# The Archeology and History of American Indians in Southwest Virginia

Presented to the Smyth County Genealogical Society

> Marion, Virginia Saturday 14 May 2016

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Independent Scholar

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# **Dedication**

Lawrence D. Richardson 1933-2013

Charlie Bill Totten 1945-2015

## Lawrence Richardson



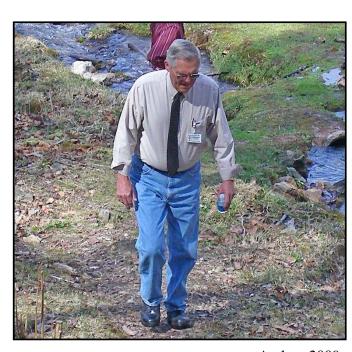
Picture courtesy of Lawrence Richardson

Lawrence Richardson, of Adwolfe, at right above, shown excavating at the Fox site in Smyth County in 1974, was a Smyth County dairy farmer and avocational archeologist. He figured out well before anyone else that the Yuchi were in Holstonia.

# Charlie Bill Totten

Many-year Saltville Tourism Director

Climbing up to the Palmer Spring in Saltville with Yuchi Indians in September 2009



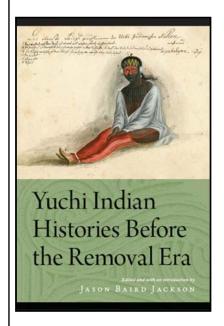
Author, 2009

### **Outline**

- 1. The Archeological Record of SW Virginia
- 2. The Neglect of that Record
- 3. Yuchi Indians and the Spanish Arrival
- 4. The Saga of the Yuchi/Euchee Indians
- 5. Genealogy and Modern Times

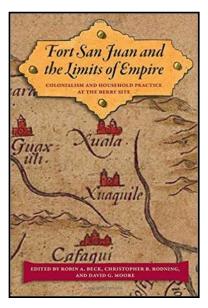
Recent scholarship ...

## Some Recent Scholarship



CHIEFDOMS, COLLAPSE, AND COALESCENCE IN THE EARLY AMERICAN SOUTH

Robin Beck



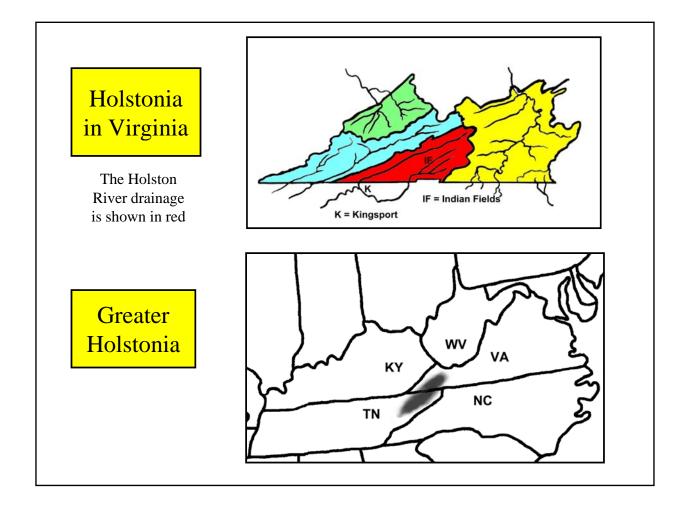
Essay collection 2012

Plus recent articles.

Single author synthesis 2013

Essay collection 2016

Holstonia defined ...



The Archeological Record of Holstonia

### Holstonian Archeology in Context

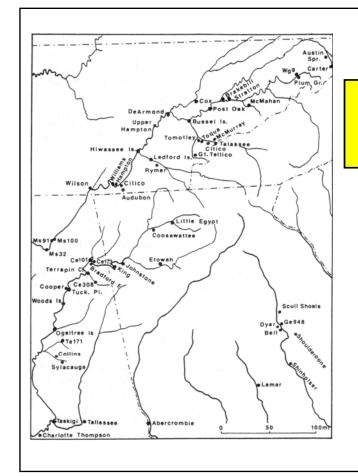
- Before the arrival of Europeans, we can only know the American past via archeology
- In its "medieval" period, North America had a large central empire
- It is given various names ...
- "Mississippian Culture" is one name

#### The Mississippian Cultural Empire

- Mississippian Cultural Period: about 800-1500
- It was the period of mound building in the Mississippi watershed and Southeast during which complex and sophisticated societies developed
- Historians are just now [2014] beginning to deal with these people as a major empire

Next slide shows a map of: "Mississippian and Related Cultures." Prepared in 2008 by Herb Roe for Wikipedia.





Traditional Mississippian
Culture Stops Before It
Reaches Smyth County

Marvin T. Smith, The Cottonlandia Conference, 1989.

But, as Barber and Barfield wrote in 2000 ...

# Salt Trading Enriched SW Virginia Indians

"Areas of Smyth and Washington counties, Virginia, have long been known for the recovery of abundant exotic goods dating to the Late Woodland period. These include Citico conch shell gorgets, copper disks and beads, and small funerary pots. The presence of these Mississippian origin artifacts in an isolated area of Virginia has caused some consternation in Virginia archaeology."

These authors proposed that salt was traded out for incoming high quality goods.

Mike Barber and Gene Barfield, 2000

Here are some of those high quality goods ...

