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## SHAWNEE NAMES AND MIGRATIONS IN KENTUCKY AND WEST VIRGINIA

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The name "Shawnee" is an English adaptation of the term *Shaawana*, by which the Shawnee Indians named themselves in their own language. Voegelin (1938-40: 318) lists *šaawanwa* 'Shawnee (tribe or individual),' adding *šaawanwaki* beside *šaawanooki* 'the Shawnee (plural).' Another white adaptation is *Savannah*, name of both the city and the river in Georgia, where, in the 1600's, Shawnee Indians were first encountered by Whites. *Eastern* Shawnee, that is. A *western* portion of the tribe lived, entirely separate from the eastern one, along the Cumberland River in Kentucky and Tennessee. Within only a few years of each other, before 1720, both halves of the Shawnee nation, hard pressed by warfare with other Indians allied against them, started to migrate. The eastern Shawnee wandered north, settled in Pennsylvania for a while, but, uprooted again, traveled westward and finally reached the Ohio country. Here, about 1750, they were united, for the first time in their history, with the western half of their tribe (Hodge, 1907, 1910: 535).

After 1720, these western Shawnee had migrated from the mouth of the Cumberland River in a general NEE direction, all over Kentucky, while some of their bands had crossed the Ohio and had occupied the entire stretch between the mouths of the Great Beaver River in western Pennsylvania and of the Scioto River. It had been known for a long time that the latter migration tended toward the east, but much had remained uncertain, if not entirely unknown, about the regions in Kentucky, through which these western Shawnee had passed, or where they had temporarily settled. In these pages, I will try to remove some of those uncertainties.

The first impulse for an approach to the matter came from Kentucky. Dr. Thomas P. Field, Department of Geography, The University of Kentucky, at Lexington, Ky., mailed to me a list of place and neighborhood names found in Kentucky, with the request to identify those of assured Indian origin. In the process, a few white adaptations of Indian names turned up, among them *Eskip-pakihiki* (Clark Co.), *Eskalapia* (Lewis Co.), *Tywhapita* (Hancock Co.), another *Tywhapita* (Hopkins Co.), and *Tyewhoppety* (Todd Co.), a white variant of *Tywhapita*. Even in English transcription, their language structure clearly marked them as Shawnee. Eventually, their true Shawnee forms will be presented and semantically analyzed in order to show their real English meanings.

According to Dr. Field's reliable Kentucky sources, the names here given name neighborhoods rather than places, with the exception of *Tywhapita* in Hopkins County. A hundred-year-old woman stated that, a long time ago, her village, Manitou in Hopkins County, had been called *Tywhapita*. Since there also exists a place called *Tywhapita* in Missouri, it is likely that the name was transferred by white settlers from the northern *Tywhapita*, in Hancock County, to their village in Hopkins County, and eventually to their new settlement in Missouri. That disposes of *Tywhapita* in Hopkins Co., Ky., as an area named by the Shawnee directly, but not of *Tywhapita* in Hancock Co., nor of *Tyewhoppety* in Todd Co.

The geographic situation, throughout Kentucky, of those Shawnee-named areas led me to assume that all of them had been stopping points for the western

