxapahaw had been driven to live with the Waccamaw after the Tuscarora attacked one of their villages near the Tuscarora town of Nahantes with the result that 16 Saxapahaw (or Shacoie) were killed.
 - This reference to the "Shacoie" may be a case of mistaken identity with the Shacoie possibly being the Shoccoree.
 - One clue to the affiliation of the Saxapahaw is that John Barnwell recruited a group of Saxapahaw on the lower PeeDee/Waccamaw River to fight with him against the Tuscarora in 1712 -Intersite Settlement
 - [Barnwell] met a village of Saxapahaws on the run. They told Barnwell they had been attacked by Tuscaroras from Catechna in early January because they had refused to join in the attacks on English settlers. Sixteen of their people had been killed.
 - Forced off their lands, the Saxapahaws said they were heading to South Carolina to pay tribute and ask for protection. Instead, Barnwell, calling them “brave men and good,” persuaded them to join his expedition.²⁶
 - There was some worry about the Indian desertions that had hamstrung Barnwell, and officials interviewed some of Barnwell's early deserters. *The Sewees, Winyaws, and Saxapahaws claimed they had no weapons or ammunition, so they left Barnwell. **But Governor Craven felt their account was very “dark.”***
- **the break between peoples of the lower Catawba and the Great Pee Dee in 1716 confined Catawba coalescence to a single valley and its tributary**

streams. This is a marked contrast to other coalescences in the early American South. - Chiefdoms Collapse and Coalescence

- **To be sure, many peoples from the Pee Dee would gravitate to this new Catawba Valley nation in the years to come (e.g., Merrell 1989:110–111). Many others, however, would not, melting away to the north and east of the Great Pee Dee, into the remote wet gum and cypress swamps that feed the Lumber River. - Chiefdoms Collapse and Coalescence**
- Yet we are still left with the problem of who was excluded from the deerskin map and why. **Most of those groups omitted – mainly Saraws, Keyauwees, Waccamaws, Enos, and Pee Dees – are known to have occupied the Pee Dee and its tributaries during the time after the Yamasee War. - Chiefdoms Collapse and Coalescence**
- **Cheraws were at various times among Enos, Pedees, Waccamaws, and Saxapahaws, and Keyauwees were also said to be stirring up trouble in the villages north of Charleston. - The Indian’s New World**
- **Governor Craven himself planned “to march away to the Sarraws and our other Northern Indians to strive to cut them off,” -CCC**
- **in August 1716, [the Catawba] became the defenders of Carolina’s Piedmont frontier, a commitment that Fitts and Heath refer to as “*ethnic soldiering*” -CCC**
- Significantly, [the Cheraw] all continued to fight with Carolina after February 1716. In August, as noted, North Carolina authorities blamed the Saraws, Enos, and Keyauwees for renewing their war with South Carolina, and Governor Eden declared his own war against these Indians in November, one that Spotswood and Virginia refused to support (Saunders 1886, II:252–253). - **Chiefdoms Collapse and Coalescence**
- “[t]he Wascaws [Waxhaws] refused to make peace with us which obliged the Cattawbaws to fall on them. They have kill’d ye major part of them the rest are fled to ye Sarraws” (Sainsbury 1928–1947, VI:241). The Waccamaws and most other groups along the Pee Dee River, except for the Saraws, had made peace with the colony and offered to “use their endeavours to destroy the Sarraws” (Sainsbury 1928–1947, VI:241). -CCC

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- the Commissioners of the Indian Trade reported that “notwith- standing their Message to the Governour for a Peace,” these “Charraws” had “made Friendship with the Wackamaws, with a Design (as they infer) to engage them in a War against us; and have threatned the White people” -CCC
- In 1714 the Keyanwee, with the Saponi, Tutelo, Occaueechi, **and Shoccoree**, had moved clown toward the settlements about Albemarle sound; all five tribes, together with one or two not mentioned, numbering only about 750 souls (Lawson, 5). -Siouan Tribes of the East
- after Captain Chicken’s victory at the Battle of the Ponds, the Saraws initiated peace talks with Virginia, apparently speaking on behalf of all Piedmont Indians -CCC
- On February 27, 1714, the Virginia colony reached an agreement. The remnants of the Saponi, Tottero, Occaneechi, Keyauwee, Enoke (or Eno), and Shakori formally coalesced, becoming "The Saponi Nation".
- It could be said that the Treaty of 171[4] with the Saponi, Occaneechi, Tutelo and Stuckenox (Eno and Shakori) Indians was written with the long-term goal of detribalizing the signatory tribes. - The Origins of the Saponi Nation - YÉSAH
 - Our ancestors were viewed by some English and Virginians as nuisances as the colony continuously expanded all around these so called “tributary Indians or tribes”. After Bacon’s rebellion in 1676, many of the Virginia and North Carolina Tribes (there was no colony or state border in 1677 when the first treaty was signed) were forced to become tributaries to the colony of Virginian in order to end the violence and slave raiding being committed against them by Nathaniel Bacon and his cohorts. As tributaries, they had to subject themselves to English dominance and in many ways ceded their sovereignty. The Origins of the Saponi Nation - YÉSAH
- Since the Battle of the Ponds two years before, the Saraws and Catawbias had sought to broker a peace with South Carolina through Spotswood’s intervention. **The “king” of the Saraws, who made at least three trips to Williamsburg from July 1715 to February 1716, had even asked that the governor permit him to “remove his Nation nearer to Virginia”** (McIlwaine 1928, III:406) -CCC