# Part of the Space Farm Museum Collection





Web

Author, 2006

# Typical Marion and Saltville Relic Collections





Author

Author

## An Example Find-Site for Holstonia Relics: The Indian Fields in Chilhowie



I have seen and photographed relics from this site which have never been seen or studied by professional archeologists

Author

#### Why Was SW Virginia Neglected?

- 1. Holstonia has no mounds, and it was mounds that attracted the early American archeologists.
- 2. There were no large-scale federally-sponsored archeology investigations on the Upper Holston, unlike in down river Tennessee, where there was extensive WPA and TVA archeology.
- 3. No influential "dominant archeologist" emerged at a Virginia museum or university in the 1930s, 40s, or 50s. In contrast, such figures did emerge in adjacent Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina.
- 4. Virginia history traditionally looks eastward to Jamestown and to the Native Americans of
- 5. As it was once put to me by a local Marion newspaperman, the "hillbilly factor."

Author, speaking at Library of Virginia, 2007

#### Caves in Holstonia

- Hundreds of limestone caves exist in Smyth and Washington Counties
- Many were used as Indian mortuaries
- Most have been vandalized
- My proposal: Native religious practice went from mounds to caves in the move of peoples upriver

I later realized that an important reason that advanced Holstonian culture was missed because much of it it was underground

# Some of the evidence that leads me to conclude that the Holstonians were Yuchi

- 1. The evidence of the effigy pots, pipes, and gorgets
- 2. The partially underground dwellings
- 3. Premiere Southeast Anthropologist Charles Hudson placed them in Holstonia and stated they spoke Yuchi
- 4. Historian/anthropologist E. Raymond Evans states explicitly that an Indian woman from Saltville [Luisa Menéndez] was a Yuchi
- 5. A preliminary report (but not the final report) from ETSU stated that the Holliston Mills site in Church Hill was likely Yuchi

#### Who Were These Holstonians?

- I argue that they were Yuchi people ...
- Who likely originated near the heart of Mississippian America ...
- Were in central Tennessee by about 1400 ...
- Were in eastern Tennessee by about 1500 ...
- Were scattered through the Southeast in 1700s
- Were mostly exiled to Oklahoma by 1840

#### Deep Yuchi Origins

- Most Yuchis moved out of the Nashville Basin around 1300. Many settled in the Great Valley of East Tennessee from SW Virginia into Alabama & Georgia.
- Oral tradition says that they entered the Southeast deep in Woodland times bringing knowledge of pottery & Agriculture (corn) into the Savannah River Basin after island hopping the Caribbean to the Bahamas.

Recent email to author from Woktela, the Yuchi historian.

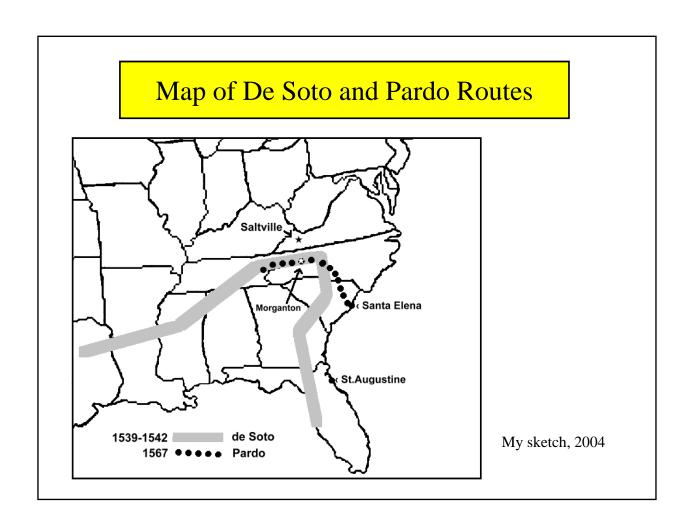
## The Yuchi Language

With innovative research ... a stronger case for a [linguistic] genetic relationship to Yuchi [by some other North American Indian language] may someday be possible. ... Until then, Yuchi is a genetic isolate. [Mary Linn]

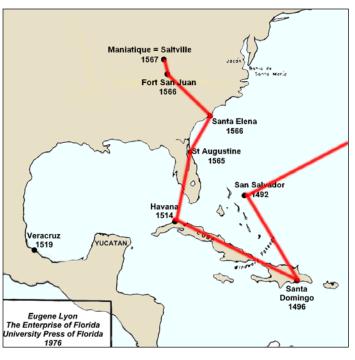
Linn estimates that Yuchi diverged 6,000 years ago!

Linn, Mary S. "Deep time and genetic relationships: Yuchi linguistic history revisited." Pp. 1-31 in *Yuchi Indian Histories before the Removal Era*, edited by Jason Baird Jackson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), page 24.

