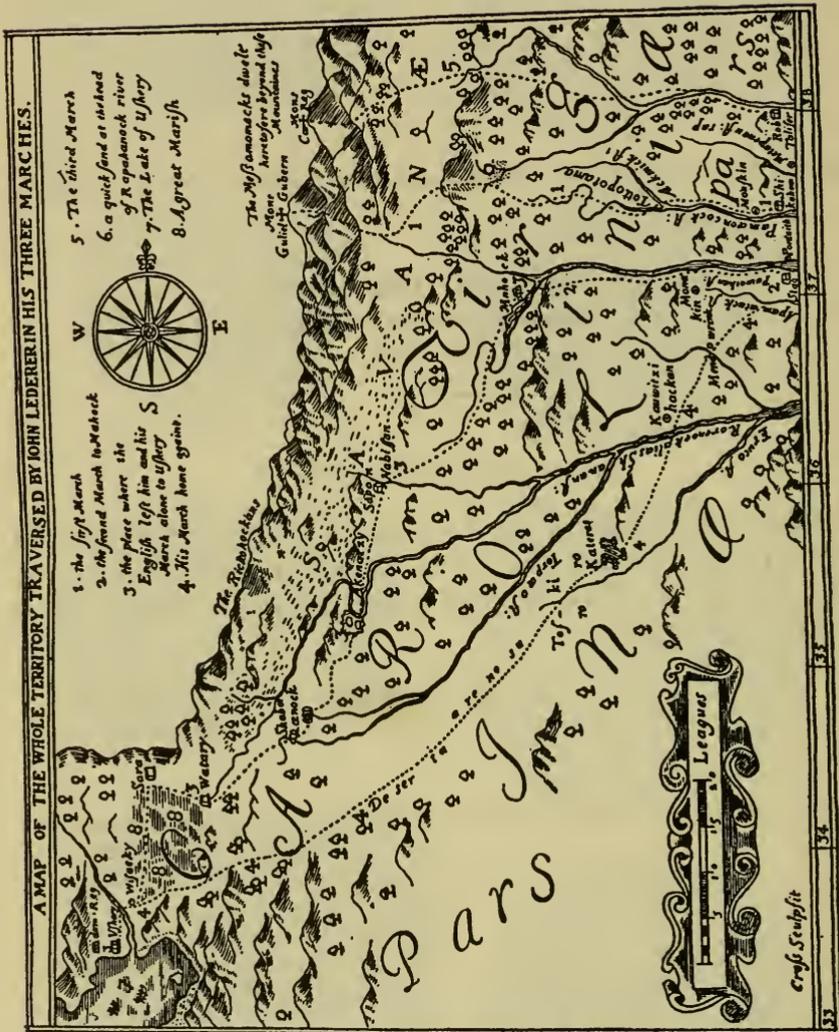

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REVALUATION OF THE EASTERN SIOUAN PROBLEM
WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE VIRGINIA
BRANCHES—THE OCCANEECHI, THE SAPONI, AND
THE TUTELO

By CARL F. MILLER

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MAP 8.—Facsimile of John Lederer's map, 1672.

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PREFACE

After spending three seasons in the field in the Buggs Island-John H. Kerr Reservoir in southern Virginia and obtaining considerable ceramic and other artifactual remains from a number of sites in the area, I started to examine this material preparatory to writing a report of my results when a question arose regarding the origin of the pottery and the ethnic group to which it was attributed. The solution of this question was not in the field of archeology, directly, but rather in the field of ethnology and linguistics.

The recovered pottery assemblage was not recognized as that usually attributed to Siouan-speaking peoples, and since they were listed as the probable occupants of this section of Virginia it necessitated a perusal of the literature dealing with this group—especially the Occaneechi, Saponi, and Tutelo—from the earliest incursions by whites up to the present day in order to see whether the solution could be found. This same peculiarity was also noted by Manson (1948) in the Potomac River area. Indian tradition is highly unreliable, hence plays a very small role in the investigations of these tribes.

The earliest of the writers consulted was Captain John Smith, who was known for the veracity of his statements. Never making actual firsthand contact with the group of peoples living in southern and central Virginia, he learned about them through Algonquian sources. From these he deduced that certain groups occupied areas indicated on his map of 1624, but so far the ones indicated have never been satisfactorily identified or related with known Indian groups.

William Strachey, secretary of the colony from 1609 to 1612, tells about Algonquian habits and economy, and lists a number of Indian words, giving their English equivalents, which have a direct bearing upon the study underway.

Others of this early period include John Lederer, Batts and Fallam, Needham and Arthur, Robert Beverley, and John Lawson. These were followed by the interpretative school, including among others, James Mooney, David I. Bushnell, Jr., Dr. John R. Swanton, and Dr. William N. Fenton, which brings us up to the present day. These are the principal writers upon whom we rely in the following account. Rather than change or reinterpret their statements, we have decided to use their own words in order to convey the exact meaning intended

by the original writer so that no bias of the present writer could creep into the text to color it in any manner. None of the modern writers can equal in authority, nor surpass in interest, the statements made in the original records by the men who not only saw these Indians in their natural habitat but actually had dealings with them, all of which were recorded and should be evaluated exactly as presented without letting inferences, assumptions, and preconceived concepts steal into the picture.

Since the source material of this area is much scattered, it is hoped that the presentation of most of the pertinent data here will serve a broader purpose than the immediate requirements of this paper.

CARL F. MILLER.

REVALUATION OF THE EASTERN SIOUAN PROBLEM, WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE VIRGINIA BRANCHES—THE OCCANEECHI, THE SAPONI, AND THE TUTELO

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HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION

Recently a review of the literature dealing with the Occaneechi, the Saponi, and the Tutelo, three branches of the so-called Siouan family, has been made, and a number of interesting facts have come to light. The first two members of this group were first mentioned in 1651 by Edward Bland. They were again mentioned in 1670 by John Lederer, and in 1671 Batts and Fallam (Fallow) mentioned the Tutelo or Toteros. References to these three tribes keep appearing in reports from time to time in Virginia and North Carolina until it is apparent they either migrated northward or were assimilated by other groups. The question as to whether these three tribes can be rightfully classified as Siouan linguistically has arisen and an examination of the whole premise has been made.

Historically, the method has been to go over the original sources and to see what each author based his authority upon in constructing his premise: if inferential—how valid were these inferences; if factual—from what sources were they gathered.

Quoting the original sources chronologically, the earliest is Edward Bland's account, in 1651, in which he states:

1651.—At Blandina River we have some discourse with our Appamattuck Guide concerning that River, who told us that the branch of Blandina River ran a great way up into the Country; and that about three dayes journey further to the South-West, there was a far greater Branch so Broad that a man could hardly see over it, and bended it selfe to the Northward above the head of James River unto the foot of the great Mountaires, on which River there lived many people upwards, being the Occanacheans and the Nessoneicks, and that where some of the Occanacheans lived, there is an island within the River three dayes journey about, which is of a very rich and fertile soile, and that the upper end of the Island is fordable, not above knee deepe, of a stony bottome, running very swift, and the other side very deepe and navigable: Also we found many of the people of Blandina River to have beards, and both there, and at Woodford River we saw many very old men, and that the Climate according to our opinions were far more temperate than ours of Virginia, and the inhabitants full of Children; they also told

us that at the bottome of the River was great heaps of Salt; and we saw among them Copper, and were informed that they tip their pipes with silver, of which some have been brought into this country, and 'tis very probable that there may be Gold, and other Mettals amongst the Hills. [Salley, 1911, p. 16.]

What is particularly interesting about this quotation from Bland is the description of the island upon which the Occaneechi lived. He gave us an actual fact—the “upper end of the Island is fordable, not above knee deepe, of a stony bottome, running very swift.” As we go along let us keep this in mind in order to compare it with the statements of other observers.

1670.—John Lederer, in 1670, first contacted the Sapon (Saponi) and later the Akenatzy (Occaneechi). After parting company with Major Harris and the rest of the Englishmen near the south fork of the James River, he started out on his own. (See map 8, p. 116.)

The fifth of June, my company and I parted good friends, they back again, and I with one Sasquesahanough—Indian, named Jackzetavon, only, in pursuit of my first enterprize, changing my course from west to southwest and by south to avoid the mountains. . . .

From the fifth, which was Sunday, until the ninth of June, I travelled through difficult ways, without seeing any town or Indian; and then I arrived at Sapon, a village of the Nahyssans, about an hundred miles distant from Mahock; scituate upon a branch of Shawan, alias Rorenock-river . . . [Alvord and Bidgood, 1912, p. 152.]

Sapon is within the limits of the Province of Carolina . . . [Ibid., p. 153.]

Not far distant from hence, as I understand from the Nahyssan Indians, is their kings residence, called *pintahae* from the same river, and happy in the same advantages both for pleasure and profit . . . [Ibid., p. 153.]

From hence, by an Indians instructions, I directed my course to Akenatzy, an island bearing south and be west, and about fifty miles distant, upon a branch of the same river, from Sapon. The country here, though high, is level, and for the most part a rich soyle, as I judged by the growth of the trees; yet where it is inhabited by Indians, it lies open in spacious plains, and is blessed with a very healthful air, as appears by the age and vigour of the people; and though I travelled in the month of June, the heat of the weather hindered me not from riding at all hours without any great annoyance from the sun. By easie journeys I landed at Akenatzy upon the twelfth of June. The current of the river is here so strong, that my horse had much difficulty to resist it; and I expected every step to be carried away with the stream.

This island, though small, maintains many inhabitants, who are fix't here in great security, being naturally fortified with fastnesses of mountains, and water on every side. Upon the north-shore they yearly reap great crops of corn, of which they always have a twelve-months provision aforehand, against an invasion from their powerful neighbours. [Ibid., pp. 153-154.]

1671.—The following year, Batts and Fallam, two traders sent out by General Wood, reported on their western trip. Thomas Batts, Thomas Wood, and Robert Fallam left Apomatacks town on September 1, 1671. They wrote on September 4:

We set forward and about two of the clock arriv'd at the Sapiny town. We travelled south and by west course till about even(ing) and came to the Saponys

west. Here we were very joyfully and kindly received with firing of guns and plenty of provisions. We here hired a Sepiny Indian to be our guide towards the Teteras, a nearer way than usual.

Sept. 5. Just as we were ready to take horse and march from the Sapiny's about seven of the clock in the Morning we heard some guns go off from the other side of the River. They were siven Apomatack Indians sent by Major General Wood to accompany us in our Voyage. We hence sent back a horse belonging to Mr. Thomas Wood, which was tired, by a Portugal, belonging to Major General Wood, whom we here found. About eleven of the clock we set forward and that night came to the town of the Hanathaskies which we judge to be twenty-five miles from the Sapenys, they were lying west and by north in an island on the Sapyony River, rich Land.

Sept. 6. About eleven of the clock we set forward from the Hanathaskies . . . [Ibid., p. 185.]

Sept. 9. . . . we came to a very steep descent, at the foot whereof stood the Tetera Town in a very rich swamp between a branch and the main River of Roanoke circled about with mountains. [Ibid., p. 186.]

1674.—In 1674 Major General Wood reports on the "Journeys of Needham and Arthur" (Alvord and Bidgood, 1912, pp. 209-226). In a letter to Mr. John Richards, he says:

about ye 25th of June they mett with ye Tomahitans as they were journeying from ye mountains to ye Ochonechees. . . . they journied nine days from Ochonechees to Sitteree: west and by south, past nine rivers and creeks which all end in this side ye mountaines and emty them selves into the east sea. Sitteree being the last towne of inhabitance and not any path further until they came within two days journey of ye Tomahitans; they travelled from thence up the mountaines upon ye sun setting all ye way, and in foure dayes gett to ye toppe, sometimes leading their horses sometimes rideing. [p. 211.]

He places Aeno (Eno)—

an Indian towne two dayes jorny beyond Ochoneeche . . . [Ibid, pp. 214-215.]

. . . from Aeno hee journied to Sarrah, with his companions ye Tomahitons and John ye Ochoenechee accompanied with more of his countrey men which was to see ye tragady [Needham's killing] acted as I suppose, it happened as they past Sarrah river. . . . Ochenechee Indian John tooke up Mr. Needham very short in words and so continued scoulding all day untill they had past ye Yattken towne and so over Yattken river . . . [pp. 216-217.]

In this account is hidden a piece of ethnology. It is stated that—

Now ye king must goe to give ye monetons a visit which were his friends, *mony signifying water and ton great in their language.* [The king referred to was the king of the Tomahitans who went visiting his friends the Monetons or Monacans.] Ye monyton towne situated upon a very great river att which place ye tide ebbs and flowes. . . . This river runs northwest and out of ye westerly side of it goeth another very great river about a days journey lower where the inhabitance are an innumerable company of Indians, as the monytons told my man which is twenty days journey from one end to ye other of ye inhabitance, and all these are at warr with the Tomahitans. [Ibid., pp. 221-222.]

Gabriel, a white trader captured and held captive by the Tutelo or Tomahitan Indians, in making his escape—

waded over into ye iland where ye Ochenechees are seated, strongly fortified by nature and that makes them soe insolent for they are but a handful of people,

besides what vagabonds repaire to them it beeing a receptackle for rogues. . . . now wee come again to ye king of ye Tomahittans. With his two sonns and one more who tooke thire packs with them and comes along by Toteru under ye foot of ye mountains, untill they mett with James river and there made a cannoe of barke and came downe the river to the Manikins. from thence to Powetan by land, and across the neck and on ye 20th of July at night arrived att my house . . . [Ibid., pp. 224-225.]

In this last paragraph we have a bit more information concerning the Occaneechi. He accounts for their insolence not only from the location and position of their island home but to their internal makeup of "vagabonds."

1705.—Robert Beverley in his "The History and Present State of Virginia," which was first published in 1705, devotes a part to the language of the peoples, in which he says:

Their Lanugage differs very much antiently in the several parts of Britain; so that Nations at a moderate distance, do not understand one another. However, they have a sort of general Language, like what Lahontan calls the Algonkine, which is understood by the Chief men of many Nations, as Latin is in most parts of Europe, and Lingua Franca quite thro the Levant.

The general Language here us'd is said to be that of the Occaneeches, tho they have been but a small Nation, ever since those parts were known to the English; but in what this language may differ^e from that of the Algonkines, I am not able to determin. [Beverley, 1947, p. 191.]

The language aspect is the most important part of the whole research, for it is upon this factor that these groups were identified, supposedly, as Siouan-speaking peoples. Lawson (1937), in his history of Carolina, etc., states:

I once met with a young Indian woman that had been brought from beyond the Mountains, and was sold a Slave into Virginia. She spoke the same language as the Coramine Indians, that dwell near Cape Lookout, allowing for some few Words, which were different, yet no otherwise than that they might understand one another very well. [Ibid., pp. 180-181.]

Lawson did not bother to tell the tribal affiliations of this young Indian woman, but he pointed out that those groups living "beyond the mountains" were able to converse and understand the Indians living around Cape Lookout, "allowing for some few Words." The only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that this general language spread from the coastal region into the back country beyond the mountains. These "few words" can be accounted for on regional differences; therefore, the Algonquians of the coast spoke the same language as the Indian groups in between them and the mountains as well as those occupying portions of the mountains.

1714.—Lawson, in describing the experiences of his journey (see map 9), says:

. . . it proving delicate Weather, three of us separated ourselves from the Horses, and the rest of the Company, and went directly for Sapona town. . . . We passed by the Sepulchres of several slain Indians. Coming that day about

of Miles, making all Prey they lay their Hands on. These are feared by all the savage Nations I ever was among, the Westward Indians dreading their Approach. . . .

The Toteros, a neighboring Nation, came down from the Westward Mountains to the Saponas, desiring them to give them those prisoners into their Hands, to the Intent they might send them back into their own Nation, being bound in Gratitude to be serviceable to the Sinnagers, since not long ago, those Northern Indians had taken some of the Toteros Prisoners and done them no Harm, but treated them civilly whilst among them, sending them, with Safety, back to their own People, and affirming that it would be the best Method to preserve Peace on all Sides. At that time these Toteros, Saponas, and the Keyauwees, three small Nations, were going to live together, by which they thought they should strengthen themselves and become formidable to their Enemies. The Reason offered by the Toteros being heard, the Saponas King, with the Consent of his Counsellors, delivered the Sinnagers up to the Toteros to conduct them home. [Ibid., pp. 44-45.]

On Monday Morning our whole Company, with the Horses set out from the Saponas-Indian Town . . . Going over several Creeks, very convenient for Water-Mills, about eight Miles from the Town we passed over a very pretty River, called Rocky River, a fit Name, having a Ridge of high Mountains running from its Banks to the Eastward and disgoring itself into Saponas-River . . . [Ibid., p. 47.]

Next day we had fifteen Miles farther to the Keyauwees . . . At Noon we passed over such another stony River, as that eight Miles from Saponas. This is called Heighwaree and affords as good blue Stone for Mill-stones as that from Cologn . . .

Five Miles from this River, to the N. W., stands the Keyauwees town. They are fortified in with wooden Puncheons, like Saponas, being a People much of the same Number. Nature has so fortified this Town with Mountains, that were it a Seat of War, it might easily be made impregnable; having large Corn-Fields joining to their Cabins, and a Savanna near the Town at the Foot of these Mountains, that is capable of keeping some hundred Heads of Cattle. And all this environed round with very high Mountains, so that no hard Wind ever troubles these Inhabitants. . . . [Ibid., p. 48.]

At the Top of one of these Mountains is a cave that one hundred Men may sit very conveniently to dine in . . . [Ibid., pp. 48-49.]

After a bit of travel, Lawson and his group decided to "set out for Achonechy-Town, it being by Estimation, twenty Miles off, which I believe is pretty exact" (ibid., p. 53). En route, they met a Mr. Massey, an Indian trader, and his helpers, who told them about Sinnagers (Iroquois) activities in the area. This changed their plans and instead they went "to call upon one Enoe Will, as we went to Adshusheer, for that he would conduct us safe among the English . . ." (ibid., p. 53). Thus they missed making contact with the Occaneechi.

Much later, Lawson states that: "These five Nations of the Toteros, Saponas, Keiuwee's, Aconechos, and Schoccories, are lately come amongst us, and may contain in all, about 750 Men, Women and Children" (ibid., p. 255).

1732-1740.—Long known only in manuscript form, the histories of the survey of the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina and other items from the pen of William Byrd written during the years

1732–1740 have provided considerable source material on the early colonies. The “History of the Dividing Line” was first printed in 1841, while the “Secret History” went unpublished until 1929. In the 1929 edition of the histories Dr. William Boyd writes in the introduction:

William Byrd’s History of the Dividing Line Betwix’t Virginia and North Carolina has long been regarded as a classic of the colonial period of American literature, an invaluable source for the social history of that time, and a comprehensive and dependable account of the first successful effort to establish the boundary between North Carolina and Virginia. *This estimate, however, must be revised.* [Italics here used are the present writer’s, rather than Boyd’s.] Only the literary merits of the work can withstand criticism. In all other respects, the History of the Dividing Line must be accepted with reservations. As a description of the frontier region along the Virginia–North Carolina border its general tone is true to nature; but certain details leave on the mind of the reader misconceptions regarding conditions and policies in North Carolina. [Byrd, 1929, p. xi.]

Byrd’s writings of his experiences encountered while surveying the Dividing Line, reported as “The History and The Secret History,” contain a number of interesting statements. He gives us a number of Indian words and their equivalents in English. These are:

Moni-seep	-----	Shallow water.	
Yaypatsco	} Beaver Creek.		
Yapatoco			
Yatapsco			
Massamoni	-----	Paint Creek.	
Ohimpamony	} -----	Fishing Creek.	
Uhimpamony			
Tewahominy	} -----	Tuscarora Creek.	
Tewaw-hommini			
Tewakominy			
Hicootomony	-----	Buzzard or Turkey Buzzard River.	
Wicco-quoi	-----	Rock Creek.	

In some of these he states that they are of Saponi origin, but in others he just states that such and such a word “is called by the Indians —, which signifies, in their Jargon, —” (ibid., p. 158). Whether philologists have taken these also to be Saponian in origin is unknown. One thing which can be easily noted is that “moni” or “miny” can appear as either a prefix or a suffix and may mean creek or water, but if so it is lacking in both Beaver Creek and Rock Creek formation.

Byrd locates for us the great falls in the Roanoke River in relation to the confluence of the Dan and Staunton Rivers where they merge to form the Roanoke River. He states it this way:

The great Falls of Roanoak lie about 20 Miles lower, to which a Sloop of Moderate Burthen may come up. There are, besides these, many Smaller Falls above, tho’ none that entirely intercept the Passage of the River, as the great Ones do, by a Chain of Rocks for 8 Miles together.

The River forks about 36 Miles higher, and both Branches are pretty equal in Breadth where they divide, tho’ the Southern, now call’d the Dan runs up the

farthest. [See map 10.] That to the North runs away near Northwest, and is call'd the Staunton, and heads not far from the Source of Appamatuck River, while the Dan stretches away pretty near West & runs clear thro' the great Mountains. [Ibid., p. 156.]

When Byrd speaks of the Saponi, he really waxes eloquent:

All the Grandes of the Sappony Nation did us the Honour to repair hither to meet us, and our Worthy Friend and Fellow Traveller, Bearskin, appear's among the gravest of them in his Robes of ceremony. Four Young Ladies of the first Quality came with them, who had more the air of cleanliness than any copper-Colour'd Beauties I had ever seen . . .

This people is now made up of the Remnant of Several other Nations, of which the most considerable are the Sappony, the Occaneeche, and Steukenhock, who not finding themselves Separately Numerous, enough for their Defense, have agreed to unite into one Body, and all of them now go under the Name of Sappony.

Each of these was formerly a distinct Nation, or rather a Several clan or Canton of the Same Nation, Speaking the Same Language, and using the same Customs. But their perpetual Wars against all other Indians, in time, reduc'd them so lo as to make it Necessary to join their Forces together.

They dwelt formerly not far below the Mountains, upon Yadkin River, about 200 Miles West and by South from the Falls of the Roanoak. But about 25 years ago they took Refuge in Virginia, being no longer in condition to make Head not only against the Northern Indians, who are their Implacable enemies, but also against most of those to the South. All the Nations round about, bearing in mind the Havock these Indians us'd formerly to make among their Ancestors in the Isolence of their Power, did at length avenge it Home upon them, and made them glad to apply to this Government for protection.