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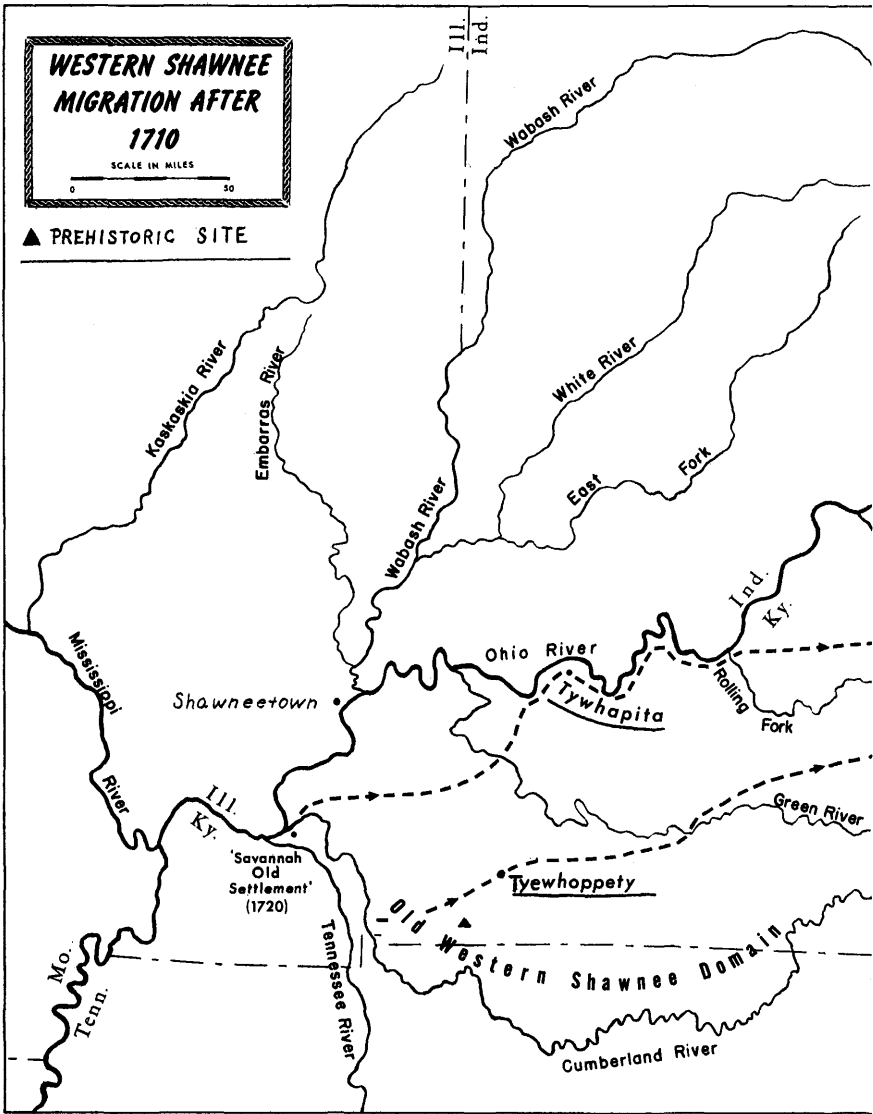
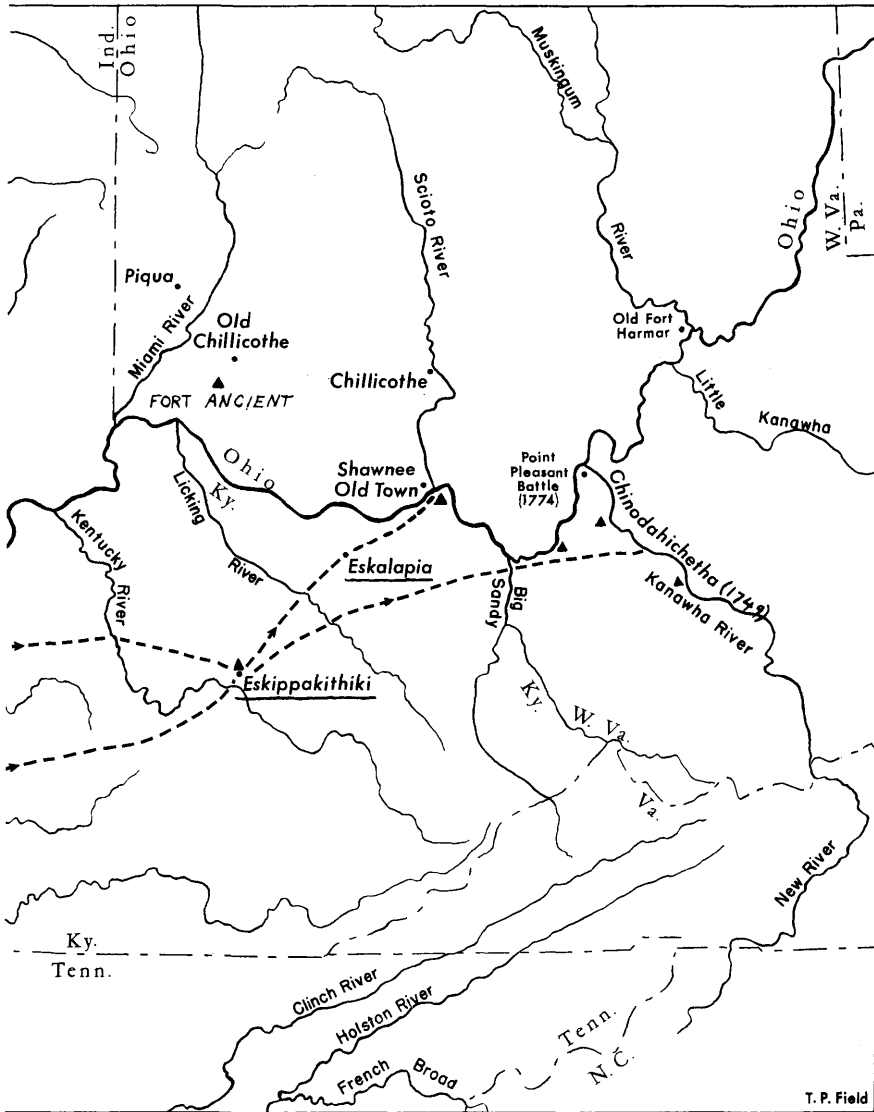