Yuchi Indians and the Spanish Arrival



# Holstonia Entered US History at an Early Date



75 years from first landing to reach here in SW Virginia

Map simplified from one published by Florida historian Eugene Lyon

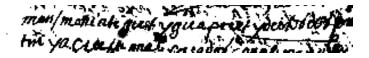
## The Spanish Documents

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Domingo de León. Petition to the King for a soldier's pension, 1584

Names Maniatique, where he fought, as the location of Moyano's 1567 attack

University of Florida Library



"maniatique y guapere"

# Juan Pardo in Tennessee, 1567



John Berkey. Artist. National Geographic Magazine, 1988. Modified

#### Luisa Menéndez: First Caçiqua of Virginia

- Gave recorded testimony in 1600. Documents exist.
- Married a Spanish soldier circa 1568 and moved to St. Augustine
- Was from a place where salt was made "using fire" (today's Saltville)
- Married forty years before Pocahontas
- *La-we-sa* means "dreams of good or powerful things" [Woktela's interpretation of her name in Yuchi]

# Northwood High School, Saltville Birthplace of Luisa Menéndez?



I told this story back in 2004

My picture

### About the Berry Site – Joara – Fort San Juan

- Discovered by accident in the mid 1990's
- On an ornamental plant farm in Morganton, North Carolina
- Subjected to 20 years intensive and well-funded archeology
- America's "First Lost Colony"
- Investigators: Robin Beck, David Moore, & Chris Rodning

# Information from the Berry site at Morganton, NC, (Fort San Juan) has revolutionized Virginia's Spanish period history



My picture, 2006.



My picture, 2006.



Over 100 artifacts of mid-16<sup>th</sup> century Spanish origin from the Berry site have been documented and published.

Archeology and the beginning of Virginia history...

# The Berry Site (Joara) and Moyano's Attack

The Berry archeological site (Joara, Joada, Xuala) at Morganton, North Carolina, has solidified over the past decade as the location of Fort San Juan, a key seventeenth century Spanish inland outpost.

In the summer of 1567, Alferez (Ensign) Hernando Moyano, acting independently of Juan Pardo, led a force north from Fort San Juan and attacked Maniatique [Saltville]

Both the de Soto and Pardo expeditions were at Berry, aka Joara or Joada or Xuala.

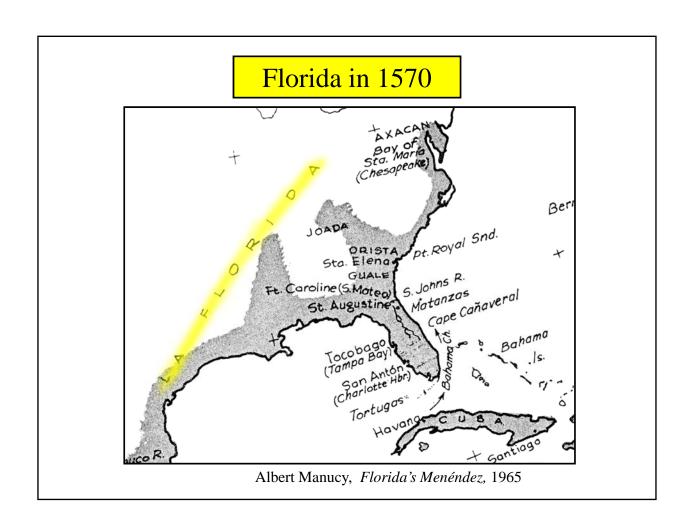
### Robin Beck Expanded Mississippian America

- "Archaeological evidence clearly indicates that the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century inhabitants of the [Carolina Piedmont] ... practiced a regional variant of Mississippian culture known as Lamar." Beck 2013:4
- The **same** conclusion is true for the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century inhabitants of southwest Virginia, though their culture was Holstonian, not Lamar.

#### Robin Beck, 2013

"Robin Beck argues that the collapse of the Mississippian world was fundamentally a transformation of political economy, from one built on maize to one of guns, slaves, and hides. [His] story takes us from first encounters through the rise of the Indian slave trade and the scourge of disease to the wars that shook the American South in the early 1700s."

Beck challenges the traditional notion that disease was a leading factor in the collapse.



In February 2013, I thought I was all through with Conquistadors, and then ...

Wilma Smith sent me a email message telling me that her friend Amy Bryant Fuller, who reads old newspapers on microfilm as a hobby, had found "de Soto" in the 1869 *Bristol News* 

So, armed with new information I reopened the case...

### The Case Reopened

- Two previously unreported newspaper articles in the ...
- Bristol News, December 24 and 31, 1869
- Both found by me on line at the Library of Congress (Digitization is great aid in studying history)
- First article describes the excavation of a Spanish soldier from a cairn
- Second article suggested he was from the De Soto expedition

I immediately assumed he was from the Pardo (not Soto) expedition

## Clips from the 24 December 1869 article

Mysterious Discovery in I ron Mountain-Opening of a Curious Sepuichre.

NEAR HOLSTON, Sullivan co, Tenn., Dec. 15th '69.

Messrs. Fditors, Genrs:—Knowing that you are interested in all matters of news and moreover that the greater part of your time is passed in catering to the reading public, I have determined to send you a short account of a very curious discovery that I, in company with some o her gentlemen, had the good fortune of making, some days ago.

yielded to the touch. Decayed implements evidently those of war were found intermingled, and one medal or coin the inscription of which was so effaced that nothing could be deciphered, except the word "Espa," or, I should say part of a word for there was an appearance of other letters, on the reverse the figure of a cross could be plainly seen, it preservation owing to the concavity of the side. One skull, which I examined is evidently that of a Caucassian, or, as

"Mysterious Discoyvery in Iron Mountain—Opening of a Curious Sepulchre"

## The Buried Soldier & The Morganton to Saltville Route



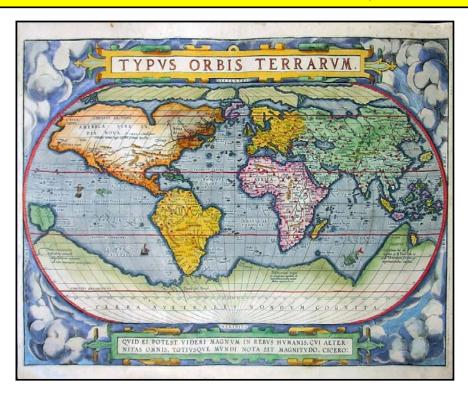
On the Appalachian trail about 15 miles east of Bristol

## **Speculations**

- One Spanish soldier buried with a number of American Indians?
- The Spaniard buried by Indians? they built burial cairns and the Spaniards could hardly have tarried
- "Implements of War" suggests high-status Indian burial. Spaniards would not likely have buried weapons

This find made me think about maps. So Ortelius' Globe ...