Col. Spotswood, our then lieut. governor, having a good Opinion of their Fidelity & Courage, settled them at Christanna, ten Miles north of Roanoak, upon the belief that they wou'd be a good Barrier on that Side of the Country, against the Incursion of all Foreign Indians. [Ibid., pp. 308, 310.]

In regards to the Tutelo, he has this to say:

The Daughter of the Tetero King went away with the Sappony, but being the last of her Nation, and fearing she Shou'd not be treated according to her Rank, poison'd herself, like an Old Roman, with the Root of the Trumpet-Plant. Her Father dy'd 2 Years before, who was the most intrepid Indian we had been acquainted with. He had made himself terrible to all other Indians by his Exploits, and had escaped so many Dangers that he was stemm'd invulnerable. But at last he dy'd of a Pleurisy, the last Man of His Race and Nation, leaving only the unhappy Daughter behind him, who would not long survive Him. [Ibid., pp. 310, 312.]

Whether this information was gathered during the time he was making the survey between the two States is not known, but it must have been around the year 1728.

Additional information on the Occaneeche, Saponi, and Tutelo is found in "The Writings of 'Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia Esqr.'" The entries are in diary form with each event dated:

[15th Sept., 1733]. . . we rode on 7 Miles farther to Blue Stone Castle 5 whereof were thro' my own Land, that is to say, all above Sandy Creek. My Land there

in all extends 10 Miles upon the River; [Roanoke] and 3 charming Islands, namely Sapponi, Occaneeche, and Toteró, run along the whole length of it. The lowest of these Islands is three Miles long, the next 4, and the uppermost 3, divided from each other by only a Narrow Strait. The Soil is rich in all of them, the Timber large, and a kind of Pea, very grateful to Cattle and Horses, holds green all the Winter. Roanoke River is divided by these Islands; that part which runs on the North Side is about 80 Yards and that on the South more than 100. A large Fresh will overflow the lower part of these Islands, but never covers all, so that the cattle may always recover a Place of Security. The Middlemost Island, called Occaneeche Island, has several fields in it where Occaneeche Indians formerly lived, and these are still some remains of the Peach Trees they planted. [Byrd, 1901, p. 286.]

17 Sept. 1733. We set off about nine from Blue Stone Castle, and rode up the River 6 Miles, (one half of which distance was on my own Land,) as far as Major Mumford's Quarter, where Master Hogen was Tenant upon Halves. Here were no great Marks of Industry, the Weeds being near as high as the Corn. My Islands run up within a little way of this Place, which will expose them to the In-roads of the Major's Creatures. That call'd Toteró Island, lyes too convenient not to receive Damage that way; but we must guard against it as well as we can. . . . We returned downward agains about 4 Miles, and a Mile from the Point found a good Ford over the North Branch, into the upper end of Toteró Island. . . . There is a Cave in this Island, in which the last Toteró King, with only 2 of his Men, defended himself against a great Host of Northern Indians, & at last oblig'd them to retire. We forded the Streight out of this into Occaneechy Island, which was full of Large Trees, and rich land, and the South part of it is too high for any flood less than Noah's to drown it . . . [Ibid., pp. 288, 289, 290.]

19 Sept. 1733. Because I detested Idleness, I caus'd my Overseer to paddle me up the River as far as the Streight that divides Occaneechy from Toteró Island, which is about 20 Yards wide. There runs a Swift Stream continually out of the South part of the River into the North, and is in some places very deep. [Ibid., p. 291.]

This is in contrast with the entry made for the 17th of September in which Byrd tells about fording the strait between these two islands without any mention of this deep water.

1775.—James Adair (1930, p. 67) in his "History of the American Indian," first published in 1775, states: "In Virginia, resides the remnant of an Indian tribe, who call themselves Sepone . . ." A footnote at the bottom of this same page, inserted by Samuel Cole Williams, editor of the publication, noted: "Saponi, mentioned by Lawson and Byrd; later incorporated into the Catawbias and now extinct."

The great trading path often referred to by the early explorers and traders has been identified by Williams (*ibid.*, p. 234, footnote) as: "The great trading path from Virginia to Georgia passed through the country of the Catawbias, and was known as the 'Catawba Path.' This brought the tribe into close contact with the whites, which was unfortunate for the redmen, as it tended to their enfeeblement and decline."

1836.—In consulting "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes," etc., by Albert Gallatin (1836), we find:

No further mention is made of the Esaws, and no other populous nation is ever alluded to in that quarter but the Catawbias, there cannot, it seems, be any doubt to their identity with the Esaws of Lawson, who probably mistook a local for the generic name of the nation. Between them and the Tuscaroras of the river Neuse, he [Lawson] places the Saponas on a branch of Cape Fear River, (or rather on the Great Pedee, which he does not mention, and some branches of which he evidently mistook for tributary streams of Cape Fear River) and in their vicinity of the Toteros and Keyauwees, three small tribes amounting together to seven hundred and fifty souls, which had but lately been driven away from the west into that quarter. He was shown, near the Saponas town, the graves of seven Indians 'lately killed by the Sinnegars or Jennitos' (Senecas or Oneidas), and the three tribes had determined to unite in one town for their better security. East of them and west of the Tuscaroras, he mentions the Sissipahaus on the waters of Cape Fear River, and the Enoes on a branch of the Neuse. *With the exception of the Catawbias, we have not the least knowledge of the language of any of those tribes.* [Italics are the present writer's.]

The records of North Carolina would probably throw some light on the subject (of the disappearance of many small tribes.) We learn from Williamson that the Saponas and the Chowans, about the year 1720, obtained leave to join the Tuscaroras. The Wyankes, whom he mentions as having lived on the river Nottoway and formerly emigrated from the Susquehanna, were probably a tribe connected with the Nottoways and Chowans. To the names already mentioned may be added the upper and lower Sawara towns, laid down, south of the Dan River, in all the early maps of North Carolina. In Jeffrey's map, a tribe called Saluda, is also laid down, south of that river, near the present site of Columbus in South Carolina, with a note, that it had removed to Conestoga in Pennsylvania. [Ibid., pp. 85-86.]

The difference between the languages of those several tribes struck Lawson forcibly. He observes that he could find but one word common to the Tuscaroras and the Woccons, who lived but two leagues apart. In the absence of vocabularies, it is now impossible to ascertain, whether most of those several communities spoke languages radically different from each other, or dialects of the same. But we are indebted to Lawson for those of the Tuscaroras, of the Pamlicos, and of the Woccons; and they certainly belong to three distinct languages. He did not suspect that of the Tuscaroras to be an Iroquois dialect, and that his short specimen of that of the Pamlicos would enable us to ascertain how far the Lenape tribes extended towards the south. On comparing the vocabularies of the Woccons and the Catawbias, out of fifty-one words found in both, sixteen appear to have more or less remote affinities; and the Woccons have accordingly been designated as belonging to the same family of languages. [Ibid., p. 87.]

Gallatin gives us a bit of contradictory evidence when talking about the Meherrins and Tuteloes. (See map 11.) He states:

The southern Iroquois tribes occupied Chowan River and its tributary streams. They were bounded, on the east, by the most southerly Lenape tribes, who were in possession of the low country along the seashores, and those of Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds. Towards the south and the west they extended beyond the river Neuse. They appear to have been known in Virginia, in early times, under the name of Monacans, as far north as James River.



MAP 11.—Facsimile of F. L. Hawks' map, 1663-1729.

A powerful chief of the Chowans is mentioned in the accounts of the first attempts to establish a colony on Roanoke Island and its vicinity. Lawson, in his account of the North Carolina Indians, enumerates the Chowans, the Meherrins, and the Nottoways, as having together ninety-five warriors in the year 1708. But the *Meherrins* or *Tutelo*s and the Nottoways inhabited respectively the two rivers of that name, and were principally seated in Virginia. We have but indistinct notices of the Tutelos. It has been seen that they had migrated to the north and joined the Six Nations, who brought them forward, in 1758, as one of the younger members of the confederacy. Evans, in the Analysis of his Map, says that the Six Nations had allotted lands on the Susquehanna to several tribes, amongst which he enumerates the Tutelos from Meherrin River in Virginia; and he further states, that they (the Six Nations) laid no claim to the country of the Tuscaroras who had been driven away, but were not so well satisfied as to the lands of the Tutelos and Meherrins, whom they had received under their protection. *We have no vocabulary of that tribe, and no knowledge that they still exist under that name.* [Ibid., p. 81; italics are the present writer's.]

Samuel G. Drake (1848), in his book on Indians, tells us that the Occaneeches were in Virginia in 1607 and that they had at times been a powerful group but by 1607 their numbers had been greatly reduced. The Saponies (Wanamies) were known to be living on the Sapona River in North Carolina in 1700 and to have joined the Tuscaroras in 1720. The Toteros made their home in the mountains north of the Saponies in North Carolina in 1700. One interesting note is the correlation of the Mangoacs, or Tuteloes, with the Iroquois who once lived on the Nottoway River but are now extinct. Drake says that the Mannahoaks once lived on the upper waters of the Rappahannock River and were extinct long ago. "Dahcota (or Dacota) was the name by which the Sioux knew themselves."

1858.—Consulting the history of North Carolina, by Hawks (1858), we find that he says:

The Mahocks, from Lederer's map, would appear to have been living near the dividing line of Nelson and Albemarle counties, at the junction of the Rockfish and James rivers. The locality of the Nahyssans appear, from Robert Morden's map of Carolina (1687), and also from Ogilby's, to have been west of the Mahocks, between them and the first range of mountains. [1858, p. 44.] [See map 12.]

He goes on to explain that—

By Shawan, Lederer means Chowan, which he here confounds with Roanoke. On Morden's map of 1687, and Ogilby's (1671), the Chowan is called *Rokahak*, while the Moratoc or Roanoke is called *Noratoke*. The Staunton and the Dan form the latter river, and it was probably on some of the tributaries of the first-named stream he struck, perhaps on the Staunton itself, just before its junction with the Dan. He had changed his course, as he tells us to S. W. by S. to avoid the mountains, and the only streams to which this course would bring him are the Staunton and its northern tributaries. [Ibid., p. 45.]

In explaining the location of the "Sapon," he says:

We must here remember that the dividing line between the present States of Virginia and Carolina was not then established as it is now recognized. From Lederer's map, it appears that all that part of Virginia lying south of James River, and extending as far westward as the Blue Ridge, was considered by him as part of Carolina, and is so designated on his map. Sapon, however, would appear from his map to have been in North Carolina, or just beyond the boundary in Virginia. Morden places it just south of the dividing line, in Carolina, on the upper waters of what we call the Roanoke. It was the chief town of the Nahyssans. [Ibid. p. 46.] [See map 13.]

In speaking of the Occaneechi, he states:

This island *Akenatzy* is possibly what is found on Lawson's map of 1709, under the name of Oconeche, in the Roanoke River. [Ibid., p. 47.]

From Lederer's account, the conjecture that seems most probable is, that taking a course southwest and by south from the falls of the James River, he came upon the Roanoke in North Carolina, and crossed it at the island which he calls *Akenatzy*, if he crossed it at all. This island is between Halifax and Northampton, I apprehend. His wandering then took him into some of those counties where our swamp lands are most abundant, and he certainly was in

and Jefferson's map of 1775 a group of islands labeled "Occoneachey Islands" appear at the confluence of these same two rivers and on both the latter maps "Aconeechy" and "Akonichi" Town were placed on the Eno River east of "Old Haw Fields" and just a short distance south of "The Trading Path Leading to the Catawban and Cherokee Indian Nations"; while Hawks in 1858 placed it somewhere between Halifax and Northampton Counties.

1883.—At this period we come to a most important source, Horatio Hale. In 1872 the Reverend Joseph Anderson reported upon the findings of Hale in his article entitled "The Newly Discovered Relationships of the Tuteloe to the Dakotan Stock," which was only a preview of a later revelation published by Hale in 1883. I quote him at length, since most of the later studies stress his findings. In this article he says:

The fact, which has been recently ascertained, that several tribes speaking languages of the Dakota stock were found by the earliest explorers occupying the country east of the Alleghenies, along a line extending through the southern part of Virginia and the northern portion of North Carolina, nearly to the Atlantic ocean, has naturally awakened much interest. . . . Careful researches seem to show that while the language of these eastern tribes is closely allied to that of the western Dakotas, it bears evidence of being older in form. If this conclusion shall be verified, the *supposition*, which at first was natural, that these eastern tribes were merely offshoots of the Dakota stock, must be deemed at least improbable. . . . As a means of solving this interesting problem, the study of the history and language of a tribe now virtually extinct assumes a peculiar scientific value. . . . [Italics are writer's.]

In the year 1671 an exploring party under Captain Batt, leaving "Apomatock Town" on the James River, penetrated into the mountains of Western Virginia at a distance, by the route they travelled, of two hundred and fifty miles from their starting point. At this point they found "the Tolera Town in a very rich swamp between a breach (branch) and the main river of the Roanoke, circled about by mountains." (Batt's Journal and Relation of a New Discovery, in N. Y. Hist. Co. vol. iii, p. 191). There are many errata in the printed narrative, and the circumstances leave no doubt that "Tolera" should be "Totera." On their way to this town the party passed the Sapong (Sapony) town, which, according to the journal, was about a hundred miles east of the "Toleras." A few years later we shall find these tribes in closer vicinity and connection.

At this period the Five Nations were at the height of their power, and in full flush of that career of conquest which extended their empire from the Georgian Bay on the north to the Roanoke River on the south. They had destroyed the Hurons and the Eries, had crushed the Andastes (or Conestogas Indians), had reduced the Delawares to subjection, and were now brought into direct collision with the tribes of Virginia and the Carolinas. The Toterias (whom we shall henceforth know as the Tuteloes) began to feel their power. In 1686 the French missionaries had occasion to record a projected expedition of the Senecas against a people designated in the printed letter the "Tolere,"—the same misprint occurring once more in the same publication. (Lamberville to Bruyas, November 4, 1686, in N. Y. Hist. Col., vol. iii, p. 484.) The tradition of the Tuteloes record long continued and destructive wars waged against them and their allies by the Iroquois, and more especially by the two western nations, the Cayugas

and Senecas. To escape the incursions of their numerous and relentless enemies, they retreated further to the south and east. Here they came under the observation of a skilled explorer, John Lawson, the Surveyor-General of South Carolina. In 1701, Lawson traveled from Charleston, S. C. to Pamlico sound. . . . At the Sapona river, which was the west branch of the Cape Fear or Clarendon river, he came to the Sapona town, where he was well received. (Gallatin, 1836, suggests that Lawson was in error here, and that the Sapona river was a branch of the Great Pedee which he does not mention, and some branches which he evidently mistook for tributaries of the Cape Fear River, p. 85) He there heard of the Toteros as "a neighboring nation" in the "western mountains." "At that time," he adds, "these Toteros, Saponas, and Keyauwees, three small nations, were going to live together, by which they thought they should strengthen themselves and become formidable to their enemies." They were then at war with the powerful and dreaded Senecas—whom Lawson styles Sinnagers. While he was at the Sapona town, some of the Toteras warriors came to visit their allies. Lawson was struck with their appearance. . . . In another place he adds: "These five nations of the Toteros, Saponas, Keiuwees, Aconechos and Schoicories are lately come amongst us, and may contain in all about 750 men, women and children." It is known that the Toteroes (or Tuteloes) and Saponas understood each other's speech, and *it is highly probable* that all the five tribes belonged to the same stock. They had doubtless fled together from southwestern Virginia before their Iroquois invaders. The position in which they had taken refuge might well have seemed to them safe, as it placed between them and their enemies the strong and warlike Tuscarora nation, which numbered then, according to Lawson's estimate, twelve hundred warriors, clustered in fifteen towns, stretching along the Neuse and Tar rivers. Yet, even behind this living rampart, the feeble confederates were not secure. Lawson was shown, near the Sapona town, the graves of seven Indians who had been lately killed by the "Sinnegars or Jennitos"—names by which Gallatin understands the Senecas and Oneidas, though as regards the latter identification there may be some question.

The protection which the Tuteloes had received from the Tuscaroras and their allies soon failed them. In the year 1711 a war broke out between the Tuscaroras and the Carolina settlers, which ended during the following year in the complete defeat of the Indians. After their overthrow the great body of the Tuscaroras retreated northward and joined the Iroquois, who received them into their league as the sixth nation of the confederacy. A portion, however, remained near their original home. They merely retired a short distance northward into the Virginia territory, and took up their abode in the tract which lies between the Roanoke and the Potomac rivers. Here they were allowed to remain in peace, under the protection of the Virginia government. And here, they were presently joined by the Tuteloes and Saponas, with their confederates. In September, 1724, the governors of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, held a conference at Albany with the chiefs of the Iroquois, to endeavor to bring about a peace between them and the southern tribes. On this occasion Governor Spotteswood, of Virginia, enumerated the tribes for which the government of his province would undertake to engage. Among them were certain tribes which were commonly known under the name of the "Christanna Indians," a name derived from that of a fort which had been established in their neighborhood. These were "the Saponies, Ochineeches, Stenkenoaks, Meipontskys, and Toteroes," all of whom, it appears, the Iroquois were accustomed to comprehend under the name of *Todirichrones*. (N. Y. Hist. Col., vol. v, p. 655 et seq.)

Some confusion and uncertainty, however, arise in consulting the colonial records of this time, from the fact that this name of Todirichrones was applied by the Iroquois to two distinct tribes, or rather confederacies, of Southern Indians, belonging to different stocks, and speaking languages totally dissimilar. They were, on the one hand, the Tuteloes (or Toteroes) and their allies, and, on the other, the powerful Catawba nation. The Catawba occupied the eastern portion of the Carolinas, south of the Tuscarora nation.

One result of the peace thus established was that the Tuteloes and Saponas, after a time, determined to follow the course which had been taken by the major portion of their Tuscarora friends, and place themselves directly under the protection of the Six Nations. Moving northward across Virginia, they established themselves at Shamokin (since named Sunbury) in what is now the center of Pennsylvania. . . .

The last surviving Tutelo lived among the Cayuga, and was known to them by the name of Nikonha. . . . His Tutelo name was said to be Washiteng; its meaning could not be ascertained, and it is perhaps merely a corruption of the English word mosquito.

He was married to a Cayuga wife, and for many years had spoken only the language of her people. But he had not forgotten his proper speech, and readily gave us the Tutelo rendering of nearly a hundred words. [Italics are writer's.] At that time my only knowledge of the Tuteloes had been derived from the few notices comprised in Gallatin's Synopsis of the Indian Tribes, where they are classed with the nations of the Huron-Iroquois stock. At the same time, *the distinguished author*, with the scientific caution which marked all his writings, *is careful to mention that no vocabulary of the language was known.* [Italics are writer's.] That which was now obtained showed beyond question, that the language was totally distinct from the Huron-Iroquois tongues, and that it was closely allied to the languages of the Dacotan family.

The discovery of a tribe of Dakota lineage near the Atlantic coast was so unexpected and surprising that at first it was natural to suspect some mistake. The idea occurred that the old Tutelo might have been a Sioux captive, taken in the wars which were anciently waged between the Iroquois and the tribes of the far west. With the view of determining this point, I took the first opportunity, on my next visit to the Reserve, in October 1870, of questioning the old man about his early history, and that of his people. His answers soon removed all doubt. [In what manner Hale did not bother to explain.] He believed himself to be a hundred and six years old; and if so, his earliest recollections would go back to a time preceding by some years the Revolutionary War. At that time his people, the Tuteloes, were living in the neighborhood of two other tribes, the Saponies and the Patshenins or Botshenins. *In the latter we may perhaps recognize the Occaneeches,* [italics are writer's.] whom Governor Spotteswood, in 1702, enumerated with the Saponies, Toteroes, and two other tribes, under the general name of Christanna Indians. The Saponies and Tuteloes, old Nikonha said, could understand one another's speech. About the language of the Patshenins, I neglected to inquire, but they were mentioned with the Saponies as a companion tribe. His father's name was Onusōwa; he was a chief among the Tuteloes. His mother (who was also a Tutelo) died when he was young, and he was brought up by an uncle. He heard from old men that the Tuteloes formerly lived on a great river beyond Washington, which city he knew by that name. In the early times they were a large tribe, but had wasted away through fighting. Their war parties used to go out frequently against various enemies. The tribes they most commonly

fought were the Tuscaroras, Senecas, and Cayugas. Afterwards his tribe came to Niagara (as he expressed it), and joined the Six Nations. He knew of no Tutelo of the full blood now living, except himself.

This, with some additions to my vocabulary, was the last information which I received from old Washiteng, or Nikonha. He died a few months later (on the 21st of February, 1871), before I had an opportunity of again visiting the Reserve. There are, however, several half-castes, children of Tutelo mothers by Iroquois fathers, who know the language, and by the native law (which traces descent through the female) are held to be Tuteloes.

From this chief, and from his aunt, an elderly dame, whose daughter was the wife of a leading Onondaga chief, I received a sufficient number of words and phrases of the language to give a good idea of its grammatical framework. Fortunately, the list of words obtained from the old Tutelo was extensive enough to afford a test of the correctness of additional information thus procured. The vocabulary and the outlines of grammar which have been derived from these sources may, therefore, as far as they extend, be accepted as affording an authentic representation of this very interesting speech.

There is still, it should be added, some uncertainty in regard to the tribal name. [Italics are writer's.] So far as can be learned, the word Tutelo or Totero (which in the Iroquois dialects is variously pronounced Tiüterih, or Tehötirigh, Tehütüli, Tiütei and Tütie) has no meaning either in the Tutelo or Iroquois language. It may have been originally a mere local designation, which accompanied the tribe, as such names sometimes do, in its subsequent migrations. Both of my semi-Tutelo informants assured me that the proper national name—or the name by which the people were designated among themselves—was Yesáng or Yesáh, the last syllable having a faint nasal sound, which was sometimes barely audible. In this word we *probably* [italics are writer's] see the origin of the name, Nahyssan, applied by Lederer to the tribes of this stock. [The present writer wishes to insert a statement to the effect that Lederer never alluded to the Nahyssan as inferred by Hale, but rather as definitely to the Saponi.] . . . In these Akenatzies we undoubtedly see the Aconechos of Lawson, and the Ochineeches mentioned by Governor Spotteswood. Dr. Brinton, in his well known work on the "Myths of the New World," has pointed out, also, their identity with the Occaneeches mentioned by Beverly in his "History of Virginia," and in doing so has drawn attention to the very interesting facts recorded by Beverley respecting their language. (See the note on p. 303 of Dr. Brinton's volume, 2d edition.)