FIGURE 1. Map showing Shawnee migrations and place names.

Shawnee on their eastward migration through Kentucky when, after 1720, they had definitely moved out of their old home territory along the Cumberland River. (See fig.)

This opinion was strengthened by the striking fact that in their neighborhood late-prehistoric sites had been discovered, not only in Kentucky, but also east of it, at the Great Kanawha River, in West Virginia. Apart from a linguistic clue



which will be discussed later in this paper (page 162), Shawnee presence at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, in 1749, clearly shows that some bands of the western Shawnee must have continued their migration toward the Ohio country as far east as the Great Kanawha River.

Dr. W. S. Webb, emerited Professor in the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, of the University of Kentucky, at Lexington, Ky., who himself

had excavated some of the Kentucky sites, has made the following statements about them.

Of the prehistoric site not far from *Tyewhoppety* in Todd Co., Ky., Dr. Webb has this to say (letter, April 17, '59):

The Williams Site in Christian Co., Ky., 4 and ½ miles northwest of Trenton and about half way between Trenton and Pembroke may be a "Fort Ancient" site. The Todd Co. line runs within 300 yards of this site.

(See Webb et al., 1929). By "Fort Ancient," Dr. Webb seems to indicate the culture of the people who, between A.D. 1200 and 1600, placed their late-prehistoric village within the Hopewellian defense works of Fort Ancient in SW Ohio.

In a letter of April 23, '59, Dr. Webb states that he does not know of any Fort Ancient sites which have been reported from Hancock County. He adds that the University of Kentucky has done very little field work in Hancock Co., and that, consequently, it is not possible to say what might be found there. That makes *Tywhapita* in Hancock Co. the only one of the Kentucky localities along that migration route of the western Shawnee about which we possess no prehistoric data (see fig.).

With regard to *Eskippakithiki* (Clark Co., Ky.), Dr. Webb refers to Beckner (1932). He further comments (in the aforementioned letter) that he does not know of any archaeological investigations "of a scientific kind," that have been done there, "but such evidence as has been published may indicate Fort Ancient type of culture"; cf., Beckner (1932: 376-380) (see fig.).

It is most likely that, by way of the *Eskalapia* area (Lewis Co., Ky.), a Shawnee trail led from *Eskippakithiki* northeast to the Ohio River, whose south bank it reached at present South Portsmouth, just opposite present Portsmouth, Ohio. Here at the Fullerton Field, in Greenup Co., Ky., according to Dr. Webb (ibid.), "... a cemetery and village were excavated in 1926. The village was a Fort Ancient site. . . ." (cf. Webb et al., 1928: 106).

Where, at the lower course of the Great Kanawha River, the western Shawnee's other migration trail, from *Eskippakithiki* eastward, ends in western West Virginia (see fig. 1), there are late-prehistoric "village sites and small mounds whose occupants had a material culture closely related to that of the Fort Ancient Aspect" (Griffin, 1943: 240). J. B. Griffin (ibid.) regretted that

. . . not a single one of these has been thoroughly excavated, and information regarding this area is based upon the work of the Bureau of American Ethnology in the latter part of the nineteenth century and upon reports given by amateurs who have collected in the area.