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- It seems no coincidence that the Cheraws' reappearance followed so closely after Spotswood's ultimatum – his demand that the Catawbas, Saraws, and neighboring peoples bring their children as hostages to Fort Christiana – for this demand apparently provoked a crisis among Pied- mont Indians in 1716.
- We can surmise that all of these head- men took Spotswood's offer back to their respective townspeople, whose reactions soon pulled Piedmont Indians in violently different directions.
- In April 1717, as the conflict was nearing its end, a large delegation of Piedmont Indians – representing many of those groups who had allied themselves with the Catawbas during the tumultuous summer of 1715 – arrived at the gates of Fort Christiana in Virginia bearing 11 children, the progeny of their various headmen.
- **When the Catawbas and their lower valley allies attacked and destroyed the Waxhaws in August 1716, they became the defenders of Carolina's Piedmont frontier**
- “[t]he Wascaws [Waxhaws] refused to make peace with us which obliged the Cattawbaws to fall on them. They have kill'd ye major part of them **the rest are fled to ye Sarraws**” (Sainsbury 1928–1947, VI:241). The Waccamaws and most other groups along the Pee Dee River, except for the Saraws, had made peace with the colony and offered to “use their endeavours to destroy the Sarraws” (Sainsbury 1928–1947, VI:241).
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- In 1716 Governor Spots- wood proposed to settle the Keyawee, with the Eno and Sara at Enotown the frontier of the North Carolina settlements, as already related but was prevented by the opposition of that colony. -Siouan Tribes of the East

- **Instead of a joint-stock company, Charleston lawmakers created a public monopoly to be run by a board of commissioners the Commons House would appoint. The board was instructed to erect trade factories at Savannah Town, the Congarees, the Winyaw River, and anywhere else it saw fit. — The Indian's New World**
- South Carolina maintained **a trading factory on the Pee Dee River** from the end of the Yamasee War – when a centralized factory system was introduced – until the system was discontinued in 1721. — **CCC**
- **This factory**, operating at a place called Uauenee (or the Great Bluff [austin asks is this dog bluff, and maybe Weyanne?]), **helped Indian peoples living along the Pee Dee maintain political and economic independence from the Catawbas**, who traded at a factory called the Congarees near what is now Columbia, South Carolina. — **CCC**
- **These peoples of the Pee Dee River, in sum, posed the last indigenous threat to Catawba hegemony in the Piedmont. - Chiefdoms Collapse and Coalescence**
- **the peoples of the Pee Dee River were excluded...because of their continued challenge to Catawba leadership and their unstable, erratic relations with Carolina. — CCC**
- **The Eno were referred to the Catawba as the Enoree, defined by Frank Speck: "to dislike, 11 whence, "mean," "contemptible, 11 from which yei. 'nare [spelling approximate], "people disliked," may serve as a proper name to denote a people whose place in the esteem of the Catawba would be that of a despised nation (Speck 1935:215-216). - Intersite Settlement Patterns**
- **In 1731 the colony unwittingly revealed its plan to sweep the low country clean of natives when it discussed what to do with the "Ittewans Winyaws and w[ha]t other scattering Indians who have not yet joined themselves with the Catabaws." -Indians New World**
- One of the last recorded Shakori accounts is the story of Chief Eno Jemmy Warrior meeting with his warriors **at Cherawtown** with the Catawbas in 1743 **as the government tried to force all Indians remaining in the area to move to the Catawba territory.**

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- **Catawbas were so pleased that they later enlisted his aid in their campaign to add to the Nation's strength, asking that he counsel the Pedee Indians still living near the coast to move upcountry. -The Indian's New World**
- **Governor Glen would later boast to a Catawba delegation, "We persuaded the Charraws the Waccumaws and some of the Pedees to Joyn you," and these efforts did indeed help some natives make up their minds. -The Indian's New World**
- **The priority, if Catawbas were to be effective guardians of the frontier, was to keep the Nation intact. Thus when Pedees and Cheraws announced in 1746 that they were leaving and neither Yanabe Yatengwaynor Thomas Brown could convince them they should stay, both men asked Governor Glen to step in. -The Indian's New World**
- **During his meeting with the Nation at the Congarees, Glen called the headmen of the two peoples forward, conveyed to them the disastrous consequences of disunity, and persuaded them to change their minds. -The Indian's New World**
- **"The governor warned that if they left, "'you may be broke as easily as I break this stick" (at the same time breaking one of the rammers)...and be exposed to every danger"¹⁷. The governor then warned "but if you continue united together, and, stand by one another, it will be as impossible to hurt or break you". -History of the Old Cheraws**
- **After what could be read as thinly veiled threats, this sept unsurprisingly remained incorporated with the Catawba (according to the author). -History of the Old Cheraws with Austin's commentary**
- **"Thereafter, wishful thinking took over, as the colonists' conviction that these Indians all lived "as one People" tended to encourage the very unification outsiders assumed had occurred already." - The Indian's new World**