CARROLL, GEORGE HAWORTH
A NEW IMAGE FOR THE AMERICAN INDIAN: AN
ETHNOHISTORICAL APPROACH TO CURRICULUM
DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES.
THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, PH.D., 1976

University
Microfilms
International
300 N ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106
A NEW IMAGE FOR THE AMERICAN INDIAN:
AN ETHNOHISTORICAL APPROACH TO CURRICULUM
DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

George Haworth Carroll, B.A., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University

1978

Reading Committee:

Dr. Robert E. Jewett
Dr. Paul R. Klohr
Dr. Paul C. Bowers

Approved By

Robert E. Jewett
Adviser
Department of Education
With grateful acknowledgement

to those most responsible

for completion

My Mother
Helen Haworth Carroll

My Wife
Sharon McKee Carroll

My Daughter
Rachel Ellen Carroll
VITA

June 17, 1937 ......... Born - Springfield, Ohio
1959 - 1963 ........... Social Studies Instructor, Roosevelt Junior High, Springfield, Ohio
1964 ................. M.A., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1963 - 1978 ........... Urbana College, Urbana, Ohio
                    Associate Professor of Education

PUBLICATIONS


FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Social Studies Education

    Social Studies Methodology. Professor Robert E. Jewett

    American Colonial History. Professor Paul C. Bowers
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapter</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodology</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selection of Content</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Frames Influencing the Study</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition of Terms</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations of the Study</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plan of the Study</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE DEALING WITH HISTORIC</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDIANS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Indian Curriculum Focuses</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Curricular Materials</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Neo-Romantic Interpretations of American Indians</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholarly Materials Reflecting A Basis For The Ethnohistoric Approach</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. ANTHROPOLOGICAL IMAGES OF ABORIGINES</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture Theory And The Ethnohistoric Approach</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acculturation Theory And Ethnohistory</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Elements Forming An Ethnohistoric Taxonomy For Study Of Historic Indians In The Upper Ohio Valley</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. LITERATURE TREATING CAPTIVITY NARRATIVES</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captivity Narratives Utilized In This Summary</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. LEARNINGS DERIVED FROM APPLICATION OF THE ETHNOHISTORICAL METHOD</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warfare</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adoption</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsistence</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Codes</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol Usage</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual Perceptions</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Providing an academic interpretation of American Indians has become an increasingly significant curricular obligation for public school teachers dealing with state and national history courses. Current social trends emphasizing the problems of minority status within American society demand a more accurate accounting of Indians and the nature of their relationships with Anglo-Saxon America. Curricular materials which are presently available to high school students and their instructors naively portray the Indian as either an inevitable (though noble) victim of technological society or as an immature, child-like being trapped in the consciousnessless onslaught of Euro-American expansion. Such stereotypic impressions which originate in textbooks are unfortunately reinforced by most coverage of Indian activities presented in popular literature, motion pictures, and television. If this socialization framework which is grounded is stultifying preconceptions is not corrected within the high school, students will probably never be able to examine the cultural, historical, and personal results of Indian and Euro-American interaction.
It is hence necessary that social studies curriculums be equipped with improved assessments of the diverse native cultures and their varied responses to Euro-Americans. The ethnohistoric approach of this study endeavors to present a more intelligible account of those aboriginal societies inhabiting the Upper Ohio Valley during the contact period. This is to be accomplished by comparing historical primary accounts with insights derived from modern anthropological and historical investigations. The results should provide a demythed social portraiture of Indians which no longer reflects racial, national, or neoromantic biases. Curricular presentations can thereby proceed in terms of a social matrix closer to the Indian's own life styles, and a more accurate historical setting can be introduced for understanding a major cultural collision.

This study will examine regional primary sources describing the North American aborigines of the Upper Ohio Valley. Autobiographical accounts of individuals who spent extended periods of time with historic Indian groups will be compared with anthropological studies of present day tribal societies to seek parallel social structures and subsistence bases. Collateral sources to be utilized for this investigation will include archeological evidence from the designated geographic region and selected historical monographs.

The results of this study will hopefully generate interest in a new approach to Indian studies in public schools. This investigation of historical and anthropological sources should at least lead instructors to begin with the following kinds of premises:
1. Most historic aboriginal groups of the Upper Ohio Valley were themselves relative newcomers to that area; hence, study of their activities should proceed with a viewpoint that does not assume specific native presence from a remote antiquity.

2. Presentations of Indian cultures within the frameworks of current state boundaries should be prefaced with the constant reminder that such contemporary regional definitions are not particularly relevant to native geopolitical structures.

3. In addition to their conventional political studies of European colonial and early American national societies, students should be sensitized to North American aboriginal development as defined by anthropological cultural areas, be introduced to generalizations drawn from studies of modern hunter-gatherers and horticultural peoples, and gain some familiarity with the dynamic imperialism which characterized the Iroquoian Confederation.

4. Amerind acculturation had, by the late eighteenth century, produced a hybrid culture which in many respects resembled that of the white hunter-trapper frontiersmen of the period.

The establishment of these kinds of premises, combined with the reflective analysis of original source documents in conjunction with recent anthropological and historical works, should provide students and instructors with a more sophisticated interpretational base for Indian study. Students must be encouraged to intellectually reject the static constructs of noble savagism and racist ideology. The Indian should emerge from this enriched type of classroom investigation in a more recognizable human form as a responsible, self-motivated historical character capable of effecting if not always defining his own destiny.
METHODOLOGY

A cross-disciplinary method employing general anthropological insights to enrich the historic evidence of contact between native Amerind and Euro-American settlers will be utilized in this study to suggest means of improving classroom methodology and curricular materials. The ethnohistoric method being applied here joins the mutual concerns and interpretations of history and anthropology, and involves an "upstreaming" process defined by William N. Fenton. This process will initially involve investigation of anthropological literature for generalizations that can be applied to earlier cultures. It will then utilize historic primary sources in a comparative effort to improve upon the quality and quantity of interpretational options about the American Indian. Although their observations may be labeled "unscientific" in the modern sense of anthropological field studies, many historical figures whose circumstances placed them in direct contact with Indians for extended periods of time became acute observers and chroniclers of native life styles. Historical analysis is therefore necessary to understand an individual's cultural biases and to accurately define the circumstances under which the testimony was actually transcribed. Such an approach to original sources which were often initially recorded for religious or patriotic motives should afford students a genuine opportunity to reassess established interpretations of the Indian.

---

SELECTION OF CONTENT

Materials utilized in this study will include primary and secondary sources drawn from the fields of anthropology, history, and, to a more limited extent, archeology. Field data and the concomitant generalizations resulting from recent anthropological studies will be used to formulate working analogies for incorporation within the ethnohistoric approach. Studies of cultural groupings who currently sustain themselves by hunting, gathering, and horticultural yields will be consulted. Sources in contact period archeology may also prove to be beneficial to this study. Historical primary sources will initially be judged applicable to this investigation on the basis of whether or not the author actually observed the Indian culture for sustained and relatively normal periods in their life cycles. It is believed that captivity narratives will prove to be the most instructive. Captives experienced the most intimate circumstances of native existence; therefore, their reports should be more nearly compatible to observations and commentaries by modern anthropological observers. The statements of military personalities, interpreters, random travelers, explorers, and even fur traders might be less worthwhile if their main exposure to Amerind society stemmed from brief and specialized associations. Treaty gatherings, a trading rendezvous, military encounters or exploratory expeditions and even many of the missionary efforts were almost by mutual design prone to overlook the instructive nature of normal Indian social patterns.
Since this study is being undertaken to foster curricular development within public school settings, it should be noted that students and instructors have not generally had access to obscurely published scholarly research data on the American Indian. The question of future source availability is met with the recommendation that appropriate study materials be published and be made readily available to public schools. An edited volume selectively combining the scattered captivity accounts of the Upper Ohio Valley could be organized under the guidelines of the ethnohistorical method. This would provide an inexpensive and valuable curricular tool for library reference or classroom assignment.

TIME FRAMES INFLUENCING THE STUDY

Since French and English observers began to penetrate the Upper Ohio Valley in small numbers during the late seventeenth century, some useful study materials may date from this period. However, the greatest concentration of captivity narratives falls between the years of Washington's defeat at Fort Necessity in 1754 and the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794. Substantial Indian populations were still to be found in the Upper Ohio Valley after the signing of the Greenville Treaty, and hostilities did not finally cease until after the War of 1812. Commentaries of potential use in this study thus span a period from ca. 1675–1815, with the bulk of the data drawn from ca. 1755–1795. Interpretive anthropological insights are generally limited to contemporary scholarship. This fact is due to the relatively recent separate identification of the discipline as a social science entity.
The most significant impetus for the cross-disciplinary ethnohistorical method was published for scholarly consideration in 1957. Since social scientists are just beginning to consider the ramifications of the approach, little impact can yet be noted in the form of published curricular materials.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Generalized terms to distinguish the original inhabitants of the Americas have never evolved in English, though use of "Amerind" has gained limited acceptance. The adaptation of tribal identifications to European linguistic patterns only serves the purpose of identifying specific Indian groups. The conventional notion of "Indians" invites geographic confusion with inhabitants of the Indian subcontinent; the use of the term "aborigine" is likely to evoke impressions of Australian Bushmen; and the word "native" often suggests the islanders of the South Pacific. "Red" and "White" are still in common if unsatisfactory vogue. Notwithstanding these linguistic difficulties, the terms Amerind, Indian, aborigine, native, and redman will be used interchangeably to identify non-European inhabitants in the Upper Ohio Valley with historically recognized claims of original land tenure.

For purposes of this study the terms "anthropology" and "ethnology" are virtually interchangeable. One scholar has recently noted that American social scientists customarily divide anthropology into two branches—physical and cultural. Most Europeans, on the other hand, define only the physical variety as anthropology, and describe the cultural area as ethnology. William N. Fenton utilizes this European
mode in describing his joint studies with historians as "ethno­
historic". "Ethnohistory" is a methodological label designed to
identify the combined efforts of American Indian specialists in
utilizing both anthropology and history. The process of using the
ethnohistoric method is labeled "upstreaming". The upstreaming process
re-evaluates the records of early cultures by comparing reports on
their historic activities with recent anthropological observations of
people living in similar economic and social circumstances.

The phrase "contact period" denotes a time frame wherein native
Americans and European colonizers began their social interchange which
was destined to produce dramatic alterations for both peoples in terms
of population size and cultural forms. For purposes of this study
the contact period embraces the era of ca. 1675-1815 in the Upper Ohio
Valley.

Several common anthropological terms may be found to be important
when utilizing the ethnohistoric method. The following tabulation
seeks to briefly note their functional definitions, and reflects the
admirably basic glossary which Cara E. Richards has provided in her
text, Man In Perspective.²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>culture</td>
<td>those organized concepts, manifest in act and artifact, learned and shared by man as a member of society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>culture area</td>
<td>a geographic area within which separate societies have cultures that share more characteristics with each other than they do with cultures outside the area.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

dominance — control or influence over others. Any social group, human or animal, has a dominance structure.

ethnocentric — judging all other groups by reference to the standards, values, and characteristics of one's own group.

shaman — a religious leader who is highly individualistic; does not have an organized doctrine; and usually intercedes on the side of man. His knowledge usually comes from direct revelation.

traits — discrete observable characteristics of a culture; the smallest meaningful and observable parts of a culture.

Ethnologists have themselves found difficulty in assigning specific meanings to general Amerind designations. Some are the product of long popular usage, and others have been initiated into discussions of aboriginal society by scholarly specialists. The results have produced a confusing overlap due to the fact that individual Indians of the period could be correctly described by several status terms. J.A. Jones offered an illuminating discussion of Indian social definitions as they related to political and subsistence activities.

Subsistence economy almost always involves seasonal shifts from sedentary to nomadic group activity. Occasionally three winter villages become five summer bands so that no year-round continuity exists for specific sets of interpersonal relationships for an entire local group. Temporary alliances occasionally occur between local groups which terminate with the seasonal shifts in location. Even when such alliances occur consistently, year after year, they have regular seasonal existence only. So far, the tendency has been to call local groups in a sedentary phase a village; several villages combined as a cooperating territorial and political unit are a confederacy. A local group in a nomadic phase is referred to
as a band, and a multi-band unit with central political authority as a tribe... The strong possibility emerges that aboriginally the cooperative local land-use or co-resident unit was the basic social group and that activities carried on by larger social groupings were sporadic at best. Tribal consciousness may be in large part a reaction to white pressures insofar as North American Indians are concerned.\(^3\)

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

How the aborigines conducted their lives must be almost wholly ascertained from Euro-American sources. Sometimes important individuals amongst the Indians were sufficiently well-known to their Anglo-Saxon contemporaries to become the subjects of considerable written memorialization and oral folklore, as in the case of Tecumseh.\(^4\) A substantial treaty literature exists whose proceedings deal with important matters as judged by both Indians and Euro-Americans. It is, however, the ordinary day-to-day record of aboriginal activities as recorded by non-Indians who happened to be in close association with natives which is the most revealing. Nevertheless, the absence of written native testimony represents a severe limitation in reconstructing an image for the Indian.


\(^4\)A recent work presenting Tecumseh literature has been published with a format regularly employed for papers of a literate, self-memoralizing statesman. See Carl F. Klink, Tecumseh Fact and Fiction In Early Records. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1961).
The specific level of public school curriculum for which these findings are most appropriate cannot be precisely determined; however, any curricular level which studies Indian culture might benefit from this investigation. Certainly the mandatory History of the State of Ohio class and similar required courses in American History should provide an appropriate ground for the introduction of new curricular materials.  

Certain scholarly limitations are evident in the construction of this study. As noted previously, observations on the cultures of aborigines living in the Upper Ohio Valley between ca. 1675-1815 are to be compared with recent scholarly descriptions of hunter-gatherers and horticultural peoples living today in widely separated geographic regions. The motivations of the persons recording events during the historic period must be interpolated and balanced against the scientific objectivity of contemporary anthropological interpretation. The distinction must be noted between the evidence as gathered in a pre-conceived, scientifically-approved manner by trained anthropologists and in their experimental Ninth-Grade Anthropology Course, Bohannan, Garbarino, and Carlson found that students wished, "...materials that can be of interest to an adult," and suggested their opinion that most texts written for school usage don't fulfill the interest or informational needs of students. A recent survey of over 300 secondary texts currently in use was conducted to assess presentations concerning American Indians. None were found that were not racist, patronizing, or full of factual misinformation. See Paul Bohannan, Merwyn S. Garbarino, and Earle W. Carlson, "An Experimental Ninth-Grade Anthropology Course," American Anthropologist 71 (June 1969): 412; and Jeannette Henry, Textbooks and the American Indian (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, 1970), p. 11.
and historical reminiscences of uneducated, non-scholarly people which were often recorded long after the period of contact. Clearly, the early observers themselves contrasted sharply in social and educational backgrounds, varying from formally schooled persons to barely literate frontier inhabitants.

Personal limitations relating to this study include the author's total fascination with American Indian subjects. This situation results both from an antiquarian pastime of Indian artifact collecting which has been cultivated since the age of eight and the study of Indian culture through classroom presentation during sixteen years of social studies teaching experience. During the years of professional study, only a handful of sources have been found to generalize beyond long established Indian stereotypes of "The Noble Savage" or the "Best Dead" variety. The author has been additionally influenced by the Black History movement of the 1960's which has delineated the negative educational effects of poor or nonexistent curricular tools for depicting minority cultural development. From this perspective, the necessity for reviewing conventional explanations of Indian and Euro-American relationships seems even more imperative. Despite the aforementioned limitations, this study begins with significant curricular aims. It entertains the prospect of producing generalizations suitable for replacing romantic and racist interpretations of American aboriginal history in the Upper Ohio Valley.
PLAN OF THE STUDY

The plan of this study is to pursue a chapter outline as follows:

I. Introduction, II. Review of Historical Literature Dealing With Indians, III. Anthropological Images of Aborigines, IV. Literature Treating Captivity Narratives, V. Learnings Derived By Application of the Ethnohistoric Method, VI. Conclusions. Within this framework the author proposes to demonstrate the need for curricular revision in the social studies in relation to interpretations commonly applied to American Indians. The chapter dealing with the survey of historical literature will indicate the popular distortions of romanticism and racism that have influenced Indian images, both past and present. The review of anthropological literature will suggest several concepts and generalizations developed by anthropologists from observations of present day populations. It will emphasize materials dealing with peoples living within social and subsistence patterns similar to aborigines of ca. 1675-1815 in the Upper Ohio Valley. Ethnohistoric analysis of historical primary sources will be used to compare the early aboriginal descriptions with those of anthropologists. Curricular suggestions will be based upon what the students are likely to have derived from texts, television, and the movies. Means will then be sought to introduce generalizations less dependent upon racist and neoromantic biases by substitution of ethnohistorical approaches. The concluding chapter will deal with how successfully the author sees his application of the ethno-historical method to have been in producing viable alternatives to traditional Indian stereotypes.
Chapter II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE DEALING WITH HISTORIC INDIANS

Any attempt to improve upon our understanding of historic Indian Cultures and their relationships to the now dominant Euro-American society must include a variety of perspectives. These include such Christian related thought patterns as European idealization of primitive man, and European ethnocentricity as influenced by a Reformation sense of militant social supremacy. Subsequent developments within American culture include the frontier experience and current romanticizing of Indian subjects to serve civil rights and ecological concerns.

The burden of this work is to suggest the need for yet other perspectives deriving from the ethnohistoric approach. Ethnohistory promises to add other dimensions gleaned from anthropological findings and insights as they are synchronized with period historical accounts of past Indian societies. With this methodological approach it should be possible to utilize historically recorded fact without the danger that scientific empiricism will be contaminated by tracts whose original purpose was the espousal of Christian, national or racist bias. A description of the ethnohistoric process was recently offered
as follows:

Ethnohistory is (or should be): An advancement of the understanding of culture or cultural process by analysis of human group behavior through time using protocols of an historic nature, preferably analyzed for purposes other than those originally intended by the authors, and in categories based upon modern ethnographic field investigation."¹

The results of the ethnohistorical process should enable a fruitful review of surviving historical primary sources and pave the way for a really meaningful revision of Indian related curricular materials. This revision should include better discussions of Indian cultural matrixes, acculturation procedures, and a discussion of the important role of communicable disease in hastening the destruction of New World aboriginal societies.

Chapter II of this study will begin with current examples of findings wherein historic Indians are the focus of social studies curricular examination. Next follows a selection of curricular materials presently being offered to instruct students (and teachers) as to what should be appropriate content and interpretation. An overview of historical generalizations concerning Indians which continue to survive into the present will be followed by examples of popular historical literature and news media coverage offering a neo-romantic orientation. The final portion of the chapter will present examples of today's historical and scientific writing which critiques the still

numerous instances of neo-romantic interpretation. These and similar materials should constitute the basis for viable ethnohistoric reinter-pretations.

HISTORIC INDIAN CURRICULUM FOCUSES

The question for social studies educational purposes, "Why Indians," has been addressed by anthropologist Frederic O Gearing. He begins, "I like Indians, it happens...", but hastens to add that such a reason is an insufficient basis for inclusion in an already crowded social studies curriculum. Gearing believes that any seemingly "bizarre" social behavior can be studied with more understanding if students are provided with sufficient materials for "in-depth" analysis. With adequate data, not only could students learn more content about local or national Indian history, but they should also begin to grasp, "...that culturally patterned behavior makes sense, and that any such behavior becomes believable to any man if he knows enough about it." Such adequate data should be the product of ethnohistoric investigation, although it will be necessary to illustrate social structures reflecting very rapid acculturation experiences. In an effort to plead the special curricular utility of anthropology, Gearing eclipses his American Indian studies topic for a more generalized

---


3Ibid., p. 129.
commitment to teaching method. He believes that a primal social goal of accepting valid cultural difference, necessary to any pluralistic society, could as well be obtained by studying the inhabitants of Pago Pago provided sufficient resources were available.

Anthropologists Paul Bohannan, Merwyn S. Garbarino, and Earle W. Carlson recently constructed and tested a year's social studies curriculum for a ninth grade class. They undertook the actual teaching responsibilities, and indicated that, "our goal was to provide the best available scaffolding for studying history and comprehending the present human situation." They began with an Indian Study, feeling that anthropological theory could best be taught if student interest was first aroused by a familiar subject. The initial assignment was Theodora Kroeber's *Ishi In Two Worlds*. The instructors found that, "on no more than the Prologue," the students, "started a discussion in which they blamed their own people, and in a sense themselves, for being inept and guilty of mistreatment of Ishi and the Indians." While acknowledging satisfaction with the enthusiastic response, the curriculum authors soon discovered that a major student preconception involved a, "good guy/bad guy dichotomy," in which, "white civilization was the

---


5 Ibid., p. 411.
bad guy."\(^6\) As a result, the instructors felt compelled to define as an important educational emphasis for students the gaining of, "respect for groups and individuals closer to themselves in experience without the guilt (which is systematically taught to them somewhere) that ultimately will cripple their attempts to make reforms."\(^7\)

Whether continued study of Indians is acceptable simply because of their dramatic presence in American history, or if a more dynamic purpose is inherent in what Bohannan and his colleagues hinted at as the student's future capacity "to make reforms," it seems probable that American Indian subjects should have more potential for arousing preconceived attitudes than Gearing's random alternative of Pago Pago. Since issues raised by reflection upon the fate of historic American Indian groups has traditionally led to sensationalism and concomitant moralizing, it is deemed important that a new perspective avoid such stances.

Margaret Mead's view corresponds with Bohannan, Garbarino, and Carlson in suggesting the dangers inherent in curricular preoccupation with racial guilt. Thirty-three years after publishing *The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe*, she reviewed her methodology and conclusions in a 1965 edition of the original work. She now offers the judgment that, "Racially based restitution has the effect of perpetuating

\(^6\)Ibid., p. 418.

\(^7\)Ibid., p. 418.
the very wrongs it attempts to atone for and correct."⁸ She sees the historic Euro-American occupation of aboriginal America as having been accomplished when the immigrants, "...acting within the accepted modes of behavior of their time, took what superior force and superior technology made available to them."⁹ Mead counsels against the present day racial assumption of guilt for the actions of a previous social climate. Current views characterized by "...a new synthesis of modern findings on evolution, a more rigorous interpretation of Christianity, and contemporary thought about the rights of political self-determination,..." should not be made the basis for an ex post facto moral judgment upon today's Anglo-Saxon culture.¹⁰

A recent study by Arthur William Sprague indicates that high school students undertaking an in-depth ethnohistoric study of an American Indian culture, "...became more understanding of their own culture as a result..." Sprague conducted a three-week intensive consideration of a single Indian group, the Kiowa, by utilizing seventy-seven primary and secondary sources drawn from historical and anthropological works. One purpose for the study involves the author's position that, "...the teaching of United States history can be enhanced by incorporating anthropological concepts and investigatory

⁹ Ibid., p. xi.
¹⁰ Ibid., p. x.
methods into existing United States history courses.\textsuperscript{11}

Sprague's study included test results designed to ascertain whether students became more tolerant toward societies and social customs alien to their own experiences. Three attitudinal tests were conducted in relation to the Kiowa study unit. These included a survey conducted just prior to the Kiowa study experience, one immediately following, and a final inquiry after a lapse of four months. The immediate post test indicated a gain in student self-perception of themselves as participants within a given culture. Other data reflected that students seemed to be transferring a sense of increased social toleration to present day Italian and Polish ethnic minorities in the United States on the basis of the ethnohistoric Kiowa study unit. The final test indicated that while increased tolerance for Indians remained stable and even advanced slightly, the tolerance figures for Italians and Poles returned to near pre-study test levels. Sprague did not speculate about the duration of toleration extension to other minorities as a result of an Indian study beyond noting the results as being the product of, "some unknown reasons.\textsuperscript{12}

It is possible that Indians retained favorable student impressions primarily because the Kiowa were the subject of the study, or because Sprague's students of La Grange, Illinois have been unconcerned


\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., p. 118.
with an Indian social problem in their midst. It remains necessary to question the meaningfulness of contrasting attitudes concerning historic Indian groups against presently functioning European or African descended minorities. Since Indians in the abstract have so long held the designation of nature's noblemen, often serving a purpose for one white dominated interest group to flail another (currently ecology vs. Business), the teaching of post-mortem value judgments in conjunction with historic aborigines must involve special pedagogical risks. Replacing racist stereotypes of Indian character often results in another traditional extreme—the noble savage of incredible virtue.

The questions of recognizing a unique culture status for American Indians and the dangers of academic moralization are illustrated by a curricular study undertaken by historian Jeannette Henry. Henry calls for a total reappraisal of all textbook presentations concerning American Indian history. She insists,

The story of the American Indians is one entirely different from that of other so-called "ethnic groups." We are not just one more complaining minority crying in the wilderness for justice. We are the original peoples of this land,...

Henry's curricular study points to misleading concepts and generalizations still incorporated within public school level texts. Her view laments the fact that curricular materials continue to be produced outside the influence of new revisions in anthropology and archeology,

---
and thus remain "...bound hand and foot by preconceived concepts." In addition to latent race prejudice against Indians, Henry attributes blame for poor curricular materials to the continued uncritical use of Frederic Jackson Turner's "frontier thesis." The objectionable feature of the thesis is held to be its mode of conceptualizing the non-white portion of the frontier; lack of white settlement signifies "free" or "unoccupied" land while designations of "savagery" are offered as the blanket cultural state of any aboriginally inhabited territories. Even worse, she feels the most important and recent reappraisal of Turner's thought by Ray Allen Billington does nothing to challenge this damaging ethnocentricity.

At the same time that Henry calls for the abolition of prejudice and a more scientifically-influenced accounting of American aboriginal history, her own personal sense of cultural indignation encourages the assumption of a neo-romantic moral stance toward the Indian. Moving from the position that charges educators with not presenting the Indian cultural contributions ranging from, "...economy, medical science, naturopathy, conservation, and philosophy,..." she concludes that a special social significance must be attributed to native Americans since they, "...persist in the face of all obstacles as this nation's Achilles heel, the conscience of America."16

15 Ibid., p. 109
16 Ibid., p. 106.
CURRENT CURRICULAR MATERIALS

In 1970 Jeannette Henry conducted a survey of more than three hundred textbooks which were being utilized to portray Amerind history and culture. She concluded that "Most contained misinformation, distortions, or omissions of important history." The provision of unbiased and factually accurate textbook treatments remains a serious curricular problem. Texts and curricular aids continue to misuse or ignore ethnohistoric concepts, and to moralize with the aid of Indian stereotypes bearing little relation to historic native peoples in the Upper Ohio Valley or anywhere else.

Several examples of texts employing Euro-American bias currently remain in evidence, even though some ethnohistorically sound data is provided. William R. Collins offers the following judgment in his Middle School level text concerning aboriginal land use by noting

...there were never as many of the red men in the Ohio Valley as is often supposed. It is now thought that no more than 15,000 ever lived at one time in the area known as the State of Ohio. With a state population of over 11,000,000 Americans it is seen that very little was being done by the Indians to build up the territory.

This statement reflects recent ethnographic population estimates, but ignores the impact of Amerind migration and social reorganization prevalent in the eighteenth century. It also infers that population

---

17 Jeannette Henry, Textbooks and the American Indian (San Francisco: The Indian Historian Press, 1970), p. 11.

growth is an indisputable criteria of excellence, and that the present population of Ohioans are "American" while the "Indians" remain to be otherwise identified.

In a similarly Euro-American perspective offered for Middle School consumption, Melvin Schwartz and John R. O'Connor comment, under the patronizing subtitle "History Has Made Us Friends," that although white agriculturalists pushed the Indians off the land, "The Indians, however, did make a number of contributions to farming in Anglo-America. They gave the white man Indian corn or maize, the white potatoe, tobacco, beans, pumpkins, tomatoes and other foods." Although correct in listing major agricultural products incorporated by Euro-American society from Amerind sources, the statement misses the opportunity to indicate that all participants in the fur trade, red and white, lost their vested interests due to the expanding agricultural frontier.

Within a text distributed for senior high study, Leon Soule, Stanley Garfinkle and Allan D. Pierson offer a more subtle form of ethnocentrism. They inform the student that "as the frontier wilderness was pushed back by advancing settlers, so, too, were the American Indians pushed back." A study question on the same page asks the reader to "consider what effects the Indian had on the expansion of the frontier." Both the statement and study question suggests that Indians

---

and wilderness should be considered as corporate concepts impeding the thrust of civilization.

The curricular practice of linking wilderness with the Amerind presence addresses an objection raised by Jeannette Henry. Her concern is with the continued uncritical use of Frederic Jackson Turner's frontier thesis. She objects to the traditional historiographic identification of non-white territory as being either unoccupied frontier or areas in the possession of savages. That generalist textbook authors support this bias is to be expected, when scholarly monographs offer the same inference. Paul E. Kopperman, in his *Braddock At The Monongahela*, notes of Braddock's command when facing their primarily Indian adversaries, that for the British force "Valor would avail nothing. The forest would protect its own."

Elsewhere Kopperman speculates at length on which French officer rallied the Indians to continue attacking the English, rather than noting that the surround and ambush strategy constituted a well seasoned Amerind military tactic. An ethnohistorical evaluation of Amerindian military practices could in this case provide Kopperman with information.


23 Ibid., pp. 51-58.
beyond the surviving Euro-American sources. The analyst would then be free to entertain the decisive Indian participation beyond a dehumanized categorization of their being the forest's "own."