In no event, however, do I consider it a mistake to connect these finds, or the "Fort Ancient" sites near those Kentucky localities, with the Shawnee nation and its migration westward through Kentucky toward their historic territories along the Cumberland and the Savannah Rivers, respectively, at about A.D. 1600. In fact, this may lend considerable support to the supposition, already widely accepted, that the late-prehistoric (or early-historic) Fort Ancient-Village people were early-Shawnee.

It appears far from accidental that such 'prehistoric' sites of the "Fort Ancient" type have turned up along the route of the *western-Shawnee's* migration *eastward* through Kentucky and the Great Kanawha area of West Virginia, which I am discussing in these pages; that is, near *Tyewhoppety* (Todd Co.); possibly, near *Tywhapita* (Hancock Co.); near *Eskippakithiki* (Clark Co.); near the point where the *Eskalapia* trail (Lewis Co.) reached the Ohio River in Greenup Co., in northeastern Kentucky; and, finally, in the Great Kanawha region of West Virginia (see fig.)

Tribal traditions, more than a century old but not forgotten among the eastern or the western half of the nation, appear to have irresistibly driven the Shawnee

back to the Ohio country, from whence warfare with relentless opponents once had forced them to migrate. The endlessness of the return, and the time to accomplish it, were irrelevant: the final goal, and the direction toward it, remained unaltered throughout half a century and longer. That is true for both the western and the eastern Shawnee, who returned to Ohio by widely separate roads but at about the same time. So it was hardly fortuitous that, about 1750, the two halves of the nation were united, 'for the first time in their history,' in the Ohio country. They were not merely united, but reunited.

As far as the *western* Shawnee are concerned, the general trend of the 'pre-historic' migration was merely reversed: this time, they wandered east, *towards* Ohio, rather than west, *away from* Ohio. But, as the prehistoric sites near the way-points indicate, through the *same* regions and by the *same* trails: they were on familiar ground (see fig.).

Apart from the prehistoric evidence, there are two main reasons for assuming that the locality names here mentioned marked the eastward migration route of the western Shawnee, through Kentucky, from the Cumberland to the Scioto. One of them is the occurrence of *Tywhapita* and *Tyewhoppety* in western Kentucky regions not too distant from the Cumberland River. The other is a historical fact, not significant in itself but essential for both the course and the chronology of that migration: the birth of the later Shawnee Grand Chief Catahecassa (Black Hoof) near present Winchester, Ky. (Hodge, 1907, 1910: 535), about 1740 (*ibid.*: 212). Later on, the Catahecassa story will be taken up again at greater detail.

Marking important points on that migration route, the names *Tywhapita* and *Tyewhoppety* make particularly good sense because of the original Shawnee name which underlies both the English adaptations: \**Tθw/haap/ilē*. It is a combination of Shawn. *θw-* 'quitting' (Voegelin, 1938-40: 140); *-haap-* 'returning (from activity far from home)' (*ibid.*: 426); and *-ilē* 'vague locus' (*ibid.* 151), approximately meaning 'somewhere around here.' Collectively, the compound signifies: 'somewhere around here (*-ilē*), one quits (*θw-*) returning home (*-haap-*). Or, in better English, 'this is a point of no return.' But where is 'the home' to which there was no return from either *Tywhapita*, in the north, or *Tyewhoppety*, farther south? Most probably, it was the familiar settlement region of the western half of the Shawnee nation along the Cumberland River, flowing north from about present Nashville, in Tennessee, to its confluence with the Ohio at Smithland in Kentucky. It cannot have been a question of excessive distance since the straight line from *Tywhapita* to the nearest point on the lower Cumberland measures only 85 miles while the straight-line distance between *Tyewhoppety* and the nearest Cumberland point is only 50 miles. Not knowing the actual length of the trails used by the migrants, I cannot be more accurate. Of one thing we may be sure: neither measured by straight line nor by length of trail was either distance great enough to justify the name *Tθwhaapilē*, 'point of no return home' (see fig.).

So there must have been a more compelling reason for it, and there was, indeed: warfare with the Chickasaw, their old and relentless enemies. According to the late James Mooney (Hodge, 1907, 1910: 534-535), the Chickasaw, allied with the Cherokee, pressing against the Shawnee and their territory from the south, persistently pushed the Shawnee north in the Cumberland valley and, by 1720, had succeeded in forcing them out of it. Seeing the future of their nation in the east rather than in the west the western Shawnee began to migrate gradually, in bigger and smaller bands, away from the Cumberland region, mainly in a general easterly direction. Some, however, must have turned north, and settled on the Illinois side of the Ohio, near the site of present Shawneetown, Ill. Evidently, they stayed there long enough to imprint their name on the neighborhood, but it is not exactly known what became of them.