# Ortelius' Theater of the World, 1570



# Ortelius' 1584 Map of La Florida

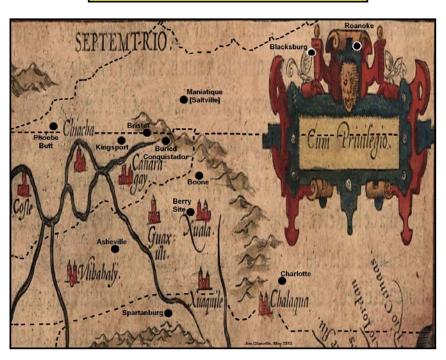


Abraham Ortelius' atlas' 1584 edition included a map of the American Southeast titled *La Florida* 

## About My 2014 Hybrid Map

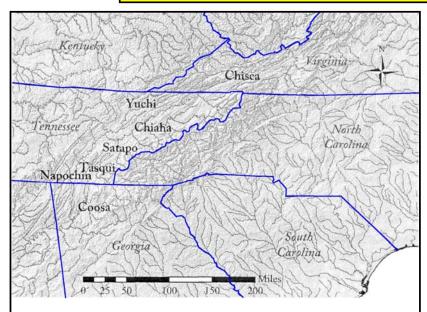
- Modification of portion of Ortelius' 1584 La Florida map
- Overlaid with Google 2014 map
- Shows southwest Virginia ...
- ... which matches Ninth Congressional District ©
- Got me invited to address the Virginia Map Circle!

# My 2014 Hybrid Map



Next the Brett Riggs/John Worth map, 2016 ...

## Brett Riggs/John Worth Map



MAP 1. The Yuchi and their neighbors in a hypothetical reconstruction of regional social geography around the time of the Juan Pardo Expedition (1566–1568). Map by Brett Riggs and John E. Worth.

From an essay titled "The Enigmatic Chisca."

John Worth, 2012: 38. In *Yuchi Indian Histories before the Removal Era* 

And now the saga ...

# The Saga of the Yuchi Indians

• "There are a number of different Yuchi peoples, because the Yuchi diaspora fractionated and divided repeatedly — however, they all converge as we look deeper in time."

Woktela, the Yuchi historian, 2016.

## The First English Record of the Yuchi

- Comes from South Carolina in 1713
- The Board of Indian Commissioners reported that many Euchee Indians had been killed in a fight at Chestowee ...
- ... near present-day Cleveland, Tennessee
- Caused a further Yuchi diaspora

## The Indian Slave Trade, 1680-1730

- Driven by English-speaking American colonists, the Indian slave trade ballooned during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In consequence, Indian communities formed confederacies to shield themselves from slave raids and wars
- Bossy says: "This extensive trade swept across the Southeast leaving no Indian community untouched; by 1707 all southeastern Indians were either slave raiders or their targets," (p. 214)

Denise Bossy, "Indian Slavery in Indian and British Societies," pp. 207-250 in Alan Gallay, ed., *Indian Slavery in Colonial America*, 2009

# Brett Riggs' Conclusion About the Yuchi & the Slave trade

#### The slave trade:

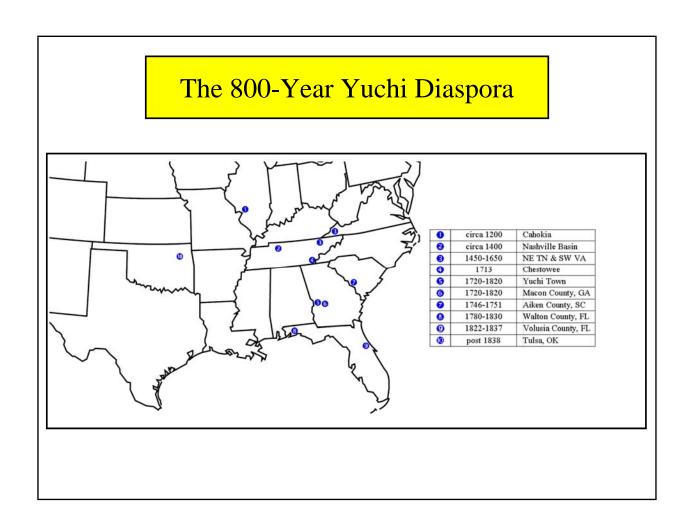
"...presented [Indians] with repugnant choices; groups such as the Yuchis, ... either became well equipped and militarily aggressive or suffered the fate of tens of thousands of Indians shipped off to toil away short lives on the sugar plantations of the West Indies. The Yuchis opted for survival as a small nation that cast a large and heavily armed shadow across the Southeast, but at Chestowee, that strategy failed, and one Yuchi community reaped the whirlwind when the Carolina Indian slave trade consumed some of its own."