According to this historian, the tribes of Virginia spoke languages differing so widely that natives "at moderate distance" apart did not understand one another. They had, however, a "general language," which people of different tribes used in their intercourse with one another, precisely as the Indians of the north, according to La Hontan, used the "Algonkine," and as Latin was employed in most parts of Europe, and the Lingua Franca in the Levant. These are Beverley's illustrations. He then added the remarkable statement: "The general language here used is that of the Occaneeches, though they have been but a small nation ever since these parts were known to the English; but in what their language may differ from that of the Algonkins I am not able to determine." Further on he gives us the still more surprising information that this "general language" was used by the priests and conjurors "of the different Virginian nations in performing their religious ceremonies, in the same manner (he observes)" as the Catholics of all nations do their Mass in the Latin."

The Akenatzies or Occaneeches *would seem to have been, in some respects, the chief or leading community among the tribes of Dakotan stock who formerly inhabited Virginia.* [Italics are writer's.] That these tribes had at one time a large and

widespread population *may be inferred* from the simple fact that their language, like that of the widely scattered Algonkins (or Ojibways) in the northwest, became the general medium of communication for the people of different nationalities in their neighborhood. That they had some ceremonial observances (or, as Beverley terms them "adorations and conjurations") of a peculiar and impressive cast, like those of the western Dakotas *seems* [italics are writer's] evident from the circumstance that the intrusive tribes adopted this language, and *probably* [italics are writer's] with it some of these observances, in performing their own religious rites. We thus have a strong and unexpected confirmation [?] of the tradition prevailing among the tribes both of the Algonkin and the Iroquois stocks, which represents them as coming originally from the far north, and gradually over-spreading the country on both sides of the Alleghanies, from the Great Lakes to the mountain fastnesses of the Cherokees. They found, *it would seem*, Virginia, and possibly the whole country east of the Alleghanies, from the Great Lakes to South Carolina, occupied by tribes speaking languages of the Dakotan stock. That the displacement of these tribes was a very gradual process and that the relations between the natives and the encroaching tribes were not always hostile, *MAY BE INFERRED* not only from the adoption of the aboriginal speech as the general means of intercourse, but also from the terms of amity on which these tribes of diverse origin, natives and intrusives, were found by the English to be living together.

That the Tutelo tongue represents this "general language" of which Beverley speaks—this aboriginal Latin of Virginia—cannot be doubted. *It may therefore, be deemed a language of no small historical importance. The FACT (?) that this language, which was first obscurely heard in Virginia two hundred years ago, has been brought to light in our day on a far-off reservation in Canada, and there learned from the lips of the latest surviving member of this ancient community, must certainly be considered one of the most singular occurrences in the history of science.* [Italics are writer's.]

Apart from the mere historical interest of the language, its scientific value in American ethnology entitles it to a careful study. As has been already said, a comparison of its grammar and vocabulary with those of the western Dakota tongues HAS LED TO THE INFERENCE that the Tutelo language was the older form of this common speech. [Italics are writer's.] This conclusion was briefly set forth in some remarks which I had the honor of addressing to this Society at the meeting of December 19, 1879, and is recorded in the published minutes of the meeting. [Hale, 1883, pp. 1-13.]

1886.—Edward Neill tells us about events of Bacon's Rebellion and the part played by various Indian groups. He relates:

In the hope of composing difficulties, the Governor (Berkeley), on the 3d of May, 1676, with an escort of three hundred men proceeded to visit the upper part of York and James Rivers, and found that Bacon had gone with a force of two hundred persons to the great village of the Okinagees on an island, in a river, two hundred miles southward, [italics are writer's] and there while the Indians were friendly in disposition, provoked a quarrel in which the Indians lost fifty, and he eleven men. [Neill, 1886, pp. 350-351.]

Leading up to this event the following had occurred:

In early summer of 1675, the Doegs, a tribe of the Potomac River, charged a planter, named Mathews, with unfair dealings, and retaliated by stealing his swine. The Indians were pursued, and some killed. Then Robert Henn, a herdsman was found wounded, at the door of his cabin, in Stafford County, Vir-

ginia,^f who lived long enough to say, that his assailants were savages. A party in July, under Colonel George Mason, and Captain Brent, crossed the Potomac, in pursuit and divided their forces. The horsemen, under Brent, found a wigwam of Doegs, surrounded it, and killed the chief and ten others as they came out. Colonel Mason found an encampment also near by, and with those on foot, killed fourteen, when a chief ran up, and told him that they were friendly Susquehannas, and that the murder which had incensed the whites was committed by a band of wandering Senecas.

After this, great excitement prevailed upon the Maryland, as well as the Virginia shores of the Potomac, and a joint movement against the Indians was arranged. The Virginians were under Colonel John Washington, Colonel George Mason and Major Isaac Allerton; and the Marylanders, were commanded by Major Thomas Trueman. The latter reached a fort of the Susquehannas, on Sunday morning, September 25th, 1675, and was informed that the marauding Senecas had done the injury to the settlers, but, they had left four days before, and were probably near the head of the Patapsco River. The next morning there was a junction of the Marylanders and Virginians, and the officers of the latter were Col. John Washington, Col. George Mason, and Major Allerton. About six of the principal Indians came out of their earth fort, and showed by their certificates and medals that they held friendly relations with the people of Maryland, but Col. Washington said "Why keep them any longer? Let us knock them on the head".

The rash suggestion was adopted, and the fort in marsh ground, surrounded with limbs of trees, was besieged. The outraged savages held out, for six weeks, and then upon a moonlight night, stole away. The indignity heaped upon them was quickly avenged, and ten white people were speedily killed for each chief that had been murdered. The authorities of Maryland were shocked at what they termed the "barbarous and inhuman" act of Major Trueman and his associates, and he was impeached by the Assembly, and debarred from holding office, while all possible reparation was made to the Indians. Virginia was requested to censure the act of Col. Washington, and others, and it is said that Governor Berkeley was willing, but no steps were taken by the Council and Burgesses. Passing round the rude stockades erected at the heads of the principal rivers, the Indians commenced the work of retaliation, and from the Falls of the Potomac, to the Falls of the James, steadily crept, scalping the isolated planter, and mutilating the bodies of helpless women, and babes, and among other who fell, was the overseer of younger Nathaniel Bacon.

For the protection of frontiersmen, the Assembly which convened, in March, 1676, declared war against those savages, who had lately committed murders, and robberies, and arrangements were made for the raising of five hundred men, in the older, and more secure counties, to be paid by the Colony, and stationed at points, liable to attacks from the savages. [Neill, 1886, pp. 346-348.]

Others were chagrined because they received neither appointments as officers of the forces to operate against the Indians, nor profits from the erection of the several stockades. Throughout the Colony, moreover, there was a good deal of discontent because the Governor gave the offices and contracts, to a few favorites, and Bacon determined to lead this element, and intimidate the Governor. As one of the council, he told his neighbors, that he would pursue the Indians, without any expense to the public, and thus rallied them to his support. He then applied for a commission to lead a force against the Indians, but Berkeley did not grant it, but ordered the military officers, of each county, to appoint officers necessary to suppress Indian hostilities. [Ibid., p. 350.]

1892.—J. W. Powell, in his "Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico," which was largely influenced by James Mooney, states:

The Tutelo habitat in 1671 was in Brunswick County, southern Virginia, and it probably included Lunenburg and Mecklenburg counties. The Earl of Bello-mont (1699) says that the Shateras were "supposed to be the Toteros, on Big Sandy River, Virginia," and Pownall, in his map of North America (1776) gives the Totteroy (i. e., Big Sandy) River. Subsequently to 1671 the Tutelo left Virginia and moved to North Carolina. They returned to Virginia (with the Sapona), joined the Nottoway and Meherrin, whom they and the Tuscarora followed into Pennsylvania in the last century, thence they went to New York, where they joined the Six Nations, with whom they removed to Grand River Reservation, Ontario, Canada, after the Revolutionary War. The last full-blood Tutelo died in 1870. For the important discovery of the Siouan affinity of the Tutelo language we are indebted to Mr. Hale. [Powell, 1892, p. 114.]

This whole statement reflects not Powell's but Mooney's ideas entirely, which are stated in his article on the Siouan tribes of the East.

1894.—At this period, we come to Mooney's classic report. Since this work has been so liberally quoted by subsequent writers, we are taking the same liberty.

Speaking about the Siouan tribes, he says:

The Siouan tribes, to the contrary, although generally cultivating the ground to a limited extent, were essentially a race of hunters, following the game—especially the buffalo—from one district to another, here today and away tomorrow. Their introduction to the horse on the prairies of the west probably served only to give wider opportunity for the indulgence of an inborn roving disposition. Nomads have short histories, and as they seldom stopped long enough in one place to become identified with it, little importance was attached to their wanderings and as little was recorded concerning 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.

The region concerning which least has been known ethnologically is that extending from the Potomac to the Savannah and from the mountains to the sea, comprising most of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. Of some of the tribes formerly within this area the linguistic connection has long been settled; of some others it is a matter of recent discovery; of others again it is still a matter of doubt; while some must forever remain unclassified, for the tribes have perished from the earth without leaving a word of their language behind. [Mooney, 1894, pp. 6, 7.]

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. [Ibid., p. 6.]

In Virginia this territory includes all west of a line drawn through Richmond and Fredericksburg, up to the Blue Ridge, or about one-half the area of the state. In North Carolina it includes the basins of the Roanoke, the Tar, the Cape Fear, the Yadkin, and the upper Catawba rivers, comprising more than two-thirds of the area of that state. In South Carolina it comprises nearly the whole central and eastern portion. In the three states the territory in question comprises

an area of about 70,000 square miles, formerly occupied by about forty different tribes. [Mooney never names these.]

Who were the Indians of this central area? For a long time the question was ignored by ethnologists, and it was implicitly assumed that they were like their neighbors, Iroquoian or Algonquian in the north and "Catawban" in the south. It was never hinted that they might be anything different, and still less was it supposed that they would prove to be a part of the great Siouan or Dakotan family, whose nearest known representatives were beyond the Mississippi or about the upper lakes, nearly a thousand miles away. [Ibid, p. 9.]

. . . the great agents in the expulsion or extermination of the eastern Siouan tribes were the confederate Iroquois of New York. With these may be included the Tuskarora, who, though established on the Neuse river in North Carolina, retained the clear tradition of their common origin and were regarded as an outlying tribe of the confederacy with which they afterward united as an integral part. . . . When their warfare against the southern tribes was inaugurated we do not know. It was probably continuous with the expulsion of the Cherokee from the upper Ohio, and was in full progress nearly three centuries ago. As early as 1608 John Smith found the Iroquois, known to the Powhatan tribes as Massawomek, regarded as "their most mortall enemies" by all the tribes of Virginia and Maryland. The Susquehanna ("Sasquesahanock") or Conestoga at the head of the bay, who had nearly six hundred warriors, all "great and well-proportioned men," he found "pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from the Massawomekes their mortall enemies" (Smith, 1). Sixty-five years later these giant-like men, notwithstanding their palisaded defenses, were forced to abandon their country to the conquering Iroquois and come down upon the frontiers of Virginia, thus precipitating the Indian war which resulted in Bacon's rebellion. . . . Byrd, about 1730, says that the northern Indians were the implacable enemies of these Siouan tribes, and that the frequent inroads of the Seneca had compelled the Sara to abandon their beautiful home on the banks of the Dan and take refuge on the Pedee (Byrd, 2). [Ibid., pp. 9, 12, 13.]

Up to 1670 the Monacan tribes had been but little disturbed by the whites, although there is evidence that the wars waged against them by the Iroquois were keeping them constantly shifting about. Their country had not been penetrated, excepting by a few traders who kept no journals and only the names of those living immediately on the frontiers of Virginia were known to the whites. Chief among these were the Monacan proper, having their village a short distance above Richmond. In 1670 Lederer crossed the country in a diagonal line from the present Richmond to Catawba river, on the frontier of South Carolina, and a year later a party under Batts explored the country westward across the Blue ridge to the headwaters of New River. Thenceforward accounts were heard of Nahyssan, Sapona, Toteró, Occaneechi, and others, consolidated afterward in a single body at the frontier, Fort Christanna, and thereafter known collectively as Saponi or Tutelo. The Monacan proper form the connecting link between the earlier and the later period. The other tribes of this connection were either extinct or consolidated under other names before 1700, or were outside of the territory known to the first writers. For this reason it is difficult to make the names of the earlier tribes exactly synonymous with those known later, although the proof of lineal descent is sometimes beyond question.

We shall deal first with the Monacan and confederated tribes mentioned by Smith. According to this explorer the Monacan confederacy in 1607 held the country along James river above the Powhatan, whose frontier was about the falls at which Richmond was afterward located. Among the tribes of the confederacy Smith enumerated the Monacan proper, the Mowhemenchugh, Massin-

nacack, Monahassanugh, and Monasickapanough, and says there were others, which he does not name. . . . He seems to imply that the Monacan tribes named spoke different languages, although in another place (Smith, 8) *we are led to infer* [writer's italics] that they had but one. The difference was probably only dialectic, although the cognate and confederate tribes farther southward probably used really different languages.

Strachey derives the name Monacan from the Powhatan word *monahacan* or *monowhawk*, "sword," while Heckewelder, through the Delaware language, translates it "spade" or "digging instrument." It is more probable that the word is not Algonquian at all, but that the tribal names given Smith are approximations to the names used by the tribes themselves. . . . Monahassanugh is the Nahyssan of Lederer and Monasickapanough may possibly be the origin of Saponi. [Ibid., pp. 26-27.]

The first actual contact into the Monacan territory was made in the fall of 1608 when a party led by Newport, together with 120 men, marched about 40 miles up the river where they discovered two of the Monacan villages, Massinacack and Mowhemenchouch. Not that the English wanted to make overture to the Indians since this was purely an exploratory trip primarily in search for rich minerals. Not finding any they returned in about a week satisfied that the Monacan country held nothing which they desired for the time being. Indirect pressure by the English caused them to abandon several of their villages and the inroads made by the Rechahecrian or Rickohockan who descended from the western mountains with the intention of settling near the falls of the James precipitated a war with the English and their Pamunkey allies in which the latter were badly defeated.

Mooney further suggests that "the Powhatan to the east probably kept up the desultory raids so long as they themselves were in condition to fight" (ibid., p. 28). This is contrary to the idea expressed by Smith and others, who stated that the Monacan were the offensive ones and whenever they appeared the Powhatan trembled with fear. Mooney also suggests that the Monacan—

were directly in the track of the Rechahecrian (Rickohockan, Cherokee) who in 1656 (or 1654) descended from the mountains and ravaged the country as far as the falls of the James where they defeated the combined forces of the English and Pamunkey. . . . A remark by Lederer indicates that the Saponi were at this time carrying on a war with the whites. [Ibid., p. 28].

In another place Lederer states that the country between the falls of the river and the mountains was formerly owned by the "Tacci" or "Dogi" who were then extinct, and their place occupied by the Mahoc (not identified), Nuntaneuck or Nuntaly (not identified), Nahyssan (Monahassano or Tutelo), Sapon (Saponi), Managog (Mannahoac), Mangoack (Nottoway), Akenatzy (Occaneechi), and Monakin. All these, he says, had one common language, in different dialects. *This was probably true, except as to the Nottoway, who were of Iroquoian stock.* [Italics are the present writer's.] [If this common language was assigned to the whole lot, according to Lederer, and does not apply to the Nottoway, according to Mooney, why not exceptions within the rest or the grouping? Mooney goes on to make a flat statement that the:] Linguistic evidence indicates that the

eastern tribes of the Siouan family were established upon the Atlantic slope long before the western tribes of that stock reached the plains. [Ibid., p. 29.]

In this same work, Mooney states:

In another place he (Lederer) observes that Totopotomoi, the Pamunki chief had been killed while fighting for the English against the Mahock and Nahyssan. . . . if Lederer's statement be true it would prove that the Siouan tribes of Virginia had aided the Cherokee in this invasion. [Ibid., p. 30.]

In checking over two different copies of "The Discoveries of John Lederer," etc.—Humphrey's edition of 1902, and Alvord and Bidgood of 1912—neither one follows through as indicated by Mooney in identifying "a great Indian king called Tottopotoma." Mooney makes a number of assumptions which he attributes to earlier writers that seem somewhat dubious. This is noticeable throughout the whole of the dissertation on the eastern Siouan problem.

After leaving Major Harris on the James River, Lederer and his Susquehanna guide, Jackzetavon, set forth and arrived at "Sapon, a town of the Nahyssans." Mooney interprets this to mean: "The name Sapon or Saponi may possibly have a connection with the Siouan (Dakota) word '*sapa*,' 'black,'" (ibid., p. 30). Lederer tells of the chief of the Sapon residing in another village called *pintahae* which was not far from Sapon and situated upon the same river. Mooney thinks that—

In Nahyssan we have the Monahassanugh of Smith, the Hanohaskie of Batts, and the Yesand of Hale. *Pintahae* was the local name of another tribe or settlement included under the same generic designation. Thus from Lederer's statement that Sapon was a Nahyssan town we understand that the Saponi were a subtribe or division of the people who knew themselves as Yesang. [Ibid., p. 31.]

Not only has he mistakenly attributed statements to Lederer but he has confused Lederer with Hale, for Lederer never indicated that he knew that the Saponi were supposed to have called themselves "yesang." It is upon Hale's statement that the Saponi were supposed to have called themselves by this word, and even on his say-so, it was acquired under pretty questionable circumstances.

Mooney's provocative statement on top of page 33: "Lederer's account of their religion is too general to be definite, and he neglects to state to what particular tribal language the Indian names quoted belong," a common practice in those times as well as in his own. Lederer was an explorer-trader, pure and simple, and he preserved in his journal happenings which struck his fancy and recorded events which occurred during his various expeditions. The information recorded during this particular trip was given to him mostly by his Susquehanna guide and this information would be colored by this fact. Names of places, of other Indian groups, rivers, etc., would necessarily be given in pure Susquehanna (Iroquois) terms.

Adding further confusion to the issue, Mooney states:

The Hanohaskie village [which he interpreted in an earlier paragraph as a misprint of Manohaskie and which are the Monahassanugh of Smith's map of 1609, on which they are located indefinitely southwest of the junction of the James and Rivanna rivers] of Batts may be the Pintahae of Lederer. The latter did not meet the tribe here designated as the Tolera, as they were far remote from the regular lines of travel, and after leaving the village which he calls Sapon he turned off to strike the trail (?) which crossed the Roanoke at the Occaneechi village about Clarksville, Virginia. [Mooney's interpretation as to the location of the Occaneechi village and the trail are unsupported by facts as revealed by maps of the period shortly after Lederer made his famous trip and appear to be supported only by suppositions and inferences on the part of Mooney.] The chief difficulty in comparing the narratives arise from the fact that the names Yesang and Tutelo (of Hale's), in their various forms, are used both specifically and collectively. [Ibid., p. 35.]

The Hanohaskie of Batts and Fallam was, according to their own statement, located to the north and west of Sapony, a distance of 25 miles. Lederer never indicated either the direction or the distance from Sapon for the location of his "pintahae."

Mooney states further:

The Tutelo and Saponi tribes must be considered together. Their history under either name begins in 1670. . . . The name Saponi (Monasickapanough ?) was generally limited to a particular tribe or aggregation of tribal remnants, while the Iroquois name Tutelo, Toter, or Todirich-roone, in its various forms, although commonly used by the English to designate a particular tribe, was really the generic Iroquois term for all the Siouan tribes of Virginia and Carolina, including even the Catawba. . . . In deference to Hale, who first established their Siouan affinity, we have chosen to use the form Tutelo, although Toter is more in agreement with the old authorities. . . . As the name is used by Batts and Lawson it probably belongs to some southern language and was adopted by the Iroquois. [First Mooney states that it is "really the generic Iroquois term" and now he states that the Iroquois borrowed it from the southern Indians.] It frequently happens that Indian tribes can not interpret their common tribal designations, but know themselves simply as "the people." [Ibid., p. 37.]

Referring to William Byrd, Mooney continues:

Unable to withstand the constant assaults of their northern enemies, the two western tribes abandoned their villages and removed (some time between 1671 and 1701) to the junction of the Staunton and the Dan, where they established themselves adjoining their friends and kinsmen the Occaneechi, whose history thenceforth merges into theirs. The Occaneechi . . . although now themselves reduced by the common enemy, had been an important tribe. [Inferred.] They occupied at this time a beautiful island about 4 miles long, called by their tribal name, lying in the Roanoke a short distance below the forks of the stream, in what is now Mecklenburg county, Virginia. Above and below Occaneechi island, in the same stream, were two other islands, of nearly equal size. The Saponi settled on the lower of these, while the Tutelo took possession of the upper one just at the confluence of the two rivers. How long they remained there is not definitely known. . . . They may have been driven from their position on the Roanoke by that general Indian upheaval, resulting from the conquest of the Conestoga or Susquehanna by the Iroquois about 1675, which culminated in Virginia in the Bacon

rebellion. In 1733 Byrd visited the islands, and found tall grass growing in the abandoned fields. [Ibid., p. 38.]

Mooney places—

Hale in error in supposing from Lawson's narrative that the Tutelo and Saponi in 1701 had found shelter from the Iroquois by placing between themselves and their destroyers the "living rampart" of the Tuskarora. The error grows out of Lawson's supposition that Sapona river is identical with the Cape Fear, while, as a matter of fact, he had in mind the Yadkin; and the Tutelo and Saponi were then at least a hundred miles west of the Tuskarora and direct line of the Iroquois war parties sent out against the Catawba. As the Tuskarora were friends and kinsmen of the Iroquois, who made their villages a resting place on these southern incursions, the smaller tribes had nothing to expect from them until the war, a few years later, had broken the power of the Tuskarora and rendered them dependent on the whites. [Ibid., p. 40.]