Some contemporary texts espouse the feminist special interest by continuing to adapt stereotypic Amerind images. June Sochen offers her "Point of View" that reality in American life boils down to "the rhetoric of freedom and the reality of repressing women, blacks, and American Indians." Later on the same page her categories of the oppressed include marginal farmers and children. Anne F. Scott's edition of *Women In American Life* finds it possible to address gender based social inequity in Euro-American culture by instructing that "in colonial times, Indian women generally participated much more actively than white women in determining the destiny of their people." These textbook examples represent hopelessly broad definitions which are forced to render generalizations sympathetic to a current reform impulse.

A new edition of Indian captivities for young readers by Alice Dickinson offers the excerpted biographies from six narratives—three men and three women. These captivity records extend beyond cultural area boundaries and important frames of historic periodization (1676 to

---


1864) without mention of their significance. While indicating some common themes in the captive's experiences, Dickinson's major criteria for selection seems to rest upon an equal division of the sexes and the dramatic adventure appeal inhering in the narratives. Traditional sensationalism in the publishing of captivities is herein updated to provide a bizarre feminist social parity in historical experience.

The cause of ecology is another contemporary reform which has supplanted realistic portrayals of Amerind culture in textbook literature. James O'Hern explains the rise and fall of Mesopotamian Kingdoms in ecologic terms. In doing so he utilizes Amerindians for purposes of cultural comparison. They illustrate a people who by his accounting were successful in avoiding self-destructive temptation. Under the subtitle of "Living It Up," O'Hern generalizes, "Maybe the harmony between the land and life wouldn't have been destroyed if the people had been content to settle for a simple life, as the Indians of New England had. But then there were those who wanted to 'live it up'."

A generalization of Amerind ecologic respect is difficult to maintain in the face of ethnohistoric records. Indians of the Northeastern woodlands avidly adopted elements of Euro-American technology in return for helping to exhaust supplies of fur-bearing animals. D. Duane Cummins and William G. White seek to avoid the implications of

26 Alice Dickinson, ed. Taken By The Indians; True Tales of Captivity (New York: Franklin Watts, 1976), pp. 2-3.

this reality by acknowledging in their secondary level text that "Although sometimes not particularly good conservationists, many Indian peoples were excellent ecologists." This perspective seeks to divide practice from moral philosophy. In this way the Indian stereotype remains available to admonish Euro-Americans of today concerning their insensitivity to nature. The authors accordingly instruct that "The white man's notion of the human species as being set apart from and in control of the natural world struck the Indians as both arrogant and fatally mistaken, as indeed it is."

The tendency for use of Amerind stereotypes to reinforce an ecologic reform bias, in conjunction with a negative view of all Euro-American culture, is particularly evident in contemporary social studies literature. Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee* remained a national best seller for over a year, and due to size and accessibility still lends itself to classroom use. Brown extols the Amerind people as possessing extraordinary cosmic and humanitarian vision in the face of a conscienceless Euro-American onslaught. "The Indian knew that life was equated with the earth, that America was a paradise, and they could not comprehend why the intruders from the East were determined to destroy all that was Insian as well as American

---


29 Ibid., p. 38.
These sentiments are reiterated by Jack D. Forbes in the 1973 National Council For The Social Studies yearbook, *Teaching Ethnic Studies; Concepts and Strategies*. Professor Forbes, himself of Powhatan descent, opines that American ecologic problems (and virtually everything else currently at issue) are in some important respect the result of a curriculum which refuses to study or even acknowledge the existence of Amerind philosophy.

> It is a tragedy that modern United States society seems to be tearing itself apart over such issues as protecting the environment, crime, drugs, dishonesty in government, poverty, unrepresentative government, overpopulation, uncontrolled technology, exploitation of other human beings, overseas imperialism, and growing militarism. The tragic nature of this situation is accentuated by the fact that Native American philosophy and culture possesses solutions for all these problems, or at least has systems of behavior which would have prevented them from ever arising. One of the reasons why white society is proceeding so rapidly in the direction of its own destruction is that the accumulated wisdom of 20,000 years of living on this land called America has been consciously excluded from schools and colleges.  

After noting a presumed moral/ecological advantage in aboriginal life style, an often irresistible invitation presents itself for authors to pronounce a universal judgment upon the dominant

---


Euro-American culture. Melvin Steinfield's secondary text, *Cracks In The Melting Pot; Racism and Discrimination In American History*, informs the student that "From the earliest contacts with white men four hundred years ago to the present day, American Indians have been the victims..." Merwyn S. Garbino's text, *Native American Heritage*, instructs that "Industrial societies often think that they control nature and their own destinies; many people of the world, including the American Indians, are under no such illusions... No American Indian conceived of an egocentric universe." Editors Wayne Moquin and Charles Van Doren offer students and instructors a reference work with their admonition that "If one is searching for evidence of moral bankruptcy and the failure of American ideals, the study of Indian-White dealings is the place to find it." One culminating trend in such thought is the assertion that non-Indians are simply unequipped to comprehend or represent the Amerind experiences. Specifically the Euro-American's birth and upbringing precludes any true perception. Valid representations must accordingly be left to Indian authors of today. Mary G. Byler's bibliographical

---


work has led her to assert that there is more to understanding an Indian "...than can be acquired through an act of will, a course of study...It is not an intellectual choice...non-Indians lack the feelings and insights essential to a valid representation of what it means to be an American Indian." Since Euro-American culture contains its racist contamination, the Council on Interracial Books For Children concludes that "Racism cannot be edited out of books. What is required is that the minorities present their own image in their own books." From such sources a student is instructed that modern salvation lies in acknowledging Euro-American cultural failure stemming from a corrupt historical past. The avenue to social revitalization seems to proceed from the acceptance of an intact but officially suppressed native American life view. Should such interpretations succeed in a rigid segmenting of human experience on the basis of birth and upbringing, it would appear that America must remain a society characterized by static social division rather than a mutually enriching cultural pluralism. If there is not a sufficient base line of common human experience with which to undertake social studies instruction, cross-cultural bibliographies are in any case extraneous.


To the varieties of interpretational bias, many secondary level texts and other works which function as curricular aids continue to present incorrect or misleading factual information. Richard O. Curry, John G. Sproat and Kenyon C. Cramer indicate that British misfortunes in the Braddock campaign stemmed from "The French and their Indian allies, the Delaware." Most of the Indian strike force which participated in Braddock's defeat were Ottawas and others from the western Great Lakes; the Upper Ohio Valley Indians including the Delawares awaited the outcome of the campaign before joining with the French. Jerome R. Reich and Edward L. Biller inform students that "Because the five Iroquois nations agreed to fight together against any enemy, they became the strongest Indians living in the eastern woodlands of North America." The League of the Iroquois remained divided in its French vs. English alliances, with the Seneca often favoring the French while the Mohawk united with the English, throughout most of the colonial period; the American Revolution witnessed a catastrophic split between various Iroquois adherents of the two contending parties. When describing Pontiac, the Ohio Historical Society informs students, via a portrait portfolio kit entitled Indian Chiefs of Ohio, that "Pontiac's Rebellion' (1763) was a carefully planned uprising of many tribes by which all English garrisons and settlements in the Northwest were to be surprised and destroyed on the same


day."\textsuperscript{39} Pontiac was one of the leading war chiefs at the siege of Detroit, but aboriginal social organization of the period did not allow for an overall command of the warriors who attached British garrisons.

Textbook authors seldom recognize the important distinctions between "tribal" and "band" levels of social organization. Throughout the period under consideration (ca. 1755-1795), concerted action in anything seldom obtained for an entire tribe. Band level chiefs, responsible primarily to a small faction of a tribe with whom they resided, in most instances exercised only such authority as was delegated to them for specific purposes. Individual Indians and small groups frequently resettled permanently or for extended periods amongst otherwise unrelated tribal affiliations. As a result, serious misinformation is conveyed by textbook statements to the effect that "However the leaders were chosen, an Indian's first loyalty was to his tribe."\textsuperscript{40} In another instance, the student is informed that "Although each man hunted alone, food was shared, and no member of the tribe went hungry when food was available."\textsuperscript{41} Not only was cooperative hunting more the norm, but such mutual sharing was restricted to the band group

\textsuperscript{39}"Pontiac", \textit{Indian Chiefs of Ohio} (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1967).


due to the lack of physical proximity for most of the year. During the summer rendezvous season anyone was fed including random white visitors.

Another source of textbook misinformation is found in the brief summarizations of captions and subtitles. Though the need for brevity is often critical when describing individuals and groups, Amerindians are frequently characterized with unreliably ethnocentric designations. Hence, Pontiac is styled "The Red Napoleon" in the Ohio Historical Society portrait portfolio. Peter Farb introduces students to the Iroquois as "The Greeks of America." As Farb's title suggests, his evolutionary sense of cultural history leads him to identify the industrial state as the apex of civilization. Such a generalization could well serve to reaffirm a Euro-American sense of moral as well as technological superiority. Ethnohistorian Paul A.W. Wallace, in an otherwise excellent curricular resource, writes under the title Indians of Pennsylvania. The Ohio Historical Society's portrait portfolio is presented as Indian Chiefs of Ohio. Both state titles offer white geopolitical boundaries which students must initially set aside to

---


effectively investigate the Amerind cultural matrix of the Upper Ohio Valley.

Textbooks and secondary sources available for curricular reference continue to include dubious judgmental statements which add nothing to student perceptions of Amerindian peoples. William R. Collins' text concludes "The Shawnees were certainly the proudest and perhaps the most hostile of all Indian tribes making Ohio their home." Carl H. Roberts and Paul R. Cummins cite the Shawnees as "The most fearless and warlike of all the tribes" while the Miamis "were not so warlike as some other tribes." No standard of comparison is provided for such judgments, nor is the individual character of Amerind warfare mentioned. Paul Kaufman informs his readers, in a limited regional history, that "A trek by foot from Duquesne to Tulhillas in 1775, probably meant as little to the redmen as an automobile jaunt over the same route does today, 200 years later, to the white people." Kaufman is briefly recounting the harrowing march undergone by Col. James Smith after his capture while working on Braddock's road; a comparison with an automobile ride of today seems an unlikely analogy for any insightful instruction.

Difficulty in the selection of suitable analogies to describe historic Indians has often plagued sophisticated scholarly analysts.

---

Two well circulated secondary sources long available for student use reflect this problem. Both Howard Peckham and Dale Van Every employ social conventions of continental level grand strategy that serve to eclipse their Indian subjects, and probably most of the contemporary Euro-Americans as well. Howard Peckham, in his *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, instructs that "Here was a moment for the Indians to seize if they would turn the destiny of a continent. One savage was alert to the grave opportunity." Dale Van Every's *Disenherited: The Lost Birthright of the American Indian* creates a similar illusion of grand scale tactical operations when offering the judgment that "The Iroquois and Cherokee, each with some dim idea that all they were doing was sacrificing each others interests, by formal treaties promoted the isolation of the Shawnee and broached the mountain barrier opening Kentucky and Tennessee to white settlement."

Superficially the statements of Peckham and Van Every record established fact. Some promising efforts at incipient pan-Indian leadership did appear in the Upper Ohio Valley, but aboriginal social structures were too individualistic to unite beyond temporary recognition of an unusually gifted leader. The Euro-American agricultural frontier was expanding at such a rate that neither the European nor the United States political regimes was capable of effecting a concerted general interest policy with neighboring aboriginal populations.

---


Centralized civil and military power did not function at a sufficient level for either culture to decisively influence the train of events in the Upper Ohio Valley. White agriculturalists overcame Euro-American and native trappers, traders and horticulturalists by weight of unplanned and uncontrollable numbers.

To students familiarized with the extreme independency characterizing Amerind village and band groups, the need is evident for rethinking even the scholarly conclusions of Peckham and Van Every in the light of basic ethnohistoric data. Certainly students should question the vicious racism offered by historian James O'Donnell in the Ohio Historical Societies' recently published edition, *The Historic Indian In Ohio*. O'Donnell instructs that Euro-American frontiersmen universally believed that "Indian life had no value in the white man's eyes; it was no more a sin to 'crack a louse' than it was to kill an Indian." James O'Donnell, "The Plight of the Ohio Indians During the American Revolution," *The Historic Indian In Ohio* (Columbus: The Ohio Historical Society, 1976), p. 14.

Most social studies texts remain tied to Euro-American chronology with only occasional reference to associated Amerindian events and personalities. A few curricular resources have been designed for


51 Ibid., p. 19.
secondary level education which employ the protocols of ethnohistory. Robert E. Burns offers a textbook with a 78 page cultural area coverage treating the native peoples of the Upper Ohio Valley. Burns provides annotated excerpts from Delaware oral tradition, fur trade ledgers, historic archeological digs, commentaries from English and French civil and military officials, missionary records and comparative examples of professional historical reportage from Francis Parkman and Randolf C. Downes. A similarly composed curricular aid is offered by the Ohio Historical Society under the title of Indian Cultures of Ohio; A Resource Guide For Teachers.

Valuable as these tools are, both works present records in excerpted form which do not adequately allow for students and instructors to judge the merits of the varying types of sources. A significant methodological concern derives from questions about their potential to foster reflective thinking in the classroom. Students cannot be expected to initiate their own inquiry process if they must rely solely upon the predigested results of even an ethnohistorically valuable set of excerpts.

It is the position of this study that areal captivity narratives have unique curricular potential among the many types of ethnohistorical

---


sources available. These observations were gathered by the only Euro-Americans who were effectively cut off from being merely the temporary representatives of their own societies to Amerind cultural areas. Classroom activity should be twofold: presentation of an analytic overview and simultaneous student investigation of the unabridged accounts. This approach would provide students with the opportunity to apply and critique the conclusions on native culture as offered by ethnohistorians and other commentators. The reflective process could thereby proceed with original sources providing a much needed humanization of historic Amerind peoples.

CURRENT NEO-ROMANTIC INTERPRETATIONS OF AMERICAN INDIANS

The interpretation of the American Indian as a noble savage is ultimately no better for present curriculum needs than one which portrays Indians as blood thirsty savages. This historical treatment usually functions to condemn the Euro-American student to ancestral and national self-castigation while Indian students are invited to

54 Wilcomb E. Washburn has recently edited a massive collection of captivity literature with 311 titles in 111 volumes. Washburn acknowledges the ethnohistorical import of the narratives, and also cites their literary value by including revised editions of several better known accounts. Unfortunately for general classroom utility, each volume is $21.00 with Washburn's own summary, The North American Indian Captivity, priced at $17.00. What still remains to be provided is an inexpensive cultural area collection for social studies classroom purposes which includes both an analysis and the narratives. Assembling such a study group from Washburn's edition, which does not provide all accounts of value and includes several variations of single accounts, would be beyond the reference budgets of most secondary schools, and out of the question for textbook adoption. Wilcomb E. Washburn, ed., Narratives of North American Indian Captivities, 111 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977).
assume a false sense of moral superiority. Vine Deloria, Jr. cautions that "The Indian movement today is dangerously overcommitted to anti-white sentiments because it does not understand its own history. The reaction of whites to the movement is equally overbalanced because of a frantic desire to obliterate historical fact by contending that such events as Sand Creek and Wounded Knee were not all that bad."\textsuperscript{55} Deloria critiques present day historians for their continued willingness to publish the ever more numerous bloody frontier accounts, and the publishing houses which still search for "as-told-to" books on Indians. In writing the introduction for \textit{The American Indian} collection of essays from the "Pacific Historical Review," Deloria acts in concert (if not always in agreement) with such ethnohistorians as Wilbur R. Jacobs, Nancy O. Lurie and Wilcomb Washburn. They call for writing which treats the past as culturally human and individualistic rather than an interaction of stereotypic symbols. As Deloria suggests, most of the generalizations still current "give us no better picture of life in the old West than a good Clint Eastwood movie."\textsuperscript{56}

Growth of the neo-romantic approach for defining Indians corresponds with the appearance of conservation groups in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century. As Frederic Jackson Turner proclaimed that the 1890 census marked the end of an identifiable

\textsuperscript{55} Norris Hundley, ed. "The American Indian; Essays From The Pacific Historical Review," (Santa Barbara: Clio Press, Inc. 1974), Introduction.

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid.
frontier uninhabited by the white settlement pattern, an intellectual climate was emerging which would begin to evolve a positive social status for both the Indians and the wilderness. Roderick Nash, in his *Wilderness and the Amerind Mind*, notes the concurrence of the frontier's physical disappearance, the popularization of Helen Hunt Jackson's *A Century of Dishonor*, and the development of Frederic Jackson Turner's democratizing frontier thesis. In his chapter on "The Wilderness Culture," devoted to groups espousing wilderness preservation, Nash observes that by 1900 "No longer did the forest and Indian have to be battled in hand-to-hand combat—The qualities of solitude and hardship that had intimidated many pioneers were likely to be magnetically attractive to their city-dwelling grandchildren."

Many historians still account for the ending of Indian dominance over the Western Hemisphere as being the product of Euro-American duplicity. In his widely circulated survey of immigrant and aboriginal encounters, Wilcomb R. Washburn counsels the student to read his collection of primary and secondary sources before "...jumping blindly into the sophisticated but erroneous literary attitude concerning the so-called myth of the noble savage." Washburn accepts the salutary character of precontact Indians, and unequivocally identifies his own perspective by stating that, "I write from a point of view strongly

---


sympathetic to the American Indian." He offers the conclusion that Indians valued the "spirit" rather than the "letter" of an agreement and hence "...could not cope with the legalisms of the white man."

Washburn's view, placing the burden of moral error upon Euro-American imperialism, is expanded into an important tenet of Western Civilization by Daniel J. Boorstin. In his preface to William T. Hagan's American Indians, Boorstin indicates that the work shows the initial contact period events to be, "...pre-enactments of the dramatic encounter between European peoples and "underdeveloped" countries which has reached a denouement in our own generation." 59

Dee Brown, in Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee, describes the Indians in terms reminiscent of Bartolome de Las Casas. "The Indian knew that life was equated with the earth, that America was a paradise, and they could not comprehend why intruders from the East were determined to destroy all that was Indian as well as America itself. 60 To Las Casas in the sixteenth century the Indians seemed "...simple people without evil and without guile... They neither possess nor desire to possess worldly wealth. Surely these people would be the most blessed in the world if only they worshipped the true God. 61 In a similar vein former Secretary of the Interior,


60 Dee Brown, Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee (New York: Bantam, 1972), p. XIII.

Steward Udall maintains, "Today we speak of 'public interests', or the right of 'future generations' to enjoy the fullness of the earth... should we not concede that most Indians took these same general ideas for granted long before our ancestors arrived?" Under such auspices the guileless noble savage emerges into the present as a noble ecologist.

Civil rights activism of the 1960's provided some encouragement for merging the concerns of Amerind and African-descended minorities in the United States. By emphasizing values indigenous to minority cultures, a theoretical basis was established to counter the influence of acculturationist or integrationist philosophies. Literature relating to the Indian movement accordingly began to reflect the cultural phenomenon of "Black Awareness". Authors adapted the new Black ethnic patterns by labeling Indians who were inclined to support the status quo as being "Uncle Tomahawks," and by discussing Indian social issues in terms of "Red Power".

When the American Indian Movement (AIM) succeeded in seizing the hamlet of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation of South Dakota in 1973, observers began to speculate that the politics of the urban-based Black ghetto confrontations were being grafted to Amerind goals. T.V. Guide pondered the issue of media produced pseudoevents, and wondered if television had succumbed to a cleverly calculated


"media bliz" via, "...an offer of blood and pagentry it can't refuse?"

Public response seemed to endorse the Indians' "confrontation" approach when a Harris Poll of April 1, 1973 (conducted slightly over a month after the 71-day siege began), indicated that 93% of its sample were following televised developments. The opinion spread revealed that 51% "approved" the seizure, 28% "weren't sure", and only 21% were "against" it. Whatever the origins of AIM's strategy and the dimensions of television's responsibility, the American public seemed to be overwhelmingly sensitive to an Indian initiated neo-romantic espousal of ethnic self-determination.

SCHOLARLY MATERIALS REFLECTING A BASIS FOR THE ETHNOHISTORIC APPROACH

In an effort to escape the epistemological dead end of emphasizing either the inherent nobility or the unbridled savagery of Indian character, scholars have recently suggested that an interdisciplinary approach be attempted. Impetus for interdisciplinary studies to more accurately portray historic American Indians received important focus in 1957 when William N. Fenton published *Indian and White Relations In Eastern North America: A Common Ground For History and Ethnology*. This proposal, issued with an extensive bibliography, asked for intellectual interaction among the academic disciplines so


65 Ibid., p. 8.
that efforts and insights might be shared. The method for joining the mutual concerns of history and anthropology was labeled "upstreaming" by Fenton. 66 This approach encourages the scholar to compare the findings in modern anthropological studies of "primitive" peoples with early recorded observations concerning historic Indians. Fenton urges that "ethnohistorical" study designed to illumine the Indian-white contact period should initially attempt the perspective, "...that cultures be described in terms of themselves."67

An important follow-up essay by historian Bernard W. Sheehan concludes that most scholarly works addressed to Indian-white relations are still devoting considerable thrust to assigning guilt to Euro-Americans for their crimes against Indian humanity. Sheehan feels that little interpretational progress has been accomplished since Fenton's proposal, and urges that,

Above all the Indian must be perceived as an Indian. Justice can be done him historically only if his special character is admitted. If he turns out to be only a vague reflection of the white man's wish for what he sees as best in himself—an idealized white man—or even if it is assumed that his behavior as a historical character can be judged by the objective definitions applied to civilized man, then the Indian will never be portrayed with the integrity he deserves. 68

Sheehan concludes that most current Indian portrayal still derives

66 William N. Fenton, American Indian and White Relations to 1830, p. 27.
67 Ibid., p. 13.
from Judeo-Christian images of Edenic man. In what is labeled a "predilection for moral history", he cautions against religiously-based ideology which encourages, "a static explanation of behavior." It is cogently pointed out that romanticized primitivism in western thought antedates European contact with American aborigines. As a result, neo-romanticism reveals itself to be an unreliable perspective through which to arrive at descriptive social generalizations if we follow the lead of Fenton and Sheehan.

A portion of the most recent scientific and historical literature is addressing itself to William N. Fenton's call for interdisciplinary study. The issue of value judgments normally associated with American Indian studies is accordingly receiving some important reconsiderations. At least two perspectives are emerging. One questions the present-day use of precontact Indians as symbolic models of ecological excellence. The other deals with the primal historical role of epidemic disease in precipitating the decline of Amerind population and cultural prestige.

Biologist Daniel A. Gutherie concludes that it is fruitless to survey present ecological problems in terms of guilt associated, "... Christianity coupled with technology." His view concludes that

69 Ibid., p. 274.
70 Ibid., p. 275.
primitive men were only restrained in their polluting tendencies by population size and the level of their technological skills. Today we should accordingly be aware that, "This very real ability to affect the environment between primitive people and modern society must not be confused with a difference in attitude toward the environment."  

The question of a culturally-defined native American reverence for nature is specifically critiqued by Paul S. Martin, Professor of geosciences at the University of Arizona. Martin believes that from between ten and fifteen thousand years ago Indian hunters of the Western Hemisphere became sufficiently adept technicians to begin producing an overkill of large vertebrates. These included mastodons, mammoths, horses, some species of bison, and camels. Martin cites evidence not only for the Americas, but also deals with a world-wide disappearance of many large animal species. Since this disappearance is not explicable in evolutionary terms due to the short time span involved (he estimates 1,000 years for the biologically abrupt extinctions in the Americas), paleo hunters in the Western Hemisphere apparently developed the capacity for over use of natural resources. In concert with Gutherie's position, Martin believes that, "with a certain inadmissible pride we may prefer to regard ourselves, not our remote predecessors, as holding uncontested claim in being the arch destroyers of native fauna. But this seems not to be the case."  

---

72 Ibid.

A very recent scholarly discussion of historic period native overkills links the cultural conditions contributed by European contact. Calvin Martin's study of 17th century Micmac Indians inhabiting the extreme eastern portions of Canada may well serve as one standard for measuring the ecological/cultural relationships of the contact period of other regions. Although Martin seems still interested in establishing a nefarious social role for the fur trade, a point contested by Lewis O. Saum in *The Fur Trader and the Indian*, he nevertheless offers the disintegrating effects of communicable disease as being primarily responsible for native cultural collapse in the face of Euro-American association:

Disease did more than decimate the native population; it effectively prepared the way for subsequent phases of European contact by breaking native morale and, perhaps even more significantly, by cracking their spiritual edifice. It is reasonable to suggest that European disease rendered the Indian's (particularly the Shaman's) ability to control and otherwise influence the supernatural realm dysfunctional—because his magic and other traditional cures were now ineffective—thereby causing the Indian to apostatize (in effect), which in turn subverted the "retaliation" principle of taboo and opened the way to a corruption of the Indian-land relationships under the influence of the fur trade.74

Wilbur R. Jacob's thinking is being similarly influenced by anthropologists Henry R. Dobyns and Harold Driver:

And I must confess that Dobyns in his articles and in convincing dialogue (in personal conversations and in correspondence) has persuaded me that historians may well have to adopt a whole new view of Indian

---

demography, especially of Indian depopulation resulting from smallpox and other epidemic diseases. Current literature on epidemic diseases among Indian people offers corroborative evidence to show, for example, the powerful impact of measles virus, easily airborne and devastating in its effect, upon certain native American communities, especially those in Alaska.  

An important monograph recently available to students is Alfred W. Crosby's *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. The foreword describes Crosby's work as "anthropomedical historiography." Crosby acknowledges his amateur status in the many disciplines he procedes to utilize, but cites the need for meaningful synthesis in order that we may avoid, "...the weedy little paths that lead from one antiquatian's gazebo to another." This monograph invites students to entertain different insights by suggesting what are as yet little considered cause-and-effect relationships. By introducing the biological fact that, "...with the possible exception of the Australian aborigine, the American Indian probably has the dangerous privilege of longest isolation from the rest of mankind," the author precedes to question why the, "...Indians were really only a little more successful in defending themselves and their lands after they learned that the invaders were not gods, after they obtained their own horses and guns and developed tactics to deal with the Europeans?"

---


76 Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972), XIII.

77 Ibid., p. 36.
The hypothesis offered is along the lines suggested by Calvin Martin's assessment of European disease upon native social structures. While not exonerating Euro-American colonial societies, such approaches convey substantial promise for an ethnohistoric reorientation of our traditional contact period assessments. Thought in this direction should enable scholarship and curricular adaptation to proceed without the danger of degenerating into an Anglo-Saxon or Indian racist apology. The curricular implications for such interpretations are hard to overestimate when most teaching continues to emphasize the inherent righteousness of either the Indian or Euro-American "sides".
Chapter III
ANTHROPOLOGICAL IMAGES OF ABORIGINES

This chapter presents anthropological perspectives with which to initiate curricular reassessment of historic period Amerind peoples in the Upper Ohio Valley. Insights derive from analysis developed by ethnohistorical minded anthropologists who manifest interest not only in understanding native Americans, but also in the more general theoretical questions raised by their inquiries.

Organization of this chapter follows the treatments given to discussions of culture, acculturation, and cultural elements which are judged to be germane for this study. This approach provides an overview sufficient to begin investigation of captivity literature for classroom use. Monographs and articles treating more specialized aspects of aboriginal practice will be introduced in Chapter V as they provide commentary upon events recorded in the primary source accounts. Specific portions of Chapter III are: Culture Theory and the Ethnohistoric Approach; Acculturation Theory and Ethnohistory; Cultural Elements Forming an Ethnohistoric Taxonomy For Study of Historic Indians in the Upper Ohio Valley.
CULTURE THEORY AND THE ETHNOHISTORIC APPROACH

A prerequisite for using ethnohistoric sources is an Acquaintance with the interpretational role of culture theory. Many attempts have been made to construct a broad definition of culture, but all have been questioned as to their being sufficiently complete. An inquiry devoted to the question of a general definition for culture led to the following conclusion:

Perhaps a better way of putting the problem could be to say that as yet we have no full theory of culture. We have a fairly well-defined concept, and it is possible to enumerate conceptual elements embraced within the master concept. But a concept, even an important one, does not constitute a theory.¹

Despite the lack of a single a priori definition of culture, the various approaches to culture definition offer important analytical implications for this study.

Many cultural thought patterns deriving from anthropology are closely related to historiographical approaches. These include recognition of the influence of tradition, geography, popular ideals, periodicity and individuality to promote an understanding of social group behavior. Ethnological studies can provide added dimension by emphasizing the dispersion of various traits and customs incident to aboriginally defined culture areas, and convey the sense of eagerness with which many technologically impoverished people elect to improve their immediate lot despite the sometimes severe long range conse-

quences. Alfred A. Kroeber provided a methodological starting point for assessing the plethora of data which might further the analysis of a specific society.

What distinguishes these systemic patterns of culture - or well patterned systems, as they might be called - is a specific inter-relation of their component parts, a nexus that holds them together strongly, and tends to preserve the basic plan. This is in distinction to the great "loose" mass of material in every culture that is not bound together by any strong tie but adheres and again dissociates relatively freely. As a result of the persistence of these systemic patterns, significance becomes most evident on a historical view.²

Kroeber's understanding of culture led him to codify the following approach. "A culture is a way of habitual acting, feeling, and thinking channeled by a society out of an infinite number and variety of potential ways of living".³ Additional refining of his definition to explain culturally patterned behavior includes the influences of "antecedent ways and organizations...a system of affects, which vary from place to place...a system of ideas or ideals, explicit and implicit." Kroeber felt that culture could be understood "...in this affect-laden idea system..." wherein "...the core of a culture is usually considered to reside: in it lodge its values, norms and standards."