BrettRiggs, 2012: 57-58. In Yuchi Indian Histories before the Removal Era

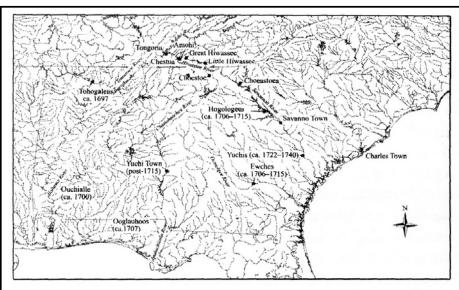
#### Yuchi History After 1713

- A story of scattering and removal and remnants
- By 1715 many Yuchi had moved south and made alliances with other Indian tribes, such as the Creeks in Georgia
- By 1770 English-speakers were trickling into Holstonia and by 1781 English-speaking settlers were flooding in
- Between 1831-37 the "Trail of Tears," a "Death March," forced the removal of most eastern Indians to Oklahoma. Among their descendants are the Western Yuchi
- Many Yuchi in Appalachia assimilated. Some joined the Snowbird Cherokee. A few remnant Yuchi Indians remained in the high country of Holstonia and in pockets in the South. Among their descendants are the Eastern Yuchi

Map of an 800 year diaspora ...



## The Yuchi Eighteenth Century Disapora



MAP 2. Towns and settlement areas discussed in this chapter.

Chestua (Tennessee), Choestoe (Georgia), and Choeastoea (South Carolina) are indicated; these are orthographic variants of the Cherokee locative *Tsi* sdu yi (Rabbit Place). Other variants include Chestowee, Chestuee, and Choastea. Map by the author.

Brett Riggs, 2012: 46. In *Yuchi Indian Histories before the Removal Era* 

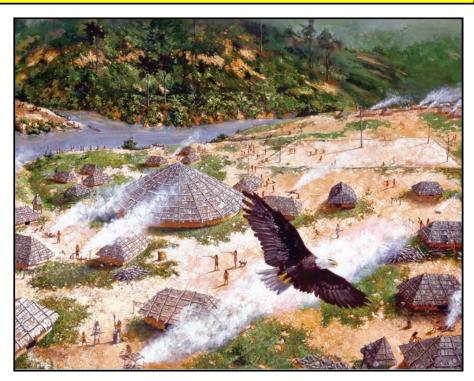
Thomas Walker ...

#### Dr. Thomas Walker's Journal, 1750

March 31st. "In the Fork between the Holstons and the North River, are five Indian Houses built with loggs and covered with bark, and there were abundance of Bones, some whole Pots and pans some broken. and many pieces of mats and Cloth. On the west side of the North River, is four Indian Houses such as before mentioned. we went four miles below the North River and camped on the Bank of the Holstons, opposite to a large Indian Fort."

Eye witness evidence that there were remnant Indians in Holstonia in the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century

# Yuchi Town, circa 1720-1820 in 1776



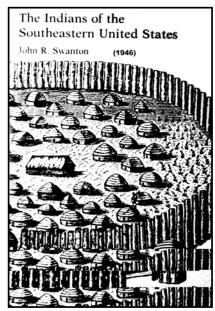
Fort Benning, Georgia. Martin Pate, artist, 2007. From web.

# Trails of Tears in the 1830s Cherokees Choctaws Creeks Creeks Post removal evidence for Yuchi people in the East...

# Ethnologist John R. Swanton's Noted Remnant Yuchi

In 1922 ...

"[a few Yuchi are]... **still living in Tennessee**." *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*, US Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin Number 73, 1922, p. 298).



In 1946 ...

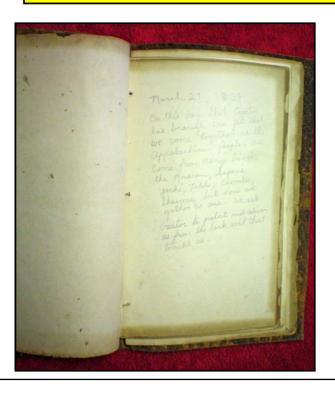
... It should be added that a few Yuchi seem never to have moved out of the Appalachian region, but to have remained ...

## Remnant Yuchi, Tennessee Encyclopedia

"After forcible removal of Native Americans in 1838, most Yuchis established themselves as a distinct group within the Creek Nation of Oklahoma. Anthropologists suggest, however, that a few Yuchis remained in East Tennessee as late as 1918."

Entry "Yuchi Indians" written by Andrew C. Buchner in *The Tennessee Encyclopedia of History and Culture*. Nashville, TN: Tennessee Historical Society, Rutledge Hill, 1998.

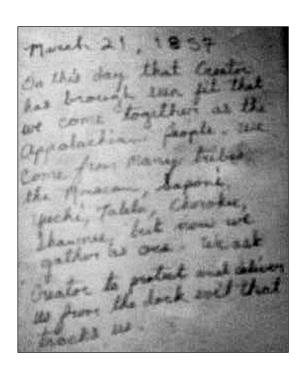
## The Yuchi Tribal Roll, 1857 Carter County, Tennessee



Indisputable evidence that Removal left behind Yuchi and other Indian groups

Transcription ...