Although the western Shawnee definitely did not migrate eastward in one column, yet their individual bands apparently operated under the directions of

one man, a Chief, or even a Grand Chief, for it is most unlikely that they moved along with no instructions from some sort of headquarters. *Tθwhaapíté*, 'here one quits returning home,' for instance, appears like a message from one in command to his tribesmen on the march, issued to two migrating bands wandering away, one delaying in the north, and one, farther south. It sounds like a definite order *not to return 'home'* from the place where they happened to stay. They saw the point and wandered eastward.

A migration of that kind imposed no particular hardships upon these Shawnee, who, in true Algonkian style, were on the march anyway most of the time. They roamed their hunting-grounds, hunting and fishing, and whenever the need arose, they stopped over at a given place long enough to plant their maize and raise a crop, or, if there were reasons, even longer. To have these rights to the use of their hunting-grounds go uncontested by any other Indian tribe was their brand of 'security.' 'Time' was not of the essence; they had all the time they wanted and needed: days, weeks, months, years, decades, generations (Loges, 1956): 58).

To be more to the point, it should be said that in 1714 Charleville, a French trader, established himself among the western Shawnee on the Cumberland, near present Nashville, Tennessee. He reported that, even then, they had begun to abandon their settlements and to move down the Cumberland valley toward the north, hard pressed by a war with combined Chickasaw and Cherokee forces (Hodge, 1907, 1910: 535). Rather than engage in battle with the enemy's superior field strength, the Shawnee, certainly not cowardly but with their effective Algonkian strategy, fought a clever withdrawing action, northward first along the Cumberland as far as the river mouth, and then, moving away from it toward the heart of Kentucky, in an eastern direction (see fig.).

Everything points to a communication between the western Shawnee and the eastern half of the nation in Georgia, in those years, for it cannot have been merely incidental that slightly earlier, about 1707, the eastern portion of the Shawnee had likewise begun to abandon their territory in the south, and to migrate north toward Pennsylvania. Here, they eventually allied themselves with the Delaware, their Algonkian cousins, for combined action against the Cherokee (ibid.). Much as they hated the Whites, both the eastern and western half of the Shawnee, being seasoned diplomats, had never been scrupulous about the sources of their tribal security, whether Indian or white. In 1715, at a treaty, at Philadelphia, between the Pennsylvania government and the eastern Indians, the western Shawnee were represented by delegates. At a council, held with the Delaware, they asked the friendship of the Pennsylvania government for the western Shawnee, "who live at a great distance" (ibid.). It must have taken these delegates considerable time to travel to Philadelphia from the Cumberland region, which in 1715 was still western-Shawnee territory. Only on a map as late as 1720 (Moll, 1720) is the mouth of the Cumberland marked as Cherokee territory, and an Indian settlement there, as 'Savannah Old Settlement'; indicating that the Shawnee have definitely left (Hodge, 1907, 1910: 535). As the future bears out, the Ohio country was the eventual goal of both the western and eastern Shawnee migrations.

It had been emphasized before that those people on their wanderings were concerned with nothing but the direction of their travel, time being utterly insignificant. Thus, it happened that, about 1730, some of the migrating bands of the western Shawnee appeared along the Ohio, in the southwest of western Pennsylvania, and in the southeast of present Ohio. Here, they stayed with the consent of the Wyandot, whose territory it was. Other western Shawnee, as it is known, according to Hodge, "... probably wandered for some time in Kentucky, which was practically a part of their own territory and not occupied by any other tribe. Blackhoof (Catahecassa), one of their most celebrated chiefs, was born during this sojourn in a village near the present Winchester, Ky" (ibid.).

This man was called 'Catahecassa' by the Whites. Probably, his true Shawnee name was \**M<sup>2</sup>kateewi/ka<sup>2</sup>šá*, meaning 'black/hoof' (Voegelin, 1938-40: 359:

300[?]). As the time of his birth, 'about 1740' is given (Hodge, 1907, 1910: 212). But what is "this sojourn," during which the future Grand Chief was born "in a village near the present Winchester, Ky."? Fortunately, there exists reliable information on the area where this village was situated. The neighborhood name, unmistakably Shawnee, is *Eskippakithiki*, in Clark Co., Ky., 11 miles southeast of Winchester (see fig.). On the Topographic Maps of the region, it appears as "Old Indian Fields" over an area of about two square miles.