Anthropologist Ruth L. Bunzel cites important recurrent themes in Kroeber's cultural theorization to include

...the idea that culture is a reality of a different order from the particular habits


of the individuals composing a society... that culture areas are realities, not merely abstract classificatory devices and where considered in relation to geographical areas can be analyzed in terms of concepts borrowed from ecology... the idea of periodicity in cultural development, the small swing, in fashion, and the large swings in the rise and fall of culture.⁴

Kroeber noted the difficulties in capturing the human essence within a tabulated listing of cultural elements. The need to remain acceptably scientific in orientation could function to stifle the human quality of a societal description. He insisted that his "affect-laden idea systems" were not definable via Clark Wissler's nine major cultural topics (Speech, Material Traits, Art, Knowledge-Mythical and Scientific, Religion, Society, Property, Government, War), all of which would be developed with subtopics as deemed appropriate to the specific culture under consideration. These classificatory devices might too closely resemble a "table of contents" without conveying a social identity with human dimensions.⁵ In Kroeber's opinion the effort to include the elusive personification of a culture involves a frank recognition of a commentator's intuitive abilities and his facility as a writer. In addition to these capabilities an observer must have an avid interest in a culture that does not lead him into being a single-minded


polemist or apologist.

A requisite for the recognition of the whole-culture type of pattern, besides of course insight and articulateness, is willingness to see a culture in terms of itself, of its own structure, values, and style. There must be an interest in the culture for its own sake...of course the account must not be a laudation, but an appraisal of what the culture's own standards and valuations are, and how they are adhered to.  

Concern for preserving the unique integrity of a social group and of an individual's personalized status within any cultural group description has been a constant source of scholarly preoccupation. As anthropologists have sought to order their data, they have formulated normative cultural statements to explain human behavior. Ruth F. Benedict has commented upon one difficulty inhering in such generalization. She cites the danger of "...falling into an interpretation from mere logical or psychological plausibility,..." and indicates, "...that the crucial point is always to determine which it was of all these indefinitely numerous plausible potentialities which did actually and historically secure recognition among a given people."  

Other theorists have attacked the legitimacy of whether it is really possible to discern a culturally defined behavior that effectively conditions its membership. One approach emphasizes the individuality of human psychology and personality. Edward Sapir

6 Alfred A. Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 318.

posited that since "no two individuals have precisely the same life experiences, how can they share the same culture? There are as many cultures as there are individuals." Another position questions whether a culture survives, is cherished in a given state, and hence can be consistently counted upon to influence group behavior. Claude Levi-Strauss laments the fact that one of anthropologies' most important philosophical tenents, that of cultural relativism, seems to be unfathomable or at least unacceptable to the technologically primitive peoples it was designed to respect. The doctrine of cultural relativism seeks recognition for the validity of differing social structures according to the experiences and needs of its practitioners; Levi-Strauss is forced to acknowledge that many of the peoples studied "...desire nothing more than to share in the benefits of industrialization, and who prefer to look at themselves as temporarily backward rather than permanently different." 9

The issue of a single acknowledged definition for culture is not in itself crucial to this study. In a seminar devoted to acculturation patterns of American Indian groups, Edward H. Spicer and his colleagues concluded that utilization of their terminology and concepts did not depend upon an overarching generalization for "cultures as wholes." 10


In their view it has not been conclusively demonstrated that all behavior in any community necessarily fits into a coherent system. Accordingly they suggest that use of appropriate cultural elements can be profitably used to describe specific group behaviors during given epochs in Indian history. Julian H. Steward comments that "It should be clear that what is meant by culture depends upon the aspects of human behavior one seeks to explain and how one proceeds. Any number of different concepts may be appropriate for certain purposes.\textsuperscript{11}

**ACCULTURATION THEORY AND ETHNOHISTORY**

Treatments of cultural interchange are usually considered under the heading of acculturation. Similar terms have been employed, such as transculturation, with essentially the same meaning.\textsuperscript{12} As with the term culture, no universally accepted definition has emerged. Melville J. Herskovits generalized that "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes, in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups."\textsuperscript{13} Acculturation studies have produced conceptual guidelines of potential utility for this study.


An important set of conceptual positions descriptive of acculturation processes resulted from a seminar comparing contact experiences of several American Indian societies. Edward H. Spicer's summation, "Types of Contact and Processes of Change" contains a significant review of previous acculturational theory as well as his own seminar's findings. Spicer concluded that any acculturation experience should be assessed within the following general categories.

1. the nature of the structural linkage with the dominant society, whether ecclesiastical, political, economic or other, and the value of the combination of these different institutional linkages.

2. the kinds of roles, with their accompanying sanctions, assumed by members of the superordinate society in contact communities.

3. the nature of the subordinate societies social structure in terms of stability, whether new types of communities were in process of formation or not.

These basic components illustrate the necessity of understanding all societies concerned. Perception of the dominant society must include an understanding of the socializing agencies functioning in the contact process, and the relationships existing between those agencies. The impact of the dominant group upon an Amerind community can then be further analyzed along the following lines: in what social structures

---


15 Ibid., p. 525.
did both white and Indian interact; in what social structures did they not jointly participate; what features of Indian society did Euro-Americans define as needing change; what strategies did the dominant society employ; what were the responses of the subordinate Indian groups.  

Spicer and his colleagues concluded that four kinds of acculturation models are observable for purposes of understanding the historic Indian experience. These are the incorporative model, the assimulative model, the fusional integration model, and the isolative integration model.  

(1) The Incorporative Model - By incorporation is meant the transfer of elements from one culture system and their integration into another system in such a way that they conform to the meaningful and functional relations within the latter. It is implied that the borrowing system is not disrupted or changed in fundamental type...  

(2) The Assimulative Model - An...acceptance of meanings as well as forms by the subordinate society. Both acceptance and replacement are involved in the process; however, the distinctive feature consists in the acceptance and replacement of cultural behaviors in terms of the dominant society's cultural system. This means an absence of modification which harmonizes what is accepted with a divergent system.

16 Ibid., p. 525.  
17 Ibid., pp. 530-534.
(3) **The Fusional Integration Model** - The essentials of fusion are that elements of two or more distinct cultural traditions be involved, that they be combined into a single system, and that the principles in terms of which they combine not be the same as those governing the cultural systems from which they come.

(4) **The Isolative Integration Model** - ...a keeping separate within a realm of meaning of elements and patterns taken over from the dominate culture. In isolative integration the accepted elements lack linkage with other complexes, despite serving very similar or identical functions. The lack of linkage leads to their being isolated within the culture in a distinct subsystem of meanings,...

Relationships were found to exist between the four models. The initial response of virtually all native groups to white contacts seems to have been an incorporative model stage. Items of Euro-American material culture soon supplanted those of aboriginal manufacture as the fur trade and military alliances progressed. If the Indian society remained incompletely dominated, a fusional integration model stage usually produced a hybrid cultural matrix deriving from both origins. A successful fusional integration experience often provided a setting for an assimulative model phase. Only in an isolative integration pattern was there little opportunity for related stages of evolution. These model stages were often observed to function concurrently, with one assuming most importance during a specific time period.

---

18 Ibid., pp. 539-540.
Julian H. Steward provides an insight into the acculturational process by pointing out the differences between typical "tribal cultures" and those of the infinitely more complex national cultures. The national cultures of Euro-American populations were composed of many more or less assimilated subcultures, while tribal cultures usually represented fairly small, self-contained social units.

When tribal acculturation under the influence of a modern nation is being examined, it is wholly inappropriate to view the process simply as replacement of individual tribal behavior (the tribal pattern) by a national core of traits of individual behavior (the so-called national pattern). No individuals or groups of individuals carry an entire national pattern. They participate only in very special portions of the entire culture. They are members of a Subculture which has a special relation to the national whole. The assimilation of any ethnic minority, therefore, means first that certain traits have been adopted from the particular subculture group with which the minority had contact and second that certain aspects of the national culture have effected the minority culture to the extent of integrating it as a new subculture, that is, a specialized dependent part of the whole.\(^1\)

Steward emphasizes that any observation of an acculturation experience between a national subculture and a tribal society must account for that portion of the national subculture which is most active as a socializing agent. He cites the fact that important social functions are often carried on simultaneously by various status

\(^{19}\)Julian H. Steward, Theory of Culture Change, pp. 46-7.
groups within a subculture. "National religions, for example, involve a formal organization and dogma, but their community or class manifestations may be quite varied, while a considerable amount of supernaturalism functions on the individual or family level". Since Euro-American and Indian frontier society was in a continuous state of evolution, particular attention must be paid to cultural trends evident in both groups during a given time frame. This is true whether these trends are the product of acculturation between the groups, or the result of an extraneous influence initially important to only one group.

Specific effects of acculturation upon native social structures have been identified which reflect common alterations encountered within historic period Amerind societies. Among these are the unique complications deriving from the growth of culturally defined race prejudice. Several observations of potential importance for this study were anthologized in a volume edited by Edward B. Reuter. Therein Clark Wissler, W.O. Brown, and J.O. Hertzler noted behavior patterns evident over a world wide sampling of acculturational experiences. Concepts are here included from these sources which indicate promising avenues for curricular reassessment of Ohio Valley Indian and Euro-American interaction.

---

20 Ibid., p. 56.
Clark Wissler's extensive acculturation research led him to conclude the following: 22

1) Economic prosperity among primitive tribes dependent upon the presence of Europeans tends to strengthen the opposition of the younger generation and so lead to a breakdown.

2) Conflicts in sex patterns respecting property, labor, and social relations are often contributory to disintegration of tribal control.

3) At all times the proper functioning of native leadership is essential to the preservation of tribal life.

Elsewhere Wissler characterizes the failure of Indian efforts to successfully reshape their society as resulting from,

...the tendency of cultures to change. In particular, this is characteristic of white cultures. The adjustment of the native to white cultures must be slow; but the disconcerting aspect of the case is that as the white culture changes, this renders such adjustments as he may have made inadequate. 23

As an outcome of the continuous alteration in basic values, Wissler depicts the individual Indian as having faced,

a condition bordering upon the psychopathic, analogous to institutional cases in contemporary society. Emotional disturbances are evident. Not only does the group break down in its functioning, but individuals fail. It appears that the severity of conflict is somewhat proportional to the degree of contrast between the cultures involved. 24

---

22 Ibid., p. 123.


24 Ibid., p. 805.
W.O. Brown indicates that if a fixed sense of racial antipathy becomes characteristic of a contact experience, the following progression of events is likely: 25

1) If there is any incompatibility of interest, as there usually is, conflict, at least of an incipient sort, emerges. These first clashes are apt to involve land, resources, and physical survival rather than status.

2) These overt clashes are preludes to temporary accomodations. The weaker group comes to terms with the stronger, preferring subordination to destruction or even accepting isolation and at times enslavement. If the conquered race is numerically weak its numbers may be absorbed and placed in the social system of the more powerful race and the race-relations cycle ends. If, however, the weaker race is potentially or actually menacing and the mores of the dominant race resist fusion the accomodations can be temporary only.

3) The acceptance of a racial group in the social system for economic purposes, or on tolerance, sows the seeds of racial strife unless the mores are flexible enough to allow the entrance of ex-subordinates into the social order of the former masters. It is this struggle for status, for place in the social order, that is at the root of race conflict. The decay of the cultural organization of one race forces it to attempt invasion of the intact social order.

J. O. Hertzler posited the following trends as indicative of institutional change resulting from acculturation:\(^{26}\)

1) The contact of alien cultures disturbs the institutional balance of both or all of the cultures involved and usually creates a serious state of social disorganization. The disorganization is especially pronounced in the case of the inferior or numerically smaller group. Some social disorganization is found always and everywhere, since there are always individual cases of breaking social rules. During a period of culture clash the disorganization is likely to be much more profound and widespread.

2) In so far as there is a dissolution of institutions it will not usually be sudden or universal, for there are positive resistances to be overcome. The resistances are in the form of emotional attachments, long-established values, ingrained habits, group solidarities, and the inflexibility of institutional structure.

3) The breakdown and building up of new or revised institutional elements is not a mass movement; it occurs in the individuals of the respective cultures. The intermediary state is one of individualization and often one of individual chaos. During this intermediate period individuals are often called upon to play a number of sometimes grossly conflicting roles.

4) In the process of institutional reorganization, preliminary to some state of equilibrium, the quantitative and the qualitative aspects of the selecting and recombining of elements cannot be predicted since a great number of variables, operating either singly or in combination, are involved. The elements of institutions thus selected for survival are not necessarily the best; the combinations of them may not be the most appropriate from the point of an ideally integrated

\(^{26}\) Ibid., pp. 51-6.
culture. The survival power of either or both of the contacting groups may be impaired rather than enhanced.

5) Original stratification and differentiation in a given race or culture usually affects the rate of adjustment of the respective population elements. The upper strata have social institutions based in a large measure upon diversified and widespread cultural interests; hence they will probably be more receptive of certain varieties of foreign elements. The lower classes, bound more closely as the result of social isolation to racial attitudes, will have a narrower set of institutions more rigidly adhered to.

The interpretational apparatus cited in this discussion of acculturational trends represents the thought of several scholars with authoritative backgrounds in American Indian and Euro-American contact data. Julian H. Steward reflects the concern of Alfred A. Kroeber against leaning too heavily upon patterns of preconceived and conventionalized analysis. He cautions that cultural "facts" can become an impediment to scholarly reappraisal should they remain unchallenged in research and classroom settings.

...conceptualizations of human behavior... acquire significance from their relevance to a particular problem or theoretical frame of reference. In practice, however, it is all too easy to accept methods - for instance, the holistic, the comparative, the historical, the stratigraphic, or a taxonomic method - as ends in themselves; to regard them as distinctive features of anthropology, deriving from the inherent nature of the subject matter.27

While recognizing the limitations of any statically employed methodologies, these idea patterns should provide valuable organizational
directions for curricular review of American Indian captivity literature.

CULTURAL ELEMENTS FORMING AN ETHNOHISTORIC TAXONOMY FOR STUDY OF HISTORIC INDIANS IN THE UPPER OHIO VALLEY

Use of historical records for the reconstruction of cultural systems no longer in existence must entail certain difficulties. Julian H. Steward has noted that even primary source accounts must be used with great discrimination in that "Descriptions of material objects, numbers or people, hunting methods and other observable features are no doubt reasonably objective, but accounts of marriage, social groups, religion, and other things not visible in a literal or physical sense were filtered through the observer's own individual interests, past experiences, preconceptions, and prejudices." Collations of historic documentary evidence and modern date anthropological field studies have nevertheless produced conceptual insights with which to reconsider the Indian past in the Ohio Valley. In his *The Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians*, William W. Newcomb supports William N. Fenton's "upstreaming" method of ethnohistoric research as he concludes that "...by using a cautious and judicious approach it is possible to project ethnographic data back to early historic times with a fair degree of probability."

---


For purposes of this study, the greatest utility of Newcomb's work is his identification of chronological periods in Delaware cultural evolution. He finds that "Delaware acculturation naturally falls into four or five phases or periods...although their duration of years may be but hazily defined." These stages or periods are: The Contact Period, 1524-1690; The Period of Consolidation, 1690-1750; The Nativistic Period, 1750-1814; The Decadent Period, 1814-1867; a final period extending into the present and characterized as Assimilation - both from the effects of Delaware descended people merging culturally with contemporary white society or joining in the recent Pan-Indian movement. Newcomb's rationale for establishing an acculturational analysis of Delaware society is his interest "...not only in the cultural changes, but in the order in which they occurred and the reasons for their occurrence."31

The cultural trends defined in Newcomb's Consolidation, Nativistic, and Decadent periods suggest a framework for reviewing the historical Indian record for the Delawares and other aboriginal groups in close association with them during their years in the Upper Ohio Valley. Unfortunately no other Ohio Valley tribal groups have been the subject of such a definitive ethnohistoric study. Charles Callendar's discussion of the Social Organization of the Central

---

30 Ibid., p. 80.
31 Ibid., p. 79.
**Algonkian Indians** indicates an advanced state of Indian acculturation in the Ohio Valley by ca. 1800. The effect he notes for the Shawnees was that "their culture was affected by strong influences from tribes East of the Central Algonkian area, particularly the Delaware and Senaca. 32 Since Amerind peoples who immigrated into the Upper Ohio Valley already participated in a fully acculturated fur trade economy, and were repeatedly pressed into ever greater physical promimity, the Delaware cultural chronology should prove useful for an initial areal grasp of the historic Indian experience. Alfred A. Kroeber described the epoch in the Ohio Valley as being "...an inflow of tribes disturbed, directly or indirectly, by white contacts and proceeding, temporarily, to evolve a partly new, assimilated, 'hybrid-Caucasion culture.'\(^{33}\)

That the Delawares were not unique in their stage of development for Ohio Valley Indians is suggested by archaeological analysis. After an examination of grave goods recovered in the general vicinity of Ft. Wayne, Indiana, Glenn A. Black concluded that "The Indian was no longer living an aboriginal way of life, in the material sense, in the closing years of the seventeenth century in Northern Indiana... The Indian had had trade relations with whites for many years

---


elsewhere. In another areal study of material culture, George I. Quimby established a "late historic period" of ca. 1760-1820 as the third identifiable phase for the Western Great Lakes. Quimby's conclusion for the period is "The study of the remains of tribal culture of the period suggested that the fur trade and contact with the white man had produced a cultural uniformity in the material culture of the various tribal groups - a kind of Pan-Indian culture throughout the Western Great Lakes region."

Newcomb's conclusions of significant cultural traits to be observed during the Consolidation Period (1690-1750) are:

1) an increased tendency of migration as the result of the search for fur bearing animals sufficient for the trade.

2) the creation of larger towns in the Ohio Valley than had existed among the Delawaran peoples in their Atlantic Coast habitat.

3) the combination of many hitherto independent Delawaran groups with other originally self-defined aborigines (such as the Mohican, Canoy and Munsee) into a new corporate identity henceforth to be known as the Delaware Tribe.


35 George I. Quimby, Indian Culture and European Trade Goods (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), p. 8. Quimby's dating of his third period is very similar to Newcomb's Nativistic Period of 1750-1814. He notes as a period trait the resurgence of native motifs found even in their metallic ornaments. This corresponds with Newcomb's nativistic interpretation of Pan-Indianism to characterize the era.

36 William W. Newcomb, Culture and Acculturation of the Delawares, pp. 84-7.
4) the evolution of chieftanships equipped with the external authority to carry on tribal negotiations with Euro-Americans and other Indians.

5) a commensurate lack of centralized authority over dissenting individuals within the internal domestic setting.

6) a lack of military preoccupation due to subjugation by the Iroquoian Confederation.

7) the probable coalescence of the annual Big House Ceremony which provided a native spiritual focus adding to the cohesion of the Delaware tribal identity.

8) the appearance of the Moravian Missionaries which provided a steady Christian doctrinal influence, additional Euro-American material cultural exposure, and a significant written documentation for the period of Ohio Valley residence.

These cultural features were due mainly to the fur trade, dominion over the Delawares by the Iroquois, depopulation resulting from diseases of Old World origin for which there was no natural immunity, and the ever increasing white agricultural expansion. The cumulative effect was a significant demographic shift of Atlantic Coast Amerind peoples into the Upper Ohio Valley during the early years of the eighteenth century. Under continuing pressures of acculturation these peoples effected a reintegration and change in native cultural elements and succeeded in creating a larger social entity - the Delaware Tribe - than had previously existed in protohistoric times. They accomplished the new identity pattern while playing host to a sustained Moravian missionary effort bent upon further assimilating them into the dominant Euro-American culture.
The Nativistic Period (1750-1814) witnessed the following traits among the Delaware: 37

1) a revived militarism capable of setting aside Iroquois authority and concluding alliances with various European, U.S. and Amerind combatants.

2) by the end of the period the course of continued military defeat destroyed the external negotiation power residing in some few Delaware chiefs with the result that village or band chiefs assumed such leadership authority as remained.

3) the appearance of periodic famine as hunting emphasized fur bearing animals for the trade and military operations often destroyed the horticultural production.

4) continuance of all horticultural production as the culturally defined responsibility of women.

5) continued refusal to adapt the material technology of plow agriculture, dairy cattle and European style architecture. This was probably due to military operations and the temporary residence patterns of the fur trade.

6) employment of horses for travel burdens but little development of a true horse culture involving breeding and proper care.

7) prevalence of alcoholism and other social abuses which gave increased appeal to anti-white nativist visions.

8) the appearance of Indian prophets preaching anti-white doctrines and claiming authority from traditional native visions.

37 Ibid., pp. 87-97.
9) the inclusion of Christian elements such as a heaven-hell concept and a ritual significance for the Apostolic number of 12 within traditional Indian prophecies and visions.

10) a strengthening of the Big House Ceremony and the sanctioning of military forays by appeals to an anti-white, theologically based ideology.

11) cessation of the piercing and cutting of ears to accommodate ornamentation and the disappearance of the scalp lock and tattooing as styles of adornment.

In sum, the period witnessed a continued strengthening of the new native social structures which continued to resist indoctrination efforts aimed at implanting white agriculture and Christianity. The new society fragmented upon a succession of military defeats engendered in part by unfortunate alliances. Had France or Great Britain succeeded in maintaining title to the Old Northwest the Indians could perhaps have remained undisturbed for another generation, though they would not have been able to subsist upon the rapidly waning fur trade resources of the area. This period affords little indication of Indian willingness to accept white agricultural subsistence practices, though perhaps the Moravians would have succeeded with some portions of the Indians had not continued military exigencies spoiled their efforts.

The Decadent Period (1814-1867) witnessed cultural disintegration of the Delaware Tribe in the following ways: 38

1) surrender of military and political independence for Reservation status under the authority of the United States.

---

38 Ibid., pp. 80-84.
2) dissention created by differences in individual and band level material affluence due to varying degrees of success with plow agriculture.

3) permanent dispersion in the wake of selling Ohio Valley reservations and removal west of the Mississippi River.

This period saw the effective destruction of the Delaware tribal identity as a single cultural body. Not only did the tribal population not reunite west of the Mississippi, but differences in levels of acculturation caused intergroup dissensions even before removal from the Ohio Valley. Some bands and individuals preferred to continue subsistence by hunting, "squaw patch" horticulture, and the proceeds of treaty annuities. Others showed some inclination for adjustment to plow agriculture, Christianity and other white cultural elements. Though sometimes initially successful, most efforts at true acculturation failed in the Ohio Valley due to race prejudice. Removal thus became acceptable to those Indians wishing to remain hunters and traders, and to those who hoped to escape from further encroachments of a culturally hostile white majority.
Chapter IV
LITERATURE TREATING CAPTIVITY NARRATIVES

Little attention has been paid to captivity narratives for providing scientifically acceptable testimony regarding Amerind society. Literature employing early captivities as scientific evidence include Erwin H. Ackermehet's "White Indians," Dwight Smith's "Shawnee Captivity Ethnography," Marius Barbeau's overview article "Indian Captivities," and the more recent study by J. Norman Heard, White Into Red: A Study of the Assimilation of White Persons Captured by the Indians. A surprising instance of a modern date Indian captivity from the Venezuelan-Brazilian Orinoco River Valley is the account of Helen Valero, taken captive in 1937 and not returned to Hispanic-American culture until 1957.¹

Ackemeckt, Barbeau and Heard entertain the entire range of North American captivity experiences. Smith investigates the literature dealing with only two Indian groups. Though suggestive of ethnohistorical insights, the studies of Ackemeckt and Barbeau lack a geographic sense which differentiates between cultural areas. Smith is too culturally narrow in seeking definitive information from Shawnee and Delaware sources which did not differ importantly from other tribal groups in the Upper Ohio Valley. Heard's analysis is cognizant of cultural area variance, and refines Ackemeckt's approach in determining what elements contributed to successful acculturation.

Ettore Biocca's recording of Helen Valero's experiences closely approximates a detailed coverage of a cultural area. This results in part because she lived with many independent though culturally similar Indian groups, and the fact that Biocca is an anthropologist whose research has familiarized him with the Yanoama group of Indian tribes. Biocca was able to check her testimony from missionary and Indian sources, and recognized the value of not imposing his own views upon her recitation. Remarkably, the basic elements in Helen Valero's experience as an acculturated captive and as an individual grappling with the return to an alien parent culture are closely parallel to the early North American sagas which are the subjects of this study. Her account describes life within a social system practicing regular adoption of captives, extended family forays to avenge past aggressions, and hostility of the parent white culture which manifests embarrassment at her return with an Indian husband and children.
Ackerneckt surveyed eight lengthy examples of captivity narratives which range geographically from the Great Lakes to the Southwest. These cover a time span from the French and Indian to the Mexican War. The psychological aspect which impressed Ackerneckt concerning all of his sampling was that,

Although there was no common "blood," the families which had adopted them became their own families. The one or the other Indian might scorn them - their families stuck to them in good and bad days, it was always willing to help, to defend, to avenge them. It is remarkable with how deep a love and devotion they all speak of these families...²

Heard surveyed hundreds of captivity records which included English, French and Spanish examples. He refined and expanded Ackerneckt's discussion by analyzing both the captive's parent society and that of the adopting tribal group. "An attempt is made to appraise the importance of such factors as the original cultural milieu, the age at the time of capture, the duration of the captivity, and the cultural characteristics of the captors, in determining the degree of assimilation."³ Heard concluded that a captive's age when taken constituted the most significant variable. Individuals under 12 were easily assimilated. Those older than 12 often accepted superficial cultural alteration, but usually remained committed to their

²Erwin H. Ackerneckt, "white Indians," p. 34.
original social identities. 4

Heard's analysis of Indian captors reflects significant vari­
ances of behavior between the major cultural areas. In the Eastern
Woodlands the adoption of children followed quickly after capture.
Mistreatment was restricted to the initial violence at seizure, the
journey to the Indian's village and a physical buffeting at arrival.
In many cases the children escaped the worst abuses of the latter two
stages. West of the Mississippi children entered a prolonged period
of servitude, and were often harshly treated. They began Indian life
as menials and were frequently traded several times before eventual
adoption. 5 These practices increased the misery of their experience
and severely retarded their chances of survival. Men were seldom if
ever spared West of the Mississippi, and women captured in the South­
west were frequently abused sexually. There are exceedingly few in­
stances in the Eastern Woodlands of women even being forced to marry,
and virtually none of rape. 6 Both direct and indirect testimony corro­
borates these differences between the cultural areas regarding the
treatment children and female captives.

4 Ibid., p. 131.
5 Ibid., pp. 97-98.
6 Ibid., pp. 98-99.
As to the general utility of captivity narratives, Barbeau suggests a common conclusion of scholarly opinion which has involved itself with this literature. "Their value is enhanced by the candor of the observer who found themselves among the natives before the ancient customs had been abandoned, and the ethnographers had entered the field." Smith tempers this observation with a salutary note of caution. He affirms the obligation of assessing the various rationales for publishing the narratives, and for an accounting of when and how they were brought before the public. Congruent with the approach of this study, he suggests that, "At best, in the Old Northwest, the captivity can only be used as a source of information supplemental to data obtained elsewhere." Smith's perspective is parallel with the previously cited position of Julian H. Steward. In his own studies of captivities Steward found it necessary to distinguish between what could be reported quantitatively and/or perceived as basic subsistence skills versus an in-depth qualitative reportage of societal attitudes concerning "...marriage, social groups, religion and other things not visible in a literal or physical sense..." While Smith and Steward are correct to maintain the most vigorous standards attainable for describing aboriginal culture, the captivity narratives should still be seen to convey an

---

7 Marius Barbeau, "Indian Captivities," p. 531.
important insight into the state of cultural transition occurring in the Upper Ohio Valley between ca. 1750-1830. A due regard for their biases should not serve to disqualify captivity testimony upon even the attitudinal perceptions as held by Indians of the period. Ettore Biocca found Helen Valero's testimony to be painstakingly accurate after independently checking upon historical events cited and making a comparison of her societal descriptions with his own ethnographic field study observations.\footnote{The images were like photographs in her mind and they came back, without a single contradiction, every time I asked her to repeat this or that episode...We, who have found again many of the people and of the Yanoama groups with whom Helen Valero lived, have been able to confirm what she had described to us with such lucidity and clarity...whole sections which point out facts new to science, such as the preparation of curare and of hallucinatory drugs, the techniques of warfare, food, beliefs in the supernatural world and so on, have been set down in the volumes of the report on the voyage which are published by the National Research Council." Ettore Biocca, \textit{Yanoama}, pp. 11-12.} It might justifiably be observed that a captive's sensitivity to the adopting societies' inner workings probably formed one of the most important criteria in determining the stark issue of a new member's survival.
An editor's dramatic affectations to convey moral preachments or other marked attitudinal concerns are nearly always stylistically self-evident. Though early editors were doubtless motivated by the hope of pecuniary gain or other self-interested concerns, most also professed a serious regard for the historic record. In 1825 editor John Winter displayed remarkable ethnohistorical foresight when republishing the 6 day Massey Harbison captivity of 1792. He opined that,

There is a time coming, too, when the aborigines of this country will excite much more attention than at present; and when every thing relative to their character, mode of life, exploits, warfare and savage cruelty, will be sought after with extreme avidity. It is, therefore of importance that those acts, which illustrate their distinctive character, should be preserved from being buried in forgetfulness, that when their savage mode of life shall be destroyed, and they amalgamated with civilized society, shall cultivate the arts, commerce and religion, their original condition should be remembered, their character delineated, and their improvement and felicity be accurately traced.