From all accounts it appears that there was always bad feeling between the Saponi and their confederates on the one side and the Tuskarora, Nottoway, and Meherrin—all Iroquoian tribes—on the other, after they became near neighbors, so that it required the constant effort of the English to adjust their quarrels and prevent them from killing one another. [Ibid., p. 42.]

Again Mooney digresses from his initial statement as to the location of Occaneechi Island. He states that this island is:

Situated at the confluence of two large rivers, midway between the mountains and the sea, and between the tribes of Virginia and Carolina, the Occaneechi were an important people, if not a numerous one, and their island was the great trading mart, according to a writer of this period, "for all the Indians for at least 500 miles." (Mass. 1). [Ibid., p. 54.]

This is the first indication that the Occaneechi were ever traders and controlled the trade over an area 500 miles in extent. This statement is attributed to an anonymous writer of 1676.

Mooney developed a number of interesting statements in his "Siouan Tribes of the East," which will not bear critical examination.

1895.—We will next consult William Wallace Tooker who published a paper on "The Algonquian Appellatives of the Siouan Tribes of Virginia" in 1895. In this he asks a number of questions and tries to supply the answers to each of them. We are particularly interested in his *third* and *fourth* questions and answers; i. e.: "Third, Can any of the Mannahoacks be identified with tribes or peoples of a later historic period? Fourth, To what language must we assign these and other names of Captain John Smith?" (Tooker, 1895, p. 378).

These appellatives were bestowed upon them by their neighbors on the east, the Powhatans and their confederates, who are well known to have been a branch of the Algonquian linguistic stock. Therefore there ought to arise no question whatever in the mind of the critical student of Smith's work against the dictum now submitted, that every one of these terms, without a single exception, are necessarily Algonquian, and consequently should be analyzed and translated by the aid of that language, no matter what the nativity of the people themselves may have been. This declaration will also apply to every aboriginal name occurring upon Smith's map of Virginia, for he was never in contact with other than

an Algonquian long enough to learn a name. Besides, the historical evidence would seem to indicate that the greater number of these terms were heard spoken from the lips of the Powhatan long before the colonists saw a Monacan. For instance, Captain Newport's guide and interpreter was a savage of Powhatan called Namontack. Newport named a mine six miles above the falls after him because he discovered it. Smith's interpreter while among the Mannahoaks was an Algonquian, as was also his Tockwogh interpreter while interviewing the Susquehanoughs. His very brief parley with the Massawomecks, as he relates, was entirely by signs. Therefore it seems to me that failure would be necessarily foreordained in seeking for other than Algonquian elements in any of the aboriginal names of Virginia as bequeathed to us by Captain John Smith.

William Strachey, secretary of the colony, 1609-1612, who was more or less familiar with the language of the Powhatan and has left us a valuable vocabulary of that dialect derives the name Monacan from Monohacan (or Monowhauk), "a sword," while Heckewelder, through the Delawares, translates it as "a spade or any implement for digging the soil," corrupted from Monahacan. Heckewelder is so rarely correct in his place-name etymologies that he should have due credit for this suggestion, for the fact appears that both of these authorities are correct in their identification of the verbal element of the name, but not in the grammar, application, or true analysis of the term as applied to a people.

The prefix *Mona* is undoubtedly the verb signifying "to dig" occurring in the same primitive form in many Algonquian dialects, from the Cree *Móona*, in the far north, to the Narragansett *Mona*, on the east, and is reproduced at the south in the Powhatan *Monahacan*, "sword," literally a digging instrument, from *Mono*, "to dig," prefixes to *-hacan*, an instrumentive noun suffix used only as a terminal in compound words denotive of things artificial, so designated because so used by the Indians when purchased from the settlers. The same verb figures in other Powhatan cluster words, thus revealing its identity; for instance in *Mona-scunnemū*; Delaware *Munaskamen*, "to weede." It will be found by analyzing carefully the various synonyms of the term *Monacans*, or *Monanacans*, with its English plural as displayed, that it resolves itself into the components of *Monach-anough*, from *Mona*, "to dig," "ack," "land or earth," with its generic plural of *-anough*, "nation, or people"—that is "people who dig the earth" the phonetic sounds of which were shortened into *Monacans* by the English, which may be freely and correctly translated as the "diggers or miners." This abbreviation of the sounds of tribal appellatives is characteristic of English notation, as in *Mohawk*, from *Mauquouog*; *Mohegans*, from *Manhigan-euck*; *Pequot*, from *Pettuóog*, and others. [Ibid., 1895, pp. 378-381.]

Tooker further points out that after studying the word "Saponi" he finds that its possible derivation was from "Monasukapananough (diggers of ground nuts)" (ibid., p. 384).

The *Whonkentyaes* or *Whonkenteas* are another tribe of the Mannahoaks or tributary to them who are unplaced on Smith's map. The phonetic sounds of this appellative suggests that they were probably the ancestors of the *Akenatzies*, or *Occaneeches*, as it is varied, who were living, as Mr. Mooney has indicated, on an island just below the confluence of the rivers *Dan* and *Staunton*, in *Mecklenburg county*, *Virginia*, when visited by *John Lederer* in 1670. I would suggest that the derivation of the term *Whon-kenté-as* or *Whon-kenchi-aneas* as from the *Narragansett* *awáun*, *Massachusetts* *awon*, "there is somebody," i. e., who is strange or different from those speaking. The second component, *-kentie*, *-kenatzie*, or *-caneeche*, seems to have its parallel in various forms of the verb "to talk" or "to speak," as in the *Long Island* *unkenchie*, "the strange talker," *Nar-*

ragansett awáun-ken-tauchem? "Who are you that discourses?" Delaware niechsin, "to speak;" Powhatan *kekaten*, "you tell," which, with its terminal gives us *whon-kentie-anies*, "people of a strange talk, or another speech." This analysis confirms Smith's statement that the Mannahocks were "many different in language." Again in noticeable corroboration of this derivation, the Occaneeches seem to have been of a different linguistic stock to their Siouan neighbors. . . . Now, it appears to me, on careful consideration of this statement of Beverley's in all its aspects that it is open to only one construction—that is to say, if the term *Whomkenties* is a translation of an Algonquian interpreter of a Siouan description of a nation of another or different speech, residing among and tributary to them, and is also, as I suggest, a synonym for Occaneeche or *Akenatzie*, it would surely lead us to *infer* that the language of the Occaneeches was not Siouan, but was really nothing more nor less than a dialect of the Algonquian. [Ibid., p. 389.]

This explanation in itself appears rather farfetched.

The fact that Beverley, as he remarks, was unable to determine the difference between the language of the Occaneeches and that of the Algonkians would indicate to my mind that they were practically identical, with only an archaic difference—a difference similar to that mentioned by Mr. Mooney as existing between the Cherokee language and that used in the sacred formulas of their shamans. [Ibid., p. 391.]

1896.—Daniel Brinton, in discussing Beverley's "Historie de la Virginie" (p. 266):

The dialect he specified is "celle d'Occaniches," and on page 252 he says, "On dit que la langue universelle des Indiens de ces Quartier est celle des Occaniches, quoiqu'ils ne soient qu'une petite Nation, depuis que les Anglois connoissent ce Pais; mais je ne sais pas difference qui'l y a entre cette langue et celle des Algonkians." (French trans. Orleans, 1707) This is undoubtedly the same people that Johannes Lederer, a German traveller, visited in 1670, and calls *Akentazi*. They dwelt on an island, in a branch of the Chowan River, the Sapona, or Deep River (Lederer's *Discovery of North America*, in Harris, *Voyages*, p. 20). Thirty years later the English surveyor, Lawson, found them in the same spot, and speaks of them as the *Acanechos*. Their totem was that of the serpent. Mr. Mooney identifies them with the Occaneechi, a tribe of Siouan affinities. . . . The travellers Balboa and Coreal mention that the temple services of Peru were conducted in a language not understood by the masses, and the incantations of the priests of Powhatan were not in ordinary Algonkin, but some obscure jargon.

The same peculiarity has been observed among the Dakotas and Eskimos, and in these nations, fortunately, it fell under the notice of competent linguistic scholars, who have submitted it to a searching examination. The results of their labors prove that in these two instances the supposed foreign tongues were nothing more than the ordinary dialects of the country modified by an affected accentuation, by the introduction of a few cabalistic terms, and by the use of descriptive circumlocutions and figurative words in place of ordinary expressions, a slang, in short, such as rascals and pedants invariably coin whenever they associate. [Brinton, 1896, footnote 2 and text, p. 326.]

1897.—James Owen Dorsey in "Siouan Sociology" reports that—

Among the tribes of the Siouan family the primary unit is the clan or gens, which is composed of a number of consanguine, claiming descent from a common

ancestor and having common taboos; the term clan implying descent from the female line, while gens implies descent in the male line. Among the Dakotas, as among the cegiha and other groups, the man is the head of the family. [Dorsey, 1897, p. 213.]

This is an important point in determining the designation of the individual's classification as to tribe when the amalgamation was in effect, such as the Tutelo in relation to the Iroquois groups.

1912.—Alvord and Bidgood (1912, p. 152, footnote) quoted Mooney as to the location of the Indian Saponi village or town. As for the "Rickahockans or Richecrians," they refer to Neill (1886, pp. 245-246) who told about their attempt at colonization near the falls of the James River and the subsequent battle between them and the English and their Indian allies in which the chief of the Pamunkeys, Tottopotomoy, was killed. Lederer tells about this same event in relating experiences while on "The First Expedition" (Alvord and Bidgood 1912, p. 146). Mooney (1894, p. 30), on the other hand, gives an entirely different version of this event.

1913.—Leo Frachtenberg, in 1913, published "Contributions to a Tutelo Vocabulary," in which he says:

Besides the present list, there are in existence two other Tutelo vocabularies. Of these, the earliest was collected by Horatio Hale on the Grand River reservation, Ontario, in 1883, while the latest attempt to obtain a vocabulary of this extinct dialect was made by Dr. Edward Sapir. My own material was collected under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology, on the Grand River reservation, Ontario, in July, 1907. My informant was Lucy Buck, an old Tutelo woman, who remembered only the few words and phrases that are herein recorded. As she was unfamiliar with English, it was necessary for me to obtain this scanty material by using as an interpreter *Andrew Sprague, a Cayuga, who in his early youth had been adopted by the Tutelo tribe.* [Writer's italics.]

As is well known, Tutelo (and Saponi) form a subdivision of the great Siouan family. They lived in North Carolina at a very early date. During one of their frequent raids, the Iroquois took these two tribes along with them northward. According to information obtained from Andrew Sprague, the Tutelo were admitted into the Confederacy of the Iroquois, thereby forming the sixth nation of the Iroquois League—by which we may assume that the Tutelo and the Saponi were adopted with the Tuscarora. Sprague also informed me that at the Iroquois festivals it is customary to sing a few Tutelo songs in deference to that tribe.

At the time this material was collected, only two Tutelo families survived, namely, the Williams and Buck families. No members of the Williams family remembered a single word of their former tongue. Of the Buck family, Lucy was the only one who seemed to know a few words of her language. She told me, however, that the head of her family, John Buck, who at that time was a fugitive from the reservation, could speak Tutelo fluently. I made several fruitless attempts to locate him.

This material is presented in the form in which it was given to me. No attempt to verify the words by means of other vocabularies has been made, owing chiefly to the fact that *I deemed the material obtained highly unreliable* [writer's italics], as a glance at the various confusing terms given for the different cardinal numerals will show.

The appended song was rendered toward the close of the Iroquois Strawberry festival, at which I happened to be present. Sprague told me that it was a Tutelo song. No translation could be obtained. [Frachtenberg, 1913, pp. 477-478.]

During this same year (1913) Edward Sapir reported on "A Tutelo Vocabulary", which was obtained on the—

White or Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, in August, 1911. I was told of a Cayuga Indian named Andrew Sprague, who had had opportunity during his childhood to hear Tutelo spoken fluently and who was supposed to remember considerable of it. As Tutelo is an extinct language, I thought it imperative to rescue from oblivion what was still to be obtained and thus add, if only a mite, to what had already been put on record. As a matter of fact, it turned out that Andrew remembered only very little indeed of Tutelo, and what small amount of material could be obtained from him was extorted with some difficulty. No attempt will here be made to discuss the data. They are given for what they are worth in the hope that they may at some future time prove of use to the student of comparative Siouan linguistics. If in nothing else, perhaps the words listed are of value because they have been recorded with greater phonetic accuracy than is generally attained in mere vocabularies. [Sapir, 1913, p. 295.]

Both Frachtenberg and Sapir placed very little stress upon these last two vocabularies, as they deemed the sources to be very unreliable. An examination of these in comparison with other vocabularies would soon show wide discrepancies which would tend to invalidate Tutelo as belonging to the Siouan linguistic family.

1914.—W. H. Holmes, discussing "Areas of American Culture Characterization," etc., pertaining to the Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan stocks, remarked:

. . . the aborigines, largely of the Algonquian, Iroquoian and Siouan stocks, were primarily hunters and fishers, although agriculture was practiced successfully in many of the fertile valleys. The native culture of both colonial and pre-colonial times, so far as known, though varying with the widely distributed centers of habitation, was quite uniform in grade and general characteristics. It is well differentiated from that of the south and middle west, but passes with no abrupt change into that of the upper lakes and the great interior region of the north. The changes from north to south were due in large measure to differences in food resources and the influence of neighboring cultures. [Holmes, 1914, p. 417.]

These statements would indicate that the material culture of a group would depend somewhat upon what other culture groups surrounded them and the influence this would bear upon each other. The basic material culture would tend to follow a definite cultural pattern with modifications depending upon geographical location and outside influences.

1914.—John R. Swanton and Roland B. Dixon published a paper dealing with "Primitive American History" in which they discussed the "Indians of the Siouan Stock." They said:

When first encountered by Europeans the great Siouan linguistic family occupied two large and two small areas. Of the former one lay along the eastern skirts of the Appalachian mountains, between them and the tidewater region of the

Atlantic coast, from about the great falls of the Potomac to Santee River, South Carolina. [Swanton and Dixon, 1914, p. 383.]

They then go on to say:

It is a striking fact that, in contrast with both the Muskogean and Siouan peoples, *the migration legends which have been preserved from the Indians of this stock are meager and unsatisfactory* [writer's italics]. According to colonial documents the Meherrin were a band of refugee Conestoga which fled south after the destruction of that tribe by the Iroquois about 1675, but one form of their name occurs in the census of Virginia Indians taken in 1669. Thus it is evident either that some Conestoga had replaced an Algonquian tribe of similar designation or else that the tribe antedated the destruction of the Conestoga and the reputed influx of population at that time. Possibly, as Mooney suggests, an original small Iroquoian tribe was practically submerged by later immigrations of Conestoga. At all events the whole question of origin is left in uncertainty. . . . So far as this evidence goes, however, it indicates a northern origin for the southern Iroquoian group. [Ibid., p. 390.]

Swanton admitted, in 1923, that "there is much of speculation in all this" (1923, p. 43) regarding the early history of any of these eastern groups, especially that of the Siouan peoples.

1927.—An interesting tie-in with Frachtenberg's report on the Tutelo occurred in J. N. B. Hewitt's report on fieldwork in 1926 in which he says:

With the aid of Chief *John Buck*, an Onondaga-Tutelo mixed blood, as an Onondaga informant and interpreter, and Chief (retired) Alexander G. Smith, a Mohawk speaker and informant, Mr. Hewitt obtained a fine Mohawk version and literal translation of the remarkable Requickening Address of this famous Council. [Hewitt, 1927.]

Frachtenberg would indicate that John Buck was a full-blood Tutelo very fluent in the Tutelo tongue; Hewitt, on the other hand, recorded him as a mixed blood, without any mention as to his knowledge of the Tutelo language.

1929.—Hewitt, reporting on the "League of Nations of the Iroquois Indians of Canada," stated:

From a capable informant [*Chief John Buck, Jr.*] [writer's italics] an Onondaga-Tutelo mixed blood, I recorded in Onondaga text a most interesting historical detailing the northward migration of the Tutelo (Siouan) tribe from its southern habitat in Virginia and North Carolina to the country of the Cayuga in what is now the state of New York and the negotiations preceding it. This tradition is of unusual interest because it embodies references to a number of customs and especially intertribal amenities at an early day and customary precautions taken for such a journey of a tribal people through the lands of other hostile peoples. [Hewitt, 1930, p. 201.]

The tradition related by John Buck, Jr., would seem to be at odds with what Frachtenberg indicated. As we recall, Frachtenberg told about the Iroquois taking the Tuscarora, Saponi, and Tutelo north with them on their return trip, which would indicate that they were

escorted back to the Cayuga country. Hewitt's informant would indicate that the Tutelo made their own arrangements of a northward journey. To the present writer, it would appear that Frachtenberg's source of information is the more reliable.

On top of this, if John Buck, Jr., was so fluent in the Tutelo language, why was it necessary for him to make use of the Onondaga language to relate a Tutelo tradition of migration?

1930.—Along about this time David I. Bushnell, Jr., wrote about the "Five Monacan Towns in Virginia, 1607." We will quote him rather fully here, reserving comments for later.

How long the country had been occupied by the Siouan tribes can never be determined. Others had preceded them, but who they were or whence they came may ever remain unknown. The earlier habitat of the Siouan tribes, to which stock the Monacan belonged, is believed to have been in the Valley of the Ohio [indicating Swanton—1923], from which region they crossed the mountains to the eastward and later occupied the lands where they were encountered by the Virginia colonists early in the 17th century. A comparison of the material to be recovered from sites eastward from the Ohio makes it possible to trace the line of migration of these tribes; this would require much time and careful study, but if successful would prove of the greatest interest. . . .

Powhatan's statement to Captain Newport at the time of their first visit in 1608 that the Monacan 'came Downe at the fall of the leafe and invaded this Country' would indicate that the Monacan rather than the Algonquian dominated the region and did not fear the latter. [Bushnell, 1930, p. 5.]

Bushnell, quoting Smith in 1612, states:

'Upon the head of the Powhatans are the Monacans, whose chief habitation is at Russawmeake,' but all his knowledge of the place had been derived from Indians. It stood evidently at the confluence of the James and Rivanna, some miles beyond the point where Newport turned to retrace his way to Jamestown, in the autumn of 1608. The site had been abandoned before white settlers entered the region and consequently its exact position may never be known. [Bushnell, 1930, p. 12.]

Yet, Bushnell places it at the confluence of the two named rivers.

One new facet of identification is here displayed. Bushnell says:

'The name Rechacherian or Rickohockan has been applied to them, (?), believed by some to have been the Cherokee, although it was Mooney's later belief that they were Erie who had come southward. However, a statement by Lederer makes it appear they were a people of two Monacan groups, the Massinacack and Monahassanugh, who may have come from farther up the James to settle a new home more protected from the war parties of the Iroquois. [Ibid., p. 16.]

Lederer, on his map, gave the name Rickohockans to a tribe then living far to the westward beyond the mountains. The name or term has never been clearly understood or translated, and with slight variation of spelling has been used to designate several tribes in widely separated parts of the country. But the word may have been a term applied under certain conditions and not the definite name of any tribe or group of tribes. If this belief is correct it could have been applied to Siouan as well as to Iroquoian or other tribes. [Ibid. pp. 16-17.]

This assumption on Bushnell's part may be nearer the truth than the various explanations offered in the past.

The Rickohockans, so-called, were to Lederer a vague group, evidently known to him only during his travels away from the English settlements. Had he associated them in any way with the great battle he would undoubtedly have mentioned them in that connection, but this he failed to do. The Algonquian and Monacan tribes had ever been enemies, it was known as early as 1608, and this fact may explain the willingness with which Totopotomi and his Pamunkey warriors joined the English in attacking their ancient tribal enemies. [Ibid., p. 17.]

Mooney was of the belief that Monasukapanough was possibly "the original of Saponi." There is little reason to doubt the correctness of this belief. Lederer stated that he "arrived at Sapon, a village of the Nahyssans." The latter . . . were the Monahassanugh whose name appears on the map of 1624. Therefore it is quite evident that at the time of the settlement of Jamestown, 1607, the site on the bank of the Rivanna was occupied by the Saponi, closely allied with the Monahassanugh or Tutelo, whose village stood on the banks of the James some miles away in a southwesterly direction.

Had it not been for the work and interest of Jefferson, no account of the great burial mound which once stood at the ancient village of Monasukapanough would now be available. It would have disappeared as have the burial places once belonging to other villages of the Siouan tribes and no reference to it would have been preserved. The site of the Indian town was visible from Monticello, and the burial mound stood near the south, or right bank of Rivanna. . . . [Ibid., p. 18.]

Strachey (1849, pp. 48-49), on the other hand, stated that: "Monahassanugh, which stands at the foote of the mountains" does not mention the presence of any river in the vicinity of the village. The mountains alluded to were either the Blue Ridge or the Alleghanies and were probably the latter.

A few paragraphs farther on, Bushnell says: "The exact position of the mound [which Jefferson excavated] may never be determined, but it certainly stood on the low ground, on the right bank of the Rivanna, evidently nearer the river than the cliffs, and it may have been some distance above the ford" (Bushnell, 1930, p. 20). This is quite different from the positive statement which is quoted above.

As for the exact location of the old Indian village of Monasukapanough, Bushnell states:

There is no known record of a white man having visited Monasukapanough, the ancient Saponi village on the banks of the Rivanna, and consequently no description of the settlement has been preserved.

Bushnell continues correlating the Saponi with Monasukapanough and the Tutelo with Monahassanugh even though such associations were never proved to be true. He made the same assumption in regard to the Saponi on the Rivanna River. Both placements were built upon assumptions on Mooney's part and here they are quoted as "gospel truths." He goes on to say:

It is believed [by Bushnell] that some time before the year 1670 the people, or at least the greater part of them moved from the valley of the Rivanna and went

southward to establish a new village which, according to Mooney, "was probably on Otter River, (but never verified), a northern tributary of the Roanoke, in what is now Campbell county, Virginia, nearly south of Lynchburg." Here they were visited by Lederer in 1670, and by Batts party during the following year, but these explorers failed to describe the settlement. Soon the movement was resumed; they wandered far, nearly reaching the center of North Carolina, later returning to Virginia. [Ibid., p. 28.]