The site is of relatively low relief and appears to the eyes as a valley when in fact it is a divide between the west flowing Howards Creek and the south flowing Lulbegrud Creek. The T. Pownall map [Pownall, 1776] gives an accurate location at an early date, possibly 1755. This location was occupied by a band of Shawnees in 1745-1748 and was last occupied by similar Shawnees in 1755 (Dr. T. P. Field; pers. letter, Nov. 18, '58).

Obviously, these Shawnee bands had settled there in order to raise their crops in that fertile region; also cf. Beckner (1932), a publication which not only demonstrates the pristine significance of *Eskippakithiki* as an agricultural Indian settlement, but also provides a clue to the probable "Fort Ancient" character of the prehistoric *Eskippakithiki* site and, thereby, to its early-Shawnee past.

Indirectly, the agricultural importance of *Eskippakithiki*, especially as a stop-over for western Shawnee on their migration to the east, is likewise confirmed by the semantic analysis of the Shawnee name form on which it is based: \**Škipak/eθi/ʔki*. As no Shawnee term starts with a vowel, the name is to be regarded as a polysynthetic compound of Shawnee *škipaky-* 'blue, green' (Voegelin, 1938-40: 314); *-eθi-* 'all over' (ibid.: 335); and locative word-final *-ʔki* 'place where it is' (ibid.: 330). Composite meaning: 'where it is green all over.' It perfectly fits that fertile blue-grass area which the white settlers later called "Old Indian Fields." Temporarily, the migrant Shawnee established village settlements in the region for planting and harvesting their maize. In one of them, so we are told, Chief Catahecassa was born. No Shawnee-named area is known between either *Tywhapila* or *Tyewhoppety*, the two 'points of no return home' in the west, and *Eskippakithiki*, the blue-grass region in east-central Kentucky; that is, on a straight-line distance of about 150 miles (see fig.). What trails the migrants used, and where or how long they stopped over, nobody knows. One fact is certain: western-Shawnee bands appeared about 1730 on the Pennsylvania and Ohio side of the Ohio River. So they must have covered the stretch comparatively fast, in about ten years (Hodge, 1907, 1910: 535). Others seem to have wandered, and stayed, in Kentucky a much longer time, twenty years or more. So long as the trend of their migration was to the east, time did not matter. The later 'home settlement' along the Scioto did not become a real fact until about 1750, after the western and the eastern Shawnee had united in the Ohio country. In 1748, the western Shawnee on the Scioto numbered only "162 warriors or about 600 souls" (ibid.). Thus, it is possible that the Shawnee bands who settled at *Eskippakithiki* in 1745 to 1748, and even as late as 1755 (Pownall, 1776), were still members of that long-drawn west-east migration. But this is undoubtedly true for those who had arrived there about 1740, when Catahecassa was born in the *Eskippakithiki* region, near present Winchester, Ky. (ibid.).

It is not known how long the band to which Catahecassa and his parents belonged delayed at *Eskippakithiki*. Probably, their migration proceeded in a general NE direction to a point on the Ohio where, across the river, at the mouth of the Scioto, other western Shawnee, since about 1730, had established a settlement. On a much later map (W. S[cull ?] 1765), it is shown as 'Shawnee Town formerly' (see fig.). The area through which that trail led was known to traveling Shawnee as \**Škaalaappiyé*. Today, a white-man's transcription of the Shawnee name still exists in Lewis Co., Ky., as a neighborhood name, *Eskalapia*, surviving in *Eskalapia Mountains*, *Eskalapia Hollow*, etc. Folklore even has tried to connect



*Eskalapia* with Aesculapius, the Roman god of healing, for there also occur *Esculapia Springs* and *Esculapia* neighborhood. A semantic analysis of \**Škaa/laap/piyé* reveals the real meaning of *Eskalapia*. It is a combination of Shawn. *škaa* 'raw, soft, wet' (Voegelin 1938-40: 314), with *-laap-* 'the same repeated,' that is, 'over and over' (ibid.: 345), and *-piye* 'long-extended area' (ibid.: 101). Composite meaning: 'long-extended area (-*piye*), over-and-over (-*laap-*) raw, soft, wet (*škaa-*).' It indicated to the migrants that the trail, at a long stretch, traversed a weed-covered, soggy terrain; in brief, that the land was unfit for a stop-over and the planting of corn.