An even more striking instance of painstaking historical record keeping of a type often accompanying a captive's return derives from

---

11 An admirable discussion of the most common rationales for publishing captivity narratives, including those of religious, nationalistic, racial or purely sensationalist themes, with their accompanying literary styles, is to be found in the "Introduction" of Richard Van Der Beets, Held Captive By Indians: Selected Narratives, 1642-1836 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1973), pp. XI-XXXI.

12 John Winter, ed., A Narrative of the Sufferings of Massy Harbison, From Indian Barbarity, Giving An Account of her Captivity, The Murder of Her Two Children, Her Escape With An Infant At Her Breast (Pittsburgh: S. Engles, 1825), p. IV.
this sad narrative. Massy Harbison was unable to walk, had seen two
of her children murdered though she miraculously preserved the life of
her one year old infant, and was in such appalling physical condition
as to be unrecognizable to the neighbor who rescued her. Notwith­
standing this travail, she was carried by canoe to Pittsburgh the day
following her return, and gave a deposition in the office of John
Wilkins, esq. The practice of immediate deposition taking of this and
other sufferers provided fresh military intelligence and information
pertinent to the legal standing of the survivors; they are also rare
and intimate insights into aboriginal practice.

CAPTIVITY NARRATIVES UTILIZED IN THIS SURVEY

This study surveys twenty-six captivity narratives. They vary
from under ten pages to a short book length of 150 pages. Most of the
experiences recounted took place in what is now Pennsylvania, Ohio,
and western New York. Prisoners captured on the Virginia and Kentucky
frontiers were usually hastened north of the Ohio River to Indian
villages located in present day Ohio and eastern Indiana. Captives
taken in eastern Pennsylvania were carried to the western portion of
the state and often beyond, or into western New York. The time span of
captures is the forty year period of intermittently declared hostilities
from 1755 to 1795. Since many captives long remained within some proximity of their adopted Indian culture, their testimony in some cases continues until ca. 1830. A nearly equal distribution of the twenty-six captivity experiences derives from three periods of intense military activity involving aborigines located in the Upper Ohio Valley. Eight narratives date from the French and Indian War years of

13 The single example of a probable seventeenth century (1674) Upper Ohio Valley captivity narrative is that of the Virginia fur trader Gabriel Arthur. He was illiterate and also necessarily vague about the exact geographic locales he visited. Events incident to Bacon's Rebellion ended trading initiatives which might successfully have followed up Arthur's contact. Olof H. Prufer and Orrin C. Shane have concluded that Arthur was captured by ancestors of the Shawnees in present West Virginia. Arthur's captors, whom he described to his employer-chronicler Abraham Wood as being called Monytons, were without metals of any kind. They became friendly after perceiving that he was white and possessed metallic weapons. The Indians with whom Arthur had attacked the Monytons were armed with guns but were nevertheless defeated, leaving him on the field with an arrow in his thigh. The Monytons greatly admired Arthur's hatchet and knife and earnestly desired that he bring trade goods among them after they understood that beaver peltry could serve as a medium of exchange. Arthur's narrative was transmitted to the Board of Trade in England the same year of his return from captivity, but it is only two pages in length. Since European contact was not resumed, the only collateral data is archaeological evidence. Conclusions drawn from this evidence are yet tentative. The other captivity literature herein surveyed describes aborigines already thoroughly acculturated into Euro-American fur trade patterns. Arthur's account is unfortunately too brief and otherwise unsupported with other contemporary testimony to offer a basis for comparison between the early period he describes and the latter half of the eighteenth century. For the evidence identifying the Monytons as Shawnees see Olaf H. Prufer and Orrin C. Shane, Blain Village and the Fort Ancient Tradition In Ohio (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1970), pp. 264-265. Arthur's narrative was part of a letter to John Richards from Abraham Wood dated Aug. 22, 1674. See Clarence W. Alvord & Lee Bidgood, The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by Virginians, 1650-1674 (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1912), pp. 222-223.
1755 to 1759, nine from the Revolutionary years after 1777, and eight from the late 1780's and early 1790's, ending with the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794. Only one record of importance resulted from hostilities engendered by Lord Dunmore's War in 1774.

These twenty-six accounts constitute only a fraction of the captives who were forced to reside with Indians in the Upper Ohio Valley. Frank H. Severance compiled an extensive listing of captives who passed through Ft. Niagara while it was occupied by French and later English forces. The Niagara position was an important staging ground for military operations launched against the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania. These raids in themselves produced numbers of new captives. Other individuals captured west and south of Niagara usually passed through that post on their way home after ransom and exchange. The importance of taking captives as an aspect of Indian cultural practice is suggested by the extensive list Severance was able to document. He concluded that at least one thousand Indian captives passed through Ft. Niagara during the Revolution alone.\(^{14}\) This was the most intensive era for such traffic, but it does not reflect other periods of record or those captives for whom no citation was ever made.

Indian groups or tribes most involved in the twenty-six narratives were the Shawnees, Delawares, and Mingos or western based

Senacas. Cherokee groups are frequently mentioned who seemingly passed readily into the area north of the Ohio River and became relatively permanent residents. The same is the case for Indians of the Western Great Lakes such as Ottawas and Ojibawas. The prospect of adventure, military reputation and the spoils of war doubtless lured many Indian youths from the South and West to the area of sharp Indian and Euro-American conflict in the Upper Ohio Valley between 1755 and 1795. Eastern Indians who continued to possess the will for further resistance to Euro-American domination must also have perceived the area as a rallying point.

The physical violence and mental shock incident to an Indian captivity does not often allow for its being readily recorded by the victims; remaining alive usually consumed all of a survivor's resources. Reminiscences of former captives after a significant time lapse must be scrutinized for evidence of faulty memory or other extraneous influences. Notwithstanding these potentially severe restrictions upon the utility of captivity narratives as documentation for Amerind society, most of the chronicles convey a sense of integrity
for what a captive actually witnessed.\textsuperscript{15} The autobiographical nature of the testimony lent a sequential organization for retaining observations of cultural import by linking them with steps in a captive's personal adjustment. Circumstances are thus recorded wherein evidence was gathered by the captive for offering judgments concerning phases of Indian culture. In addition, a surprising number of the twenty-six narratives herein surveyed were recorded very near the period of their enactments.

\textsuperscript{15} Jonathan Alder indicated that his memory held events in their proper sequence until the eighth morning. John McCullough was careful to note which details of Indian warfare he actually witnessed as opposed to those he heard recounted as stories. Dr. Knight recorded what he explicitly heard Simon Girty say. He saw a lengthy conversation which took place between Col. Crawford and Girty, but reported it as being inaudible due to an intervening distance. With Dr. Knight's bias against Girty, it might have been tempting to fabricate a dialogue with which to further indict the British Indian agent. O.M. Spencer recounted his fellow captive William Moore's sensational gauntlet experiences by carefully acknowledging that he was repeating Moore's account. See Henry Alder, recorder, "A History of Jonathan Alder; His Captivity And Life With The Indians" (Typescript copy by Doyle H. Davidson, The Ohio Historical Society, 1935), p. 6; Archibald Loudon, gen. ed., \textit{A Selection of Some of the Most Interesting Narratives of Outrages Committed by the Indians in Their Wars with the White People}, 2 vols. (Carlisle, Pa.: A. Louden, 1808 & 1811), vol. 1: \textit{A Narrative of the Captivity of John McCullough, Esq.}, by John McCullough, p. 282; H.H. Brackinridge, ed., \textit{Narrative of the Perils and Sufferings of Dr. Knight and John Slover, Among the Indians During the Revolutionary War, With Short Memoirs of Col. Crawford and John Slover} (Cincinnati: U.P. James, 1867), p. 42; and Milo Milton Quaife, ed., \textit{The Indian Captivity of O.M. Spencer} (New York: The Citadel Press, 1968), p. 101.
Despite the sanguinary and physically primitive circumstances of captive life, four of the twenty-six narratives are the products of contemporaneously kept journals. A fifth captive who later authored an important narrative of his experiences also kept a journal. Unfortunately it was not at hand when his captors impulsively decided to ransom him. Charles Johnston had secured a volume of the *Debates of the Convention of Virginia* from one of the boats seized when he was made prisoner, and had written his observations in the margins. He made a pen from a turkey quill and ink from water and coal dust. The Indians seemed impressed that he could write, and did not disturb his doing so. This exercise probably helped him reconstruct his experiences of 1790 when he published the account in 1827.

In 1788 the Englishman Thomas Ridout succeeded in keeping a journal after discovering that his captor's wife habitually served green tea in the wilderness. She accomplished this unexpected bit of acculturated dietary practice by employing a copper kettle, a china teapot and "yellow ware" china cups and saucers. Ridout ingeniously secured the tea packet papers and stitched them together with strands of elm bark. He too made a turkey quill pen, but concocted a yellow ink of hickory ashes mixed with water. His Shawnee captor also had a Black captive who was by turns hostile and friendly to Ridout. The

---


Black man had already become thoroughly familiar with Indian customs and during his good moods aided Ridout to compile both the journal and the appended Shawnee glossary of common terms. This curiously constructed journal was still in good condition when Edgar published its contents in 1890.

Two survivors of Indian capture in 1782 managed to keep short journals. Michael Walters was fortunate enough to be seized by "Gibeways" after Col. William Crawford's assault upon Sandusky turned into a route. The Ojibways were so interested in the prospective ransom at Detroit that they secreted him from the vengeful Delawares under Captain Pipe. While in their custody he made an "animal skin" folding pocket-book which helped secure for posterity the surviving portion of the diary. Abel Janney was also captured by a group of Indians who were similarly interested in the Detroit ransom. Janney had just made good his escape after some months among the Shawnees, only to be recaptured on the journey home by a party of Ottawas. His Ottawa captors "damned" the Shawnees as being "not good." They dressed him according to their own style and represented him as their

18 Ibid., p. 360.
adopted kinsman while passing through Sandusky en route to Detroit. Both Walters and Janney retained their weapons and had sufficient leisure to keep their journals.

One of the most significant of all narratives is the French and Indian War captivity of Col. James Smith. He stayed with the Indians from 1755 to 1759 and spent the entire period in the Upper Ohio Valley and upon the southern shores of Lake Erie. Though he did not publish his journal until 1799, he noted that "As the Indians never attempted to prevent me either from reading or writing, I kept a Journal, which I revised shortly after my return from captivity, and which I have kept ever since." Smith's career spanned a long period in border military affairs. After his return he raised and led a company of white scouts whom he trained in Indian tactics. Smith not only successfully practiced what he preached, but used his captivity experiences to author a treatise on Indian military strategy. His observations concerning border warfare with the Indians were published in 1812 as hostilities again became eminent. In the 1799 preface of his journal, Smith states that he purposely did not heed advice to secure a more literate editor than himself. He reasoned "that occurrences truly and plainly stated, as they happened, would make the best


Accounts written or dictated by captives soon after their return are also to be classified as primary source documents. Some variance in quality may inhere between events recalled from a time lapse of weeks, months and years, but these records supply fresh impressions of the Indian social milieu from its very recent residents. Two narratives of some importance which found transcribers immediately upon the prisoner's return are the 1759 joint accounts of the companion captives Marie LeRoy and Barbara Leininger, and that of John Slover from Col. Crawford's 1782 Sandusky expedition. The two girls had their experiences published the year of their return by the German Printing Office in Philadelphia. Their stated purpose was not "to render our own sufferings and humble history famous, but rather to serve the inhabitants of this country, by making them acquainted with the circumstances of these prisoners we met, at the various places where we were..." The girls then listed all of the captives they could recall, and invited further inquiries at their address in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Slover's account was taken and published the same year of his return by the Pittsburgh attorney and author Hugh Henry Brackinridge. The importance of his experience results in part because his captors recognized him as having been a former captive and an adopted member of Indian society. He had lived briefly with

23 Col. James Smith, Remarkable Occurances, p. 3.

24 John B. Lain & William H. Egle, eds., "The Narrative of Marie LeRoy and Barbara Leininger, Who Spent Three and One Half Years As Prisoners Among the Indians, and Arrived Safely in This City on the Sixth of May," Pennsylvania Archives 7 (1890): 436.
Miamis and Delawares, and had spent six years with the Shawnees. Slover's dilemma reveals the Indians' reaction to an adopted kinsman's waging war against them.

Significant testimony recorded by the captives' own pens immediately after their return are the narratives of Dr. Knight from Crawford's campaign, Matthew Bunn from St. Clair's expedition, and the important French and Indian War captivity of Charles Stuart who resided with the Indians in the Upper Ohio Valley from 1755 to 1757. Dr. Knight's eye witness account of Col. Crawford's torture was published with Slover's captivity by H.H. Brackinridge. This editor later wrote to Archibald Loudon that the surgeon's physical condition upon return had rendered him incapable for three weeks of giving "anything like a continued account of his sufferings." Apparently after a minimal convalescence, Dr. Knight was successfully prevailed upon to write his own debriefing record. Bunn's captivity and later residence among the British at Detroit was first published by himself in 1796, the year after his return. The author lived to bring out several editions, and apparently was called into question concerning his veracity. In 1826 he appeared before the youthful future president Millard Fillmore, then Commissioner for Erie County, New York, and

---

25 H.H. Brackinridge, Dr. Knight and John Slover, p. 42.

formally swore an affidavit of truth. Frank H. Severance believed Bunn's account to be truthful, and concluded that "although he gives no dates, beyond the year 1791, his narrative agrees closely with the records of St. Clair's march." Bunn himself plead the necessity of supporting a large family and having "a once vigorous constitution" impaired in the public service. Beverly W. Bond, Jr. suggested that Stuart's narration was a "statement which very evidently he made for the military authorities," and one which "is an exceedingly important one, filling out many gaps in the rather obscure history of the Seven Years War in the Old Northwest." Of particular moment for ethnohistorical purposes is the description of the Delaware leader Shingas' conditions as to what might function to bring about a successful acculturation between the life styles of the two races. Although the sentiments of Shingas derive from a self-serving perspective, their seemingly logical and modest requirements strike a plaintive note. Instead of a commanding belligerance to prisoners, his remarks rival for poinancy the better known peace making speech attributed to the Mingo chief Logan. This is especially so when considered against the

---


28 Ibid., p. 383.

thwarted efforts of the Moravians and Quakers, whose Indian programs may well have been the model for Shingas' ideas.\footnote{30}

Important narratives which are not the products of immediate transcriptions have nevertheless been accepted by scholars as being generally reliable. Charles Johnston's account has been mentioned in this context. One of the most often published captivities of the Old Northwest is the account of O.M. Spencer, taken in 1792 near Ft. Washington when ten years old. Spencer's memory was constantly reinforced by having to repeat his adventures "frequently twenty times a day to different companies and individuals" after he was returned to his parents' original home in New Jersey. Another reminder was the yearly visit he received from his former Indian captor, the Mohawk Wawpawmawquaw.\footnote{31} Spencer was never formally adopted, but witnessed the emerging acculturated society made up of Shawnees, Mohawks residing permanently with them, and the French and English traders.

\footnote{30} The pacific tenor of Shingas' remarks to the prisoners as reported by Charles Stuart, whom he saved from execution, are comparable to the statements of the Delaware leader Teedyuscung. Shingas exercised a commanding influence among the Delawares in the Upper Ohio Valley during the French and Indian War, and Teedyuscung held a somewhat similar position among those still located in the upper reaches of the Susquehanna River basin. Both leaders seemingly believed that a gradual and structured transition period would see the Indians into an acceptable social relationship with white society. Beverly W. Bond, Charles Stuart, p. 65. For Teedyuscung's proposals see Anthony F.C. Wallace, King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700-1763 (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), p. 176.

\footnote{31} Milo Milton Quaife, O.M. Spencer, pp. 169, 171.
Other important accounts transcribed after an interval of years are the narratives of John Leeth, Mary Jemison, and Jonathan Alder. A biography containing John Leeth's captivity details his adoption by a Delaware family at the outset of Lord Dunmore's 1774 campaign. Leeth remained among the Indians as a trader for much of his early adult life, and provides an example of his Indian family willing to stand by him when the other Indians became threatening. His testimony was first printed by the Lancaster, Ohio Gazette in 1831. One of the most significant accounts is the biographical statement of Mary Jemison. Made captive during the French and Indian War in Pennsylvania, she grew to womanhood amongst a band of Senecas who ranged the area between Pittsburgh and present Portsmouth, Ohio. Later she married the much feared Senaca war leader Hiokatoo, and spent the remainder of her life in New York's Genessee River Valley. Her chronicle covers both the Indians' decline and the emerging white settlement pattern of that area. A somewhat similar narrative is that of Jonathan Alder.


33 Mary Jemison's account is of a special category shared only by the similar experiences of Francis Slocum. Both were raised by Indians, and concluded lasting marriages within tribal culture. These women remained with their adoptive cultures until old age, when they were interviewed in the midst of their Indian families. Though recounting incidents of a long life, their association with Indian culture was never interrupted. James E. Seaver, ed., A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison (Canandaigua, New York: J.D. Bemis & Co., 1824). John F. Meginness, Biography of Francis Slocum, The Lost Sister of Wyoming (Williamsport, Pa.: Heller Brothers Printing House, 1891).
This individual was taken when a child from Virginia in 1781. He was adopted by a Mingo family and spent his entire captivity in Ohio, much of it on the Pickaway Plains centering in Madison County. Like Mary Jemison and Francis Slocum, he remained to observe the emergence of white frontier society as it made permanent contact with the remaining Indians. Alder's narrative was compiled by his son from his father's dictation. The manuscript was loaned to Henry Howe for that author's History of Ohio. Only a brief resume appeared in Howe's work, and this rich account still remains virtually unknown.

The accounts herein briefly summarized illustrate the types of captivity sources available for this study. Others of a similar nature not already alluded to will be introduced with appropriate identification. Like many of the records, the important narrative by Charles Johnston hovers between the status of a primary and a secondary source account. He observed of his own memory that "I can confidently assert, that my recollection of incidents, during a period so calamitous to me, and while my faculties were vigorous, is sufficiently perfect to give them without mistake." Johnston related nothing which is easily to be discounted as improbable; in describing an Indian dance and the accompanying song he was forced to learn and preform countless times, he laconically observed of the song that "the words of which were repeated by me often enough to impress them so perfectly on my memory,

34 Charles Johnston, A Narrative, p. VI.
that they are not yet forgotten."\textsuperscript{35} As observers of ethnohistoric
detail the captives' records were often not so complete as we might
desire, even though their accounts offer internal evidence of their
trustworthiness. Jonathan Alder's relation contains the following
distressingly partial information, and his candid explanation for not
having more to offer on the subject.

Another thing that I noticed so often; now a
squaw with a pappose in her arms, if she
is going out after night, in passing from one
camp to another or from one camp home, she
will invariably go to the fire place and take
up a little dry ashes and sprinkle on the
child's head - now what this was for I cannot
tell, for I never asked.\textsuperscript{36}

Notwithstanding the extreme violence which initiated these forced
unions of culturally and racially divergent peoples, many of the
captives came away with positive impressions sufficient to balance the
negative aspects of their experiences. As previously noted, O.M.
Spencer's former captor visited him annually. Thomas Ridout's captors
paid him a visit after he became Surveyor-General of Upper Canada,
and at his urging Jonathan Alder's mother met and became friendly with
his Indian associates.\textsuperscript{37} When Henry Bouquet temporarily pacified the
Upper Ohio Valley in 1764 and forced the return of Indian captives,
many of the Euro-American liberators were shocked when various adopted

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., p. 45.
\textsuperscript{36} Henry Alder, \textit{Jonathan Alder}, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{37} Matilda Edgar, \textit{Thomas Ridout}, p. 370; and Henry Alder,\
\textit{Jonathan Alder}, p. 77.
prisoners refused repatriation. The unknown officer upon whose papers Dr. William Smith relied for this famous account described the bewildering scene. "They delivered up their beloved captives with the utmost reluctance; shed torrents of tears over them, recommending them to the care and protection of the commanding officer... These qualities in savages challenge our just esteme."

Ethnohistoric data gathered under such unusually intimate circumstances and descriptive of such variety in aboriginal behavior should serve to aid students in questioning any static Indian stereotypes. These witnesses came to perceive Amerind society on physical and philosophical levels seldom approximated by missionaries, traders, or even modern anthropological observers of technologically primitive cultures.

---

Chapter V

LEARNINGS DERIVED FROM APPLICATION OF THE ETHNOHISTORICAL METHOD

As noted in Julian H. Steward's conclusions, any societal description should derive from cultural elements which are deemed most characteristic of the peoples in question.\(^1\) Social patterns of importance that can be judged from the captivity narrative sources include the following: warfare; adoption; subsistence; alcohol usage; sexual codes; spiritual perceptions. Since captivity accounts were recorded in biographical fashion, the ordering of the above categories will be seen to roughly approximate the series of stages through which prisoners became familiarized with their new cultural surroundings.

Observations initially gathered by the captives were often more readily described in physical or quantitative terms. With adoption status, or at least with the Indians' decision not to immediately execute prisoners, the captives found themselves in a position to perceive

\(^1\) Julian H. Steward, Theory of Cultural Change, P. 89. This approach also suggests the criteria of Alfred A. Kroeber with his concern for seeing in the "systemic pattern of culture...a nexus that holds them together strongly." Alfred A. Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 312.
the more subtle and qualitative aspects of Amerind society. For usage as ethnohistorical data, the accounts of prevalent aboriginal behavior patterns are usually better understood within a proximate order of their original recording. The captives' typical chronology of experiences thus forms a unifying approach for collating their various testimonies, and suggests a segmental framework for purposes of comparative discussion.

WARFARE

The taking of captives was an important component of Indian military practice in what became the northeastern United States and contiguous areas of Canada. Van Der Beets noted that "white or non-Indian captives could easily be sold into the chronically short labor pool of French North America. This was also true of the English after they had secured permanent control of the Great Lakes posts, though they would more often ransom prisoners for return to their homes. Adoption was frequently the native motive for securing prisoners. This was done either to make up for losses in the captor's own tribal group, or a captive could be given or sold to another band for the same purpose. It is the conclusion of Keith F. Otterbein that the Iroquois accomplished a major tactical victory during the seventeenth

---

2 Heard observed that for some reason "white men in the Southeast seemed by and large, to have avoided falling into the hands of the Indians." Captivity literature is more rare from the Southeast, and suggests a cultural area difference between the Amerind inhabitants of the Southeast and the Northeastern Woodlands. J. Norman Heard, White Into Red, p. 2.

3 Richard Van Der Beets, Held Captive By Indians, p. XI.
century by adopting captives. While they conducted continuous hostilities against the French and their Indian allies, they successfully replaced their casualties via adoption.\(^4\)

Renewal of tribal membership by adoption was accordingly an important feature of Amerind military policy in the Upper Ohio Valley during the late eighteenth century. This was probably due in some measure because this native cultural area was strongly influenced by Iroquois customs. Iroquois social examples were significant because of their recent military dominance over the locale and from their increased areal occupancy. The captives recorded that most war parties were composed of warriors from various tribal groups. In most cases capture was effected with the participation of some Iroquois. Nathaniel Knowles has noted that Indian groups in contact with the Iroquoian Confederation usually practiced ritual torture of prisoners who were not adopted or ransomed. Though their methods of torture were similar to Iroquois patterns, "the penetration of torture into Algonkian cultures was seemingly not deep and was recognized as being of Iroquois origin.\(^5\)

Strong Iroquois social ties with other Upper Ohio Valley Indian residents can be illustrated by associations recorded by the captives. Mary Jemison was originally a Shawnee captive and was given to two


Senaca women. They adopted her to replace a deceased brother. Some two years later she was given in marriage to a Delaware. Her husband's band was then sharing a semi-permanent agricultural village site with her adopted Senaca family.\(^6\) O.M. Spencer was captured by a Mohawk and a Shawnee who together waylaid his party above Ft. Washington. He became the property of the Mohawk, whose family had moved from New York and taken up permanent residence with Shawnees on the Maumee River.\(^7\) Jonathan Alder was captured by and adopted into the western based Senacas. These were known locally as Mingos. This band had their own

\(^6\) This marriage is additionally significant because Iroquois and Delaware societies reckoned kinship through the female line. The Delaware husband, Sheninjee, accordingly became a member of his Senaca wife's extended family. He agreed to follow her to the Genessee River after her adopted family decided upon a return to New York. While absent on the winter hunt he fell ill and died without seeing her again. Her subsequent remarriage was to the Senaca warrior, Hiokatoo. Sheninjee's marriage had in effect signaled a type of adoption for himself. It indicates the readiness with which Indians were accustomed to intermingle tribal identities in the Upper Ohio Valley by the French and Indian War period. James E. Seaver, *Mary Jemison*, pp. 42, 52. For kinship structures see William W. Newcomb, *Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians*, p. 44.

\(^7\) Milo Milton Quaife, *O.M. Spencer*, p. 70.
PLEASE NOTE:
Filmed as received without page 102. Not available for microfilming.
UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS
those likely to be undertaken during such an inclement season. The youthful O.M. Spencer was seized by only two Indians. His capture was at the more predictable time of July 6, 1792. Typical of numbers and composition of a war party which expected to do serious damage to the white settlements was that which captured Benjamin Gilbert's family and several neighbors on April 25, 1780. This attacking group consisted of two Mohawks, three Cayugas, one Delaware, and five Senacas. These eleven Indians took fifteen prisoners in addition to effecting considerable destruction and alarm in Northampton Co., Pennsylvania.

Col. Smith believed the Indians to be conscious of their few numbers, and hence convinced of the necessity of conserving their warriors. He estimated the number in arms against the English and

---

10 Willard R. Jillson, ed., *Filson's Kentucky: A Facsimile Reproduction of The Original Wilmington Edition of 1784, With Page Critique, Sketch of Filson's Life and Biography* (Louisville: John P. Morton Co., 1929), p. 63. Col. Smith cited another example of a winter war party. It was undertaken because of the need for more horses to carry on the annual winter hunt. Agreement was reached that of eight hunters present with their dependents, four should make a horse stealing foray. After about a month's absence, the four returned in February of 1756 with two scalps and six horses from Pennsylvania. Col. James Smith, *Remarkable Occurances*, pp. 32, 36.


subsequently the Americans in the Upper Ohio Valley as never exceeding 3,000 men. Charles Stuart offered a partial statistical corroboration for Col. Smith's estimates by citing the numbers of warriors he observed in the Detroit area in 1757. The total for the Ottawas he thought to be no more than 100 warriors due to heavy casualties. The Wyandot warriors he estimated as numbering about 230. These later included some 70 "Boys from Ten to Seventeen Years of Age, for Such they carry out to war with them."^14

Col. Smith insisted that the British officers of 1764 knowingly misrepresented the warriors' numerical strength as being 30,000. This was done in order to impress the home government with the difficulties of campaigning in North America. The officers maintained to Smith that the army was routinely expected to defeat at least five times their own numbers of savages. The North American command was to show results comparable to the record of British arms against the "East Indians" of the subcontinent.^15

The captivity narratives do not provide many records of large scale battles between Euro-Americans and Indians. Of the twenty-six narratives surveyed, only Dr. Knight, John Slover and Michael Walters were made prisoner as the result of a pitched battle. All three of these captivities followed in the wake of Col. Crawford's route at

14 Beverly Bond, Charles Stuart, pp. 74-5.
Sandusky in 1782. In this battle, accounted large by frontier standards, something over four hundred mounted militia engaged approximately the same force of Indians and a few British allies.\(^\text{16}\)

Col. James Smith believed that the Indians found large engagements less effective than their squad level forays. However, when the occasion demanded, Smith contended that a sufficient tactical organization was present to accomplish a disciplined battle line of up to a mile in length. This line he reported capable of concerted rapid or slow movement, and of executing circular or semi-circular maneuvers.\(^\text{17}\)

Col. Smith's observations of forest warfare are in essential agreement with Otterbein's analysis of Iroquois military practice. "The third period began in the late 1660's and lasted for several decades. Since nearly every Iroquois had a musket by this time, tactics were adapted to the weapon. In-fighting was abandoned and long lines of snipers

\(^\text{16}\)H.H. Brackinridge, Dr. Knight and John Slover, p. 11.
\(^\text{17}\)Col. James Smith, Remarkable Occurrences, p. 150.
were employed."

The sniping tactic was even more pertinent to the late eighteenth century in the Upper Ohio Valley because many of the Indians were by then armed with rifled weapons. This condition probably reflects the close material acculturation with the white inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Virginia where rifle production was common. In 1779-1780 the Moravian Missionary David Zeisberger noted of his Indian associates

---

18 Keith F. Otterbein, Why The Iroquois Won, p. 60. At the opening of the Revolution, Ethan Allen still perceived basic strategy as essentially like that described by Otterbein. Allen's letter of May 24, 1775, to the Caughowaga Indians is a regional diplomatic initiative which attempted to forestall guerrilla warfare on the Vermont frontier. He invited the Indians to join forces with him in consideration of his just provocation to war and their mutual acculturated views on tactical deployment.

I know how to shute and ambush just like Indian and want your Warriors to come and see me and help me fight Regulars You know they Stand all along close Together Rank and file and my men fight so as Indians Do and I want your Warriors to Join with me and my Warriors like Brothers and Ambush the Regulars, if you will I will Give you Money Blankets Tomahawks Knives and Paint and the Like as much as you say because they first killed our men when it was Peace time.