This whole bit of testimony is purely inferential, not only on Bushnell's part, but on Bushnell's acceptance of Mooney's assumptions regarding the correlation of Smith's names of groups with the Saponi and Tutelo and placing them upon the James River system when no positive identification of such has ever been made.

If, as has been pointed out and proved upon observation—that the Siouan groups are of a nomadic trend, always on the move depending upon wild game to sustain life—why should they change their pattern of living to establish themselves long enough in a place to erect a fairly large-sized burial mound in which were placed the remains of their dead in the vicinity of the Rivanna? This would seem to refute Bushnell's contention that the mound excavated by Jefferson was of Siouan origin.

1934.—Ludwik Krzywicki, in his study of "Primitive Society and its Vital Statistics," etc., used Mooney's study of the "Siouan Tribes of the East" as his basic source of information. In this work he lists a number of Indian tribes referred to in earlier works. These groups are the: Adshusheer, Biloxi, Eno, Keyauwee, Occaneechi, Saponi, Shakori, and Tutelo. He says:

As regards the petty eastern Siouan tribes, we have deemed it sufficient to cite the estimates of J. Mooney . . . Four earlier sources give the names of the same tribe variously: sometimes these various versions are extremely unlike and often differ greatly from the designations commonly accepted today. These sometimes quite numerous variants of tribal names do not appear in our statistics of tribal population. [Krzywicki, 1934, p. 520.]

These estimates on Mooney's part are not based on factual knowledge, but are figures either from early listings of Indians or from what he thought the group to be at that particular time.

1935.—In this year Bushnell dealt with "The Manahoac Tribes in Virginia." He makes one statement which is worth calling attention to:

As yet it has not been possible to translate the names as given by Smith and Strachey. They were undoubtedly in some Siouan dialect and were told to the English by an Algonquian Indian. The latter appear to have attempted to translate the Siouan word into his own language, and this resulted in the names as recorded by the English being a combination of Siouan and Algonquian, making it difficult, if not impossible, ever to learn their true meaning. [Bushnell, 1935, p. 8.]

This is not a new conception on Bushnell's part, but the very wording

makes it appear as some modern "gobbledygook" whose meaning is beyond fathoming.

In this same year (1935), Frank Speck reported on the Siouan tribes of the Carolinas, etc., and states:

Among the Six Nations Iroquois of Ontario a reminiscence of the Tutelo, which has escaped recording by those who have questioned the Iroquois on the subject was offered me in 1925 by Joe Henry, the oldest Cayuga living at that time. This addition to our knowledge of the Tutelo relates that the name of the last Tutelo chief was Ka'stq'hagu, the term referring to his "Dwelling in Stone." [Footnote: We learn that John Key, a Tutelo of the Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, one of the last to speak the language, bore the name Gostango, "Beloe the Rock." He is evidently the person referred to above.] Legend states that he had killed a number of people; that he was the "first Tutelo who came to the Six Nations," and that he had formerly lived in a cave having a room perpendicular to the entry passage in which recess he lived for protection. The cave was so formed that only one invader at a time could enter and turn the corner. Intrenched in this cavern he had accounted for his enemies. The interesting tale of this old Cayuga is apparently a native version of a tradition recorded in 1733 by Byrd in reference to a cave that he found on an island in Roanoke River [Mecklenburg County, Va.] lying above Occaneechi Island, inhabited by the Tutelo before 1701; in which cave the last Tutelo king with only two men had defended himself against a large party of Iroquois and at last forced them to retire. Tradition among the Iroquois at times dies hard! [Speck, 1935, p. 206.]

Speck develops a new aspect.

Such an attitude toward cultural history here could be held to account for the allocation of the Powhatan peoples in the lower country to the eastward and the Siouan peoples in the piedmont region, their hostility toward each other, the survival of the language of the Occaneechi as a trade language of the region and the language of religious ritual, which facts we learn from Strachey (1948, p. 161; Hale, 1883, p. 12; Beverley, 1705, p. 191). If accordingly, my inferences for a more easterly habitat of certain Siouan peoples, the Shoccoree and possibly Eno, are accepted, then we have a trend of evidence hinting at the conclusion that Siouan peoples were earlier residents in eastern Virginia and Carolina and were invaded several centuries before the coming of the Europeans by the Powhatan, and gradually dispossessed of their territories by them. [Ibid., p. 202-203.]

The identification of these two tribes (Saponi and Tutelo) in the historical period with the Monahassanugh and Monasickapanough (Smith, 1607), divisions of the Monacan group, as residents in the Virginia foothills has been undertaken by Mooney and concluded by Bushnell (Mooney, 1894, p. 37; Bushnell, 1919, pp. 13, 17). Their exodus from Virginia, their wanderings southward and then their return to Virginia to settle for a while at Fort Christanna have been succinctly traced by Mooney. As yet, however, we have no mention of their association with the Catawba as allies or as incorporated units. Nevertheless there must have been at one time an association between the northern (Tutelo and associated peoples) and the southern (Catawba, Woccon, and others) divisions of the Siouan tribes in the region. Swanton thinks that the incursion of the Spaniards in to the Carolinas in the 16th century resulted in forcing certain of them to the northward.

Catawba tradition is silent in regard to the Tutelo. A single echo of the once important name Saponi possibly comes down to us through Catawba memory in the mention by Margaret Brown of a tribe whose name was remembered as (ye)

pa'na spoken of by her mother. She knew nothing more of the term or its meaning.

Of the proper names denoting Tutelo (Toteri, Yesang, Nahissan, etc.) there is no hint of cognizance among the Catawba. . . .

The words of Mooney applying to the Saponi seem to be the last that can be said of the tribe. . . . [Ibid., pp. 205-206.]

Speck would infer here that the word (*ye*) *pa'na* brought forth from deep memory by Margaret Brown correlated with the word *yesang* recorded by Hale to refer either to the Tutelo or to the Saponi. Since Margaret Brown did not recollect its meaning or to which tribe or group this name applied, it probably would have been better unrecorded, for then no one would draw meaningless inferences to its probable or possible correlation with either the Tutelo or Saponi or with the whole so-called northern Siouan-speaking group.

Under another form of the tribal name, Mohetan, a village of this affinity is indicated on Alvord and Bidgood's map (1673-4), visited by Needham and Arthur, a days journey from the Great Kanawha River, West Virginia. At present we may admit that this reference means an earlier wider extension toward the west in the Alleghenies or a move toward the end of the 17th century in that direction, after which the village may have acquired a name derived from some other tongue.

The association of the Mannahoac with the Monacan brings up another aspect of the problem before us. Both peoples are described as occupants of the piedmont and mountain slopes of Virginia, and they have been regarded as related tribes, by all the authorities who speak about them since Hale and Mooney, both as concerns the characteristics of speech and culture. Since, therefore, we possess a vocabulary from only the one language of Virginia area, namely Tutelo, it may be profitable to apply the lexical forms of Tutelo to the half dozen terms reserved by Captain Smith as place or tribal names of the Mannahoac confederacy. . . . Without intending to assume a positive attitude concerning the interpretation of Mannahoac names written in Smith's manuscript three hundred years ago, by a stranger to the Indian tongue, explained through the medium of the small Tutelo vocabulary (spoken by a Siouan tribe about one hundred miles distant from them) of about one hundred fifty words recorded by Hale in 1870, the above suggestions will be accepted merely as such.

Occaneechi. The term Occaneechi (with its variants Akenatzy, Occanacheans, Patshenins) comes down to us as the tribal designation of an early people of the Virginia-Carolina frontier, dwelling (1670) on a large island in Roanoke River just below the confluence of the Staunton and the Dan Rivers, near the site of Clarksburg, (Clarksville), Mecklenburg County, Virginia. [In this, Speck refers to Mooney's article in Bulletin 30, pt. 2, of the Bureau of American Ethnology's publication in which Mooney is supposed to be referring to Lederer. Mooney, as before, misquotes Lederer, fitting a premise of his own.—Present writer's comment.] It is undoubtedly, as Mooney has shown, the designation of a Siouan-speaking tribe affiliated with the Saponi and Tutelo. *Yet we have no linguistic proof of such an affinity beyond the statement that their languages were similar, which is supported by testimony given to Hale by Nikonha, the Tutelo. (Hale, p. 10) Nor is it possible to add anything to its meaning or history from Catawba sources.* [Writer's italics.] Its connections, were, however, definitely with the northern (Saponi, Tutelo, or Nahissan) branch of the eastern Siouan tribes with

whom they finally combined. Bland (1650) writes of the Occaneecheans and Nessonicks (which I have already noted is a synonym for Nahissan) as living together on a branch of the Roanoke (Bland, p. 16). [Ibid., p. 212.]

The hope entertained since 1893 among students of native history and institutions, that the confusion of tribal names mentioned in the early narratives of the Carolinas would sooner or later be cleared up has not as yet been realized. Nor are the prospects very favorable, now that the last remaining persons speaking any of the Siouan languages of the Southeast have dwindled to the number of two of the Catawbas. As Mooney points out in summarizing the results of his study of Siouan tribes of the east, the actual identity of only the Tutelo and Catawba languages can be ascertained with certainty, whereas twenty-two other of his Siouan classifications were so determined only through the inference of [their political relations with the Catawba. (Writer's italics.) Later Swanton described grounds upon which Woccon, of the extreme eastern North Carolina region, could be linked by lexicon with the Catawba as a Siouan idiom, and subsequently, I was encouraged by him to suggest a similar solution for the identity of Duhare, spoken about Winyaw Bay, south of Cape Fear River. Mooney (1893), following Hale (1870) and Gatschet (1880), concluded that historical sources were sufficient to remove doubt as to the Tutelo relationship of Saponi and Occaneechi, finally reducing the totally unattached languages of the Carolinas to some fifteen. No lexical terms from these latter are known to exist for purpose of classification except for three or four chief's names in Cheraw and Santee, and the river and village names from which the tribes themselves derived their proper names. [Ibid., p. 201.]

[Speck pointed out that:] Several Muskogean names can be construed into meaning in Catawba without these, however, being in any way responsible for their origin. (Ibid., pp. 221-222.)

Can this indicate a possible linkage linguistically with the Muskogean? Muskogean, on the other hand, were Creek and heretofore were never linked with the Catawba linguistically. This is one relationship which should be reviewed in the future by competent linguists.

1936.—John R. Swanton indicated that—

The Siouan linguistic stock was given its place and name in the Powellian classification [primarily by Mooney's aid] mainly on the basis of papers by Albert Gallatin published in 1836 and 1848. . . . By a curious accident the Catawba Indians of South Carolina are given the same color as the Siouan tribes generally, though Gallatin does not appear to have recognized any connection between Catawba and Muskogee or even Choctaw. Ultimately, it will probably be shown that he was not entirely astray here though considerably ahead of his time. . . .

Horatio Hale, the Canadian linguist, was first to suggest the existence of a Siouan dialect east of the Appalachians. In 1870 he interviewed an old Tutelo man living among the Cayuga Indians and obtained a vocabulary from him which "showed beyond question . . . that it was closely allied to the languages of the Dacotan family." The discovery was so unexpected that Hale at first thought this individual might have been a Dakota captive. A second visit, however, in October of the same year, removed all doubts and the language was recognized as that of the old Tutelo of Virginia. On December 19, 1879, Hale set forth his conclusions briefly at a meeting of the American Philosophical Society, and at a later meeting, March 2, 1883, made a complete presentation accompanied by a historical account of the tribe, a grammatical sketch, and comparisons be-

tween Tutelo words and corresponding terms in Dakota and Hidatsa. This paper placed the relationship of the Tutelo beyond question, and it was further confirmed through material collected by Hewitt,¹ Sapir,¹ and Frachtenberg.¹ . . . [Swanton, 1936, p. 371.]

As has already been noted, Gallatin, as far back as 1836, had suggested that the Woccon and several other tribes of the Carolinas were perhaps connected with Catawba, and Hale had been told by his old informant Nikonha that the Tutelo and Saponi could understand each other's speech. Nikonha knew of another tribe associated with these which he called Patshenins or Botshenins, and which Hale was probably right in identifying with the Occaneechi. He also assumed that the speech of these last was connected with the two others, though unfortunately he neglected to ask Nikonha about it. . . .

The results of the work of Hale, Gatschet, and Dorsey, and further information derived from a careful study of historical sources, were incorporated by James Mooney into a small, now classic, bulletin which appeared in 1895 (1894). In this paper Mooney demonstrated very satisfactorily the Siouan connection of the following tribes: the Indians of the Manahoac and Monacan confederations, including the Tutelo and Saponi, Occaneechi, Eno, Shakori or Shaccoree, Sissipahaw, Keyauwee, Woccon, Catawba, Sugeree, Waxhaw, Cheraw or Sara, Wateree, Congaree, Santee, Sewee, Pedee, Winyaw, Waccamaw, Cape Fear Indians, and a tribe he called Mohetan. He suggested, indeed that the Eno and Shakori might not be Siouan and admitted that the relationship of several others rested on rather tenuous circumstantial evidence, but, as we shall see presently, the peculiarities of the Eno and Shakori may be otherwise explained, and all additional evidence has tended to confirm the correctness of Mooney's classification. [Writer's italics.]

The word Mohetan, however, is now known to be a misprint of Monetan, a tribe located much farther toward the northwest than the position Mooney assigns to it, probably on the Kanawha river. To the west of these again were the Ofo or Mosopelea; farther down the Ohio, according to tradition, was the former home of the Quapaw; and there is evidence of an ancient residence of the Biloxi and Osage in adjoining territories. Modern research has, therefore, tended to extend the domain of the "Siouan tribes of the west" farther west and that of the Siouan tribes of the west farther east at a not remote period. This, of course, is merely confirmatory of the evidence furnished by community in language and current traditions.

We now come to a point of particular significance regarding the Eastern Siouans, but one upon which insufficient emphasis has hitherto been placed. Because, when first known to Europeans, they occupied one continuous geographical area, and were separated by a considerable interval from those in the west, it has naturally been assumed that the former were all more closely related to one another than to any of the trans-Mississippi Siouans. On the contrary, the eastern Siouans must be sharply separated into two groups, the Virginia Siouans, including the Manahoac, Monacan, Nahyssan, Saponi, Tutelo, Occaneechi, and Moneton, and the Carolina Siouans embracing all the rest.

Even a superficial comparison of the Tutelo and Catawba vocabularies on one hand and the western dialects on the other is sufficient to show that Catawba stands clearly apart from all of them, and that Tutelo is nearer Dakota, Hidatsa, and others of the western languages than it is to Catawba. Indeed, Catawba may prove to have been more closely connected with one or more of the western and southern dialects than with Tutelo. In this conclusion I am supported by

¹ See articles referred to in present paper.

the leading Catawba specialist of today, Professor Frank G. Speck. [Ibid., pp. 373-374.]

The last sentence in Swanton's conclusions reads:

There is evidence, which has not yet been thoroughly marshaled, that the Siouan and Muskogean linguistic families are related and that the Catawba tongue occupies an intermediate position between the extreme branches of each (ibid., p. 380).

This same thought had been pointed out by Speck in 1935, so does not represent a new thought at this time.

1940.—By 1940 we get a number of elaborations, an example of which is readily found in "Red Carolinians," by Chapman Milling (1940, p. 218):

On the following Saturday morning the party (Lawson's) set out for Sapona passing "seven Heaps of Stones, being the Monuments of seven Indians that were slain in that Place by the Sinnegers or Iroquois. Our Indian Guide added a Stone to each Heap."

Here Milling has changed the seven Indian graves to *monuments* which were accretional by the adding of stones to each heap by the Indian guide, an elaboration which was never mentioned in the original document.

During the same year (1940) David Bushnell brought out his "Virginia before Jamestown," in which he points out:

The northern Siouan group, those in Virginia at the beginning of the seventeenth century, occupied the piedmont beyond the country claimed by the Algonquian tribes; but they may not have been there many generations, having moved into the valleys from the west and southwest. The Monacans and Manahoac confederacies, whose villages were in the valleys of the James, Rivanna, Rappahannock, and lesser streams, were Siouan peoples. This was as far north as the tribes advanced, and soon after the middle of the century they were returning southward, having been forced to abandon their scattered settlements by the invasion of the Susquehanna and others from the north. [Bushnell, 1940, p. 134.]

There does not occur in the records any incursion of the Susquehanna against the settlements of the Indians at any time, but rather the joining of the Susquehanna with some, especially the Occaneechi. This mistaken interpretation is characteristic of Bushnell.

Continuing, he says:

Little was recorded about the people of the piedmont section. There is no known reference to a European having visited a native village in the valleys beyond the falls of the Rappahannock; nor was the valley of the James, beyond the mouth of the Rivanna, reached by the colonists until after the Indian settlements had been abandoned.

Few, if any, Indians remained in the piedmont in 1670. When Lederer, Colonel Catlet, and their party of "nine English horses, and five Indians on foot" traversed the country westward from the falls of the Rappahannock, they did not mention encountering a native camp. But on August 24, so the journal states, "we travelled thorow the Savanae amongst vast herds of red and fallow deer which stood

gazing at us; and a little after, we came to the Promontories or spurs of the Apalataean-mountains."

A check against the reprint consulted by Bushnell reveals that they were on an expedition to the "Apalataean Mountains" from the falls of the Rappahannock River, and tells very little about the country in between these two points with the exception of describing the foothill country and some of the nearby fauna, and a harrowing experience from a spider bite. There was no intimation that the Indians had vacated the country traversed, so it is difficult to understand why Bushnell made such an inference. [See Lederer, as given in Talbot, 1902, pp. 23-25.]

Bushnell states:

In the year 1682, twelve years after Lederer explored the valley of the Rappahannock, Cadwalader Jones, then in command of the Rappahannock Rangers, traversed the same country. When near the headwaters of the Rapidan he "saw an Indian y^t made a periuger at the mountain and brought her down to the Garrison with Skins and venison." The garrison was at the falls of the Rappahannock. . . .

The villages in the piedmont were composed of clusters of bark or mat-covered lodges, probably more scattered than in the towns nearer the coast. There were no large structures in the villages that would have resembled the council houses of the tribes farther south. [Bushnell, 1940, p. 134.]

Since Bushnell never conducted an excavation of any of these sites to which he refers, there is no wonder that he can make such sweeping statements regarding the internal structure of the villages.

He then goes on to say:

As no description of a Siouan settlement in the Virginia piedmont has been preserved it is not known to what extent the villages were palisaded. However, after the Tutelo and Saponi had moved away from the banks of the James and Rivanna, their towns were so protected.

In 1701 the Tutelo village stood on the bank of the Yadkin River, in central North Carolina, where it was visited by Lawson. One night there was a severe storm accompanied by a strong wind from the northwest and, so wrote Lawson: "The first Puff blew down all the Palisadoes that fortified the town."

Lawson continued his journey, soon passed through the Saponi village and some miles beyond arrived at the Keyauwee town, "fortified in with Wooden Puncheons, like Sapona, being a People much of the same Number." Mooney located the Keyauwee village about the present High Point, Guilford County, N. C. The Tutelo and Saponi belonged to the northern, and the Keyauwee to the southern group of Siouan tribes.

Settlements on the headwaters of the James and Rappahannock may, at an earlier time, have been similarly protected. [Ibid., p. 134.]

. . . the tribes then settled at Fort Christanna had moved down from the north, from the valleys of the James and Rivanna, to join the kindred Occaneechi about the year 1670. They settled on islands below the junction of the Staunton and Dan Rivers, in the present Mecklenburg County, Va., but moved to several other localities before reaching Fort Christanna. However, many of the customs practiced by the earlier generations at the villages in the north were undoubtedly

followed by the people gathered at Fort Christanna. . . . They "live entirely upon their hunting and the corn which their wives cultivate." Such were the conditions at Fort Christanna, about 10 miles north of Roanoke River, in the present Brunswick County, Va., during the month of April 1716. [Ibid., p. 135.]

1942.—An important bit of added information was brought out by Frank G. Speck in 1942 in the "Tutelo Adoption Ceremony." In the introduction to this work, we find Claude E. Schaeffer saying:

A brief statement should first be made regarding the language of the Tutelo and their congeners. Recognition of the existence of a group of Siouan languages in the Atlantic area first came about through the Tutelo. In 1870 Horatio Hale gathered from one of the last fluent Tutelo speakers on the Six Nations reserve a list of about 200 native words. After comparing this vocabulary with similar lists taken from western Siouans, Hale was able to show the relationship of the Tutelo language to the trans-Mississippi phylum of the stock. Subsequently, Catawba of South Carolina, Biloxi of Mississippi and a number of other eastern languages were assigned to the Siouan stock. Swanton recently argued for separation of eastern Siouan into two distinct divisions, a northern group represented by the Tutelo, Saponi, Occaneechi and related tribes of Virginia and a southern one composed of Catawba and kindred peoples of the Carolinas; Tutelo, Saponi and less certainly Occaneechi, of the Virginia division, are thought to be closely similar in character. Of the three only Tutelo, from the limited vocabulary collected by Hale, is known to any degree. [Speck, 1942, p. xvi.]

The proper names of the second series, however, fail to yield any discernible Siouan affinities nor on the other hand do they lend themselves to analysis from the standpoint of Iroquoian phonetics as determined from living Seneca speakers on the Cornplanter reserve. . . . It must, therefore, be admitted that for the time being, the second series linguistically remains an unknown quantity. Recalling, however, that the Occaneechi are believed to have accompanied the Tutelo-Saponi on their migration northward, the possibility confronts us that these terms, otherwise unidentifiable, may belong to that Siouan language. Support of such an assumption, apart from Mooney's (55-56) tentative identification of the "Botshenins" mentioned by Hale's informant as the Occaneechi, is not strengthened by the total absence of documentary reference to this tribe in the north. An alternative possibility remains that the second series is representative of Saponi, *except for the presumed similarity of that language to Tutelo* and the stated presence of the Saponi on Seneca river at this date (1789). In view of these difficulties, the question for the present remains unresolved.

Thus it has been beyond the scope of this introduction to present the various conflicting opinions of students as to the earlier home of the Virginia-North Carolina Siouans, *a question which must wait upon archeology for its final answer.* [Italics are writer's.] [Ibid., p. xvii.]