There is evidence, however, that some western Shawnee bands of about 1740 continued their migration from *Eskippakithiki* in a general NEE direction as far east as the Great Kanawha valley in present West Virginia; that is, for a distance of roughly another 130 miles, straight line (see fig.). Only indirectly has it to do with the fact that Catahecassa later fought as a Shawnee war captain, in 1774, by the side of Grand Chief Cornstalk at Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, valiantly but unsuccessfully, for the Shawnee concerns against Col. Lewis, subcommander under Lord Dunmore.

In 1749, when Catahecassa was still a youngster, the western Shawnee appear to have occupied the fertile blue-grass bottom land near the mouth of the Great Kanawha river, to the equal annoyance of the Virginians and the French. Céloron, Sieur de Bienville, had been dispatched to North America by the King of France in order to claim the eastern Ohio valley for the French crown. Céloron believed that he had done that very thing when, in 1749, he had a few lead plates, declaring the conquest, buried near certain river-mouths at all four corners of the Ohio country. In 1846, one of these plates was unearthed at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, on the Virginia bank of the Ohio (Hatcher, 1940: 43). Eventually, it helped to confirm beyond the shadow of a doubt that, in the days of Céloron's visit, western Shawnee had possessed the territory at the lower Kanawha.

As one of the confines of the French conquest, there is inscribed on the Kanawha lead plate the name *Chinodahichetha*, preceded by the French word *Rivière*, indicating that here the Great Kanawha is meant. Written according to *English* phonology, it would read *Chinotahishetha*. Its ending, *-tha*, strongly points to Shawnee origin. Most probably, it derives from Shawn. \**Či/noota/hiši/θá*, a compound of the personalizing prefix *či-*, marking 'an individual' (Voegelin, 1938-40: 143); *-noota-* 'guarding something (for someone else)' (cf., ibid.: 377); *-hiši-* 'belonging to self, matter-of-course possession' such as head, arms, legs, etc. (cf., ibid.: 457); and personalizing final *-θa*, approximately 'person acting, or being, as indicated' (ibid.: 335). Composite meaning: 'he who guards that which belongs to him.' As Céloron's *Rivière* clearly shows, the Shawnee term is part of a river name and, therefore, must receive the addition *θiipi²kí* 'river (plus locative final -²ki; ibid.: 330).'

But is it *really* meant to be *the name* of the Great Kanawha, from *the Shawnee's* point of view? According to the principle of practical purpose, such as strictly followed by Algonkian Indians giving names to streams and localities (Mahr, 1957; 1959), it certainly is not. The term \**Činootahišiθá* contains no practical 'hint' of any sort, be it to travelers by canoe and trail or to migrants in quest for other Indian essentials.

It rather brings to mind Rev. John Heckewelder's high opinion of the Indians' sense of humor. He was a Moravian missionary who, since about 1760, had been, off and on for sixty years, in live contact with Indians, mainly Delaware, but also with their Algonkian cousins, the Shawnee, in the Ohio country. He credited them with being "ingenious in making satirical observations, which though they create laughter, do not, or but seldom give offense." In addition, he stated that "genuine wit, which one would hardly expect to find in a savage people, is not infrequent among them," citing, moreover, an excellent example for it (Heckewelder, 1881: 103-104).

All this considered, it appears reasonable that, in 1749, those western Shawnee near the Kanawha mouth, although earnestly bent upon maintaining their recent settlement area along the river, were even more inclined to smile at the ludicrous ceremonial of Céloron and his French companions than was the British colonial government. The chances are that the Shawnee, when asked by the visitors what they called that river, sternly answered, "*Činootahišithá*." Indian sense of humor had found the proper reply for the pale-faces: "He, the Shawnee, is guarding that which is his"; a political declaration rather than the river name for which it passed. Carefully written down according to French phonology, it was inscribed on Céloron's lead plate as '*la Rivière Chinodahichetha*.'