The Delaware Indians use no other than rifle-barrelled guns, having satisfied themselves that these are the best at long range, in which they are very skillful and shooting accurately. They have acquired considerable skill in making minor repairs when their weapons get out of order. Some have even learned to furnish them with stocks, neatly and well made.  

The missionary was then amongst the Christian Indians on the Muskingham River, and noted that further west the smoothbore musket was more in evidence as rifles became rarer. Zeisberger specifically excepted the more westerly residing Shawnees as being a people "who know and value the rifle-barrelled gun."  

The captivity narratives confirm the widespread use by Indians of the more accurate rifled weapons. Charles Johnston recorded that the uncommonly large war party of 54 which captured his flatboat were armed with rifles.  

---

19 A.B. Hulbert and W.H. Schwarze, eds., David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1910), p. 85. The Zeisberger notes on Indian manners and customs, presented under the title of a "History" by the editors, were initially transcribed while living amongst the Delawares on the Muskingham River during the years of 1779-1780. Though Zeisberger was in effect to become a prisoner in 1781 when the Delawares of the Moravian Settlements were forcibly removed by British order, these notes are not a captivity journal. They are, however, so clearly useful as a contemporaneously gathered accounting of Indian society that their content has been invaluable to this study. Not only are Zeisberger's notes rich in ethnohistorical detail, but they substantially concur with the perspective on native life as offered by the captivity narrative testimony.

there were also Delawares, Wyandots and Cherokees present. In an almost apologetic tone Johnston acknowledged that he and his own three male companions had but one rifle and three smooth-bore fowling pieces. A part of the booty he was forced to carry included "an uncommonly heavy rifle barrel." This evidence of interest in component rifle parts is suggestive of Zeisberger's observations concerning the presence of fairly sophisticated Indian artisanship. Although Johnston's captivity was in 1790, the earlier accounts suggest the same Indian familiarity with rifles. Col. James Smith described his adopted Caughnewaga brother as being a first rate hunter who carried "a rifle gun" in 1755.

Though the Indians generally preferred the raid or maurad conducted by only a dozen or so warriors, their record on the battle field could be impressive. In 1782 the Indians defeated both Crawford's expedition and the Kentucky force including Daniel Boone at the Battle of the Blue Licks. In the latter engagement a retreating army of between 300 and 500 Indians with a few white allies turned upon a pursuing force of about 200. The white Kentuckians were surrounded and shattered with great loss of life. It later proved a bitter reversal for the Indians to learn that their English allies had already lost the war at Yorktown in 1781. This news reached a council of Indians

21 Ibid., pp. 12, 37.
22 Col. James Smith, Remarkable Occurrences, p. 25.
in west central Ohio via John Slover. His intelligence was condemned as a lie in Slover's hearing by the British Indian agents Mathew Elliot and James Girty.\textsuperscript{24}

If there was a culturally defined condition in Indian society that rendered military organization difficult, it lay with their individualistic tendency to fight only if a warrior chose to do so. This exercise of personal choice in military affairs has been noted by Turney-High.

There are indeed few links which run through the whole of American Indian societies, but one of them is compounded of the volunteer militia;...the power of those too proud to fight to stay away, or those too scared to fight to run away without penalty.\textsuperscript{25}

The attitudes of John Leeth and Jonathan Alder as adopted members of tribal society are illustrative of the Indians personalized approach to military behavior. John Leeth, though at 24 of an active military age, was permitted to withdraw in the face of Crawford's advance. Jonathan Alder answered the summons sent among the Indians to oppose General Wayne, but proved very individualistic in his approach to the fighting. In the midst of an attack upon Wayne's fortified camp, Alder seemed indisposed to discharge his weapon. An Indian who was shooting at the camp's defenders asked Alder why he didn't fire. With the reply

\textsuperscript{24} H.H. Brackinridge, \textit{Dr. Knight and John Slover}, p. 47.

\textsuperscript{25} Harry Holbert Turney-High, \textit{Primitive War}, p. 87.

\textsuperscript{26} Reuben Gold Thwaites, \textit{John Leeth}, p. 41.
that he didn't want to, the Indian simply advised him to fall back before he was hurt. Alder reported "Now the Indians never insisted on my taking arms against the whites but always left that to my own choice, so consequently I never was in any battle except a little while in the first conflict of this great battle.  

Though perhaps Leeth and Alder might not afterwards have wished to acknowledge a part in hostilities against the white frontier, their testimony accords with Indian practices in numerous other instances. Turney-High concludes of Amerind society generally that the individualism displayed in military affairs,

...overdeveloped the war honor concept almost everywhere. It is valuable always, but the practice of war for its own sake rather than the achievement of some socio-economic end is militarism. The Americas were, paradoxically, continents rife with militarism but with little war.  

Charles Stuart reported that by 1757 the French were resorting to coercion with some of their Indian allies in order to maintain hostilities. They accomplished their end by threatening to send other Indians "To cut them off."  

The "war honor concept" mentioned by Turney-High provided access to social status and a leadership role in Amerind society. The military command structure was thus recruited by a display of war path valor.

27 Henry Alder, Jonathan Alder, p. 39.
28 Harry Holbert Turney-High, Primitive War, p. 104.
29 Beverly Bond, Charles Stuart, p. 77.
With evident reference to the Euro-American emphasis upon selecting officers from amongst the socially acceptable gentlemen of society, no matter how young or inexperienced, Col. James Smith described the Indians as believing it "a most ridiculous thing to see a man lead off a company of warriors, as an officer, who had himself never been in a battle in his life." Col. Smith continued that "even in case of merit, they are slow in advancing anyone, until they arrive at or near middle age." Notwithstanding the polemical character of these observations, they suggest Turney-High's point of distinction between the Indians' leadership concept of a "brave and able fighter in personal combat," and the European's more organization conscious "great captains" such as Napoleon or Lord Nelson.

The individual aspect of joining or leading a war party was suggested by John McCullough when he described the formation procedure.

When any one takes it into his head to go a tour at war, he informs some of his friends, or intimates, of his design, and if any of them approves of it, they tell him they will go along with him. As soon as he has three or four of a company made up, they go to their council-house, (as they have one in every town,) at night; having previously provided a drum for that purpose, they beat it, and sing war songs, and dance war dances—they are soon joined by others; as soon as they think they have a sufficient number, they proclaim the day they

---

30 Col. James Smith, Remarkable Occurrences, p. 140.
31 Harry Holbert Turney-High, Primitive War, p. 253.
intend to march, and he that made the first
proposition of going, is their Moy-a-ooh'-whese,
or foreman, for that tour. 32

Soon after his adoption Col. Smith witnessed the implementation of a
war party bound for Virginia in 1755. As the warriors sang their war
songs and proclaimed what they intended to accomplish against the enemy,
"Some who had not before intended to go to war, at this time were so
animated by this performance that they took up the tomahawk and sung
the war song, which was answered with shouts of joy, as they were then
initiated into the present marching company." 33

Mary Jemison's second husband, the important Senaca war captain
Hickatoo, rose to prominence through a personal predilection for war.
It was remembered that even when young he had no interests aside from
war, and constantly practiced with knife and tomahawk. As a youth he
was prone to torture anything susceptible to pain. He was extremely
active throughout the Revolution though he first went to war against
the Cherokees in 1731. Early in his career he brought home Cherokee
prisoners whose prolonged torture he organized with the boys of his

McCullough's narrative was written after his captivity amongst the
Delawares. It began in 1756 when he was eight years of age. He became
so thoroughly acculturated that he at first refused repatriation to
his father. He ran away and returned to the Indians for a time. This
account is especially rich in detail. McCullough ended the biographical
portion of his narrative with a series of statements on "Indian Manners
and Customs." This is an attempted synthesis which is similar to
that appended to Col. James Smith's narratives.

33Col. James Smith, Remarkable Occurrences, p. 18.
village.  

An evidence of acculturation is the Indian adaptation of the Euro-American military title of captain. Col. Smith noted that few titles of distinction for any purpose existed in Amerind society, and that even great war leaders were simply styled captain. At Charles Johnston's capture in 1790 he wore a bright red vest which attracted the leader of the war party. Upon seeing the garment the Indian exclaimed in English "Oh! You cappatain?" After Johnston's negative answer, the Shawnee pointed first to himself and then to the other Indians saying "Me Cappatain - all dose my sogers." In the aftermath of St. Clair's defeat, O.M. Spencer saw a Shawnee warrior wearing the dress coat of a field officer of infantry. Spencer was informed concerning the previous owner of the coat "me kill um! The Indian wearing the coat then represented himself as "Captain Walker! Great Man Me!" The Gilbert family ascertained that Roland Monteur was a Captain in command of the attacking party. His brother John Monteur was also to be addressed as Captain though he was second in command.

An additional suggestion of acculturation is found in the profit motive which was often evident in the courses of action followed by the war parties and their individualistic members. All spoils, including captives, were usually the property of single warriors.

34 James E. Seaver, Mary Jemison, pp. 113-5.
35 Col. James Smith, Remarkable Occurances, p. 139.
36 Charles Johnston, A Narrative, p. 17.
37 Milo Milton Quaife, O.M. Spencer, p. 28.
A prisoner's disposition was customarily left to the captor's discretion. As previously noted, both John Slover and Michael Walters were carefully protected to ensure a safe arrival and ransom at Detroit. The white man in the party which captured Jonathan Alder informed him that they had lain in ambush for "two days trying to catch Negroes." After securing Alder and Mrs. Martin, the party retreated north of the Ohio River and proceeded upon an extended hunt for peltry before returning to their village. 39

Mathew Bunn escaped from his confinement and safely reached Detroit only to later meet two of his Indian captors in the street. Bunn's trader-employer, Mr. Smith, managed to cool the Indians' indig­nation by effecting a ransom for $120.00. With the conclusion of a ransom agreement, the Indians even conveyed a bill of sale to trader Smith. The former Indian captive then worked off his purchase price in service to the trader.

O.M. Spencer reported meeting William Moore, who had earlier been made prisoner by Spencer's own captor. Though he remained unadopted, Moore had succeeded in making himself indispensible to his Indian master's aged mother. The economic benefits of his service included all manner of chores. He had in addition built her a two room cabin.

39 Henry Alder, Jonathan Alder, pp. 2, 7-9. One of the consistent objectives for raids into the white settlements was to steal horses. A hunt usually followed such a foray, and the horses provided the draft animals necessary to pack the skins toward a market. White frontiersmen were not slow to scout Indian villages for the same purpose. Simon Kenton was taken prisoner during one such attempt.

wherein Spencer, the old but still active Mohawk matriarch, and two of her Indian grandchildren lived. Spencer was himself ransomed by authority delegated to the trader George Ironside. As it was then the season to be engaged in the winter hunt, Spencer's captor, Wawpawmaw-qwaqw, had authorized Ironside to act as his business agent during his absence.41

Charles Johnston's party encountered a Wyandot trader whose whiskey supply was tended by a Negro captive. This latter individual conducted such a brisk trade that Johnston's captors were soon without peltry or booty. Johnston was then sold for $100.00 worth of trade goods.42 The noted Mohawk leader Joseph Brant wrote in 1788 that a unified Indian position on the question of peace with the United States was virtually impossible because of the profitable nature of continued hostilities. Though many Indians were for peace,

...the Shawnees, Miamis, and Kickapoos, who are now so much addicted to horse-stealing that it will be a difficult task to break them of it, as that kind of business is their best harvest, will of course declare for war, and not giving up any of their country, which, I am afraid, will be the means of our separating.43

41 Milo Milton Quaife, O.M. Spencer, pp. 101, 126.
42 Charles Johnston, A Narrative, pp. 49, 60.
One of the saddest portions of most captivity accounts is the pitiful fate of many if not most of the younger children. Infanticide was common because younger children impeded swift movement. The same treatment often held true for the more elderly prisoners. Notable exceptions to this practice were the more fortunate destinies of the Gilbert family and their neighbors. After arrival at Ft. Niagara, the 69 year old Benjamin Gilbert observed to the war party captain that he should justly be praised for his unusual patience in keeping alive both the oldest and youngest of his captives. Besides Benjamin Gilbert, Sr., this included a nine month old infant. In response the well-known Roland Monteur pointedly replied that "It was not I, but the great God who brought you through, for we were determined to kill
you all, but were prevented. 

Unfortunately for the humanitarian record there were many of both races whose conduct did not match Roland Monteur's in this instance. In commenting upon the massacre of Moravian Indians at Gnadenhutten on March 8, 1782, Col. James Smith reflected "It is much to be lamented

Archibold Loudon, Narratives of Outrages, Vol. II, p. 91. A prisoner's fate often depended upon the character of the war party leader or captain. Roland and John Monteur were the issue of an unusual example of misregenation for this early period. Their mother was French and their father Mohawk. Perhaps the Christian sentiment in Roland Monteur's retort exercised a dominant influence on the war captain's behavior. Another possibility is the regard Monteur may have had for the bravery of Benjamin Gilbert's wife Elizabeth. Circumstances of the journey back to Ft. Niagara put the entire party of prisoners into extreme jeopardy. They first encountered four escaped Black slaves who were received by the Indians after they declared for the King. These four immediately became a severe threat to the prisoners. They joined and often exceeded the Indians in physically abusing the captives. Soon after the party came upon four dead Indians from another war party. Their captives had slipped their bonds during the night and murdered their captors. Upon hearing the Indians threaten revenge, one of Gilbert's own company of prisoners made an escape and successfully eluded pursuit. By this time Roland Monteur was so enraged that he threw Elizabeth's son Jesse to the ground and made ready to tomahawk him. The courageous mother interposed her own head upon her son's and besought mercy. Monteur kicked her over and tied both by their throats to a tree. This proved to be the extent of his viciousness, and they were released after the captain's temper had cooled. Roland Monteur's example in the face of Elizabeth's entreaties may have influenced his followers a few days later. When the elder Benjamin Gilbert's strength began to fail, he was nearly choked while being led by a neck thong. Elizabeth pled for his life and refused to leave his side. At length the Indians relented. These occurrences were easily enough excuse for at least a portion of the prisoners to have been killed before reaching Ft. Niagara. Ibid., pp. 76-82.
that some of our frontier rifle-men are prone to imitate them in their inhumanity... This was an act of barbarity beyond anything I ever knew to be committed by the Savages themselves.\(^{45}\) A further grim example of brutal genocide by a white man is recorded by Mary Jemison concerning the Tory Ebenezer Allen. After the Revolution he became her farm tenant and something of a confidant. During the hostilities Allen had joined war parties in their depredations upon the Susquehannah River, and had himself confirmed what the Indians independently told her of his behavior.

At one time, when he was scouting with the Indians in the Susquehannah country, he entered a house very early in the morning, where he found a man, his wife, and one child, in bed. The man, as he entered the door, instantly sprang on the floor, for the purpose of defending himself and little family; but Allen dispatched him at one blow. He then cut off his head and threw it bleeding into the bed with the terrified woman; took the little infant from its mother's breast, and holding it by its legs, dashed its head against the jamb, and left the unhappy widow and mother to mourn alone over her murdered family. It has been said by some, that after he had killed the child, he opened the fire and buried it under the coals and embers: But of that I am not certain. I have often heard him speak of that transaction with a great degree of sorrow, and as the foulest crime he had ever committed— one for which I have no doubt he repented.\(^{46}\)

\(^{45}\)Col. James Smith, *Remarkable Occurrences*, pp. 159-60.

\(^{46}\)James E. Seaver, *Mary Jemison*, p. 100.
The frequent practice of brutal infanticide accompanying an Indian captivity can be illustrated from the narratives of Jonathan Alder, Mrs. Francis Scott, and Mrs. Jennie Wiley. Alder was taken captive in company with Mrs. Martin and her two year old child. The party which captured them consisted of five Indians and one white man. Mrs. Martin's husband had been killed from ambush, and another child was murdered in the cabin. The Indian whose charge was the two year old child soon dropped away from the retreating party to kill and scalp it. Upon his return the grief-stricken mother saw the scalp and became hysterical. When the threat of a scalping knife did not silence her, she was whipped into submission with a beech rod cut for the purpose. Alder remembered being very much afraid for their lives. Mrs. Scott saw three of her children stabbed and their throats cut while in their beds. Another eight year old daughter was tomahawked and stabbed to death while in her arms.

One of the most ghastly accounts for prolonged misery was the terrible ordeal of Mrs. Jennie Wiley. The attack upon the Wiley family occurred during the autumn of 1787 in eastern Kentucky. It was a typical intertribal foray. This eleven man Indian group consisted of two Cherokees, three Shawnees, three Wyandots, and three Delawares. Mrs. Wiley's husband was absent. Her fifteen year old brother and three young children were immediately killed in the assault. She succeeded in temporarily saving a fifteen month old child who was killed and

47 Henry Alder, Jonathan Alder, pp. 3-4.

scalped on the trail because it cried incessantly and impeded its mother's progress. After the party had outdistanced pursuit the Indians realized that Mrs. Wiley was pregnant. Her captors decided to proceed about the winter hunt and awaited the child's birth. Though they took care of the mother's needs, they soon opted to kill and scalp the newborn infant.  

Discerning cultural patterns from these examples of the most violent infanticide is difficult beyond suggesting the motive of avoiding pursuit. Mrs. Wiley's fifteen month old baby was destroyed because she could not tend it and keep up with the party. A similar consideration seems to have sealed the fate of Mrs. Martin's two year old child. The newborn Wiley infant was not endangering the party, but was

---

49 The Wiley captivity is an example of oral historical tradition recorded long after the fact. The editor was raised in the Big Sandy River Valley and from boyhood had nurtured an intense interest in regional history. A part of his motivation lay in proving to the inhabitants of the Blue Grass region that the exploits and genealogical derivations of eastern Kentucky comprised as distinguished a heritage as any from the aristocratic section of the state. The most important source for the Wiley captivity is Mrs. Wiley's son, Adam P. Wiley. After having lost five children in this raid, she later bore five more and lived to an old age. Adam was 33 when she died. He was a minister and was credited with an uncommon grasp of regional family backgrounds and oral traditions. Connelley found him to have an intimate knowledge of all the topography pertinent to the captivity narrative. With Adam P. Wiley's account directly from his mother, and an exhaustive search of all other sources, the editor reconstructed an account which appears deserving of serious consideration. William E. Connelley, ed. The Founding of Harmon's Station With An Account of The Indian Captivity of Mrs. Jennie Wiley And The Exploration And Settlement of The Big Sandy Valley In The Virginias And Kentucky (New York: The Torch Press, 1910), pp. I-VIII, 38, 46, 50.
perhaps considered a nuisance. That young children were sometimes
carried into the Ohio villages is evidenced by the example of John
Leeth's wife. At marriage Mrs. Leeth was 17 or 18 years of age and had
been taken captive when she was about 20 months old.\textsuperscript{50} John Slover
reported that in 1782 a British message from Detroit strongly advised
against taking any more prisoners because of scarce provisions, the
danger of escaped prisoners carrying away valuable military intelligence,
and the allegation that the rebels never took Indian captives. Slover,
who spoke several Indian languages, specified that the directive
encouraged the Indians to "Take no more prisoners, my children, of any
sort; man, woman or child." The Indians concluded to show no further
mercy even to "a child of a span or three inches long." This decision
was to be binding to the Tawas (Ottawas), Chippewas, (Ojibwas), Wyandots,
Mingoès, Delawares, Munsees, and a portion of the Cherokees.\textsuperscript{51}

Apparently O.M. Spencer's father was sufficiently knowledgable
and cool-headed to insist that his son's captors not be pressed by a
rescue party. Only with great difficulty did he restrain his neighbors
from doing more than ascertaining that ten year old Oliver was indeed
captured rather than slain.\textsuperscript{52} Francis Slocum and a male child companion
were small enough to be easily carried away upon their captor's
shoulders.\textsuperscript{53} John McCullough related that he was present when a small

\textsuperscript{50} Reuben Gold Thwaites, \textit{John Leeth}, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{51} H.H. Brackinridge, \textit{Dr. Knight and John Slover}, pp. 49-50.
\textsuperscript{52} Milo Milton Quaife, \textit{O.M. Spencer}, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{53} John F. Meginness, \textit{Francis Slocum}, p. 64.
contingent of three young warriors returned after having massacred a schoolmaster and the children in his charge. The older Indians deplored the action of killing so many children. An aged and much respected chief "ascribed it to cowardice, which was the greatest affront he could offer them."\(^{54}\)

Prolonged military emergency may well have weakened the restraining effects of mature public opinion and encouraged a brutalization of the Indian youth. As Col. James Smith generalized concerning their internal governance structure, "...the principal punishment is degrading."\(^{55}\) A sanction of public opinion alone would necessarily come under the severest stress during an extended period of hostilities.

Often a conscious need to provide an adopted replacement for a deceased relative or friend occasioned a captive child's safety. Otherwise an individual Indian's assessment of the immediate tactical situation, his moral and ethical stance regarding the enemy, or the inducements of ransom rewards might effectively function to save children. Heard concluded that in all regions "caprice was a major factor or which frequently determined a captive's fate."\(^{56}\)


\(^{55}\) Col. James Smith, *Remarkable Occurances*, p. 149.

ADOPTION

After the Indians had decided to save prisoners for a return to their villages, the ordeal of the gauntlet awaited most adults. Children were sometimes subjected to this treatment in an abridged form. This physical buffeting normally took place soon after a war party had arrived in any of the various Indian towns along the homeward path. John McCullough stated that custom required the gauntlet for every grown prisoner of both sexes until the captor's destination was reached. If the journey led through several villages, a prisoner might undergo several gauntlets.57

When approaching a town the war party advertised its successes with scalp halloos for each enemy slain and captured. Upon this notice the inhabitants made ready to visit the gauntlet abuse upon the prisoners. The organizational format for the occasion consisted of two long lines of Indians facing each other. Both sexes and all ages participated in the lines which were usually about 300 yards long and

McCullough noted one usual exception being made for prisoners whose burdens were wounded warriors. Such prisoners were spared the gauntlet runs so that they might successfully bear off the wounded. One male prisoner observed by McCullough was judged to be about 25 and as having to carry a wounded Mingo on his back for between 350 and 400 miles. An example of a specific exemption from the gauntlet was the situation of Tunis Vrooman. He was made captive by Joseph Brant's force at Schoharie, New York on August 9, 1780. Since the Indians wished to keep an unruly stallion, young Vrooman was allowed to ride it back to Ft. Niagara. He remained unmolested the entire journey because of being the only individual capable of controlling the valuable horse. Archibold Loudon, Narratives of Outrages, Vol. I, p. 268. For an abstract of Tunis Vrooman's captivity see Frank Severance, "Captives at Ft. Niagara," p. 302.
terminated at the council house. The prisoners were forced to run between the lines while being struck with a variety of weapons. The severity of punishments delivered could vary considerably. Prisoners who were to be adopted were often scourged with switches or other comparatively light instruments of chastisement. If no decision concerning a captive's future had been reached, or if the village had suffered casualties incident to recent hostilities, a prisoner might be severely wounded or killed.

Captivity records of the physical abuse received while running the gauntlet vary from perfunctory observance of established practice to the infliction of deadly wounds. Most experiences fell somewhere in between these extremes. Charles Stuart reported receiving a bad cut on the forehead from a cutlass blade and a severe stroke upon the head from a billet of wood. Painful as were these injuries, they were purposely not administered with sufficient force to kill the recipient. Marie LeRoy and Barbara Leininger were allowed to escape with three light blows each upon the back. The girls reflected their belief that this treatment was merely designed to keep up customary appearances.

John Slover observed and survived an extremely brutal gauntlet experience. One of his fellow prisoners was painted black betokening

58 Beverly Bond, Charles Stuart, p. 66.
59 John B. Lain and William H. Egle, Marie Le Roy & Barbara Leininger, pp. 430-2. An additional reason why the two were not more severely treated may have stemmed from the Indians' need for labor. The captives were soon put to work tanning leather, making moccasins, cutting down trees to clear land, planting corn, washing and cooking. The girls styled their task masters "Indian nobles, after the German fadion," but curiously refused several French offers to remain at Ft. Duquesne. Their expressed rationale for remaining with the Indians was that escape from the forest would be easier than from the fort, and that the Indians were more likely to make peace than were the French.
his forthcoming execution, and was then sent first between the gauntlet lines. Slover, another captive, and the man marked for death were made to run the gauntlet together, with the doomed prisoner being sent about 20 yards ahead. Most of the Indians reserved their seriously injurious blows for the condemned victim. Several fired heavy charges of powder and wadding at point blank range while others determinedly struck him with the blades of their tomahawks. He was later that day burned at the stake. 60

Youngsters were occasionally compelled to undergo a variation of the gauntlet. John McCullough recorded a sad memory of youthful terror as he was entering the gates of Ft. Duquesne. He was then eight years of age, and his brother, who was captured with him, was only five. As they were marched between two lines of Indians leading up to the fort "...some of them were shoving in little fellows to strike us, and others advising me to strike them, but we seemed to be both afraid of each other." 61 Jonathan Alder ran a gauntlet when only seven years of age. It was seemingly designed as an instruction for the town youth, while

---

60 H.H. Brackinridge, Dr. Knight and John Slover, p. 44. Nathaniel Knowles has indicated that torture characterized by a pole or stake surrounded by heaped combustibles suggests an instance of Indian accul- turation of a European custom. Beyond the physical similarities, he notes that early explorer journals do not cite the practice of Indians torturing prisoners except among the Iroquois. The early Iroquois practices involved a platform variant thought to reflect a remote religious connection with Aztec human sacrifice. Knowles tentatively concludes that the late eighteenth century examples of torture and death by fire stemmed from revenge motives and had little connection with other Amerind cultural elements. See Nathaniel Knowles, "Torture of Captives by Indians," p. 219.

the older Indians merely formed the lines and hallooed at the progress of Alder as he ran abreast of them. He was followed by six small boys with switches who were to whip him if he should be caught. Alder recalled the incident with the comment "Now they had been very manly with me in this matter."\(^{62}\) As evidence for this judgment he cited the facts that he was thoroughly instructed as to the nature of the event, noted the boys were smaller than himself, felt the Indians were cheering his progress as he outdistanced the six pursuers, and was subsequently well treated.

Occasionally the gauntlet requirement for prisoners was set aside altogether. The ten year old O.M. Spencer was spared because of "great debility occasioned by dysentary" which caused him to be "scarcely able to move faster than a walk." Spencer indicated that had he been fit, he would have faced a gauntlet of "women and infant warriors."\(^{63}\) Thomas Ridout had also been severely fatigued by the march to the village. His Indian master had already determined upon his ransom and believed him to be a person of importance amongst the English. Ridout was even carried the last few miles on a horse sent from the village when it was discovered that his feet were so bruised that he could barely walk. Upon entering the village Ridout was painted red to signify his being preserved from execution, had ribbons tied in his

---


\(^{63}\) Milo Milton Quaife, *O.M. Spencer*, p. 73.
hair, and was merely required to sing and shake rattles before the council house for about half an hour.  

Another instance of an important prisoner being saved from the gauntlet was the experience of George Warner, Sr. He was captured by a well known Mohawk warrior named Seth's Henry in the Schoharie Valley on December 11, 1782. Warner was one of the best known and most influential Patriots in the region. On arrival at Ft. Niagara the Mohawk brooked the displeasure of the other Indians by leading Warner around the gauntlet lines prepared for his reception. Severance expressed the opinion that Warner's subsequent speedy return indicated that his captor had dealt generously with his prisoner so that he might himself receive a proportionately generous ransom settlement.

Captives who were not immediately executed or destined for ransom were sometimes allowed to exist as laborers. John McCullough reported seeing two maltreated female slaves kept by his adopted uncle. This old Delaware, reputed by McCullough to be of irascible temperament, nurtured an intense hatred of all Euro-Americans "for he would never consent to have any of the white people adopted into his own family. Thomas Ridout's captor had a Black man attached to his family whose status was that of an unadopted menial. This individual sometimes "took delight in vexing and insulting" Ridout and according to the prisoner even tried to endanger his life by turning the younger Indians against

---

him with lies. Upon the prisoner's application to his Indian master for relief from this harassment, the Shawnee replied "He is no more than a dog, why do you put up with him." 67

If captives survived to this stage, many found themselves to be candidates for adoption. Often the ceremonies which formalized the new social ties were misunderstood at the time by the prisoners. Fourteen year old Abigail Dodson, one of the neighbors taken prisoner with the Gilbert family, feared she was being married to a young Senaca during her adoption because she was forced to set by his side throughout the entire proceeding. To her great relief she found herself led away by another Indian. 68 Both John McCullough and Col. Smith believed they were being executed by drowning while being initiated into tribal society. McCullough was taken 40 years into a river by two young warriors and there held under water until he was nearly suffocated.

67 Matilda Edgar, Thomas Ridout, p. 357. Kenneth Porter Wiggins has commented of the period relationship between Blacks and Indians that "Indeed the Indian would be more likely to despise the Negro because he was a slave to the white man than to feel that they were essentially brothers in their common oppression by the conquering race." Jonathan Alder observed that slaves seized by Indians were primarily valued as another element of material culture deriving from Euro-American society. "Now a slave amongst the Indians or taken prisoner by them was a great prize, as he would go to a chief or a great warrior a great deal readier than a horse and for a higher prize although he was of no manner of account only the honor of having a slave." Kenneth Wiggins Porter, The Negro On The American Frontier, (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1971), p. 21. Henry Alder, Jonathan Alder, p. 26.