Speck states:

It is now, however, time to realize that while the manifold cultural pattern of the Iroquois supervened, from all that we may deduce, in the subsequent life of the Tutelo there remained a national tradition continuously operating in the Tutelo minority among the Cayuga to preserve part of its cultural independence from that epoch down to the present. The political agenda of the Iroquois tolerated, even fostered, the retention of tribal institutions among those minority bodies of natives who voluntarily came to ally themselves with the Long House, notwithstanding the circumstances that they be of alien speech-stock and extrac-

tion. The Tutelo were evidently of a temper to enjoy this form of institutional freedom with the added dignity of social and political equality accorded them. Their emigration to the north must have radically affected the structure of their economic life through coresidence with a confederacy of progressive tribes already long adjusted to the conditions of existence on the southern border of the Canadian zone. But, as we infer substantially from tradition among the Cayuga as well as among the Tutelo descendants themselves, the Tutelo preserved the ritualistic and ceremonial solemnities which they cherished distinctly as their own. They have even been responsible for the introduction of some elements of the same into the ritual systems of their Iroquois hosts, if we are to credit the Cayuga priest-chiefs. . . . [Ibid., pp. 2-3.]

The rites in almost all of these cases are characterized by (1) adoption after the death of a person, of an individual of the same age and sex by the family of the deceased, (2) the clothes of the deceased are turned over to the adoptee, and (3) the adoptee takes on privileges and responsibilities of a member of the bereaved family. [Ibid., p. 8.]

The rite to which we are now to devote attention bears the proper names *djudadiy atl hahröni*, "they are going to redress him," or *sôsayat! hahröni*, "they are going to redress her," (according to the sex of the person to be adopted). These denotations are in the Cayuga language. The Tutelo of the Six Nations, it may be recalled, have not only lost their idiom but the proper name of the ceremony in their own tongue.

Briefly stated, the avowed purpose of the ceremony is to bring back the soul of a defunct Tutelo tribe member who has died recently, within approximately a year, into association with the living for the space of one night. The ritual reinstates the deceased among the living by the appointment, through adoption, of a beloved one in his or her place as an earthly representative. At its conclusion with the approach of daylight a final adieu is formally enacted to the departed spirit, sending it upon its final journey over the pathway of the rising sun's rays to the permanent celestial abode of spirits. [Ibid., p. 10.]

The frequency of occasions for the celebration of the Adoption Rite depends entirely upon the occurrence of the death of *those who carry Tutelo descent; either blood descent or that derived from previous adoption into the name-registry of the group.* [Italics are present writer's.] [Ibid., p. 12.]

In this same year (1942), James Griffin brought out an article "On the Historic Location of the Tutelo and the Mohetan in the Ohio Valley." Here he makes use of a number of the same sources of information used in this paper. He says:

One interpretation of their former habitat is that the Tutelo came into the Piedmont area from the Ohio Valley. In a recent article Swanton has located the Tutelo in the Big Sandy Valley, near Williamson, West Virginia, and has shown on his map the movement of the Tutelo from that point to near Salem, Virginia, and from there to a site near Clarksville, Virginia. The evidence for this movement is given in the text.

In the meantime another Siouan tribe, known as Tutelo or Toterö, which, near the end of the seventeenth century, seems to have been on the Big Sandy, and which Fallam and Batts had visited in a town somewhere near the present Salem, Virginia, moved to an island just above that of the Occaneechi at the junction of the Staunton and the Dan. Before 1701 all of them had abandoned that region in turn and retired into North Carolina, where the Saponi and Tutelo

were found by Lawson on the headwaters of the Yadkin and the Occaneechi on Eno river near the present Hillsboro.

The footnote reference in the above quotation is to Volume IV of the Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York published in Albany in 1854 and edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, M. D. The same reference is cited for the following quotation taken from Swanton which presents the evidence used for the historic seventeenth century location of the Tutelo in the Ohio Valley. [Griffin, 1942, p. 275.]

A check of Swanton's article to which Griffin refers was made to determine the source of this statement regarding the Tutelo. Swanton refers to page 488 of volume IV, but when a careful perusal of this page has been made no mention of the Tutelo or Totero and their ever appearing upon the Big Sandy near the end of the 17th century is to be found. As for the Fallam and Batts statement, see their exact description as earlier presented in this paper (pp. 122-123). Griffin continues:

As the Earl of Bellomont, in 1699, says the "Shatteras" were "supposed to be the Toterias, on Big Sandy River, Va.,"²⁹ it may be that the Virginia Siouans had advanced up that stream, but it is more likely that most of them came by the great trail along the Kanawha." [Ibid., p. 275].

Again we find an inconsistent reference in that his "29" in the quotation above is supposed to refer to Alvord and Bidgood, 1912, page 218. When checked against Alvord and Bidgood, page 218, we find that this page is devoted to "Journeys of Needham and Arthur," and the Earl is not mentioned in any portion of the message on this particular page.

Griffin states:

This quotation by Swanton is supposed to be from a letter of the "Earl of Bellomont to the Lords of Trade" written in "New Yorke, April the 13th 1699."

In this letter the Earl refers to certain Indian tribes which could be more easily reached from the colony of Carolina than from the colony of New York. His letter is significant because it reveals his lack of knowledge of the location of some of the contemporary Indian tribes. The entire section in which he refers to the Tutelo is given below.

But as it 'tis the interst of England I chiefly meditate I reckon I should abuse your Lordships if I did not freely own to you that Carolina lyes infinitely more commodious for a trade with those Nations of Indians which are called the Shateras Twichtwicht and Dowaganhas Indians and a world of other nations, which some of our Indians at Albany told me were as numerous as the sand on the sea shoar. [Ibid., pp. 275-276.]

Griffin in his concluding paragraph points out that—

This is not to deny the hypothesis that the central Ohio Valley could have been such an area. If it was, however, it must have been at a period far removed from that of the Fort Ancient occupation. Such a reconstruction can only be made by comparing the material from known Siouan sites in the east with that from known Siouan sites in the Chiwere, Dhegiha, Dakota, and Akansa areas and checking back to discover if there is archeological material in the Ohio Valley at the correct

time horizon which would indicate a generic connection to the remains of these dispersed Siouan tribes. I venture to predict that such a search will be unsuccessful. [Ibid., p. 280].

Again referring to James Griffin, in 1945, we find him saying that—

A re-examination of the historic locations and movements of the Siouan tribes of the Piedmont may provide a firmer background for the understanding and interpretation of the archaeological material found on the sites occupied by these tribes. Since it is impossible at this time to make a critical examination of the primary sources of this historical information, it is necessary to rely on the available secondary sources. A division into southern and northern Piedmont Siouan groups has been accepted by Speck and Swanton. . . . Because of this, it would be well to speak of the "Virginia" Siouans as the Tutelo division and the "Carolina" Siouans as the Catawba division. No one has yet given any very accurate idea of the degree of divergence of these two linguistic units or the meaning, historically, of this divergence. However, the recognized local bands or tribes of the Catawba division were differentiated by 1520-1540, those of the northern, or Tutelo, division, by 1600.

It has been suggested that the Siouan tribes of the Catawba division found in North Carolina by Lederer and Lawson had moved in shortly before 1670. It was Swanton's opinion in 1936 that this movement of some of the Catawba Siouans (Sara and Keyauwee) into North Carolina was the result, partly of Pardo's journeys into the interior in 1566, and partly of an assumed movement of the Cherokee Nation from some point on the upper Ohio, up the Kanawha and New Rivers to the headwaters, and then down the Clinch and Holston as far as Chattanooga. This Cherokee movement took place before the arrival of the Spaniards—hence at some time before 1540. The Cherokee found Muskhogean people to the south of them and Siouan tribes of the Catawba division to the east of them. According to this interpretation, the movement of the Catawba out of their postulated home in the Ohio Valley probably took place not later than about 1450.

The story of the historic movements of the Tutelo division is somewhat different. The Manahoac and Monacan units were already located along the Rappahannock-Rapidan and James valleys, between the fall-line and the mountains, in about 1600. We do not hear of the Tutelo-Occaneechi-Saponi as such until some time later, namely around 1670, when they were south of the territory occupied by the Manahoac and Monacan at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Bushnell has called some of the Monacan groups Tutelo and Saponi. Swanton has suggested that the location of a village called Mohetan, which may or may not have been Siouan, in the lower Kanawha Valley in 1674 indicates a movement of the Mohetan tribe from the Ohio Valley into Virginia. It is known, however, that this tribe was on the eastern side of the mountains in 1669-1670 and hence was going westward. In any event, an east to west movement in 1670-1673 can hardly be used as evidence for the location in Virginia in 1600 of tribes that came from the Ohio Valley. Nor can an erroneous location of the Tutelo on the Big Sandy in 1699 be used as historical evidence for an Ohio Valley home of the Tutelo.

A different view of the location of the pre-1600 homes of the Tutelo division is suggested by Speck, who feels that the Powhatan and other Algonquian tribes of the Tidewater area displaced the Siouan groups, forcing them into the Piedmont section some 200 years or more before the coming of the Europeans. If this hunch were correct, any movement of the Tutelo division out of the Ohio Valley would necessarily have occurred some time before 1400.

In any event, the historical evidence suggests that the late seventeenth—and early eighteenth—century merging of the Tutelo and Catawba groups in north-

central North Carolina and south-central Virginia was the result of pressure on the Catawba division from the south and east and of pressure on the Tutelo division from the north and east. [Griffin, 1945, pp. 322-323.]

Griffin states in his conclusions:

The study of cultural remains from sites attributed to eastern Siouan tribes was undertaken in order to obtain an idea of their cultural homogeneity and to indicate their cultural position with regard to artifacts attributed to neighboring contemporaneous groups and to the prehistoric cultures of the same and adjoining areas. The main cultural affiliations of the northern division of the Siouan tribes are with the complex of artifacts from the coastal region known to belong to the Algonquian tribes of the Powhatan confederacy and related groups. . . .

Archeological material now attributed to the Siouan tribes of the Piedmont could have been derived as well from antecedent cultural stages in that area as from any other area. . . . pottery of Woodland type known to belong in the Hopewell period in a number of known sites in North Carolina, such as the Puette site in Transylvania County and the Hardaway site in Stanley County, strongly suggests that they belong in the Hopewellian period. At present, they look as though they were contemporary with, and not derived from, Ohio Hopewellian sites. [Ibid., pp. 328-330.]

Swanton (1946) reiterates what has been said earlier and compiles this under one cover. No new point of view is presented.

Douglas Rights, in 1947, brought out his book "The American Indian in North Carolina" in which he referred to James Needham and Gabriel Arthur:

With their Indian escort they traveled to the island home of the Occaneechee at the confluence of the Dan and Staunton rivers. The island-dwellers were a strong tribe, fierce and warlike, and their power was feared by neighboring tribes. So great was their influence that the religious ritual of the Indians for miles around was in their tongue. They controlled the back country trade, forcing traders to pass through their island gateway to the hinterland of the Piedmont, and compelling the westward Indians to transport their furs via Occaneechee Town. Their advantage in trade resulted in prosperity that later caused their downfall. [Rights, 1947, p. 67.]

Contrary to the position in which the early narrators found the Saponi, Rights says that:

These Saponi Indians had been met by Lederer in Virginia. They had later moved to one of the islands at the forks of the Staunton and Dan rivers to become close neighbors of the Occaneechee. Forced to move again, they migrated to the Trading Ford location, which has been previously vacated by the Saura, who had lived here as late as 1673, when Needham and Arthur were on the trail, but had since deserted the Yadkin and had sought a home on Dan River. [Ibid. p. 79.]

Continuing with the Saponi, he goes on to say:

This people is now made up of the Remnant of Several other Nations, of which the most considerable are the Sappons, the Occaneches, and Steukenhocks [probably Conestoga], who not finding themselves Separately Numerous, enough for their Defence, have agreed to unite into one Body, and all of them go under the Name of Sappons. [Ibid., pp. 105.]

This is more or less a direct quote from William Byrd.

Later, while discussing the islands in the Roanoke, Rights says:

This middle island was the former home of the Occaneechee to which we traced Lederer and Needham and Arthur. On the *uppermost* island the *Saponi* dwelt. The *Tutelo* had settled on the *lowest island* . . . [Ibid., p. 109.][Italics are writer's.]. Here Rights switched ends with the Saponi and Tutelo. William Byrd placed the Tutelo on the uppermost island and the Saponi on the lowest island.

In his latest report, "The Indian Tribes of North America," Swanton (1952) modified some of the former statements of yesteryear, but he still adhered to a number of the "die-hard" statements without any qualifications of them. In this work he presents a very brief summary of the main events in the history of the Occaneechi, Saponi, and Tutelo. Of the Occaneechi, he says:

Meaning unknown.

Connections.—The Occaneechi belonged to the Siouan linguistic stock; their closest connections were probably the Tutelo and Saponi.

Location.—On the middle and largest island in Roanoke River, just below the confluence of the Staunton and the Dan, near the site of Clarksville, Mecklenburg County, Va.

History.—Edward Blande and his companions heard of them in 1650. When first met by Lederer in 1670 at the spot above mentioned, the Occaneechi were noted throughout the region as traders, and their language is said to have been the common speech both of trade and religion over a considerable area (Lederer, 1912). Between 1670 and 1676 the Occaneechi had been joined by the Tutelo and Saponi, who settled upon two neighboring islands. In the latter year the Conestoga sought refuge among them and were hospitably received, but, attempting to dispossess their benefactors, they were driven away. Later, harassed by the Iroquois and English, the Occaneechi fled south and in 1701 Lawson (1860) found them on the Eno River, about the present Hillsboro, Orange County, N. C. Later still they united with the Tutelo and Saponi and followed their fortunes, having, according to Byrd, taken the name of the Saponi.

Connection in which they have become noted.—The name Occaneechi is associated particularly with the Occaneechi Trail or Trading Path, which extended southwest through North and South Carolina from the neighborhood of Petersburg, Va. [Swanton, 1952, pp. 65-66.]

Regarding the Saponi, he says:

Evidently a corruption of Monasicepano or Monasukapanough, which, as shown by Bushnell, is probably derived in part from a native term "moni-seep" signifying "shallow water." Paanese is a corruption and in no way connected with the word "Pawnee."

Connections.—The Saponi belonged to the Siouan linguistic family, their nearest relations being the Tutelo.

Location.—The earliest known location of the Saponi has been identified by Bushnell (1930) with high probability with "an extensive village site on the banks of the Rivanna, in Albemarle County, directly north of the University of Virginia and about one-half mile up the river from the bridge of the Southern Railway." This was their location when, if ever, they formed a part of the Monacan confederacy. [Note the conditioning here!]

History.—As first pointed out by Mooney (1894), the Saponi tribe is identical with the Monasukapanough which appears on Smith's map as though it were a town of the Monacan and may in fact have been such. Before 1670, and probably between 1650 and 1660, they moved to the southwest and probably settled on Otter Creek, as above indicated. In 1670, they were visited by Lederer in their new home and by Thomas Batts (1912) a year later. Not long afterward they and the Tutelo moved to the junction of the Staunton and Dan Rivers, where each occupied an island in Roanoke River in Mecklenburg County. This movement was to enable them to escape the attacks of the Iroquois, and for the same reason they again moved south before 1701, when Lawson (1860) found them on Yadkin River near the present site of Salisbury, N. C. Soon afterward they left this place and gravitated toward the White settlements in Virginia. They evidently crossed Roanoke River before the Tuscarora War of 1711, establishing themselves a short distance east of it and 15 miles west of the present Windsor, Bertie County, N. C. A little later, they along with the Tutelo and some other tribes, were placed by Governor Spotswood near Fort Christanna, 10 miles north of Roanoke River about the present Gholsonville, Brunswick County. . . . By the treaty of Albany (1722) the Iroquois agreed to stop incursions on the Virginia Indians and, probably about 1740, the greater part of the Saponi and the Tutelo moved north stopping for a time at Shamokin, Pa., . . . [Ibid., pp. 71-72.]

As for the Tutelo, he says:

Significance unknown but used by the Iroquois, who seem to have taken it from some southern tongue.

Connections.—The Tutelo belonged to the Siouan linguistic family, their nearest connections being the Saponi and probably the Monacan.

Location.—The oldest known town site of the Tutelo was near Salem, Va., though the Big Sandy River at one time bore their name and may have been an earlier seat.

History.—In 1671 Fallam and Batts (1912) visited the town above mentioned. Some years later the Tutelo moved to an island in Roanoke River just above the Occaneechi, but in 1701 Lawson found them still farther southwest, probably about the headwaters of the Yadkin (Lawson, 1860). From that time forward they accompanied the Saponi until the latter tribe separated from them at Niagara as above noted. [Ibid., p. 73.]

In the Archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology are a number of undated papers. Among these is a notebook of James Mooney's (MS. Doc. No. 1901). Pages 1 and 2 are devoted to the "Acconechi." Here he tells us that in 1701 Lawson found them—

living on the headwaters of the Neuse, about Hillsborough, N. C. & apparently in leag with some other small tribes (Lawson 96-7). By 1710 They had moved down nearer the settlements, in company with the Tutelos, Saponis, Shoccori & Keyauwees, the five tribes numbering altogether only about 750 souls (Lawson 384). Occaneechee neck & swamp on the north bank of the Roanoke, apposit Halifax, may indicate their location at this period. In 1717 the friendly Tuscaroras were assigned a reservation on the north bank of the Roanoke in Bertie county (N C Rec II 283). The Saponis had a town, under their protection, upon the same reservation & it is probable that the Acconecheis etc liv'd with or near them. [Mooney, MS.]

Here let us quote an undated letter written by Cyrus Thomas to Mr. (J. N. B.) Hewitt in its entirety (MS. Doc. No. 4014):

Dear Mr. Hewitt:

I am still tied up and will be this week, but could do some work if I had the Yuman cards and have written Mr. Clayton to send them to me but to have you pick out the boxes. I want all of them including the cross references. Please see that whoever brings them wraps them up well.

I sent you one part of our De Soto paper for you to look over and have a copy made—then return the copy I sent, to me by mail with your notes & suggestions on separate sheet. You had better have a copy made for you to keep.

It is rather strange that a Uchean cacica or chieftainess should have as a part of her dominion and of her most trusted subjects the country and people of a Siouan tribe. The whole thing is ridiculous. *I am becoming impressed with the idea that there is much rotten timber in the "Siouan Tribes of the East."* [Italics are writer's.]

Yours truly

s/d Cyrus Thomas
1316 Kenesaw Street.

Apparently this was written shortly after Mooney's work on the "Siouan Tribes of the East" came off the press, for apparently he did not get a chance to look over the manuscript before it was printed.

Associated with this letter were a number of notes headed "Siouan tribes of the East." These are presented in the following pages:

On page 29, the writer reaches the conclusion that "the upper region of the Ohio—Alleghany, Mongahela and Kanawha country"—was the "original home" of the Siouan stock—"from which one branch crossed the mountains to the waters of Virginia and Carolina, while the other followed along the Ohio and the lakes toward the west."

On pg. 11: He has those going west—first crossing the mountains and following "down the valleys of New River and the Big Sandy to the Ohio." Yet, as he informs us their homes were on the upper Ohio. The route taken to go west seems a rather strange one.

Pg. 11: He says "the theory of a Siouan migration down the Big Sandy is borne out by the fact that this stream was formerly known as the Totteroy a corruption of the Iroquois name for the Tutelo." Yet in the quotation from pg. 29 given above, the eastern branch is said to have crossed the mountains from upper Ohio region to the waters of Virginia and Carolina.

Pg. 9—The statement that "the concurrent testimony of the Siouan tribes themselves to the effect that they had come from the East." is not true as here used. The western Sioux claim to have come from a more eastern locality, but this does not reach farther east than Lake Michigan. The statement given above is therefore misleading and the truth concealed, to maintain a theory.

Pg. 9—"The inference that the region west of the Mississippi was the original home of the Siouan tribes" is a man of straw set up by the writer to be knocked down. No acceptable authority, if any, ever held such a theory.

Pg. 10—The statement that "As early as 1701 Gravier stated that the Ohio was known to the Miami and Illinois as the "River of the Akansa" is untrue. Gravier says the Ouabache (Wabash) and expressly distinguishes between it and the Ohio—continuing the Wabash and the Mississippi and making the Ohio a tributary to it. It was from this erroneous interpretation of Gravier's words that the Sibley Osage tradition—in all its various forms grew up.

Pg. 10—The statement that Dorsey found the tradition of an eastern origin (in the sense here used) as "common to almost all the tribes of that [Siouan] stock" is incorrect. Dorsey also contradicts himself on this point—moreover his statements do not include the Dakota group.

Pg. 10—De Soto found the Quapaw only a short distance above the locality occupied when the French descended the Mississippi. De Soto did not pass through any portion of the Osage country.

Pg. 11—No Ohio tribe, so far as known, had any tradition regarding the Quapaw (or Akansa)—This was limited, so far as known to some Illinois tribes.

It is not true that the Quapaws were "in the vicinity of that stream [Ohio] when encountered by De Soto." This is apparent from the fact that they were then somewhere in the vicinity of the site of Helena, Arkansas.

Pg. 11—After stating that the cause of the exodus of the Siouan tribes from their original home, was probably pressure by northern and southern alien tribes, he says "they retreated across the mountains, the only direction in which a retreat was open to them." Does this refer to those who went west or those who went east into "Virginia and Carolina"?

Pg. 12—The statement that "within this period, traditional and historical evidence point out as the cradle of the Algonquian race the coast region lying between Saint Lawrence river and Chesapeake bay"; is untrue. The most "coherent" tradition points to some locality north of the lakes as their original home. The Leni Lenape were the "grandfather", and that was their original home.

Pg. 12—"When their [Iroquois] warfare against the southern tribes was inaugurated we do not know. It was probably continuous with the expulsion of the Cherokee from the Upper Ohio." As the Cherokee were in their southern home in 1540—it may be safely assumed that their expulsion could not have occurred later than the latter part of the 15th century. Were the Iroquois already raiding the southern tribes at this early date?

Pg. 19—Compare the statements in the first paragraph of this page as regards the information respecting the Manahoacs and subdivisions with what is stated near the bottom of page 22 and top of page 23.