In conclusion, an epilogue of a sort is permitted. There is no evidence to show that bands of western Shawnee have ever crossed the Great Kanawha on an eastward migration. Later events, though, make it all the more clear that the eastern and western Shawnee, when united, since the 1750's, in their new territory along the Scioto and northwest of it, had formed a mighty bulwark against white encroachments of any kind. More than three decades after Céloron's visit to the Great Kanawha in Virginia, they still proved in dead earnest about their political credo as they had once professed it to the Frenchman in a half-humorous vein: *Činootahišithá*, 'he, the Shawnee, is guarding that which is his.' The Shawnee nation and its leader, Great Chief Cornstalk, were fiercely determined to defend at all cost their old east boundary south of the Ohio against the land-hungry Virginians, the Great Kanawha River. They felt strong and were full of hope to succeed. In 1774, the ominous year of Lord Dunmore's War, Chief Cornstalk, equally outstanding as a political and a military leader, came south from the Scioto and across the Ohio with about a thousand warriors. Throughout an entire day, they fought a battle, finally lost, against 1,100 Virginians under Col. Lewis, a lieutenant of the Earl of Dunmore, on the flats between the Great Kanawha in the east and the Ohio in the north, near Point Pleasant. While the Shawnee withdrew to the Scioto, Col. Lewis, after his costly victory, marched to the Muskingum and destroyed the Shawnee settlements at Wakatomika, near present Dresden, Ohio. Lord Dunmore's treaty with Chief Cornstalk put an end to the war and, lastingly, to all Shawnee aspirations south of the Ohio. Although Cornstalk conscientiously adhered to the treaty, he was assassinated by Virginians in 1777 (Hodge, 1907, 1910: 350).

In 1774, when Shawnee war captain under Chief Cornstalk, Catahecassa presumably was in his middle thirties (ibid.: 212; Beckner, 1932: 364; 379). Eventually, he himself was made Great Chief and later led his warriors against U.S. Generals Harmar and St. Clair. After Anthony Wayne's final victory and treaty in 1795, Catahecassa, realizing the hopelessness of the Indian cause against the Whites, definitely laid down the battle-axe. As a wise ruler of his Shawnee, he died in 1831, at Wapakoneta, in Ohio, deeply respected by Indians and Whites (ibid.: 212).

About not quite a century before, *Eskippakithiki*, where he had been born during the sojourn of a hopeful west-Shawnee migrating band, lay in the middle of an unclaimed territory which only much later was named 'Kentucky.' In 1831, when he died, a frustrated old Indian, Kentucky and Ohio had long been states of the Union. Denizens from a foreign world had ruthlessly stepped over him and his people.

The sad migrations of the Shawnee and other Indians from east to west, such as inevitably followed, belong to the less glorious features of American history.

#### SUMMARY

While the northward migration of the *eastern* Shawnee from Georgia through the American east, which started about 1710, took place in the full light of the White Man's history, very little had been known about the simultaneous wanderings of

the *western* half of the Shawnee nation from the Cumberland river eastward through the wilderness later called 'Kentucky.'

Not until quite recently could a few Kentucky neighborhood names be identified by me as unmistakably Shawnee. Their semantic analysis, in conjunction with historic clues, one of them from West Virginia, led to the inference that the localities, thus named, and their geographic sequence, from west to east throughout Kentucky, might be marking the hitherto unknown route of the western Shawnee's migration south of the Ohio.

My opinion was further strengthened by the fact that, in the past, prehistoric sites, most of them certainly, and others probably, of the Fort Ancient culture type, had been found near these places, in both Kentucky and West Virginia. It suggests that, at roughly 1600, the same route, along the same places, had been traveled by the Shawnee, on their east-west migration to their historic territories on the Cumberland and in Georgia.

My sincere thanks go to Professor Thomas P. Field, of the Department of Geography in the University of Kentucky, at Lexington, Ky., for his untiring cooperation. Not only did Dr. Field's list of Indian names in Kentucky spark off this research, but Dr. Field, an expert cartographer, also has designed and provided the figure which accompanies these pages. Further, to Dr. William S. Webb, emerited Professor in the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, in the University of Kentucky, at Lexington, Ky., for his kind and expert help in Kentucky archaeology. And, last but by no means least, to Mr. Raymond S. Baby, Curator of Archaeology, in the Ohio State Museum, at Columbus, O., for his friendly advice in things archaeological.

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