Upon surfacing he plead for his life and was told by one Indian "Me no killim, me washim." Smith was led into a river by three young squaws. When he opposed their efforts to immerse him the Indians along the shore roared with laughter. One squaw finally managed to tell him "no hurt you." With this reassurance Smith noted that "I gave myself up to their ladyships, who were as good as their word."70

Cleansing, removal of most hair from the heads of males, bodily decoration, new apparel and ritualized speeches were characteristic elements in the adoption ceremony. If a captive was to occupy the place of a deceased tribesman, the women often offered a lament for the dead which was followed by rejoicing for the advent of an adopted replacement. Mary Jemison's adoption was typical of many such experiences. She was first washed and clothed in Indian style. All the women in the town then appeared and "immediately set up a most dismal howling, crying bitterly, and wringing their hands in all the agonies of grief for a deceased relative." After a mournful recitation of the lost brother's virtues, all became serene as they rejoiced over Mary's presence. They named her Dickewamis signifying "a pretty girl, a handsome girl, or a pleasant, good thing."71

70Col. James Smith, Remarkable Occurances, p. 15.
71James E. Seaver, Mary Jemison, pp. 45-6.
Col. James Smith preserved the most detailed account of an adoption ceremony. All of the hair from his head was removed except three locks remaining on the crown. "Two of these they wrapped round with a narrow garter made by themselves for that purpose, and the other they platted at full length, and then stuck it full of silver brooches."

The Indian who plucked out his hair accomplished this operation by dipping his fingers into ashes placed nearby on a piece of bark. The ashes enabled him to obtain a firmer grasp as he removed one hair at a time. Nose and ears were pierced as they "fixed me off with earrings and nose jewels." It was at this point that he was led into the river by three young squaws, and afterwards dressed in new garments. The description of his Indian attire and the welcoming speech he received warrant extended quotation because of the excellent detail preserved in Smith's contemporaneously kept journal.

These young women then led me up to the council house, where some of the tribe were ready with new cloths for me. They gave me a new ruffled shirt, which I put on, also a pair of leggings done off with ribbons and beads, likewise a pair of mocafons, and garters dressed with beads, Porcupine-quills, and red hair—also a tinsel laced cappo. They again painted my head and face with various colors, and tied a bunch of red feathers to one of these locks they had left on the crown of my head, which stood up five or fix inches. They seated me on a bear skin, and gave me a pipe, tomahawk, and polecat skin pouch, which had been skined pocket fashion, and contained tobacco, killegenico, or dry sumach leaves, which they mix with their tobacco,—also fpunk, flint and steel. When I was thus seated, the Indians came in dressed and painted in their grandest manner. As they came in they took their seats and for a considerable time there was a profound silence, every one was smoking,—but not a word was spoken among them.—At length one of the chiefs made a speech which was delivered to me by an interpreter,—and was as followeth:—"My son, you are now flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone. By the ceremony which was performed
this day, every drop of white blood was washed out of your veins; you are taken into the Caughnewago nation, and initiated into a warlike tribe; you are adopted into a great family, and now received with great fealty and solemnity in the room and place of a great man; after what has passed this day, you are now one of us by an old strong law and custom—My son, you have now nothing to fear, we are now under the same obligations to love, support and defend you, that we are to love and defend one another, therefore you are to consider yourself as one of our people."72

Though Jonathan Alder was adopted to replace a deceased son, he described no assembled and wailing female mourners or speechmakers. His Indian mother boiled herbs in a large brass kettle, and after the water cooled somewhat he was washed therein with "some of the finest English soap that could be bought." She talked or chanted over the task for approximately half an hour. Alder was then dressed in new clothes which included "new mocassins very ingeniously made and covered with beads and silver buckles, and a silk handkerchief tied on my head."73

Apparently the customary ceremonies surrounding an adoption could vary considerably. In the instances alluded to, Mary Jemison and Jonathan Alder were both adopted by Senacas. Col. Smith was initiated into a tribe of the Iroquois linguistic group. Though not part of the famous League, the Caughnewago nation was in close cultural association with it. McCullough's Delaware adoption consisted of the dunking, a new ruffled shirt being put over his head, and the admonition that he was now an Indian.

72 Col. James Smith, Remarkable Occurrences, pp. 15-16.
73 Henry Alder, Jonathan Alder, p. 12.
Many adopted captives, particularly those taken when very young, were initiated into aboriginal society to occupy the place of Indian children who had not lived to maturity. As children replacing children, they were not expected to fulfill the achieved social statuses of adults. When an older prisoner was adopted to replace an adult, a question seems to have sometimes remained open as to the exact status to be occupied by the newly inducted member.

When captured as a teenager, Col. James Smith was soon reduced to a bow and arrows after getting lost and revealing himself to be an inexperienced woodsman and hunter.\(^{74}\) Although adopted to replace an important warrior, he was individually treated according to his own capabilities and potential. Such a practical gradualism was apparently not always the disposition of adopted prisoners. Not only were such social statuses as brother and sister established at adoption, but one narrative suggests that a conjugal relationship could also be arranged. In another account a prisoner concluded that whatever were his own efforts, he would still be treated by his adopting band members on a basis befitting the personality and contributions of the deceased Indian man.

Charles Johnston's Shawnee captors gave him to a Mingo during a drunken frolic. His temporary second owner was under obligation to provide reparation for having slain a Wyandot the previous summer.\(^{75}\)


\(^{75}\)Charles Johnston, *A Narrative*, p. 53.
The Mingo had professed himself to be without means to compensate the widow and her several children. Should the offender not make good upon the debt, he was himself liable to be slain with impunity. Johnston's original captors commiserated with their companion of the moment, and the prisoner was nearly delivered to the widow. After becoming sober, the Shawnees reclaimed their captive in a scene which threatened to produce more genocide. Johnston's Shawnee captors simply repented giving up such a valuable piece of property rather than having had any second thoughts about the Mingo's proposed usage of the prisoner.

Thomas Peart, one of the company captured with the Gilbert family, made an initial good impression on his captors by displaying industriousness. However, he soon found that no matter what his efforts the "merits or demerits of the deceased "always swayed the attitudes of the Indians toward him. Since the Indian man that Peart was replacing had been of little positive repute amongst the aborigines, the captive's low status seemed to be preordained. Benjamin Gilbert, Jr. of the same party was ascribed the status of a future chief or king.

Other narratives substantiate the practice in Indian society of the family obligation or right to exact revenge for a homicide. John McCullough related an incident which involved the stabbing of a man who was told during the assault that a great grandfather was being avenged. Hugh Gibson recorded seeing the younger brother of an escaped murderer being tomahawked. This happened despite the fact that the brother was only "a boy," and had offered the plea that he was not individually guilty. See Archibald Loudon, Narratives of Outrages, Vol. I, p. 297 and Vol. II, p. 183.

The editor recorded that while young Gilbert "even began to be delighted with his manner of life," Peart became "greatly discontented."\textsuperscript{78}

Adoption did not always insure a prisoner's safety. This was particularly true during a period of military emergency. Since recurrent hostilities were the norm throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century, the captivity accounts reflect occasional instances of peril even after a satisfactory adoption. John Leeth was a Pittsburgh trader's assistant at his employer's post near present Lancaster, Ohio, in 1774. When word reached the area of imminent war with Lord Dunmore's Virginians, a Delaware couple effected a simple adoption ceremony by publicly embracing him and announcing the significance of their actions to a group of assembled chiefs. Somewhat later after Dunmore's actual advance, several Indians suggested the advisability of killing Leeth. His foster parents refused and protected him from "their horrid intention."\textsuperscript{79} Leeth was soon outfitted by his Indian father and allowed the freedom to become a trapper in his own right. He prospered and was again taken prisoner during the Revolution. His second captors ignored his adoption status and sold him to another Indian who nevertheless immediately freed him.\textsuperscript{80} In 1785 Leeth and his young family were taken into custody by Wyandots while trading on the Tuscarawas. A Delaware friend appeared with the promise to die defending the Leeths if bodily

\textsuperscript{78}Ibid., p. 126.

\textsuperscript{79}Reuben Gold Thwaites, John Leeth, p. 27.

\textsuperscript{80}Ibid., p. 29.
harm were offered them. Other Delawares hid the trader's merchandise which enabled him to later recover the entire stock. They were not, however, able to effect the Leeths' immediate release.

The famous borderer Simon Kenton was initially saved by Simon Girty's intercession only to be again condemned to the stake. In this case a defeated war party claimed his life in vengence for their casualties suffered in the vicinity of Wheeling. Despite his adoption Hugh Gibson recorded that he and other area captives were forced to witness the burning of a woman prisoner who had attempted escape. This occurred after Col. Armstrong's expedition had destroyed the Pennsylvania Indian town of Kittanning in 1763. The torture and burning was a grim object lesson as to the fate awaiting the captives if any of them contemplated leaving their Indian masters.

A captive could also be endangered by a new tribally affiliated status as well as be held suspect because of a Euro-American background. When in 1785 the Wyandots took John Leeth and his wife, who was also an adopted Delaware, the Leeths' adoption status offered them no immunity from confinement and other possible harm. They were carried as far west as the Mad River Shawnee towns before they were finally allowed

---

81 Ibid., pp. 43-4.


their freedom. At the close of the French and Indian War an elderly Seneca sachem announced his intention of escorting Mary Jemison to Ft. Niagara for repatriation. As she did not wish to leave, the village council declared she might stay with the Indians. The sachem insisted upon her abiding by the treaty agreements which stipulated a return for all white prisoners. At this point Mary's adopted brother defied the sachem by informing him that rather than compel his adopted sister to leave he would kill her "with his own hands." With neither side willing to relent, she saved her own life by hiding until the sachem gave up his search for her.

During Col. Smith's captivity, a winter hunt was conducted by a tribally mixed band composed of his own Caughnewaga nation plus some Ojibwas and Ottawas. Smith's adopted sister was married to one of the Ojibwas. At one point the camp was alarmed by what was taken to be the approach of hostile Mohawks. The captive's adopted brother whispered to Smith not to be afraid. Though the Mohawks would indeed kill all the Ojibwas and Ottawas, they would preserve the lives of the related Caughnewagos. Apparently Tecaughretanego was prepared to see his sister's husband sacrificed. Smith might have as easily had the wrong aboriginal identity.

84Reuben Gold Thwaites, John Leeth, p. 44.
85James E. Seaver, Mary Jemison, pp. 68-69.
86Col. James Smith, Remarkable Occurrences, pp. 69-70.
SUBSISTENCE

Anthropological studies of hunter-gatherer societies have considered both modern field research and early records of ethnohistorical import in their analyses. A summation of their tentative conclusions was offered as the result of a 1966 symposium. Several "formulations" were proposed which were thought to be descriptive in general terms of the societies which subsist to a significant extent upon the proceeds of the hunt. 87

Many perspectives were synthesized by Lee and DeVore which indicate a correspondence with the captivity account data of this study. These include the following statistical observations which characterize normative conditions found in many hunter-gatherer societies: a 30 to 40 per cent input of meat into the total diet as a consistent target of modern hunters; productive hunters usually accomplish their goals by averaging 2 to 3 days effort per week; women pursue their gathering activities for 2 to 3 hours per day; hunter-gatherer bands are commonly composed of from 25 to 50 members; a series of such local hunter-gatherer bands are part of a larger breeding and linguistic community. 88

Consequent features of social organization and life style include: personal property is kept at a minimum because of the continuous movement necessary to the hunt; the various interrelated bands come together


88 Ibid., pp. 11, 43, 89.
on a seasonal basis which divides the year into public and private periods; local bands do not ordinarily maintain exclusive rights over immediate areal food resources because yearly variance in the game supply can necessitate extensive movement; a considerable personal liberty is evident because property disputes are infrequent and all conflicts can be simply resolved by social fission or the putting of geographic distance between the parties in contention; marriage customs, geographic separation to settle disputes, and other social forms function to maintain or reconstitute band membership at levels appropriate to the economic exploitation of the habitat; the hunter-gatherer lack of concern for the future is a confidence born of affluence. 89

Alex F. Ricciardelli's description of an Iroquoian group's adaptation to white agricultural methods is similarly descriptive of the eighteenth century Amerind subsistence milieu.

Horticulture, hunting, and gathering were the modes of obtaining subsistence...Women were responsible for the planting, tending and harvesting of crops, supplementing this with the gathering of plant foods in the forest. These activities were organized around the matrilineal kin unit and the mutual-aid society. Storage and distribution of subsistence goods were also largely controlled by women. The men helped in horticultural production by clearing new fields of trees, but their major contribution to subsistence was in the form of game and fish. This may have accounted for close to half of their requirements in precontact and early contact times.90

89 Ibid., pp. 10-12, 43, 89.
90 Alex F. Ricciardelli, "The Adoption of White Agriculture By The Oneida Indians," Ethnohistory 10 (Fall 1963): 310.
A specific variant in the subsistence pattern for the Indians under consideration was noted by Ricciordelli as being the increased military activity evident for the males. Warfare engendered Euro-American economic commitments to procure Amerind alliances. Successful armed forays were in themselves often productive of captives and other forms of booty.

How much the men provided in sum toward subsistence during this period of intensive warfare is difficult to estimate, but it would appear that a significant contribution was made at times in the form of war booty (whether through furs taken from the enemy, conquest of new beaver hunting territory, acquisition of middle-man position with fur-trapping Indians to the west, or obtaining captives who were put to work doing horticulture), together with a more token amount in the form of presents from Europeans who wished to recruit or hold the Indians' allegiance.91

Editors Lee and DeVore suggest that modern pedagogical emphasis has often rested upon a depiction of the hunter-gatherer life style as being that of a necessarily precarious existence. This was apparently done in some instances to emphasize the effects of a harsh environment upon certain cultures. In other cases a blanket interpretation treats the hunter-gatherer state of nature as being compassed by a Hobbesian social equation of the nasty, brutish and short.92 Contrary to either of these two approaches, the findings of the symposium suggest that most of today's hunters and gatherers are actually living in a leisure society without serious food deficiencies. This is true even though they all now exist on only the marginal portions of their historic ranges.

91 Ibid., p. 311.
92 Richard B. Lee & Irven DeVore, Man The Hunter, p. 43.
Uncritical use of either the environmentalist approach or a generally negative reflection upon the quality of life incident to hunter-gatherer existence can persist in making the historic Amerind peoples seem incomprehensible and unattractive. During the period that the hunter-gatherer-horticulturalist peoples of Mary Jemison's youth were still occupying some of their optimum territories, she commented of them that "Their wants were few, and easily satisfied; and their cares were only for today; the bounds of their calculations for future comfort not extending to the incalculable uncertainties of tomorrow." When Jonathan Alder was captured, the unidentified white man operating with the Indians attempted to abate Alder's fears by depicting their destination as "a fine country where we could live easy and without work and besides a great deal of fine sport in taking the wild game." Though these two statements can be interpreted as being the idyllic and self-serving vindications offered by acculturated individuals, their reflections sound more factually orientated when compared with recent anthropological analysis.

Unfamiliar subsistence methods sometimes caused the adopted captives to undergo a considerable readjustment. Amerind society was sharply divided into two food producing social patterns which were differentiated by well defined sex roles. David Zeisberger noted in 1780 that men hunted to provide "meat for the household, clothing for

---

93 James E. Seaver, Mary Jemison, p. 72.
94 Henry Alder, Jonathan Alder, p. 5.
their wives and children, getting it in exchange for hides." He further remarked that men built houses and helped their wives clear and fence land. The women procured the fire wood and pursued horticultural activities with hand tools. The missionary indicated that the women's produce included corn, pumpkins, potatoes, beans and vegetables adapted from the whites such as cabbage and turnips. Mary Jemison, who eventually had a large farm along the Genessee River and employed a succession of white tenant farmers, remembered her routine as a horticulturist in the following manner.

In the summer season we planted, tended and harvested our corn, and generally had all our children with us; but had no master to oversee or drive us, so that we could work as leisurely as we pleased. We had no ploughs on the Ohio; but performed the whole process of planting and hoeing with a small tool that resembled, in some respects, a hoe with a very short handle.

She observed that since their possessions were few and diets so uncomplicated, little time was needed to keep up a household. This judgment seemed especially true to Mrs. Jemison as she compared the aboriginal female role with "that endless variety" of laborious chores common to women of Euro-American agricultural society.

Hunting was conducted with equipment deriving from both Euro-American technology and traditional aboriginal manufacture. Col. Smith recorded that during his captivity the Indians harvested beaver

---


"with wooden and steel traps." Smith has been earlier quoted to the effect that his adopted brother Tecaughretanego carried a rifle gun. On one occasion the captive and his adopted brother were smoking a bear out of its winter hibernation den in a hollow tree. Since the bear did not appear until after dark, accurate sighting with the rifle was impossible. As the animal descended the tree trunk, Tecaughretango set his rifle aside "and instantly bent his bow, took hold of an arrow, and shot the bear a little behind the shoulder."

European weaponry was not always an unmixed blessing for aboriginal hunters who found themselves caught up in the fortunes of war. Charles Stuart recorded that he heard some Indians openly condemn other tribesmen for aiding the French in reducing the British post at Oswego. The result was that all goods were higher when purchased from the French. According to Stuart an even more serious dilemma was the fact that in 1757 only one gunsmith was working amongst the French at Detroit. No other smith work could be obtained closer than Montreal.

Nevertheless, the lure of surer methods continuously eroded the utilization of aboriginal technology. Jonathan Alder remembered hunting deer at night from a canoe by use of what was called a shade board. The shade board was fixed in the front of the canoe and contained a lighted candle. With the aid of this simple yet significant European lighting

\[97\] Col. James Smith, Remarkable Occurrences, p. 60.
\[98\] Ibid., p. 34.
\[99\] Beverly Bond, Charles Stuart, pp. 77, 80.
device, the hunter could "sit behind it and you could push right up to a deer, that was the easiest and surest." 100

Along with their horticultural occupations the women's winter activities included food preparation and storage. Important among such employments were the making and storing of maple sugar and the collecting and storing of bear fat or grease. In these tasks as in the men's hunting routines, a combination of Amerind and European artifacts were customarily used.

During a winter season Col. James Smith described the women's construction and use of their own containers while also using those of European manufacture. Smith's band possessed two brass kettles of fifteen gallons each and several others of smaller capacity. These were insufficient for the volume of sugar produced for storage which eventually totalled "about 200 weight of sugar." Besides the processing of maple sugar, bear fat was also being collected. To accommodate these commodities the women constructed vessels of elm bark for the sugar and deer skin pouches for the bear fat. Numerous two gallon elm bark containers were fashioned for syrup collecting and several 100 gallon elm bark vessels were prepared to store syrup until it could be boiled. Bear oil vessels were prepared by pulling off the deer skin so that no openings were made except at the neck. These were then blown up and allowed to dry. Closure was accomplished by use of string ties and plugs at the neck. When completed the deer skins furnished a container of 4 to 5

100 Henry Alder, Jonathan Alder, p. 36.
gallons. These were transported two at a time across the back of a horse.101

Common European domestic items were often found in use within Indian households. The wife of Thomas Ridout's captor heated her tea water "in a small copper kettle." Ridout was served venison on a pewter plate. His meat was prepared in a metallic frying pan which was unusual because the Indian mode of cooking was nearly always that of boiling or roasting.102 O.M. Spencer mentions that his captor's mother, in whose charge he had been placed, provided several guests with "horn, wooden and pewter spoons." Use of acculturated artifacts in this instance is even more likely because Cooh-coo-cheeh's daughter was married to George Ironside, a resident English trader.103 He took some responsibility for his mother-in-law's maintenance.

Euro-Americans usually experienced difficulties in adjusting to what they considered the filthiness of Indian cookery and the unusual food items. O.M. Spencer's testimony indicates that he generally found Indian fare to be quite good. The Green Corn Festival menu was even termed a "splendid feast." It consisted of

boiled jerk and fish, stewed squirrels and venison, and green corn boiled some in the ear and some cut from the cob and mixed with beans, besides squashes and roasted pumpkins. For bread, besides that prepared in the

101 Col. James Smith, Remarkable Occurances, pp. 36-38.
102 Matilda Edgar, Thomas Ridout, p. 355.
103 Milo Milton Quaife, O.M. Spencer, pp. 86, 107.
ordinary way from corn meal we had some made of green corn cut from the cob and pounded in a mortar until it was brought to the consistency of thick cream, then being salted and poured into a sort of mold of an oblong form more than half the length and twice the thickness of a man's hand, made of corn leaves, and baked in the ashes, was very palatable.\textsuperscript{104}

On a more normal occasion Spencer was taken on a visit to his captor's home, and as custom required was immediately invited to eat. The "refreshment consisted of some dried green corn boiled with beans and dried pumpkins and making, as I thought, a very excellent dish."\textsuperscript{105} Col. James Smith recorded what he thought to be good food. Bear fat was saturated with maple sugar and served as a dip for roasted venison. He also liked cranberries mixed with sugar.\textsuperscript{106} Charles Johnston reported bear fat to be quite an acceptable substitute for butter when used in conjunction with venison.\textsuperscript{107}

Other captives were not so fortunate in their experiences. Hugh Gibson found that his Delaware captors often suffered want during the French and Indian War. Their dietary habits under these circumstances were especially difficult for Gibson.

\begin{enumerate}
\item Ibid., p. 107.
\item Ibid., p. 89.
\item Col. James Smith, \textit{Remarkable Occurances}, pp. 37, 58.
\item Charles Johnston, \textit{A Narrative}, p. 38.
\end{enumerate}
dry them, and when they run out of provisions, they will take some of the dried frogs, and some of the deer guts and boil them, till the flesh of the frogs is dissolved, they then sup the broth. 108

On the journey to Ft. Niagara Sarah Gilbert was afrighted by the suggestion of her Indian guard that should hunting continue to fail, the two of them would be forced to canabalize the 11 year old Benjamin Gilbert, Jr. 109 Fortunately some mouldy corn was found in a burned out village which had recently been destroyed by Gen. Sullivan's army. Thomas Peart of the Gilbert party of captives reported that after the killing of an elk the weather turned warm and "it soon became putrid, and was filled with maggots, which they, notwithstanding, eat without reserve." 110

Matters of diet were dependent upon several variables. These included custom, the current military situation, and the personalities and abilities of those adopting or holding prisoners. The family of a chief who adopted Rebecca Gilbert and Benjamin Gilbert, Jr. had the single advantage of having greater access to British government stores. They were accordingly better and more regularly fed. Otherwise all women of the family labored throughout the summer to produce about 75 bushels of corn. In this endeavor they worked in common with all other Indian women of whatever rank or station. 111

---

109 Ibid., p. 134.
110 Ibid., p. 144.
111 Ibid., p. 125.
A practice common to hunter-gatherers of eating all available food stores often perplexed the captives. Joseph Gilbert complained of the irregularity of meals, and the usual indulgence by the Indians of "their voracious appetites, which soon consumed their stock, and a famine succeeded."\(^{112}\) Col. James Smith recounted an occasion when a Wyandot stopped at his camp while an adopted kinsman was hunting. Smith readily provided him with venison then roasting on the fire, but neglected to offer his guest either sugar or bear oil. Upon Tontileaugo's return he censored the adopted captive for behaving "just like a Dutchman."

Visitors were always entitled to the best; Smith was informed that a great warrior must never be suspected of basely hoarding provisions from anyone in need.\(^{113}\)

The captivity accounts confirm the economic influences of Euro-American fur trade and military patterns upon native society. The aboriginal attitude of allowing the future to take its own course was apparently still very strong, but the effects of acculturation were evident in the widespread use of material culture items and the credit schedules of the fur trade. In addition to other financial benefits that derived from military enterprises, Indians of the area were utilizing captives as economic commodities. Prisoners could be productive of

\(^{112}\) Ibid., p. 102.

\(^{113}\) Col. James Smith, *Remarkable Occurrences*, pp. 43-44.
labor or ransom; a traffic in stolen horses was also in evidence.  

An Indian nativistic emphasis upon a return to aboriginal subsistence skills would make itself strongly felt by the opening of the nineteenth century. This was an important theme of Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet. During the period of the greatest White and Black captivity traffic from 1755 to 1795, only one instance of a return to a complete reliance upon native crafts is recorded in these narratives. This effort signaled an Indian attempt to forestall further economic dependence upon Euro-American technology. John McCullough reported a single band of Indians who withdrew from fur trade and military contact with White society during the French and Indian War. This group attempted a livelihood with traditional bows, arrows, and horticulture. They were reacting to an unnamed Delaware Prophet who counseled such action. McCullough reported that several women "resorted to their encampments," and that his own knowledge of their new life style extended over a two year period. Notwithstanding this early precursor

---

114 Marie LeRoy and Barbara Leininger were hired out to work for members of the French garrison at Ft. Duquesne while their Indian master received the wages. Mary Kennan "was bought by a Delaware squaw, and by her was put to the most menial and laborious offices." Charles Stuart indicated that in the conduct of the raid in which he was captured, the Indians took over 100 horses. Charles Johnston described his captor's sale of horses to a Wyandot trading Indian for five gallons of whiskey per horse. See John B. Lain and William H. Egle, Marie LeRoy and Barbara Leininger, p. 342; Richard Van Der Beets, Held Captive By Indians, p. 326; Beverly Bond, Charles Stuart, p. 62; and Charles Johnston, A Narrative, pp. 58-9.

115 William W. Newcomb, Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians, p. 94.

of a periodic nativist trend, the bulk of the Indians remained attached to the Euro-American acculturated life style.

Economic acculturation is perhaps best illustrated with the evidence indicating a Euro-American exchange medium and widespread usage of the fur trade credit structure. O.M. Spencer's captors encountered "a small company of Indian hunters" when bringing the new prisoner up the Great Miami River Valley. The Mohawk delivered a complete accounting of his exploits, and then purchased "of them for a small silver brooch a few pieces of dried venison." 117 Spencer later observed of Indian economic transactions that a hybrid barter and silver circulating medium was common during his 1792 sojourn. Trade was carried on with "venison and skins and brooches." 118 Charles Johnston described his ransom by the trader Francis Duchouquet as being accomplished when "The price was paid down in six hundred silver brooches; which answers all the purposes of a circulating medium with them." 119 At Mathew Bunn's ransom the Indians received $120.00 and provided the purchasing trader with a receipt "bill of me." 120

Commerce was facilitated by resident fur traders who lived in proximity to the scattered Indian bands during the winter hunting season. Johnston described the trader's operations after having observed his

117Milo Milton Quaife, O.M. Spencer, p. 72.
118Ibid., p. 86.
119Charles Johnston, A Narrative, p. 60.
120Frank H. Severance, Mathew Bunn, p. 407.
ransoming benefactor Francis Duchouquet. This trader, in common with others of his profession, met the Indians during the fall and equipped them on credit for the winter hunt. The Indians returned in the spring and paid for their earlier purchases "as well as for the few light articles necessary to them through the summer."\textsuperscript{121} Most collections and transactions were complete by the beginning of June. The traders then transported their peltry to a central depot such as Detroit or Pittsburgh. Johnston found that the Indians were thought of as being "in general, punctual to their engagements." David Zeisberger commented that "If a debtor is unable to pay, the creditor duns his friends, who must pay and rarely refuse to do so."\textsuperscript{122}

Col. James Smith described the Indians as being prodigal with their assets after the winter hunt.\textsuperscript{123} When the Indians again gathered after the rigors of the hunt they gave over to feasting and open handed consumption of all they possessed. Any visitor to an Indian abode received an invitation to eat as long as anything remained. Failure to accept the invitation was tantamount to an insult or a signal of grave displeasure. Smith indicated that the Indians were well able to afford this expensive leisure. During the spring of 1757 he recorded that after having paid for "fine clothes, ammunition, paint, tobacco, etc." in addition to a new gun for himself, the Indians "had parted with only

\textsuperscript{121}Charles Johnston, \textit{A Narrative}, p. 66.

\textsuperscript{122}A.B. Hulbert and W.H. Schwarze, \textit{David Zeisberger's History}, p. 92.

\textsuperscript{123}Col. James Smith, \textit{Remarkable Occurrences}, p. 45.
about one third of our beaver." Much of this surplus was subsequently
spent on alcoholic sprees. When an individual's band had consumed its
own resources, the Indian had only to visit another nearby camp and be
invited for the ensuing revelry. Deleterious results were often the
upshot for those who joined this prolonged drinking bout. Smith indi­
cates lost or damaged clothing, personal injuries and several squaws
who "neglected their corn planting."

SEXUAL CODES

The captivity narratives offer little evidence that indicated a
sense of coercion regarding sexual relationships. Notice has already
been taken of the instance wherein the person of Charles Johnston was to
have been given to a widow in a reparation settlement for her slain
husband. Since the transaction did not actually occur, it is unclear
whether Johnston was to have literally become the widow's replacement
husband as he seemed to imagine. He may have been destined to merely
occupy a servile status supportive of the widow and her children.
Since a traffic in captives for ransom and labor was well established
by the 1790's, the latter course of action is a strong likelihood.