## Inscription from the Yuchi Tribal Roll

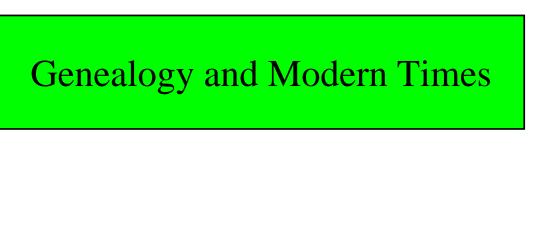


March 21, 1857
On this day that [the] Creator has brough[t] [and] seen fit that we come together as the Appalachian people. We come from many tribes, the Monacan, Saponi, Yuchi, Tuleto, Cherokee, Shawnee, but now we gather as one. We ask [you] Creator to protect and deliver us from the dark evil that tracks us.

## Sam Barnes' Grandmother

- His great-grandmother (1888-1980) lived to be 93 years old. He knew her for the first 30 years of his life, until her death.
- She grew up in Hancock County, Tennessee, and lived most of her life in Smoke Lake, Virginia, (near Gate City)
- She would speak in Yuchi to her children and Sam heard her speak Yuchi many times.
- However, outside the family she did not want any of her children to speak about their Indian heritage. The reason, of course, being the conventional prejudice of the time and place

Powerful oral history.



# Chief Lee Vest and Friends



Author, March 2016

# Remnant Yuchi Drummers



Laurel Run Park, 2011

# Remnant Yuchi Tribe Ladies



Laurel Run Park, 2011

# The Remnant Yuchi Logo

#### **REMNANT YUCHI NATION**



853 BAYS MOUNTAIN PARK ROAD, KINGSPORT, TN 37660

To Oklahoma ...

## Native Yuchi Speakers



Author 2010

In 2010 there are five living native Yuchi language speakers in the world. I met three of them. Josephine Bigler is on the right. She was discouraged from speaking Yuchi at mission school but her grandmother kept the language alive for her at home.

# The First-Ever Miss Yuchi Pageant



Sign announcing the pageant.



The three finalists for the title of Miss Yuchi

Author 2010

# Yuchi Indian Royalty



Wearing the sash in the center is the first Yuchi princess since Luisa Menéndez!

Author 2010

# Yuchi Stomp Dancing in Kellyville, Oklahoma



Western Yuchi Chief Andrew Skeeter and Western Yuchi historian Jason Baird Jackson are both in this circle. I stomp danced later.

Author 2010

## Family History Denial: The Case of Perry Ramsey



- Respected Elder of the Remnant Yuchi Nation
- Widowed in 2003
- His late wife chose not to accept Indian ancestry
- He declared his Indian heritage only after he became a widower at the age of about 76

# Woktela on the Problem of Finding One's Yuchi Heritage

- There has been much interest in establishing ... Yuchi heritage. I get several such requests per week. Unfortunately, the records are sparse and sketchy at best.
- Many families actively have striven to conceal Indian heritage under racial pressures of the American Apartheid.
- Poverty and literacy issues have also limited record keeping, making Indian genealogy a very challenging pursuit.

Email message from Woktela, the Yuchi Historian, June 2010

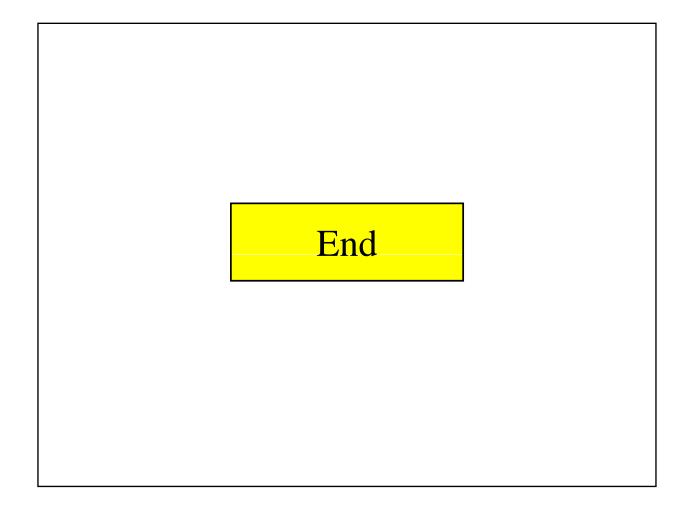
Virginia had the Walter Plecker problem!

## Chief Lee Vest's Contact Information

- leevest022@yahoo.com
- 423-323-0327

## Woktela's Contact Information

- www.yuchi.org
- Yuchi Historian, David Hackett (Woktela)
- Oak Ridge, Tennessee 37830 · Phone (865) 483-0058
- Send e-mail to woktela@comcast.net



# "The Archeology and History of American Indians in Southwest Virginia."

"The American Indian archeology and history of Southwest Virginia and Holstonia is amazing and almost totally neglected. This profusely illustrated presentation will describe the incredibly rich archeological record of the river bottoms of the three tributary forks of the Holston River and the caves of Smyth and Washington counties. It will also discuss the reasons for the neglect of this archeological record. The presentation will offer an overview of the American Indian history of the region. It is the author's firm contention that the earliest American Indians of the region that can be assigned a cultural affiliation were Yuchi speakers. The presentation will give a brief history of the Yuchi Indians, including a summary description of modern-day Yuchi people in the Holston River watershed and in Oklahoma."