The inference of relationship of Manahoac with Monacan on pg. 23, is changed to certainty on pg. 26—"the cognate Manahoacs" . . .

Pg. 30—The statement that the Dogi of Lederer "have no relation to the Doeg named in the records of the Bacon rebellion in 1675", is wholly gratuitous as it is more than probable that Lederer obtained the name from the history of the Bacon rebellion." [Thomas, MS.]

Among the lot were a series of notes by James O. Dorsey (MS. Doc. No. 3804) on the Eastern Siouans. In these he refers to volume 13, number 3, of the *American Antiquarian*, page 147:

The earliest known migrations of the Dakotas were from the east . . . The Tuteloes having once been located in Northern Georgia, not far from where the bird effigy is; other tribes—such as the Iowas and Mandans—having, according to tradition, carried their symbols to Dakota. The effigy mounds of southern Ohio, especially the great serpent, the bird mounds of Northern Georgia, the effigies of Wisconsin, and the stone effigies of Dakota are assigned by some to different branches of the Dakotas—the Tuteloes having, etc., as above.

Up to this time no one has mentioned the Tuteloes as having lived in northern Georgia. Who could have mistakenly supplied this bit of misinformation?

Included in this batch of Dorsey notes were some on "Migrations of certain tribes of the Siouan family." Herein he says:

Some authors speak of a series of migrations of these tribes from the west toward the east; but the writer has not been able to learn of what authority such statements have been made; nor has he ever found any tradition of such eastward migrations among the tribes that he has visited.

This statement upsets Mooney's theory, since Dorsey is the outstanding authority on the Sioux.

Dorsey then lists some pertinent comments on Mooney and his "Siouan tribes of the East."

Mooney [in the Siouan Tribes of the East, Galley 4 AL] says: "The theory of a Siouan migration down the valley of the Big Sandy is borne out by the fact that this stream was formerly known as the Totteroy, a corruption of the Iroquois name for the Tutelo and other Siouan tribes of the South."

(Big Sandy, the Big Totteroy; and Little Sandy, the Little Totteroy). If Mooney accepts this traditional name of the Big Sandy as good evidence (see above), why should he reject the traditional name of the Kentucky R. (a stream near the Big Sandy), Cuttawa, Cuttawo, or Catawba River? He says in Galley 26 AL: "The Shawano and other tribes of the Ohio Valley made the word (i. e., Catawba) Cuttawa."

Catawba in Carolina as early as 1569
(La Vandera)

Kwapa on the Mississippi in 1540-41
(De Soto)

Yet

Yet

Kentucky R. given as 'Cuttawa' on
Vaugondie's Map (1755)

Ohio given as 'R. d'Acanse' on
De L'Isle's Map (1722)

Big Sandy called Totteroy in 1746

Mooney says (The Siouan Tribes of the East (p. 70) Galley 26 AL),

"The Catawba were found living about where we have always known them, as early as 1567. Kentucky river was called by that name among the Shawano and other northern tribes because up that river lay the great war trail to the Catawba country."

This may be so; but what proof have we of this. If proof can be given, that settles the question of the origin of this name for Kentucky river; but if no proof (no authority) can be given for this statement, if it be a mere inference on the part of Mr. Mooney, it is in order to call attention to another explanation of the origin of that appellation, i. e., that it referred to a traditional or prehistoric occupation of that region by the Catawba tribe, just as the name Totteroy, applied to the Big Sandy, referred to a traditional or prehistoric occupation of that region by the Tutelo tribe or confederacy.

[Referring to the American Antiquarian, vol. xiii, number 4, July, 1891, p. 236:]

I find that Dr. Morgan is disposed to classify the Catawba among the Dakotas, as also all Iroquois dialects. This brings out a new idea, for which the Saponas, Toteris, Nottoways, and Catawbas added to the Tuscaroras, we have an aggregation of Dakotas east of the Alleghenies numbering many thousands, and to these may be possibly added a half dozen other or small tribes in the immediate neighborhood.

Take the Saponies, for instance, known to contemporary writers under half a dozen different names and whom Gallatin classed among the Iroquois; called by the Troquois, Todericks; by the French, Panis; west of the Mississippi, Pawnees,

alias Naudowasses, alias Dakotas, alias Sioux. These purely Dakota tribes were on the Atlantic coast in 1700.

In comparing the notes made by Thomas with those of Dorsey's, one will see that there is a similarity in criticism running throughout, but an elaboration along certain lines in which each authority has specialized.

Dr. Swanton left with the Bureau of American Ethnology a number of notes which were placed in the Archives under No. 4234. In this group he lists the "Results of the comparison of 117 terms in 6 Siouan languages. The number of closest resemblances is indicated in each case." These were listed in chart forms, most of which incorporated a basic foundation with either additions to or subtractions from each. These are shown as he has listed them without any attempt made to incorporate all three under a common chart. In reading over these charts one is immediately struck with the inconsistencies of the number of resemblances between the Tutelo and the other dialectic groups.

[Chart 1]

Between	Biloxi	and Ofo	Hidatsa	there are	38 resemblances	
"	"	"	Hidatsa	"	36	"
"	"	"	Dakota	"	33	"
"	Ofo	"	Dakota	"	26	"
"	Gidatsa	"	Dakota	"	24	"
"	Biloxi	"	Tutelo	"	23	19.7%
"	Hidatsa	"	Mandan	"	20	"
"	Hidatsa	"	Tutelo	"	19	16.2%
"	Tutelo	"	Dakota	"	18	15.4%
"	Hidatsa	"	Ofo	"	17	"
"	Biloxi	"	Mandan	"	13	"
"	Ofo	"	Mandan	"	11	"
"	Tutelo	"	Mandan	"	9	7.7%
"	Tutelo	"	Ofo	"	8	6.8%
"	Dakota	"	Mandan	"	20	"

[Chart 2]

Biloxi	and Ofo	38	
"	"	Hidatsa	36
"	"	Tutelo	34
"	"	Dakota	33
Tutelo	"	Hidatsa	29
Ofo	"	Dakota	26
Tutelo	"	Dakota	25
Hidatsa	"	Dakota	24
Biloxi	"	Tutelo	23
Hidatsa	"	Mandan	20
Dakota	"	Mandan	20
Hidatsa	"	Ofo	17
Biloxi	"	Mandan	13
Tutelo	"	Mandan	13
Tutelo	"	Ofo	12
Ofo	"	Mandan	11

Swanton's³ third chart was as follows:

117 terms				
Osage	and Winnebago	40 resemblances	[<i>Note.</i> —Pen line was drawn through this entry.]	
Biloxi	"	Ofo	38	"
Biloxi	"	Hidatsa	36	"
Biloxi	"	Tutelo	34	" [² 29.05 %]
Biloxi	"	Dakota	33	"
Tutelo	"	Hidatsa	29	" [² 24.8 %]
Osage	"	Dakota	27	"
Ofo	"	Dakota	26	"
Tutelo	"	Dakota	25	" [² 21.3 %]
Hidatsa	"	Dakota	24	"
Hidatsa	"	Mandan	20	"
Dakota	"	Mandan	20	"
Ofo	"	Hidatsa	17	"
Biloxi	"	Mandan	13	"
Ofo	"	Tutelo	12	" [² 10.2 %]
Ofo	"	Mandan	11	"
Osage	"	Tutelo	10	" [² 8.5 %]
Osage	"	Biloxi	9	"
Osage	"	Hidatsa	5	"
Osage	"	Ofo	3	"
Osage	"	Mandan	3	"

On the back of one of these charts were the following notes:

Gallatin established the Siouan stock, 1836. Tutelo language discovered and identified by H. Hale in 1870; discovery announced at a meeting of the Am. Philos. Soc., Dec. 19, 1879. More complete statement made Mar. 2, 1883 before same Society.

Catawba vocabulary collected by Gatschet in 1881 and classed with Siouan languages in First Ann. Report of the Bureau [of American Ethnology] in 1881 but Gatschet was still in doubt in 1882. Finally examined and pronounced Siouan after 1890 by J. O. Dorsey.

Gallatin classed Woccon with Catawba, 1836.

EVALUATION AND INTERPRETATION OF THE FACTS REGARDING THE SIOUAN QUESTION

We have given in the foregoing section, in a brief summary fashion, the whole historical background of the Siouan question consisting of a number of the primary and the bulk of the secondary sources which were based on reports given out by explorers, traders, and historians. The whole "tapestry" of the Eastern Siouan question evolved out of implications, inferences, hypotheses, and assumptions wherein the premise is: a Siouan-speaking people occupied not only southern Virginia but central Virginia as well. These data were interpretations to fit a somewhat modified preconception that such a group was

³ Percentage was determined by the present writer.

in existence in Virginia, North Carolina, and possibly Carolina during protohistoric and historic times.

First, let us point out how the whole thing started and developed out of statements issued by Captain John Smith, William Strachey, Edward Bland, John Lederer, and General Wood's reports of the experiences of Thomas Batts, Robert Fallam, James Needham, and Gabriel Arthur. John Smith never contacted the Indian groups above the Falls of the James River but he did receive word about them from a captive Indian in sign language. Most of his information came from members of the Powhatan confederacy and was colored by a number of factors involving both groups, such as differences in language, the enmity of each group for the other, etc. NO FIRSTHAND OBSERVATIONS WERE EVER MADE AMONG THOSE INDIAN GROUPS OCCUPYING THE AREA WEST OF THE FALLS OF THE JAMES RIVER.

Strachey, secretary of the Jamestown colony from 1609 to 1612, depended to a great extent on Smith and his reports of the country and on firsthand information gleaned from the Algonquian groups which were in contact with the colonists. He compiled a list of words from the Indian together with their English equivalents which supplements Smith's works.

Edward Bland actually went among the Meherrin group to the west of the falls of the James River, trading with them for their various commodities. He was the first to report on certain Indian groups occupying central and south-central Virginia. He either contacted the Occaneeches directly or otherwise received word from Indian sources regarding them.

A few years later, John Lederer's expeditions into this section of Virginia not only gave distances but directional position of one group from the other as well as bits of Indian tradition.

The following year two Indian traders, Batts and Fallam, covered a portion of this same country as well as a section to the west, where they came upon a new Indian group, the Toteros or Tutelo. At this time they were not in association with any other known Indian group and resided beyond two ridges of mountains.

Later, two other Indian traders, Needham and Arthur as a team, were sent out by General Wood to this same area, and they contacted not only the Saponi and Occaneechi, but the Tutelo as well. During this time Arthur was captured but after a number of experiences succeeded in returning to the white settlements. General Wood reported upon their experiences, divulging additional Indian data.

Most of these data are supported by Robert Beverley, but the outstanding contribution was that concerning the "general language" that all these people talked about. Beverley has definitely pinned it down as belonging to the Occaneechi and as used not only during

religious rites but also during trading transactions by the people of the entire area.

John Lawson, James Adair, and William Byrd noted further refinements which were from not too reliable sources. Byrd, it seems, is given over to fanciful statements. Adair went in for the "lost tribes of Israel" theory to account for the origin of the American Indian, while Lawson was pretty well mixed up in his geography.

To support the statement regarding William Byrd a quotation from William Boyd's Introduction is given (see p. 127, this paper).

By the time we get to Byrd the clear picture has become muddled somewhat by unreliable Indian traditions of fairly recent origin and imagination. By this we allude to his statement about the cave supposedly located on the island occupied by the Tutelo in the Roanoke, if they ever lived there, wherein the supposed last king of the Tutelo, together with two of his men, stood off a larger northern Indian group for several days and later compelled them to give up and go home. Then too, there is the placement of the Occaneechi, Saponi, and Tutelo on the island group at the confluence of the Dan and Staunton Rivers in the vicinity of Clarksville, Mecklenburg County, Va. Up to this time the Occaneechi were said to have occupied an island in the Roanoke River, but just where this island lay was never stated. The topography surrounding this island does not correspond with that surrounding the island assigned by Byrd as the island home of the Occaneechi. Now, Byrd not only places the Occaneechi on one of the three islands at the confluence of the Dan and Staunton Rivers, but he brings the Saponi and Tutelo down to join them. By the time he reports on this so-called fact, the three groups have long been identified by Lawson as being down in North Carolina. Then, too, there is his description of the topography of these islands together with the dividing straits, none of which conforms to present-day conditions before they were inundated by the lake of the John H. Kerr reservoir.

In the first place, there was never a cave anywhere on the uppermost island, which was assigned to the Tutelo by Byrd. If such cave ever existed its presence was so cleverly hidden that no evidence of it remained. The present writer walked over every foot of this island hoping to find any tangible remains of this cave. Engineers were consulted regarding the same and they, as well as the writer, failed to note that any cave could have existed owing to the nature of the island—its topography and innate structure.

In the second place, it would be impossible for anyone to ford "the Straight out of this (Tutelo Island) onto Occaneechy Island" for the river bed is from 20 to 25 feet deep at this spot and the head of Occaneechy Island is a straight bluff about 22 feet above normal river

level. Not only does he contradict himself in this but later on he says (Byrd, 1929, p. 291):

Because I detested Idleness, I caus'd my Overseer to paddle me up the River as far as the Streight that divides Occaneechy from Toter Island, which is about 20 Yards wide. There runs a Swift Stream continually out of the South part of the River into the North, and is in some places very deep.

This second statement is mostly correct, while the first statement probably did not apply to that body of water separating the two islands of Occaneechi and Tutelo. What he was talking about in this instance, only William Byrd knew.

To Edward Bland must be given the credit for first mentioning the "Occancheans." He never made direct contact with this group, but he received word about them from his Appommotoc guide Pyancha, while on the banks of the Blandina River. This was in 1651. John Lederer, the German Indian trader, is credited with making first physical contact with this group in 1670, but before he could contact the Occaneechi he had to pass through the Saponi town which lay 50 miles northeast of "Akenatzy." With Lederer was his Susquehanna Indian guide Jackzetavon, who accompanied him on this particular expedition. It is only natural for both Bland and Lederer to rely on their Indian guides to give them the desired information, and this must have been rendered in their own particular dialects. The Appomatoc is listed as one of the constituents of Powhatan's confederacy—an Algonquian group; while the Susquehanna is a recognized tribe of the Iroquoian stock.

Lederer mentions that he heard about the "Akenatzy" from the Indians, supposedly the Saponi. Later, inferences have linked the Saponi with the Occaneechi and Tutelo linguistically, but no direct proof that such was ever the case has been uncovered. Batts and Fallam, after leaving the Saponi town, arrived at the "Hanathaskies town," which in this instance is located 25 miles northwest of the Saponi town. Whether these "Hanathaskies" were another group of the "Akenatzy" is not known, for Lederer found his "Akenatzy" 50 miles southwest of the Saponi.

According to Lederer, the Saponi "was a village of the Nahyssans, about a hundred miles distant from Mahock, scituate upon a branch of the Shawan, alias Rorenock river." The residence of the king of the Saponi was to be found in a village called "pintahae" upon this same river. Mooney infers from this statement that the "Pintahae was another tribe of the Saponi" and that the Saponi and Nahyssans were two different groups. Since no one else has ever mentioned this village, he had to refer to Lederer; but instead of telling it like Lederer did, he implied an altogether different meaning, giving a different

slant to the data. Not only does Mooney become so involved with this question, but he contradicts himself, as has been pointed out in the historical section of this paper.

The initial statement concerning the island occupied by the Occaneechi and the "Nessoneicks" was given to Bland by Pyancha, his Indian guide. Bland stated that—

There is an island within the River three days journey about, which is of a very rich and fertile soile, and that the upper end of the Island is fordable, not above knee deepe, of a stony bottome, running very swift, and the other side very deepe and navigable.

Compare this with a statement issued by Lederer:

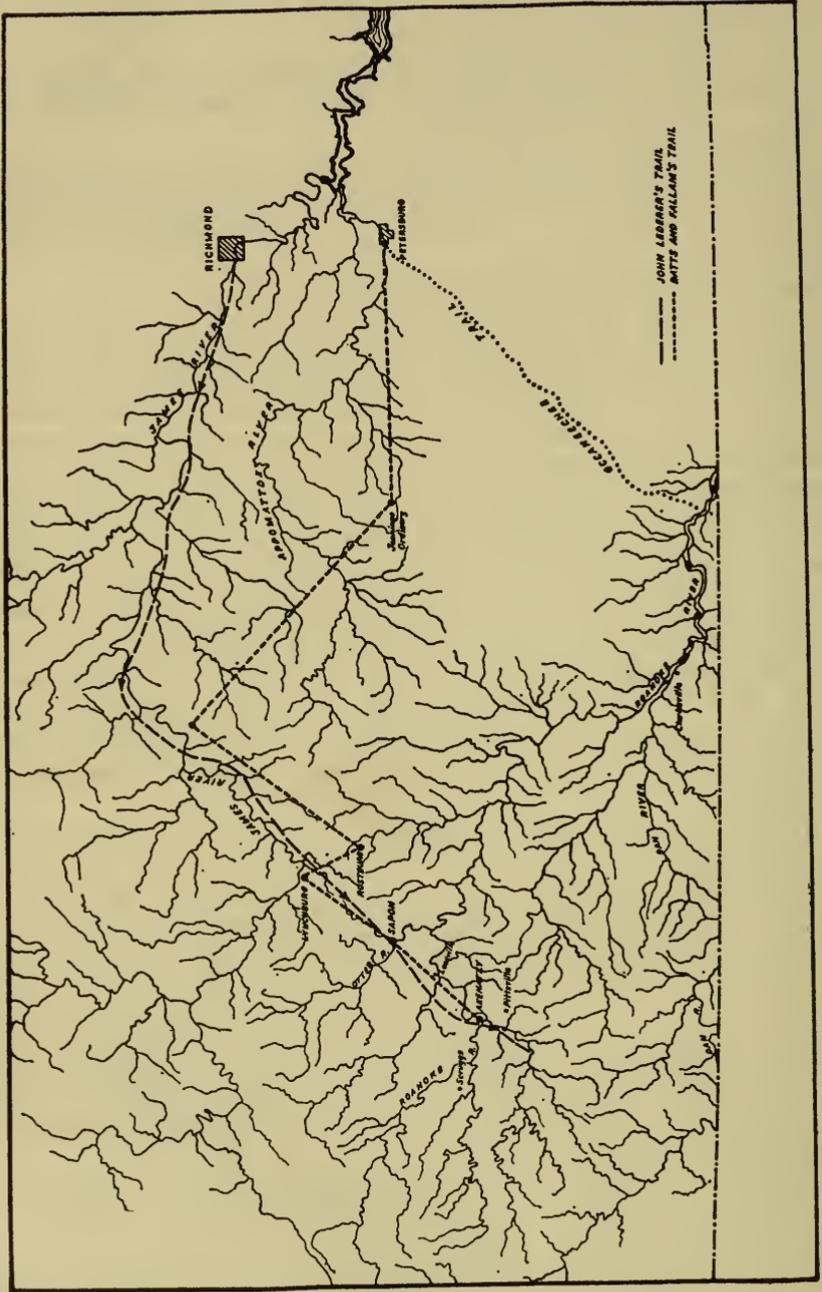
This island, though small, maintains many inhabitants, who are fix't here in great security, being naturally fortified with fastnesses of mountains, and water on every side. Upon the north shore they yearly reap great crops of corn, of which they always have a twelve-month provision aforehand, against invasion from their powerful neighbours. [These powerful enemies are not mentioned by name.] Their government is under two kinds, one presideing in arms, the other in hunting and husbandry. They hold all things, except their wives in common; (Socialism) and their custome in eating is, that every man in his turn feasts all the rest; and he that makes the entertainment is seated betwixt the two kinds; where having highly commended his own chear, they carve and distribute it among the guests.

We are told that this island is located in the "Shawan alias Rorenock river" and that the occupants lived under a socialistic form of economy and were preyed upon by powerful enemies who were their neighbors. It is known that members of the Iroquois confederacy sent war parties foraging as far south as this region during historic times. Whether these "powerful neighbours" were Iroquois is not known for certain.

If one is careful in plotting Lederer's course of travel taken during this particular expedition to the Saponi and Occaneechi and points beyond, maintaining directions and distances traveled, one does not land on the islands at the confluence of the Staunton and Dan Rivers for the location of "Akenatzy," as contended by Byrd, Mooney, Bushnell, Swanton, and others, but rather on the upper reaches of the Staunton River where the river makes a very noticeable bend directly south of Lynchburg. This is "arm chair" research and therefore is not very reliable, but it does indicate the impossibility of Lederer's landing on the islands at the confluence of the two rivers in order to meet up with the Occaneechi. (See map 14.)

Another bit of information was learned from the "Journeys of Needham and Arthur" concerning the Occaneechi. Arthur, in escaping from his Indian captors:

Ye next day came before night in sight of ye Ochenechees towne undiscovered and there hid himsefe until it was darke and then waded over to ye island where



MAP 14.—Modern map projecting the routes taken by Lederer and by Batts and Fallam.

ye Ocheneneches are seated, strongly fortified by nature, and that makes them so insolent for they are but a handful of people, besides what vagabonds repair to them in beeing a receptackle for rogues.

Thus, we learn in 1674, that the Occaneechi were not only a mixed lot made up of vagabonds and rogues, but that they were small in numbers and still living upon an island which was well fortified by nature—the same as indicated by Lederer.

Robert Beverley, like John Lederer, speaks of a common language used by the inhabitants of the land. Lederer stated it this way: "One language is common to them although they differ in dialects." Beverley puts it this way:

Their Language differs very much, as antiently in the several parts of Britain; so that Nations at a moderate distance, do not understand one another. However, they have a sort of general Language, like what Lahontan calls the Algonkine, which is understood by the Chief men of many Nations, as Latin is in most parts of Europe, and *Lingua Franca* quite thro the Levant.

The general Language here us'd, is said to be that of the Occaneeches tho they have been but a small Nation, ever since those parts were known to the English; but in what this Language may differ from that of the Algonkines, I am not able to determin.