Johnston does mention in some detail the circumstances of Peggy
Fleming, a young woman who was captured with his party. She was aloted
to three Cherokees at the time of seizure, and Johnston afterwards met
her again at Sandusky. Though seemingly in good spirits immediately

124 Ibid., pp. 75-77.
after the capture, at their second meeting Johnston found her emaciated and utterly forlorn. White traders at Sandusky successfully prevailed upon the Wyandot leader King Crane to effect her release. At this time she was found staked to the ground, painted black and completely naked. The blackening betokened the fact that the Cherokees intended her death. Johnston had on an earlier occasion attempted conversation with her, "but she answered my inquiries only with tears; leaving my mind to its own inferences."125

As Johnston clearly indicated, it could not be determined whether Peggy Fleming's wretched condition stemmed from sexual maltreatment. Chief Crane's intercession for her release had enraged the Cherokees. Their decision to execute her may be parallel to the situation wherein Mary Jemison's Indian brother promised to murder her rather than see her surrendered. It is possible that Peggy Fleming, like Joseph Gilbert, received ill treatment because she refused to consider the prospect of permanently residing within Amerind society. Gilbert was adopted as a chief's son and was encouraged to marry within the aboriginal population. He abruptly refused to consider such a possibility, and evidenced a general show of dislike for his captors.126 Apparently Daniel Boone's better grasp of aboriginal social practice aided him in saving the salt making party in 1778. He assured the Indians that by adopting the company of young male prisoners, the entire group of their relatives

would willingly follow them into a native cultural allegiance.\textsuperscript{127} The Indians were aware that many permanent marital unions and other forms of successful acculturation between the races had occurred in the regions contiguous to the Great Lakes.\textsuperscript{128}

Within this survey the only specifically recorded instance of coercion in marriage was reported by Mrs. Ketty Bard. She met a female captive of prior acquaintance who had been several years a prisoner and had given birth to a child as the result of an Indian marriage. The captive stipulated to Mrs. Bard that women were forced to marry as soon as they learned the Indian language. She also alleged that the Indians had tied her to a stake and had threatened to burn her before she consented to the marriage. Mrs. Bard noted of her own captivity of 2 years and five months that "She was treated during this time, by her adopted relatives with much kindness; even more than she had reason to expect."\textsuperscript{129}

\textsuperscript{127}John Bakless, \textit{Daniel Boone}, p. 164.

\textsuperscript{128}O.M. Spencer saw both English and French traders within at least semi-acculturated social circumstances with the natives. The Indians were themselves merging into an intertribal or pan-Indian identity. As has been noted, Spencer's captor had a sister married to the English trader George Ironside. Spencer was liberated by a French trader who conducted him towards Detroit. His captor was a Mohawk residing permanently with Shawnees as was the custom with so many Senecas. Lewis Saum found that the fur trade literature revealed no cultural "dichotomy between tolerant Frenchmen and bigoted Anglo-Saxons" as regarded Euro-American opinions of Indian peoples. It is tempting to speculate what homogeneous population and culture might have developed from these various sources had not the overwhelming pressure of an expanding agricultural frontier pressed for the removal of all those subsisting on the fur trade. Lewis O. Saum, \textit{The Fur Trader and the Indian}, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), p. 70.

Her good treatment was despite the fact that she accepted the advice not to learn the Indian language.

The captives reported Amerind courtship and marriage patterns which to them seemed characterized by an unfamiliar permissiveness. They also indicated that native practices reflected moral sexual codes which were vigorously upheld. Thomas Ridout described a daughter of his captor who was about eighteen and "of a very agreeable form and manners." She was on one occasion instrumental in saving Ridout from a drunken Indian who professed an intent to murder him. Notwithstanding this near comparison with the story of Pocahontas as recorded by John Smith, Ridout took occasion to note that not only was his benefactress not infatuated with him, but that as related to the personal morals of the Indians generally, "I never once witnessed an indecent or improper action amongst any of the Indians, whether young or old." John McCullough reported that incest was considered a transgression for which the death penalty would be invoked. Jonathan Alder stated that widows scrupulously observed a year long mourning period.

Prior to marriage Indian men and women apparently experienced a considerable leeway in sexual encounters. It was this practice, along with the personal forwardness of women in initiating a courtship process,

132 Henry Alder, Jonathan Alder, p. 34.
that many captives found to be unique. Col. James Smith indicated that
Indian women more commonly addressed a suit of courtship to men of their
choice, rather than the reverse.\textsuperscript{133} John McCullough explained that if a
man chose to marry, his usual course was to first consult his mother or
other female relative. These acted as matchmakers by suggesting a series
of suitable brides. The prospective husband then choose from among the
women deemed eligible, customarily selecting more than one should he
receive an initial refusal. A gift of clothing was then forwarded to
the intended bride by way of the groom's female relative. Acceptance by
a bride involved her seeking the groom at his lodging during the following
night, and also preparing a provision of corn meal cakes for the following
morning. During the following day the groom was expected to kill a deer
and present it at the bride's home. These observances furnished a public
notice of matrimony.\textsuperscript{134}

Jonathan Alder's narrative substantially concurred with this
matrimonial and courtship description, particularly with respect to the
aggressiveness customarily displayed by women. "A squaw is just as likely
to go sparking as a man and it is just as respectable as it is for the
men and she will make her business known to you and if it is acceptable
when bedtime comes she goes to bed with you, there is no setting up and

\textsuperscript{133}Col. James Smith, \textit{Remarkable Occurances}, p. 140.

losing sleep..." Alder further disclosed that divorce was an uncomplicated matter of personal agreement between the partners. His own divorce resulted when his Indian wife finally refused to continue cooking for the white men who were hired hands. She bade him choose between Amerind and Euro-American society. Alder reflected that his desire to accumulate personal property overcame the native attitude which did not value such an enterprise. A mutual agreement and division of portable property consumated their divorce. Even under such permissive circumstances, Alder judged that Indian separations were not more frequent on the whole than among Euro-Americans.

J. Norman Heard has indicated that captivity testimony establishes that women prisoners were almost never abused by rape in the Northeastern Woodlands. He does suggest that pressure to marry must have been present in some instances, but that a wide variation of practice in this matter seems to have prevailed. Mrs. Bard's informant described a brutal form of compulsion to submit to marriage, though Mrs. Bard was herself never to experience even the hint that she should marry. Mary Jemison had her first husband proposed to her by the two adopted Seneca sisters.

---

135 Henry Alder, Jonathan Alder, p. 33. Col. James Smith preserved the single instance encountered in this survey of Indians acting in a ribald fashion. In this case Smith was in company with a young Caughnawaga male just past adolescence. Three Ojibwa squaws attempted to capture him with the object of discovering whether he had fully reached manhood. Their tactics involved stripping the victim after overpowering him. After a near escape he explained to Smith that "Ojibwa squaws were very bad women" despite their show of good humor. Col. James Smith, Remarkable Occurrences, pp. 72-3.


though entertaining misgivings which derived from her fear to disobey, she soon grew to love her husband upon his proving to be a very gentle person. Her second marriage to the incredibly violence prone Seneca war captain Hiokotoo was domestically a tranquil success for nearly fifty years. "Although war was his trade from his youth till old age and decrepitude stopt his career, he uniformly treated me with tenderness, and never offered an insult." Marie Le Roy and Barbara Leininger apparently experienced no sexual related difficulties with the Indian men; the girls chose to remain with the aborigines rather than with the French garrison at Ft. Duquesne. Marie Le Roy was even saved from execution after an escape attempt by a young Indian who "begged so earnestly for her life that she was pardoned, after having promised not to escape again, and to stop her crying." 

The Indians may well have been reticent about marriage with white captives as opposed to unions with fur traders. Treaty provisions often entailed forced separations. Doubts about the level of true acceptance of Amerind society by even the most trusted captives must have plagued the Indians. Such ingenious deceptions as practiced by Daniel Boone in feigning his contentment with adoption would serve as constant reminders. Few Indian women would be likely to encourage a male relative to offer suit to an adopted white captive under such circumstances.

138 James E. Seaver, Mary Jemison, p. 113.
139 John B. Lain and William H. Egle, Marie Le Roy and Barbara Leininger, p. 430.
140 Willard R. Jillson, Filson's Kentucky, p. 65.
A racial antipathy towards all whites would in some measure contribute to forestalling intermarriage. The previously cited example of the Delaware warrior Peter, who was described by John McCullough as keeping two white women as maltreated slaves, and as never permitting any adoption of whites into his family, would be an instance of female prisoners not likely to wed. Though women prisoners might be harshly treated as forced labor, they were apparently never subjected to rape and rarely forced to marry in the Northeastern Woodlands cultural area. This approach to female prisoners is in marked contrast with practices common to the native cultural areas west of the Mississippi River.  

ALCOHOL USAGE

Indian usage of alcohol frequently helped to magnify the serious difficulties faced by prisoners. O.M. Spencer recalled the terror of one such occasion. Black Loon, the brother of Spencer's captor, returned late one night from a drunken frolic at a nearby Miami Village. He entered Cooh-Coo-Cheek's cabin with knife in hand and demanded to know where the captive was sleeping. Spencer had barely managed to exit the cabin ahead of him, and was forced to hide for over an hour in a snowbank. The disappointed Black Loon proceeded to stab the skins of Spencer's bunk. He then threw a cat into the fire and held it there with his foot. Charles Johnston's companion prisoner, a Mr. Skyles, was nearly scalped when one of the warriors became enraged during a

142 Milo Milton Quaife, O.M. Spencer, p. 111.
drinking bout. Since Skyles was staked to the ground, he only escaped by the intervention of sober Indians. These had been designated to keep a semblance of order during the frolic. Thomas Ridout was threatened with death under similar circumstances. In this instance, the inebriated warrior was initially forced into a retreat by the sober guard. On returning for a second attempt upon Ridout's life, the guard seized the drunken warrior "and tying him neck and heels together, left him wallowing in the snow for the remainder of the night."  

Most captives noted the practice of selecting a specific group of Indians whose task it was to remain sober during a drinking bout. These persons had the responsibility of collecting and securing weapons. They were also to intervene if those intoxicated became violent amongst themselves. The necessity for this practice was connected with the Indians attitude concerning the effects of alcohol consumption. Those drinking were considered to be temporarily beyond conventional social restraints and responsibilities. O.M. Spencer indicated that "when at their drunken bouts brawls take place and blows and wounds succeed, the injuries they suffer are entirely overlooked when sober; all their acts committed in a state of eburneity being ascribed wholly to the 'fire-water'."  

143 Charles Johnston, A Narrative, p. 27.  
144 Matilda Edgar, Thomas Ridout, p. 350.  
Spencer further suggested that recent personal altercations might engender violence when one or all of those involved became drunk. He described the singing of the intoxicated tribesmen which served notice of their approach and mood. Those family members or acquaintances involved in any disputation with the singer were thereby given warning to retreat or suffer the consequences.\footnote{147} The missionary David Zeisberger observed that feasts of various kinds often ended with a drinking bout. Zeisberger indicated of such meetings that "As a result of the drinking, there are generally several fatalities, for, among the Indians that gather from various places, such as wish to work off an old score are ready to make use of the opportunity offered by these occasions.\footnote{148}

Zeisberger further posited his view of an Amerind individualism which obtained in the responsible use of alcohol as well as in all other social interaction. "Some of them are sensible people and considerate, who act reasonably and have an eye to right and justice."\footnote{149} Lewis O. Saum questions a conventional interpretation which purports to describe the typical relationship between the fur traders and the red men. This view depicts the Indians as being regularly debauched and seduced out of their valuable peltry by means of alcoholic enticements. The previously noted observations of Col. James Smith revealed that after the winter hunt, the Indians were sufficiently affluent to afford payment

\footnote{147}Ibid., pp. 109-10.  
\footnote{148}A.B. Hulbert and W.H. Schwarze, David Zeisberger's History, p. 139.  
\footnote{149}Ibid., p. 125. 
for all necessary trade goods and the expensive pastime of drinking parties. Saum concludes that fur trade recipies for Indian grog have, in popular analysis, "drawn too much attention at the expense of less sensational, more realistic, often judicious and even just, day-by-day approaches to contact with people of a primitive culture." He points out that in any violent disorder occasioned by alcohol or the eruption of a military emergency, the exposed trader was most likely to forfeit his stock if not his life. Nancy O. Lurie comments that "There was no advantage in trying to befuddle Indians in order to cheat them, at least at the beginning of contact and for a long time thereafter. The Indians could simply take their business elsewhere." Jonathan Alder noted the local reputation of James McPherson who kept a store at Lewistown in West central Ohio. McPherson's honesty became so established among the Indians of the region that "in a few years after he done the business for them they would buy of no other man nor sell their furs and skins to no trader."

Nancy O. Lurie's analysis of native drinking patterns suggests that Indians who utilized alcohol should be recognized within other frames of reference beyond that of a stereotypic aboriginal drunk who

150 Lewis Saum, Fur Trader and the Indian, p. 151.


couldn't hold his liquor.

There seems to be a considerable time after the first encounter with alcohol before an Indian group gave evidence of really debauched drinking... As the Indians lost their lands and power, there may have been a discernable shift from using drunkenness as a simple, relaxed 'time out' period to using it to commit serious asocial and criminal acts.\textsuperscript{153}

She further suggests that among those Indians who did learn to drink, an acculturation process succeeded in merging the inebriating effects of alcohol with native cultural functions. Aboriginal social practices that provided cultural situations which might be facilitated with alcoholic ingestion included individual dream or vision quests, community religious activities and "apparently a highly expedient innovation to meet a felt need to reduce tension" by replacing "existing methods whose nature is lost to history."\textsuperscript{154}

This approach to understanding the nature of Indian drinking during the period under consideration focuses upon "patterns" rather than

\textsuperscript{153} Nancy O. Lurie, "Drinking Patterns," p. 65.

\textsuperscript{154} Ibid., pp. 65, 67. David Zeisberger recorded instances wherein alcohol was adapted to native spiritual observations in similar fashion to the utilization of firearms during aboriginal burial rites. Zeisberger related that "To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink offerings...If it is to be a drink offering rum is required. Guests are invited also. They drink together and some one speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum upon it." An example of Seneca practice which served as a tension release was the ceremony of "andacwander," a mating of unmarried men and women. Jesuit Father LeJeune indicated the andacwander functions in 1639, but captivity testimony does not mention its practice during the late eighteenth century. It is possible that the relaxation of Amerind behavior codes allowed while under the influence of alcohol replaced the rationale and hence the function of the andacwander and other ceremonies. See A.B. Hulbert and W.H. Schwarze, David Zeisberger's History, p. 140 and Anthony F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), p. 64.
simply "problems." Lurie reminds us that "We tend to forget that there was a long period when Indian societies dealt as powerful equals with representatives of competing European groups in negotiations for trade and allegiance in warfare."\(^{155}\) Though captivity testimony is likely to emphasize instances when the possibility of personal danger was aggravated by alcohol usage, all reflections are not limited to such occasions. Thomas Peart noted a customary practice in the late fall prior to the village inhabitants separating for the winter hunt. "Frequently before they set off in their hunting parties, they made an Indian frolic; when, commonly, all the company became extravagantly intoxicated."\(^{156}\) Lurie's perspective suggests that such occasions represented social junctures likely to necessitate a tension release mechanism. Such times also provided opportunities for a traditional status reinforcement of the successful individual huntsmen who paid for the alcohol. "The old pattern of the generous hunter-leader had been extended as he had more to give away."\(^{157}\)

Mary Jemison related that after the French and Indian War it was customary to have a single frolic on the termination of the winter hunt. This was largely a recreation of the men. After the Revolutionary War "spirits became common in our tribe, and has been used indiscriminately by both sexes." Since that period she had concluded that alcohol was

\(^{155}\) Nancy O. Lurie, "Drinking Patterns," p. 67.
\(^{157}\) Nancy O. Lurie, "Drinking Patterns," p. 68.
responsible for most social ills that beset the Indians, and that to alcohol she could "with great propriety impute the whole of my misfortune in losing my three sons." It is probable, using Nancy O. Lurie's mode of analysis, that the Senecas, Delawares, and others of Mary Jemison's acquaintance were able to manage and enjoy alcohol with overall effectiveness until after the Indians suffered irreversible military setbacks. Mary Jemison's sons were victims in酒精ically associated homicides well after the Revolution. In the wake of successive military disasters, which entailed much cultural dislocation in addition to territorial loss, an alcoholic problem began to emerge. Consistent alcoholic abuse seems to have become more habitual in the period after the Indians in the Upper Ohio Valley had effectively lost control of their destinies by acceding to reservation status and removal as wards of the United States.

SPIRITUAL PERCEPTIONS

The captivity testimony of ca. 1755-1795 reflects an Amerind society which was suffused with evidences of both material and spiritual Euro-American acculturation. As the Indians became increasingly disposed to question the value of their associations with white cultures, a nativist reaction sought to rekindle an aboriginally inspired spirituality. George S. Snyderman concludes that one function of this belief pattern

158 James E. Seaver, Mary Jemison, pp. 150-1.
was the bolstering of Indian resistance to further Euro-American territorial encroachments. However, by this period, it was almost impossible for Indian leaders to accurately identify what constituted a truly native religious tradition. Many elements of spiritual practice were of European derivation. "The message was clearly anti-white, but beyond this, the Delaware nativist revival may be interpreted not as an outgrowth

Indian land ownership was bound up with vaguely defined spiritual attitudes. A sense of unity with previous generations and those yet unborn made of the earth a general inheritance which theoretically could not be surrendered. All the tribes in the eastern woodlands adopted individuals or took under protection various larger segments of population. When this latter practice occurred, certain ranges of land were set aside for the newcomers. Those granting the new habitations, as in the case of the League of the Iroquois to the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots and others in the Upper Ohio Valley, did not relinquish their primary claims. Within these general allocations the new inhabitants divided convenient hunting and horticultural territories. Any group which abandoned a territory was opening the door for another band to assume its use so long as the former tenants didn't object, it suited the purposes of the new inhabitants, and the original granting authorities were not offended. Conflicts generated by native differences of opinion under such tentative land tenure arrangements were heightened as aboriginal tribesmen were pressed by Euro-Americans to alienate specific land grants. Experience taught that such lands would never again be occupied by Indian peoples. As parcels of land became an economic commodity like the beaver peltry, agreement among the Indians as to who most legitimately owned various portions of territories became virtually impossible to adjudicate. Some Indians disagreed over which aboriginal groups held the basic title as opposed to those who were temporary residents in superficial possession. By the period under study, adherents of the nativistic philosophy sought to encourage a pan-Indian sense of joint ownership capable of withstanding any specific Indian decision to cede further land. See George S. Snyderman, "Concepts of Land Ownership Among the Iroquois and Their Neighbors," in Symposium On Local Diversity In Iroquois Culture, ed. William N. Fenton (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1951), pp. 18, 20-21, 27.
of indigenous tradition, but rather as a basically European innovation expressed in native idiom."160

From Protestant sources the renewed spiritual energy of the 1740's Great Awakening atmosphere encouraged missionaries to seek additional Indian converts. 161 Such an influence was the Rev. David Brainerd, a Presbyterian who served among the Delawares in 1744-45. The Quaker espousal of an "inner light" principle may also have contributed to the mode of revealed preachments characteristic of the nativistic prophets. It has been suggested of these Presbyterian and Quaker sources that their combined impact was probably important in the creation of the nativist Indian spiritual leaders from Pontiac's time to that of Tecumseh. The European pietistic regard for individual and direct communion with God seems to have effected a cultural linkage with the native tradition of dream revealed communications with the aboriginal spirit forces.162

The Iroquoian cultural tradition which emphasizes dream revelation could have contributed to an indigenous native eclecticism in spiritual affairs. Among the Iroquois a great significance has historically been attached to dream analysis for seeking directions in future personal and band level social action. This trait was noted during the earliest contact period, and remains currently important among modern non-Christian


162 Charles E. Hunter, Delaware Nativist Revival, p. 40.
Iroquois. Thus Anthony F.C. Wallace concludes that in an inquiry undertaken for a given historical period, the pagan spiritual and ceremonial "repertoire of any one community might differ from that of the next because of the accidents of dreams and visions." \textsuperscript{163}

An additional Christian influence of long standing was noted by Charles Stuart in 1757. He reported that the Wyandots of the Detroit area were supporting a Roman Catholic Church and a Priest in their midst. Close by, however, he noted the Ottawas to be "a Heathen Nation and not Proselyted to the Roman Catholic Religion." \textsuperscript{164} Col. James Smith also reported that the Wyandots, along with the Caughnewagases, were "a kind of half Roman Catholics." On soliciting the spiritual views of his adopted brother Tecaughretanego, Smith found that the Caughnewaga had individually rejected this approach to religiosity on grounds of logic.

as for himself, he said that the priest and him could not agree; as they the priests held notions that contradicted both sense and reason, and had the assurance to tell him, that the book of God, taught them these foolish obsurdities: but he could not believe the great and good spirit ever taught them any such nonsense: and therefore he concluded that the Indians' old religion was better than this new way of worshiping God. \textsuperscript{165}


\textsuperscript{164} Beverly Bond, Charles Stuart, p. 74.

\textsuperscript{165} Col. James Smith, Remarkable Occurances, p. 52.
Unfortunately the journalist did not further record the specific basis for Tecaughretanego's intellectual negation.

Within this welter of competing religious systems, an Indian individualism in spiritual matters seems to have held sway. Contrary to Euro-American practice, Amerind cultures north of Mexico did not exhibit sets of meticulously codified theological positions. The testimony of the captives reflects their own ethnocentricity in these matters as they frequently noted individual and band level variations in spiritual practice. Hugh Gibson found of the Delawares and other tribesmen in the Upper Ohio Valley that "some of them have a tolerable good idea of a Supreme Being, and I have heard some of them devoutly thanking their maker, that they had seen another Spring, and had seen flowers upon the earth; I observed that their prayers, and praises, was for temporal things." John McCullough noted "They have some confused notions of the immortality of the soul, but they differ widely even in that point of their creed." When Col. James Smith was discovered to be smiling at an aged warrior's pagan spiritual observances, he was shamed by being reminded that the Indians had respected his beliefs by not disturbing him "when you were reading your books." Upon receiving Smith's apology and hearing his accounting of the method for "reconciliation with an offended God," Tecaughretanego acknowledged "he liked my story better than that of

166 Cara E. Richards, Man In Perspective, pp. 267-8.
the French priests, but he thought that he was now too old to begin to learn a new religion.  

Anthony F.C. Wallace has commented of native spiritual leaders that "Prominent shamans claimed the power to foretell coming events, such as approaching epidemics and other calamities." They were also consulted upon questions of personal health. John McCullough noted that "They pretend to great necromancy," by which he explained that these "conjurers" would undertake to determine whether property "was stolen or lost; if stolen, who the thief is, and where it might be found." He further indicated that "These conjurers are also considered to be doctors." O.M. Spencer described the Mohawk matriarch Cooh-coo-cheen, under whose supervision he spent the greater part of his captivity, as being "a very great medicine woman, eminently skillful in the preparation of specifics believed to be of great efficacy," and also "a sort of priestess to whom the Indians applied before going on any important war expedition, inquiring whether they should be successful." 

John McCullough gave a composite description of the conjurer's methods in curing disease. He was himself treated by two conjurers who

170Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Dreams and the Wishes of the Soul," p. 188.
172Milo Milton Quaife, O.M. Spencer, p. 78.
attempted such a cure.

they lay the patient on his back, or side, on the floor; the doctor, or conjurer, sits down, with great solemnity at his head, rattles a tarapine shell, and sings a conjuring song for about a quarter of an hour, then lays down his shell, claps his hands and makes a kind of articulation, or noise that nearly resembles dogs that are going to fight, talking by the intervals as if he was conversing with familiar spirits; jirking from side to side, as if he was making some discovery, occasionally taking a sip of water, which he had set by his side, and blowing over his patient. After he has gone over his manoeuver—he pretends that he has discovered the disorder; as he pretends that he can see into the inside of the patient—he then gives directions what herbs to get, and how to make use of them.173

O.M. Spencer recorded his observations of Cooh-coo-cheen's spiritual consultation on behalf of a large war party.

The old woman immediately entered her sanctuary, where she remained nearly an hour, during a part of which time, sitting under the shed, I could hear the noise as of a stick striking the sides of the cabin and the beds and particularly the kettles within it; and afterward a low humming sound of the voice, at which time I supposed she was uttering her incantations. Coming out soon after with a countenance unusually animated, though with a look of great wildness, she stretched out both arms and then gradually bringing the tips of her fingers together as if encircling something exclaimed, "Mechee! mechee! which the Indians, instantly interpreting to be "Many scalps, many prisoners, and much plunder," reported to the party, who, flushed with the confident expectation of success, immediately proceeded to join the main body.174


On the occasion of Cooh-coo-cheeh's prophecy, about 50 Shawnees from two bands were on their way to join the Miamis in an attack upon a United States military supply column. After Maj. Adair was successfully assaulted near Ft. St. Clair on Nov. 9, 1792, Cooh-coo-cheeh received an appropriate reward. From the spoils she received 6 new blankets, several pounds of tobacco, and a small keg of whiskey. Her reputation as having supernatural powers was also enhanced. Cooh-coo-cheeh's example is that of a spiritual leader who was achieving a repute beyond her own extended family, and as one to be consulted on matters of major inter-tribal significance.

Certain Indians enjoyed a more limited reputation for accurately foretelling the outcome of events. The narratives reflect that this was especially the case for the leading participants in war connected adventures. These individuals were not often noted beyond their band as having unusual interaction with the spirit world, but were regarded as personally enjoying a powerful supernatural protector. Col. James Smith recorded that during the incident when his winter camp was thought to be under observation by hostile Mohawks, an aged conjurer was left in his tent to determine the strength of the enemy. He pursued his rituals while all others lay outside the camp preparing to fight or flee. Soon the conjurer Manetohcoa called all of the camp members to reassemble. He professed to see on the shoulder bone of a wild cat that two wolves had observed the camp. The squaw who gave the alarm had mistaken them for reconnoitering Mohawks. On this intelligence all of the Indians went

175 Ibid., p. 117.
contentedly about their conventional routines and were soon asleep. The next morning revealed two sets of wolf tracks. Smith believed that the Indians normally allowed themselves to be deceived into assigning supernatural sources to information which was actually gathered through logical processes. He was on this occasion sufficiently impressed to note his inability to account for the conjurer's success, and suggested that Manetohcoa "was a professed worshipper of the devil." 176

John McCullough relates a story he often heard told of his adopted uncle. During a foray against the southern Indians, Peter announced that if the war party would follow him through the night, he would be enabled to show them the enemy camp on the following day. Peter accomplished this feat, and the war party succeeded in killing several of their rivals. 177 Jonathan Alder recalled one of his horse stealing expeditions to Kentucky wherein the party fell into disagreement. As the group was about to split up, the leader Shawosh indicated that he would commune with the spirit world concerning their future success if all would remain in camp and observe a strict silence throughout the night. Upon compliance with his instructions, the party was informed the following day that it would soon divide into two groups. These would continue to the white settlements in Kentucky, but would be unable to seize any horses or prisoners. None of the warriors would be harmed, however, and all would return safely. These events came to pass and Alder noted that

176 Col. James Smith, Remarkable Occurrences, pp. 70-1.
"Shawosh was killed a few years afterwards in a battle. He was the making of a great warrior."\textsuperscript{178}

The captives witnessed the Indians keeping faith through a variety of spiritual observances. Several prisoners noted the Indians sprinkling small amounts of tobacco on the evening camp fire as an offering to the spirit forces. Jonathan Alder noted that the wolf was believed capable of casting a spell upon a hunter's gun. If an Indian shot at a wolf and missed, the weapon would supposedly not shoot accurately for 5 or 6 months unless it was immediately unbreached and thoroughly cleaned.\textsuperscript{179} That such rituals were numerous and attentively adhered to can be inferred from John McCullough's comment that "It would be endless to describe the offerings they make to their various deities."\textsuperscript{180}

McCullough did note two "first fruits" ceremonies. He indicated that the head and neck of the first large buck killed at the beginning of the hunting season was devoted by each hunting group as a sacrificial burnt offering to the sun.\textsuperscript{181}

When the hunting season commences, the first large buck they kill, they cut the neck off the body, close to the shoulders, carry it home with the horns on; they kindle a large fire, placing the wood east and west; lay the offering in the middle of the fire, with the face of it toward the east; then take a tarapine shell, with a parcel of small white stones in it, and walk

\textsuperscript{178} Henry Alder, \textit{Jonathan Alder}, pp. 24-6.

\textsuperscript{179} Henry Alder, \textit{Jonathan Alder}, pp. 24-6.