# The Trinil Shell





- Found in 1890 in Java
- 430,000 years old
  - Engraved lines found in 2007

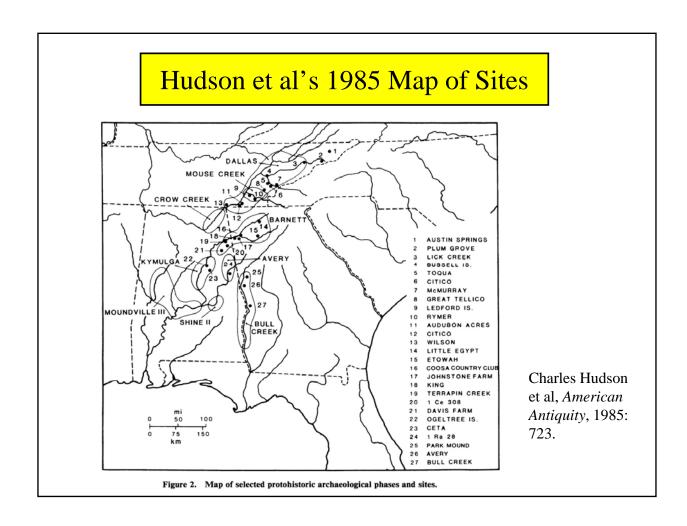
The first gorget  $\odot$ 

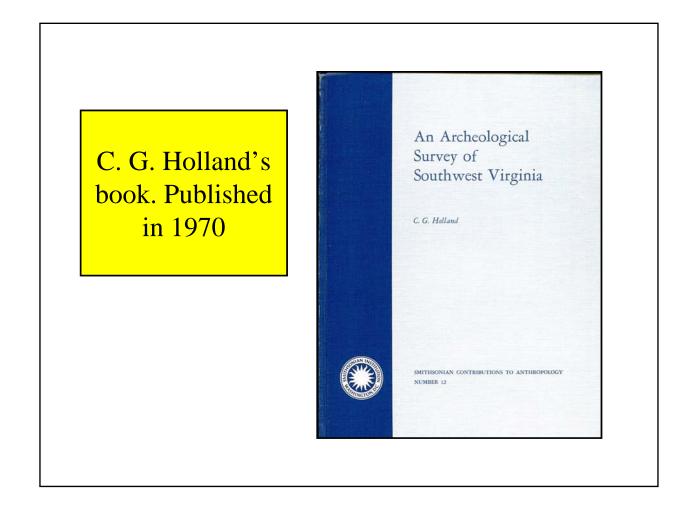
## Jason Baird Jackson's Hope, 2012

We can hope that historical linguistics and archaeology will offer new insights into the Yuchi story before contact and that historians and historical archaeologists will find ways to enrich our knowledge of the period since.

Jackson, Jason Baird. "Introduction." Pp. xii-xxxiv in *Yuchi Indian Histories before the Removal Era*, edited by Jason Baird Jackson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), page xxiv.



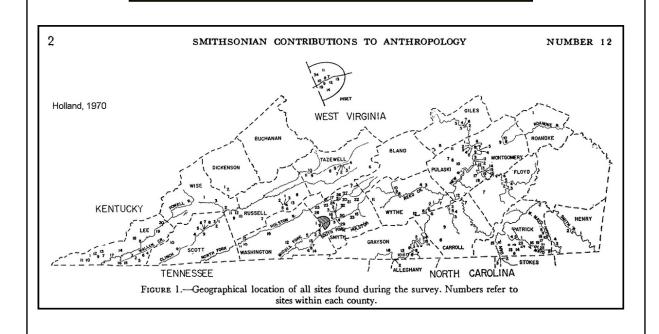




## C. G. Holland on the Archaeology of SW Virginia

In contrast to the professionals, the local collectors are a potent group in southwest Virginia archeology and I am indebted to some of them for much help. On the other hand, they have been a most destructive force. About 40 years ago one of a family of several brothers began to dig at night in open sites and to enter caves for artifacts. Through the following years this man with single-minded determination dug in nearly all the open, pottery-bearing sites and caves within a large radius of Saltville. The artifacts sought were mainly pipes, ear ornaments, shell pendants and similar objects that were highly prized and sold well. Others of the family took up this activity and the pattern spread to embrace many people in their town and surrounding community. It is estimated that 40 to 50 people are now engaged in this destructive digging between Tazewell and Washington Counties.

# C. G. Holland's 1970 Map



# Author's Map of Sites Author's Map of Sites Finance Response of Company of

### The Salt Powered Chiefdom

"Areas of Smyth and Washington counties, Virginia have long been known for the recovery of abundant exotic goods dating to the Late Woodland period. These include Citico conch shell gorgets copper disks and beads, and small funerary pots. The presence of these Mississippian origin artifact in an isolated area of Virginia has cause some consternation in Virginia archaeology. The authors suggest that this displacement of trade goods is a direct function of the exploitation of the salt deposits at Saltville Due to the high salt content of the brine copious amounts of the surface deposit could be easily processed. It is hypothesized that an indigenous Late Woodland population provided trade salt to the Southeast in exchange for exotic goods. Concomitant with this exchange system was the evolution of the local population from tribal to chiefdom level to control the trade."

Mike Barber and Gene Barfield, 2000

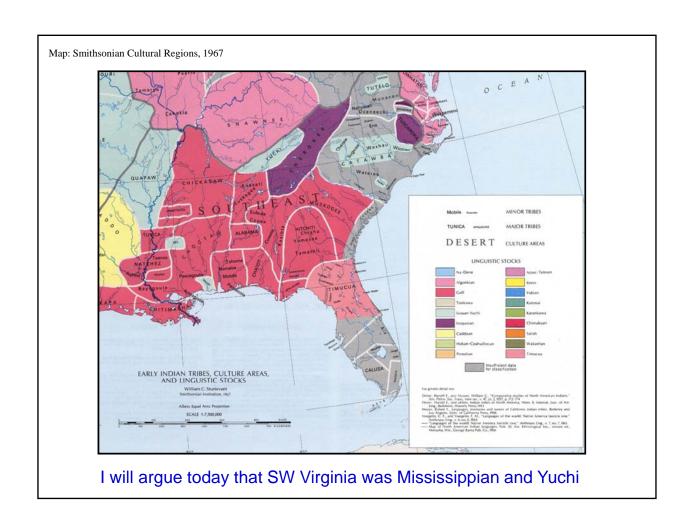
"Early Indian Tribes, Cultural Areas, and Linguistic Stocks

Title of a 1967 Smithsonian map by William Sturtevant

Generalized across time

According to this generalization Southwest Virginia Indians could be Cheraw, Monacan, Cherokee, Yuchi, Tutelo, etc., etc...

Next slide shows the SE portion of the map ...



## James Mooney, 1894

- The difficulty faced in answering the question as to the location of Totera town was well-stated over 100 years ago by the pioneer ethnologist James Mooney:
- "The tribes between the mountains and the sea were of but small importance politically; no sustained mission work was ever attempted among them, and there were but few literary men to take an interest in them. War, pestilence, whisky and systematic slave hunts had nearly exterminated the aboriginal occupants of the Carolinas before anybody had thought them of sufficient importance to ask who they were, how they lived, or what were their beliefs and opinions."

James Mooney. *The Siouan Tribes of the East* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 22). Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1894. The quote comes from page 6.

## John Brubaker, 1973

The primary difficulties encountered in dealing with the story of the American Indians -- finding them idealized as noble savages or rejected as uncivilized heathens ... are magnified in Southside Virginia and the Carolina Piedmont because the natives were removed by the European before they could make a real impression on the conqueror's mind. Substantial records of contact with the Indians by whites in this general area cover a span of less than 60 years. The Indians did not speak for themselves, so Europeans' accounts, as reinforced by limited 20th Century archaeological discoveries, are the sole sources of information.

John H. Brubaker, III. "History and Culture of the Indians of the Danville Area, Virginia." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Archeological Society of Virginia*. Volume 28(1): 41-47, 1973.

## Mississippian Collapse Not Due to Disease

This narrative soon became the most commonly invoked explanation for the postcontact collapse of Mississippian societies.

Paul Kelton (2007) has challenged the accuracy of this account, arguing that most Old World contagions had little impact on the peoples of the interior Southeast before the late 1600s. The Soto and Pardo expeditions were especially unlikely carriers of the most deadly pathogens: none of the narrative accounts of these expeditions record any cases of epidemic disease among their respective members; most of the participants were men, the least likely vectors of disease; and any diseases present at the start of an expedition would have run their courses before the sickened explorers crossed from the Coastal Plain to the Piedmont. Finally, the social geography of the precolonial South was poorly suited to the rapid spread of infection from one polity to another, as occurs when a pandemic passes through a region. Mississippian polities were typically separated by empty buffer zones that served as barriers to the spread of contagion. And Mississippian towns and villages – particularly in omparison with the cities of Mexico and Peru – lacked the population densities needed to sustain a virulent outbreak long enough for it to spread across such buffers.

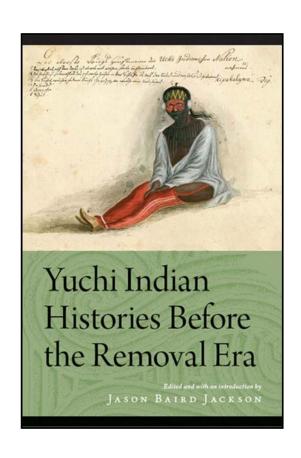
Robin Beck, 2013 pages 5-6

## Sampeck et al

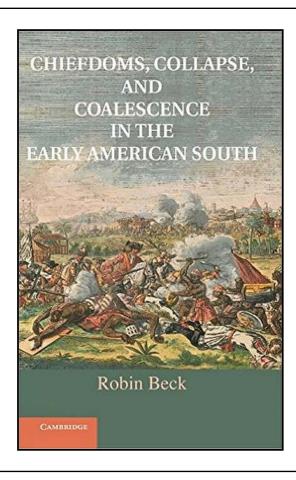
"A cost distance analysis comparing the route to Saltville vs. a Fort Ancient site, Hardin Village, shows that the cost is very high to head north, while the northeastern route to Saltville better fits distance estimates given in the Spanish accounts; but the foray returned along part of the camino real, something accounts typically would have noted (Figure 13). Those of Chisca never sent reinforcements to Chiaha during Spanish incursions; the political break present in 1540 appears to have persisted in Pardo' time. The copper working, salt sources, and non-Iroquoian linguistic affiliation all point to some degree of Fort Ancient affiliation for Chisca."

Kathryn Sampeck, Jonathan Thayn, and Howard H. Earnest, Jr. "Geographic Information System Modeling of De Soto' Route From Joara to Chiaha: Archaeology And Anthropology of Southeastern Road Networks In The Sixteenth Century." *American Antiquity* 80(1), 2015, pp. 46-66. Form page 61.

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