\textsuperscript{181} Among the Delawares the Sun was accounted a lesser anthropomorphic deity deriving authority from the originally creative "Great Spirit". William W. Newcomb, \textit{Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians}, p. 59.
round the fire, rattling the shell, and singing very loud, until the whole is consumed. The rest of the family sitting round the fire the whole time without uttering one word; neither will they eat any of the flesh of the buck, till after the offering is entirely consumed. 182

McCullough also noted a first fruit ceremony taking place when "their corn is in the roasting ear." The Indians would boil a large buck deer, and then use the broth to thicken a corn mush dish. Before any others had eaten, 12 of the eldest Indians of the village were invited to partake of the meal. When finished, the aged banqueters raised 12 long halloos signifying a thanks to their "Maker for sending them such good provi-
sions." 183 The symbolic significance of 12 is thought to be an acculturated use of the Christian Apostolic number. 184

An example of an acculturated adaptation from a Biblical source was recognized by Jonathan Alder after his return to white society. He remembered hearing old Indians recounting a tradition which they ascribed to the Great Spirit. The Biblical source is Ezekiel 37:9&10, and involves the raising of many dead from their skeletal remains. This host is then formed into "an exceeding great army." When Alder heard it from Indian sources it was recounted as follows:

the whole valley was literally covered with the dead and that they lay there without being buried till the bones became literally dry and white and after many years the Great Spirit came and gathered them bones all up and when he had got them all properly arranged he stepped off to a large

183 Ibid., p. 288.
184 William W. Newcomb, Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians, p. 63.
Another kind of acculturated practice involved a belief in the devil and a numerous set of witches who were in league with him. John McCullough prepared a sketch of a Delaware prophet's "hieroglyphics marked on a piece of parchment, denoting the probation that human beings were subjected to whilst they were living on earth, and also, denoting something of a future state." McCullough never saw the prophet himself. He was shown copies of the "hieroglyphics" by Indians who had been sufficiently convinced to purchase and use them in spreading the message. Mankind was thereon divided into moral categories with the most abandonedly wicked destined for hell. Others might eventually join the truly virtuous in heaven after undergoing varying degrees of purgation by fire. It was apparent to McCullough that such doctrine reflected "some idea of the Popish tenent of purgatory." A satanic figure was labeled "Mah-tan'-took, or the Devil," and was shown standing in a flame of fire with open arms to receive the wicked. In the glossary of Shawnee terms prepared by Thomas Ridout in 1788, words for God and the devil head the list.

The charge of witchcraft was apparently a frequent incident in Amerind society of this period. Jonathan Alder indicated that "it was

---

185 Henry Alder, Jonathan Alder, p. 55.
187 Matilda Edgar, Thomas Ridout, p. 376.
nothing uncommon for an Indian to be put to death for some alleged evil that he had done as a witch." Alder cited the case of the aged Chief Leather Lips being executed in 1810. While encamped along the Scioto, Leather Lips was charged with witchcraft by an Indian delegation from Tippecanoe. After the tomahawk execution, which was witnessed by several white men, one of the Indian delegation observed "He in Hell now." To Mary Jemison's great grief, one of her sons alleged his brother to be a witch. The conviction of his brother's satanic identity was so firm that during a fit of drunkenness the accuser once threatened to kill his mother for having raised a witch. The issue was belabored over many years. It finally became so bitter that the brother accused of witchcraft murdered his sibling antagonist. The tribal counsel exonerated the son who preformed the homicide, agreeing that the unwarranted witchcraft charge was sufficient provocation for the act.

The important Green Corn ceremonial was described at some length by two accounts. This cultural element derived from native tradition, and seems to have been practiced throughout the Eastern woodlands. It was the culmination of a series of rituals concerned with the planting and growth of maize. The occasion took precedence over observances which accompanied either the actual planting or the harvesting activities. As soon as the unripe corn could be consumed, the ceremony was inaugurated to offer thanks for the horticultural successes thus far enjoyed, and to ask that the crop be allowed to fully ripen. The format of the observance

---

included a speaker, use of corn foods, and various dances. The Delaware ceremonial emphasized a tradition of placating the offended Corn Mother who had once withdrawn her favor and left the Indians. Iroquois green corn ceremonialism marked the half way point of their calendar year. 190

O.M. Spencer described the "feast of green corn" as being given about the middle of August. The extensive menu has been fully quoted in the subsistence discussion. Spencer indicates that the "more wealthy and influential among Indians of the same tribe" bore the responsibility for giving the feast. Relatives and friends of the hosting families were invited to attend. In this instance the Mohawk Cook-coo-cheeh hosted the occasion by inviting several Shawnee families with whom they resided. The English trader George Ironside attended as the husband of Cooh-coo-cheeh's daughter.

The festival day began with a speech from an aged warrior exhorting the Indians to revere the Great Spirit and to continue resisting the white advance. At the termination of his remarks, all the Indians joined in uttering a prolonged and shrill halloo. At this point a series of athletic contests ensued which included foot races and wrestling matches. Noon brought a cessation for feasting. After most eating was concluded, a keg of whiskey was produced. Cooh-coo-cheeh thereupon collected all knives and tomahawks. Athletic contests were again resumed, but these were soon superceded by dances involving both men and women. Cooh-coo-cheeh and the other elderly Indians sat upon a platform which was raised

about 3 feet above the ground. This offered the aged spectators a vantage point for viewing the proceedings. By mid afternoon the Indians were becoming intoxicated and the white prisoners and English trader prudently withdrew. The occasion ended with Spencer's captor Wawpawmawquaw being thrown into the fire and severely burned as the result of a drunken wrestling match.  

Jonathan Alder indicated that three days of similar activities marked the mid year observances of the Mingos.  

Alder also described a ceremonial "feast to the dead." John McCullough mentioned the Indians making "offerings to their deceased relatives; such as tobacco, bread, meat, watermelons, and sometimes wampum and apparel." In Alder's account a feast was prepared which was first set outside for the spirits of the dead to partake of their share. During this initial period of about an hour rememberances of the dead were solemnly discussed. It was believed that the deceased were present and could hear what was said. An elderly moderator presided who offered public thanks to the Great Spirit for blessings enjoyed since the last such feast.  

For fear some of the young folks might be a little skeptical about the spirits eating - for the bowls and dishes was always as full as when they was brought back as when they was taken out - he tells them that the spirits can eat and be filled and still there will be no less victuals in the bowls and dishes. After supper was over the old man would return thanks to the Great Spirit and then dismiss us.

---

191 Milo Milton Quaife, O.M. Spencer, pp. 102-3.
192 Henry Alder, Jonathan Alder, pp. 18-19.
Alder's foster father had enjoined upon him the obligation to make such a feast of remembrance once each year.

Interment of the dead occasioned elaborate ceremonial observances. The fullest description is provided in John McCullough's narrative.

When one dies, they dress the corpse with a shirt, a new blanket or shroud, a pair of new leggings and moccasins; tie belts and strings of wampum around their neck; paints their faces with vermillion, and then stretches them out. As soon as day-light disappears, two of the relatives of the deceased goes out of the house where the corpse lies, and fires off their guns, six rounds, as fast as they can load and fire. As soon as that is over, all the men in the town fires off their guns alternately. So that a stranger, not acquainted with their ways, would be led to believe that it was an engagement. As many as chuses to go, goes to the wake. The women occupies that side of the fire where the corpse is laid; the men the opposite side, where they pass their time at playing cards; the women are engaged at a certain kind of plays which I think needless to describe. At certain intervals the women quits their diversion, and sets up a lamentable noise or tune, still repeating the relationship that existed between them and the deceased, at which the men quits the cards, and sits with great solemnity for about the space of half an hour: then falls to their diversion again. About break of day they fire off their guns, as they had done the preceding evening. They dig the grave about four or five feet deep, directly east and west; they make slabs which they place on the bottom, and at each side; they lay in the corpse, with head to the east, and put a broad slab over the top; then fills the grave nearly full of stones, heaping the earth which they dug out of it on the top, so that when it is finished, it has the resemblance of a potatoe hole; they set up a long pole at each end of the grave, they paint the one at the head, if the deceased has been a warrior, with certain hieroglyphics—denoting how often he had gone to war—how many he had killed—if he had been a Moy-a-ooh'-wese, or foreman, how many men he had lost, and how often he had been wounded. For a year after the interment, the female relatives will frequently go to the grave, and lament over the deceased; they will sometimes take a parcel of tobacco to the grave, inviting some person, near of the same age of the deceased, to go along with them to smoke
the tobacco, believing that the deceased will get the benefit of it after it is consumed.\textsuperscript{195}

Other burial accounts include Mary Jemison's discussion of her husband Hiokatoo's burial. As befitting a "veteran warrior," he was interred with his "war club, tomahawk and scalping knife, a powder flask, flint, a piece of spunk, and a small cake and cup; and in his best clothing."\textsuperscript{196} Cooh-coo-cheeh had her husband reinterred near her dwelling after he was killed in the campaign against Gen. Harmer. Her dwelling site was close to the Maumee River at a point within easy visibility of the war path. She believed conversation with his spirit possible, and felt that he would be "refreshed" by seeing the warriors moving off toward the enemy. The grave offerings included his "rifle, tomahawk, knife, blanket, moccasins, and everything necessary for a warrior and hunter; his friends had, besides, thrown many little presents into his grave."

He was buried in a sitting position facing west, which reflected a belief that to the westward lay a paradise "which in the mind of an Indian constitutes heaven."\textsuperscript{197}

Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin found in her survey of Amerind mortuary customs east of the Mississippi River that cultural area integrity could be distinguished between the Southeast and the Northeastern woodlands. In the Northeast cultural area, her findings indicated a particularly close tribal affiliation and interchange amongst the Shawnee, Seneca,

\begin{footnotes}
\item[196] Thomas E. Seaver, \textit{Mary Jemison}, p. 112.
\item[197] Milo Milton Quaife, \textit{O. M. Spencer}, pp. 80-1.
\end{footnotes}
Delaware, Fox and Kickapoo. This cultural area "pattern included fairly elaborate preparation of the corpse for burial, a gift presentation ceremony prior to burial accompanied by dancing, and interment of the corpse in bark-lined graves."  

Wheeler-Voegelin's ethnohistorical study sought to determine whether any marked comparisons could be established between present date mortuary customs and those described in the historical literature. She found very strong evidence supporting a native conservatism which has succeeded in resisting most acculturating influences. Among the Shawnee while residing in Ohio, there was a period of "semiaadaptation to white culture" which extended from Ca. 1770 to 1830. By the latter date a conservatism in mortuary custom reasserted itself.  

Certain Euro-American elements are described in the captivity narratives which indicate a superficial acculturating influence upon Amerind mortuary practices. Similar to McCullough's depiction of the use of firearms, Thomas Ridout mentions the firing of guns to assist the spirit departure from a burned captive. Wheeler-Voegelin indicated that the usage of firearms "in a religious way" became customary by about 1730. Thomas Peart was called upon to construct a European style wooden coffin for a deceased chief. Even in this instance the coffin was

---


199 Ibid., pp. 258-373.

200 Matilda Edgar, Thomas Ridout, p. 364.

201 Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin, Mortuary Customs, p. 273.
smeared red to reflect aboriginal custom, and several days of mourning ceremonies peculiar to Amerind cultural practice were observed.\textsuperscript{202}

One of the most significant Euro-American contributions to Amerind spiritual practice was in the definition of a concept of heaven. William N. Newcomb indicates that like other aborigines of the Northeastern Woodlands, records of the earlier phases of Delaware culture suggest only a vaguely envisaged after life.\textsuperscript{203} Subsequent missionary acculturation succeeded in establishing a heaven and hell concept which was, with other borrowed European cultural elements, rendered into a nativistic idiom. O.M. Spencer recorded Cooh-coo-cheeh's descriptions of the Indian Paradisical hunting grounds.

These she described as lying far, far beyond the vast western ocean, and as being ten-fold larger than the great continent of America. There, she said, the changing seasons brought no extremes of heat or cold, wet or drought; none were sick, none became old or infirm; and well do I recollect that, pointing to the large poplars near us, some of which were five or six feet in diameter and rose eighty feet without a limb, she spoke of the largest trees of that country as being twenty times larger and spreading their broad tops among the stars. Corn and beans and pumpkins and melons, she said, grew there spontaneously; the trees were loaded with the richest fruits; the ground was clothed with perpetual verdure, and the flowers on the prairies were everblooming and fragrant; the springs were abundant, clear, and cool; the rivers large, deep, and transparent, abounding with fish of endless varieties; the fine open woods were stocked with innumerable herds of buffaloes, deer, elk, and moose, and every

\textsuperscript{202}\textsuperscript{202} Archibald Loudon, \textit{Narratives of Outrages}, p. 146.

\textsuperscript{203}\textsuperscript{203} William W. Newcomb, \textit{Culture and Acculturation of the Delaware Indians}, p. 64.
species of game: in short there was a paradise containing all that could delight the mind or gratify the senses, and to crown all the exclusive home of the Indian.204

204Milo Milton Quaife, O.M. Spencer, p. 128.
Chapter VI

CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation employs captivity narratives to present ethno-historical learnings appropriate for use in the secondary level social studies curriculum. These learnings treat Indian groups historically resident in the Upper Ohio Valley from ca. 1755 to 1795. The rationale for offering this study is to provide faculty and students with an overview of associated cultural theory and specific cultural area research. This is perceived as being desirable because secondary level social studies instructors frequently undertake classroom responsibilities with an academic preparation of only one undergraduate course in anthropology.¹ Though comprehensive social studies majors routinely acquire an

¹State of Ohio secondary certification requirements for the Comprehensive Social Studies teaching field stipulate 60 semester or 90 quarter hours "well distributed" over history and the social sciences. A "suggested minimum" of one third is indicated as being devoted to history with the remaining hours distributed in "course work in each of the remaining areas." Since most teacher training institutions continue to emphasize sociology, political science and economics, the normal pattern for comprehensive social studies majors is to take a single survey level anthropology course to comply with minimum state requirements. Paul W. Hailey and Martin W. Essex, Laws and Regulations Governing Teacher Education and Certification (Columbus: Ohio State Board of Education, 1972), p. 28.

184
extensive background in history, their comparatively slight involvement with anthropological perspectives is not likely to habituate their thinking toward the nature and educational potential of interdisciplinary ethnohistorical studies.

National civil rights and ethnic social issues have in recent years indicated the need to improve classroom presentations of the Amerind historical experience. A general methodological approach is suggested by this study to deal with this pedagogical concern. It is often difficult to initiate aboriginal studies without becoming bogged down in traditional value judgments concerning the conquered and the conquerors. The panacea of introducing ethnohistorical interpretations could function to stifle the dramatic human qualities which engage pupil interest. A judicious mixture of primary source evidence accompanied with uncomplicated presentations of scholarly analysis should serve to avoid these negative effects. By using captivity narratives for background enrichment, a teacher can offer documentary resources that combine great
adventure appeal with significant ethnohistorical import.²

The analytical approach used in this study is open to students and instructors without the obligation to first become full-fledged ethnohistorians. A reading of the captivity accounts in conjunction with ethnohistorical analysis should enable students and instructors to bring a critical accumen to the understanding of Amerind related historical events and the various judgements popularly offered. By following the type of interpretive analysis presented in this study, students should be able to glean additional insights from these narratives and other primary sources. There can be amplification and perhaps improvement upon what is

²Robert W. G. Vail has pointed out that with the beginning of sustained European contact with the Americas, the captivity narratives quickly became one of the most avidly read forms of New World reportage. Fiction writers began to produce spurious accounts in the wake of continued public interest by the opening of the eighteenth century. Charles Johnston found it necessary to refute one version of his own captivity which was published by the Duke deLaincourt as part of the latter's travel journal. Johnston had shared his experiences with the Duke while both were enroute across the Atlantic. In this instance Johnston believed the Duke's inaccuracies stemmed from language barrier difficulties. Fradulent captivity narratives claiming to derive from the era and native cultural area herein studied have been noted by Stanley Pargellis. Among these is the oft published 1793 account of Frederic Manheim. Pargellis researched this story with the aid of a geneologist. None of the characters mentioned, including Frederic Manheim, can be substantiated by other documentary evidence. By the opening of the twentieth century, the veracity and hence value of most captivity narratives as legitimate historical sources was generally held to be in doubt. They had largely become the purview of sensationalist publishers of lurid detail. Only in recent years has their historical and literary value again been recognized. No accounts were used in this study which have been rendered suspect by scholarly opinion. See Robert W.C. Vail, The Voice of the Old Frontier (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, Inc., 1949), pp. 27, 36; Charles Johnston, A Narrative, pp. III-VI; and Stanley Pargellis, "The Problem of Indian History," Ethnohistory 4 (Spring 1957), pp. 117-18.
herein suggested. Such work on the part of students should prove to be innovative in the best tradition of educational reflection. This process should serve not only to engender insight upon the realities of acculturated Amerind society, but also indicate more about the early Euro-Americans who engaged in the contact experience with the native populations.

The position taken in offering this study is that while none of the captives were qualified anthropological observers, they obtained data from a rare perspective which accords their testimony a singular importance. They had to grasp the essentials of their host culture from a position of unparalleled personal involvement and abject dependence. Even fragmentary data from this vantage should be considered of value because the captives had not only to observe and record, but they were impelled to successfully act out their new cultural roles in order to remain alive.

Certain of the twenty-six captivity narratives were found to be more useful within the context of presenting ethnohistorical learnings for curricular purposes. This was largely due to the degree of descriptiveness accorded to specific cultural details. The accounts of Col. James Smith and John McCullough were particularly significant in that both authors appended a synthesis of native customs. These concluding observations amounted to rudimentary ethnohistorical analyses. A present day reader is not left in doubt about what Smith and McCullough

---

judged to be of moment concerning Amerind society. Valuable as were the other extensive narratives, somewhat more evaluation had to be undertaken to ascertain ethnohistorically significant data from otherwise unadorned biographical outlines.

Four of the extensive accounts offer testimony deriving from contemporaneously kept journals. At least five others of some length were the products of records transcribed immediately after the prisoners returned to Euro-American society. The shorter narratives provided more random anecdotal details which were of utility in confirming and enlarging upon the more extensive recounts. While some captives and their editors took the opportunity to express religious sentiments or engaged in general humanitarian observations, most of the narratives emphasized the captive's efforts to observe and come to terms with their new surroundings. None of the accounts offered descriptions of incidents or characters which seemed to be imaginary or unlikely in the face of other captivity testimony. The narratives also compared favorably with summations of Indian behavior as offered by scholarly ethnohistorical research.

A survey of anthropological literature revealed that experts of the discipline do not agree upon a single theory of culture. The common mode of cultural analysis involves an idiosyncratic evaluation of those elements which are deemed most descriptive of a particular societal structure. Such reportage is admitted to derive from the unique configuration of a given society, the nature of cultural data obtainable, and finally a researcher's bias and individual ability. Correlations of the captivity narrative evidence suggested discussion within the
categorizations (warfare, adoption, subsistence, alcohol usage, sexual codes, spiritual perceptions) employed in Chapter V of this study.

Despite the lack of a single cultural theory or generalization, ethnohistorical studies of North American Indian peoples have produced useful concepts for evaluating the captivity narrative data. The "cultural area" concept allowed for the consideration of a specific group of aborigines experiencing what amounted to a hybrid cultural matrix. This involved primary consideration of the Delaware, Senaca or Mingo and Shawnee tribal groups. Individuals or bands of differently identified Indians were also present who freely associated themselves with these peoples. Other natives mentioned in the captivity accounts included Mohawks, Caughnewagas, Potawatmis, Cherokees, Wyandots, Miamis, Ottowas, and Ojibwas (Chippewas). All lived within the confines of the Upper Ohio drainage system, and during this period moved within ever closer proximity. This circumstance was due to a commonly experienced pressure from the white agricultural frontier, and the dictates of their similar hunting, gathering and horticultural mode of subsistence. The resulting acculturated society displayed assimilated traits from both Amerind and Euro-American sources.

Ethnohistorical acculturation models found to be most descriptive of the native social milieu as recorded by captivity accounts were the "incorporative integration model" and the "fusional integration model." Substitution of metallic for stone artifacts suggests an example of the

4The four models of Amerind acculturation patterns are discussed in Edward H. Spicer, Prospectives In American Indian Cultural Change, pp. 530-34.
incorporative integration model. It betokened no change in a native cultural pattern. In the fusional integration model there are new cultural traits formed from both indigenous and outside influences. Such combinations are usually precursors to a social system differing from all original sources.

Indian desire to obtain more trade goods encouraged the natives to become partners in the trading enterprises of the European Commercial Revolution. In so doing the aborigines began to harvest surplus furs, employ European credit schedules to accomplish this end, and to accept a broadening of their cultural reliance upon military activity for adjudicating problems. From the simple acculturational process of incorporation, the Indians moved into a fusional integrational stage which altered many of their values. By the period under consideration, Amerind society in the upper Ohio Valley had become what Alfred A. Kroeber described as "a partly new, assimilated, hybrid-Caucasian culture."5

Both the incorporative and the fusional integration processes of assimilation reflected the native's own discretionary powers of option. Other models of acculturation cited in this study reflected circumstances wherein the native peoples had been forced into submission. Subsequent periods after 1795 would see aboriginal efforts aimed at completely

5Alfred A. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America, p. 90. Anthropologist James A. Clifton, in recently commenting upon Amerind groups historically occupying the Upper Ohio Valley, noted that all of these peoples had moved into the area during the eighteenth century. Clifton underscored their acculturated status by this period in commenting "Let me emphasize again that these societies settled in Ohio at that time were not Indian." James Clifton, "The Post-Removal Aftermath," in The Historic Indian In Ohio, ed. Randall L. Buchman (Columbus: The Ohio American Revolution Bicentennial Advisory Commission, 1976), p. 40.
adopting both the forms and meanings of white cultural standards. Such a process seeks to completely reject prior social configurations, and has been identified as the "assimilative integration model" of acculturation. Another approach to acculturation has been labeled the "isolative integration model". This pattern of behavior endeavors to preserve what is identified as the remaining Amerind culture by a keeping separate of native customs from white social norms.

Captivity narrative testimony of ca. 1755-1795 does not suggest the functioning of the assimilative integration model. The isolative integration model might have some implications for understanding the spiritual nativism of the period, but as indicated in the Chapter V discussion of aboriginal spiritual perceptions, the Indians were by this time so influenced by Euro-American religious behaviors as to be unable to distinguish the original sources of many belief patterns to which they adhered. The nativist impulse sought a complete separation from white society rather than some form of social accommodation as represented by the isolative integration pattern. Amerind spiritual practices would thus appear to be the acculturated product of the fusional integration process.

The captivity accounts exhibited little evidence that the bands and tribes composing this hybrid society were undergoing substantial cultural alteration during the era under investigation. Though Indians were increasingly conscious of a mutuality in their interests, most remained uninterested in a return to some form of nativist precontact life style. The cultural synthesis described in the narratives had been forged during the first half of the eighteenth century in what William C.
Newcomb describes as the ca. 1690-1750 "Period of Consolidation". The important exception is found in the increased military role evident for the Delawares. The ruin of this acculturated synthesis of Amerind and European traits lay in its subsistence base. The practitioners of the fur trade, red and white, could not withstand the expansion of the agricultural frontier.

The seeming availability of western territory was not only an "escape value" for Euro-American easterners of the Frederic Jackson Turner mold; it encouraged a native resistance to altering what had become a successfully acculturated subsistence pattern by ca. 1755-1795. The Indian male was still a hunter and trapper, but he now functioned within a market economy. It was also possible for him to become a trader and perhaps an artisan within this new economic context. In addition, nearly two generations of war had established a military role providing wartime pay, annuities during intervening periods of uneasy peace, and the omnipresent lure of plunder.

Acquiescence to removal reflected not only the Indian male's desire to remain a hunter and warrior, but it also partook of a traditional hunter-gatherer mode of problem solving. This emphasized physical separation as a method of resolving disputations. It also reflected a hunter-gatherer perspective which was not specifically tied to any particular portion of land. Theirs was a subsistence approach which used resources found on the land. 6 This was in sharp contrast to the intensive

economic investments of effort on small parcels of ground as in the case of agriculturalists. The important female horticultural activities could be undertaken in many localities since they customarily involved relatively small acerages.

William W. Newcomb's analysis of Amerind society led him to the following conclusions regarding the Delawares in the Northeastern woodlands cultural area.

There has been considerable dispute about why the population density for the Eastern Area as a whole was low when the subsistence potential was relatively high...for the Delaware economy to support a larger population would have required male participation in agriculture, stronger government mechanisms to control larger cooperative groups of workers, various sorts of specialists, more effective political groupings for offense and defense, and perhaps other alterations in the social system. The small, individually orientated, kin group socioeconomic institutions were sufficient to operate the basic technology, but nothing more.7

This judgment doubtless reflects the social orientation of other closely associated native peoples inhabiting the Upper Ohio Valley during the late eighteenth century.

Contemporary scholarship is beginning to emphasize the neglected role of epidemic disease for reconstructing a more comprehensive record of the Amerind historical experience. These pandemics often presented native peoples and Euro-American immigrants with fatally decisive social results beyond the effective control of either group.8 The captivity narratives of this survey were surprisingly silent about any unusual


disease related incidents among the Amerind peoples of the Upper Ohio Valley. John McCullough offered the single reference to small-pox in consequence of a raid along the Juniata River in Pennsylvania. Some of the warriors attacked an infected settlement and were stricken with the disease. These were immediately separated "and put under the care of one who had had the disease before." This is a similar response to care for the ill that would have been undertaken in any Euro-American community.

Since all of the longer narratives indicate the uninterrupted functioning of native shamen throughout the period, the presence of Euro-American contagious disease cannot be said to have broken or weakened this important segment of indigenous Indian social structure. There is, on the contrary, considerable indication that an acculturated class of native spiritual leaders were flourishing. These shawmen healers were the product of a successful joining of Euro-American elements with aboriginal medical practices. The Indians considered in this study had experienced several generations of contact with Euro-Americans which often included a considerable infusion of Caucasian inheritance characteristics.

---


10 Clark Wissler indicated that "native leadership is essential to the preservation of tribal life." Calvin Martin likewise cites the necessity for a successful functioning aboriginal healing group to maintain faith in traditional native techniques and leaders. The evolution of an acculturated Indian spiritual/medical leadership indicates that an adequate social reflex was taking place for the Indians to remain spiritually independent. See Edward B. Reuter, *Race and Culture Contacts*, p. 123; and Calvin Martin, "The European Impact on The Culture of a Northeastern Algonquian Tribe," p. 17.
within the native genetic pool. It may well be that a sufficient immunity had been evolved to restrain the Old World diseases to comparative levels prevalent in the white communities.

Though racial antipathy was present during the captivity narrative era, the accounts do not suggest that it played a primary role as a socializing force. The captives did not come away describing the Indians in terms of innate racial characteristics. Neither do these records contain frequent references to native racial attitudes. The adoptations of captives is in itself evidence for the lack of native rigidity on this point. Despite the amount of Amerind geographic movement that had already occurred by ca. 1755-1795, a variant of the initial race relations pattern described by W.O. Brown appears to have been in practice. This stage emphasizes a clash to preserve land and resources rather than involving questions of status between superordinates and subordinates. The captives, like the fur traders described by Lewis O.

11Contemporary historical judgments still emphasize racially based antagonisms to account for the struggle in the Upper Ohio Valley. James O'Donnell imputes the American Revolutionary campaigns in the Old Northwest to land hunger and "The White man's pathological hatred of the Indian." He indicates that any suggestion of an Indian campaign "aroused the sadistic frontiersmen." Destruction of the Moravian towns in 1782 is described as "this My Lai of the American Revolution." Such characterizations are of dubious utility for assessing an entire society; they reverse the practice of negatively stereotyping all Indians by embracing the opposite extreme of totally denigrating white frontiersmen. See James O'Donnell, "The Plight of the Indians During the American Revolution," in The Historic Indian in Ohio, ed. Randall L. Buchman (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1976), pp. 18-19.

Saum, seemed "to recognize the almost endless variety within their way of life."\(^{13}\)

It is probably the continued independence of Indians to acculturate or identify with various aboriginal or Euro-American factions during this period which is responsible for the lack of captivity narrative testimony on the racial issue. The accounts suggest that the Indians were actually encountering as many white traders, military allies and others whose personal opinions and vested interests encouraged them to hope for continued native independence. The observation of the editor H.H. Brackinridge when publishing the narratives of Dr. Knight and John Slover is the single call for racial war encountered in this survey. Brackinridge opined that "the nature of an Indian is fierce and cruel, and that an extirpation of them would be useful to the world, and honorable to those who can effect it."\(^{14}\) John McCullough indicated that his Delaware Uncle kept two white female slaves, but would not consent to their adoption because of his aversion to all whites. O.M. Spencer reported that the Mohawk medicine woman Cooh-coo-cheeh believed in heaven, but that her variety of eternal reward was exclusively reserved for Indians.\(^{15}\) With the exception of these brief notices, the accounts do not dwell upon racially connected social judgments. To the extent that these narratives

\(^{13}\)Lewis O. Saum, *The Fur Trader and The Indian*, p. 28.

\(^{14}\)H.H. Brackinridge, *Dr. Knight and John Slover*, pp. 5-6.

reflect the intimate nature of Amerind culture and the Euro-American society from whence the captives emerged, it is difficult to infer a widespread attitude which at this period called for the extinction of either party by means of racially defined genocide.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Education

Methodology


Textbooks


Ethnohistory

Captivities

Primary


Brackinridge, H.H., ed. Narrative Of The Perils And Sufferings Of Dr. Knight And John Slover, Among The Indians During The Revolutionary War, With Short Memoirs Of Col. Crawford And John Slover. Cincinnati: V.P. James, 1867.


Edgar, Matilda., ed. Ten Years Of Upper Canada In Peace And War, 1805-1815; An Appendix Of The Narrative Of The Captivity Among The Shawanese Indians In 1788 Of Thomas Ridout. Toronto: William Briggs, 1890.


Lain, John B., and Egle, William H., eds. "The Narrative Of Marie LeRoy And Barbara Leininger, Who Spent Three And One Half Years As Prisoners Among The Indians, And Arrived Safely In This City On The Sixth Of May," Pennsylvania Archives 7 (Second Series 1890): 401-412.


Secondary


**Cultural Theory**


Cultural Traits


Amerind Ethnohistory

Primary


Secondary


Nagler, Mark. *Indians In The City: A Study Of The Urbanization Of Indians In Toronto*. Ottawa: Canadian Research Center For Anthropology, 1970.


General