As the reader will notice, Beverley makes a positive statement that this "general language" is that used by the Occaneechi and adopted by the surrounding groups. Along comes Horatio Hale in 1879 and 1883, warping this initial statement of Beverley's, and attributing the language to the *Tutelo* instead of the *Occaneechi*, and crediting Beverley as the source of this information. Just because Hale wanted to prove that the vocabulary gathered on the Six Nations Reserve, from a so-called *Tutelo*, was the "general language" to suit his premise, he apparently stretched a point in his own favor. This error affected the subsequent trend of thought concerning the existence of a Siouan-speaking people east of the Alleghenies and in Virginia.

Gallatin, in 1836, stated that there was no knowledge of the language of the *Tutelo* or any of the other Indians in their vicinity. To be specific, let us refer to the quotation from Gallatin:

As no further mention is made to the Esaws, and no populous nation is ever after alluded to in that quarter but the Catawbias, there cannot, it seems, be any doubt of their identity with the Esaws of Lawson, who probably mistook a local for the generic name of the nation. Between them and the Tuscaroras of the river Neuse, he places the *Saponas* on a branch of Cape Fear River, [or rather on the Great Pedee, which he does not mention, and some branches of which he evidently mistook for tributary streams of Cape Fear River] and in their vicinity of the *Toteris* and the *Keyauwees*, three small tribes amounting together to seven hundred and fifty souls [see Lawson's original statement about this group], which had but lately been driven away from the west into that quarter. He was shown, near the Saponas town, the graves of seven Indians "lately killed by the Sinnegars or Jennitos" [Senecas or Oneidas], and the three tribes had determined to unite in one town for their better security. East of them and west of the Tuscaroras, he

mentions the Sissipahaus on the waters of Cape Fear River, and the Enoes on a branch of the Neuse. *With the exception of the Catawbias, we have not the least knowledge of the languages of any of those tribes.* [Italics the writer's.] [Gallatin, 1836, pp. 85-86.]

This was more fully elaborated on page 131 of this paper.

Earlier, Byrd wrote that—

The Daughter of the *Totero King* went away with the Saponys, but *being the last of her Nation*, and fearing she Shou'd not be treated according to her Rank, poison'd herself, like an Old Roman, with the Root of the Trumpet-Plant. *Her Father dy'd 2 years before*, who was the most intrepid Indian we had been acquainted with. He had made himself terrible to all other Indians by His Exploits, and had escaped so many Dangers that he was esteem'd invulnerable. But at last he dy'd of a Pleurisy, *the last Man of his Race and Nation*, leaving only that unhappy Daughter behind him, who would not long survive him. [Byrd, 1929, pp. 310, 312.]

Byrd wrote this in his "History of the Dividing Line" and in his "Secret History" of events that took place around 1733.

Whether Gallatin was referring to Byrd when he stated that the Tutelo were extinct is not known, but Byrd was rather positive about this fact.

Powell (1892, p. 14) states: "The last full-blood Tutelo died in 1870." This follows along with Hale, owing to Mooney's influence on Powell.

Whether the "most intrepid Indian Tutelo king" who died 2 years before his daughter poisoned herself was truly *the last man of his race and nation* is not known. It would seem that there must have been some reason for this statement, but we have found Byrd mistaken before.

Three sources—Lederer, Beverley, and Needham and Arthur—all agree that the Occaneechi were a small group or nation. Beverley goes one better in that he is more definitive as to time: "ever since those parts were known to the English," which must have been in the early part of the 17th century.

One language aspect which has never been satisfactorily explained appeared in Lawson's history of Carolina. He says:

I once met with a young Indian Woman that had been brought from beyond the Mountains, and was sold a Slave into Virginia. She spoke the same language as the Coramine Indians [?] that dwell near Cape Lookout, allowing for some few Words, which were different, yet no otherwise than that they might understand one another very well. [Lawson, 1937, pp. 180-181.]

Could they have been using the "general language" of the Occaneechi or were they of the same linguistic stock and kin—Algonquian—each speaking a dialect of the same stock which would and could account for the differing of the few words? The only Indian group living beyond the mountains was the Tutelo, the Mohetan, or the

Cherokee; the latter were members of the Iroquoian linguistic stock.

One attribute never stressed about these Indians is their means of recording events. Lederer alludes to this by saying:

Before I treat of their ancient manners and customs, it is necessary I should shew by what means the knowledge of them has been conveyed from former ages to posterity. Three ways they supply their want of letters: first by counters, secondly by emblems of hieroglyphicks, thirdly by tradition delivered in long tales from father to son, which being children they are made to learn by rote.

For counters, they use either pebbles, or short scantlings of straw or reeds. Where a battle has been fought, or a colony seated, they raise small pyramid of these stones, consisting of the number slain or transplanted. Their reeds and straws serve them in religious ceremonies: for they lay them orderly in a circle when they prepare for devotion or sacrifice; and that performed, the circle remains still; for it is sacrilege to disturb or to touch it: the disposition and sorting of the straws or reeds, shew what kind of rites have there been celebrated, as invocation, sacrifice, burial, etc.

The faculties of the minde and body they commonly express by emblems. By the figure of a stag, they imply swiftness; by that of a serpent, wrath; of a lion, courage; of a dog, fidelity: by a swan, they signifie the English, alluding to their complexion, and flight over the sea.

An account of time, and other things, they keep on a string or leather thong tied in knots of several colours. I took particular notice of small wheels serving for this purpose amongst the Oenocks, because I have heard that the Mexicans use the same. Every nation gives his particular ensigne or arms: The Sasquesahanaugh a Tarapine, or a small tortoise; the Akenatzys a serpent; the Nahyssans three arrows, etc. In this they likewise agree with the Mexican Indians. [Alvord and Bidgood, 1912, p. 142.]

Lawson, too, in 1714, tells about the Indians making records of events.

To prove the times more exactly, he produces the Records of the Country, which are a parcel of Reeds of different Lengths, with several distinct Marks, known to none but themselves, by which they seem to guess very exactly at Accidents that happened many Years ago: nay, two or three Ages or more. The Reason I have to believe what they tell me on this Account, is, because I have been at the Meeting of several Indian Nations, and they agreed, in relating the same Circumstances as to Time, very exactly; as for Example, they say there was so hard a Winter in Carolina 105 Years ago, that the great Sound was frozen over, and the Wild Geese came into the Woods to eat Acorns, and that they were so tame [I suppose through Want], that they killed abundance in the Woods by knocking them on the Heads with Sticks. [Lawson, 1937, 191-192.]

As for the Saponi, Lawson tells us that they occupied a village and fort

in a clear field about a Mile square on the banks of the Sapona River. One side of the River is hemmed in with mountainy Ground, the other side proving as rich a Soil to the Eye of a knowing Person with us, as any this Western World can afford. . . . The Sapona River proves to be the West Branch of Cape Fear, or Clarendon River, whose inlet, with other advantages, makes it appear as noble a River to plant a Colony in, as any I have met withal.

Of the Tutelo, he says:

The Toterós, a neighboring Nation, came down from the Western Mountains to the Saponas . . .;

so the Saponi were living apart from them during the time he first refers to them. Later on:

These five Nations of the Toteró's, Sapona's, Keiauwée's, Aconeehos, and Schocories, are lately come amongst us, and may contain in all, about 750 Men, Women and Children.

What was the determining factor that made these groups decide to pull up stakes and move into North Carolina is a mute question which has never been satisfactorily settled. It has been inferred that powerful enemies, possibly the Iroquois, had so decimated their numbers that they had to band together for mutual protection and to move into a locality which would be more easily protected. Since the Occaneechi occupied a "natural fortress," with the mountains on most sides and water all around it, it does not seem logical for them to seek out a new location. There must have been other factors involved which were never mentioned or determined.

The team of Batts and Fallam was the first to indicate the existence of the "Occaneechi Trail." They did not tell us where the path ran, neither did they tell the extent of the trail, its head or anything about it, but we know that there was a trail known to traders as the Occaneechi Trail. William Byrd indicated on his map where this trail crossed the Roanoke River in the vicinity of the Great Falls, which are 36 miles below the confluence of the Staunton and Dan Rivers and hence never passed across the group of islands found in the vicinity of Clarksville, Mecklenburg County, Va. William Myer (1928), in his study of Indian trails, originally indicated the crossing of this path in the same vicinity as indicated by Byrd, Mitchell, Jefferson, and Fray and other cartographers and surveyors. Swanton, on the other hand, while editing the manuscript prior to posthumous publication of Myer's article, changed the course of the path so that it crosses in the vicinity of the islands at the confluence of the Dan and Staunton Rivers in order to fit a statement issued by Byrd that at one time the Occaneechi, Saponi, and Tutelo occupied these three islands. Mooney goes along with Byrd; Bushnell quotes Mooney; and Swanton and later writers quote both Mooney and Bushnell without going back and checking the original sources as to the validity of the later studies. With this as the case we have no actual proof: (1) that the three tribes ever actually occupied contiguous islands at the confluence of the two rivers in Mecklenburg County, Va.; (2) that the so-called Occaneechi Trail ever passed across the middle island of the group—the one attributed to the Occaneechi; and (3)

that the Path originated in the vicinity of Petersburg and ended up on the Savannah River as later suggested. What we do find is that a number of inferences were suggested which were later converted to the status of "actuality."

While the Occaneechi were occupying the middle island, so to speak, a group of Conestoga (Susquehanna) overcome by the Iroquois were seeking a place to settle. They received permission from the Occaneechi to settle with them since they were both possibly of the same linguistic kin. How long they were joined with their hosts is not known, but it has been supposed that the Conestoga tried to chase out their host from their island home and to repossess it for themselves. They could not have been with the Occaneechi very long, for about this time Nathaniel Bacon, with his followers, caught up with them and, with the aid of the Occaneechi, proceeded to whip the Conestoga. As stated previously, this act is known as Bacon's Rebellion.

The Susquehanna Indians then moved over to the Meherrin River and apparently took over a smaller group, known as the Meherrin, both as to location and name. (See Hodge 1907, p. 839, for article by Mooney.) In the meantime Bacon and his followers decided to subdue the Occaneechi, mostly in order to secure for themselves the rich furs and other commodities in the possession of the Indians. But this time the English were not so lucky. The Occaneechi Indians proceeded to whip the English and in so doing lost 50 warriors while the English lost 10 men. The Occaneechi, fearing reprisals, fled southward, without mentioning the Saponi and the Tutelo as partaking in the battle or occupying adjoining islands. The Occaneechi saved their prized possessions and the English lost their pride.

The Occaneechi, without the Saponi and Tutelo, settled on the Eno River where Lawson found them. In the meantime the Saponi and Tutelo were occupying separate villages on the Yadkin well within the sphere of the Tuscarora. No reports tell about the Tuscarora ever fighting these newcomers, and this may indicate that there was a rather close affiliation, probably linguistically, with the Tuscarora, an Iroquoian group.

Fenton (1953, p. 159) suggests "from the records that the Tuscarora, who left the Neuse River in Carolina about 1711" returned to the fold of the Five Nations in 1714. If this be true, then the events which lead to the downfall of the Tuscarora occurred in the interval between 1700 and 1711 and the Tutelo and Saponi must have wandered from place to place seeking a haven after the Tuscarora no longer afforded them protection from their enemies.

Rights (1947) on the other hand, would lead one to believe that there was some connection between the Nottoway, an Iroquoian group, and

the Saponi. Sometime during 1709 the Nottoway proposed to the Saponi that they combine forces in exterminating the Tutelo, in settlement of a number of killings on both sides. When the Saponi tried to shift the blame of their killings upon the Tutelo, the "Nottoway answered that they were both as one people" (Rights, 1947, p. 114). This would seem to imply that the Nottoway recognized the Tutelo as being of the same linguistic kin.

Fenton continued:

Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century the Iroquois were at war with the "Flathead" or Catawba in Carolina, a cause in which their young men gained prestige by taking scalps and bringing home prisoners to replenish losses of manpower, although many Catawba were tortured. French agents among the Five Nations greatly aided and abetted these campaigns to the great distress of the English colonists (and the Indian groups which were to be found approximate to the path taken by the Iroquois) who suffered depredations along the Warrior's Path, which roughly followed the fall line east of the mountains from Pennsylvania to Carolina. British policy was to secure these Indians against the French, and the Colonial governors were instructed to make peace between the warring tribes. [Fenton, 1953, p. 165.]

The adoption of outsiders to take the place of those who were either killed or died a natural death appears to have been generally practiced not only in the east but in other parts of the west as well. The above statement made by Fenton strengthens Speck's work on the Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony (1942), in which the rites were put into practice for a Mrs. James Hess who was born an Onondaga of the Crane sib. Her family was of an unknown tribal group but was definitely not Tutelo. Through family intermarriage with the Cayuga she had been classified most of her life with that nation. Her formal seating at the convening of the group was with the members of the Wolf Moiety. Early in life she was adopted as a living substitute for a deceased Tutelo. No one seemed to remember when such an adoption took place and she only revealed it at the close of her life but failed to pass on the personal name given to her at that time; hence the rite was given but no mention of a personal name was used. This may mean that a great many persons who pass themselves off as Tutelo are only Tutelo by adoption rather than by birth and, of course, cannot pass themselves off as pure blood. Whether such was the case with Nikonha was never revealed; in fact, Hale knew of no such ritual when he was investigating the Tutelo on the Reserve.

Nikohna, or Nikungha, whose so-called Tutelo name was said to be Washiteng, which Hale (1883) thought a corruption of the English word mosquito, a rather farfetched interpretation, was married to a Cayuga wife and "for many years spoke only the language of her people." But the fact that he was 106 years old at the time of ques-

tioning would tend to throw a beam of doubt upon the validity of his statement because of his age. The factor which must be taken into account here is that the human mind, up to a certain age, tends to subtract years from one's age, and beyond that to add years. Whether Nikonha was truly 106 years old at the time of the interview is not too important, but what is of utmost importance is that he spoke Cayuga for a number of years and since he knew of one other full-blooded Tutelo except himself—which is to be doubted at such a late date—how could he have suddenly remembered the Tutelo language sufficiently to divulge nearly a hundred words to his interviewer. The interview must have been given in Cayuga, for Hale did not recognize that the words given him were in a form of what had later been termed "Dacotan." The age factor and the paucity of the words would tend to question the validity.

Hale recapitulating Tutelo history from other sources states:

In the year 1671 an exploring party under Captain Batt, leaving "Apomatoek Town" on the James River, penetrated into the mountains of Western Virginia at a distance, by the route they traveled, of two hundred and fifty miles from their starting point. At this point they found "the Tolera Town in a very rich swamp between a breach [branch] and the main river of the Roanoke, circled about by mountains." [Batt's Journal and Relations of a New Discovery, in N. Y. Hist. Co., vol. III, p. 191.]

Gallatin would have brought the Tutelos far to the east upon the Meherrin River (1848, pp. 80-81), while Hale placed them in the vicinity of the Tuscarora and more or less under their protection. Hale (1883, p. 4) says:

The protection which the Tuteloes had received from the Tuscarora and their allies soon failed them. In the year 1711 a war broke out between the Tuscaroras and the Carolina settlers, which ended during the following year in the complete defeat of the Indians.

This would make it appear that the Tutelos went to their own linguistic kin for protection and received it for a while until the Tuscarora got into trouble with the settlers in Carolina.

When the main portion of the Tuscarora migrated into Virginia under the protection of the Virginia government, "the Tutelo, Saponi and their confederates" joined them in their new quarters. This is indicated by Hale and would strengthen the inference that the Tuscarora, Tutelo, and Saponi were of one and the same linguistic stock of a common ethnic group.

If one critically reads the article by Hale (1883) on "The Tutelo Tribe and Language," one is immediately struck with the large number of inferences and assumptions which were used to build up the whole picture of the Tutelo language affiliation with that of the Dacotan

or Sioux. Again, let us quote Hale here to point out these inferences, assumptions, etc. (*italics* are the present writer's):

The Akenatzies or Occaneeches *would seem to have been*, in some respects, the chief or leading community among the tribes of Dakotan stock who formerly inhabited Virginia. *That these tribes had at one time a large and widespread population may be inferred from the simple fact that their language, like that of the widely scattered Algonkins (or Ojibways) in the northwest, became the general medium of communication for the people of different nationalities in their neighborhood.* That they had some ceremonial observances [or, as Beverley terms them, "adorations and conjurations"] of a peculiar and impressive cast, like those of the western Dakotas, ^[3] *seems evident from the circumstance that the intrusive tribes adopted this language, and probably with it some of these observances, in performing their own religious rites.* We thus have a strong and unexpected confirmation of the tradition prevailing among the tribes both of the Algonkin and the Iroquois stocks, which represents them as coming originally from the far north, and gradually overspreading the country on both sides of the Alleghanies, from the Great Lakes to the mountainfastness of the Cherokees. They found, *it would seem, Virginia, and possibly the whole country east of the Alleghanies, from the Great Lakes to South Carolina, occupied by tribes speaking languages of the Dakotan stock.* *That the displacement of these tribes was a very gradual process and that the relations between the natives and the encroaching tribes were not always hostile, may be inferred not only from the adoption of the aboriginal speech as the general means of intercourse, but also from the terms of amity on which these tribes of diverse origin, natives and intrusives, were found by the English to be living together.*

That the Tutelo language represents this "general language" of which Beverley speaks—this aboriginal Latin of Virginia—cannot be doubted. It may therefore, be deemed a language of no small historical importance.

The statement quoted that the English found the various Indian tribes or groups living at peace with one another is very far from being true. Captain John Smith reported in 1607 that the Powhatan group told him about the Indians living beyond the falls of the James River; how they were constantly at war with one another, and how this group would come down river, at the fall of the leaf, to invade Powhatan's country. Other travelers reported on strong feelings between other groups. We also know that at the coming of the white man to this continent various Indian groups were in the process of forming confederacies and alining themselves into positions of influence which brought pressures upon smaller groups of their kindred and unaffiliated groups, causing them to thrash around for new homes and for protection as well as for hunting grounds. With the coming of the white man this process became intensified and feelings ran high; as for amiable relationships between groups of this whole area, it just did not exist—even among linguistic kin.

³ Why choose the Dakotan language? There are many other stocks in which a common language has been used. In the East, the Delaware and the Muskogean or Creek languages were rather widely used.

Birket-Smith (1930) in discussing the Five Nations and Post Columbian Migrations put it this way:

The Five Nations waged a merciless war both against the Iroquois tribes outside of the confederation and the neighboring Algonkian peoples. . . . The middle of the 17. century witnessed the climax of their power.

At the same time as the Five Nations made all tribes between the Atlantic and the Mississippi tremble, fresh actors made their appearance on the stage, a group of Algonkians, which at a later period separated into the three different tribes of Ojibwa, Potawatomi, and Ottawa, advancing from the north in the direction of the Great Lakes. [Birket-Smith, 1930, p. 2.]

To the forces of the Iroquois and the Algonkians just mentioned should also be added the European colonisation which did not only assert its influence directly but also indirectly played an even more considerable part, because the Whites gradually supplied the neighboring natives with fire-arms. Particularly for the Iroquois it meant an invaluable advantage that they were furnished with guns at a very early period by trading with the Dutch colonies of New Netherland.

The outcome of these events was a series of movements radiating from the Lawrentic regions. The swell reached as far as the Rocky Mountains and the Polar Sea, and it might be noticed even for centuries later.

The tribes living in closest contact with the Five Nations were rapidly more or less annihilated without getting an opportunity, as it were, of seeking new places of living. . . .

In 1675 the Conestoga at Susquehanna River were also subjugated, whereas the Tuscarora voluntarily sought admission to the league as did also some foreign tribes (Tutelo, Nanticoke, Saponi, etc.). This event, however, marked the limit of its power; farther south the Cherokee and Catawba formed an insurmountable barrier to its progress. [Ibid., p. 3.]

The post-Columbian migrations . . . have a double significance. In the first place they show the distribution of certain tribal groups as it actually was at certain times; but besides they also contribute toward the understanding of the character of the folk wanderings themselves. This is of course of paramount importance if we turn to the problems connected with migrations in prehistoric times.

Haddon says that "it is probable that a migration induced by an attraction is rare as compared with that produced by an expulsion." Probably this is true in a general way, but it is otherwise when the surroundings for some reason or other assume a new aspect. . . . the historical migrations in North America go to show the importance of new acquirements within material culture when they involve a revolution in the way of living of a tribe, or a change of its military relations to the neighbors. . . . [Ibid., p. 10.]

Among the Algonkian nations south of the Great Lakes agriculture had entirely upset the principles of economic life, but when eliminating the latter we find an old hunting foundation evidently corresponding to the ice-hunting culture. In the Southeast outside the Algonkian area elements consistent with those of the ice-hunting culture may be found, but there they do not occur under such circumstances that it is justifiable to regard them as constituting a joint complex. This is also true of the culture preceding the Algonkian within the area that in later times fell to the lot of these Indians. I will return to this later and at present only emphasize that south of the Great Lakes the ice-hunting culture is probably a complex introduced by the Algonkians. [Ibid., p. 13.]

The main thing for us, however, is how the primitive basic culture should be understood. Of course, ice-hunting is precluded for purely geographical reasons, but on the other hand the culture has so many elements characteristic of this complex that the general aspect is essentially the same. Fritz Krause (1921) has expressed the same opinion. It is hardly improbable that a very old and primitive hunting and fishing culture underlies the later development everywhere in northern and western North America. As to its age nothing can be said with certainty, but some facts suggest a connection with late paleolithic or epipaleolithic culture in Europe (Birket-Smith, 1929). [Ibid., p. 14.]

Among the Algonkian tribes still more to the south the ice-hunting layer seems to have been preserved beneath the agricultural complex adopted from without. From the northwest to the southeast the foundation of Algonkian culture assumes a more and more primitive aspect. [Ibid., p. 21.]

It would no doubt be a mistake if this circumstance was taken as evidence of a southern origin of the Algonkians. This appears from the fact that typical methods of Algonkian economic life are missing in the south, whereas old-fashioned features as might be expected in an outlying border region are retained (Birket-Smith, 1918). Again, nearly all fundamental elements in Algonkian culture are of northern origin (Speck, 1926). Even with the southernmost Algonkian tribe the northern character of the culture is evident (Swanton, 1928).

In the southern Algonkian area there is, therefore, a disharmony between culture and environment that cannot be explained otherwise than by assuming the tribes in question to be immigrants from the north, a view also held by Speck (1926). This agrees with the archeological facts. (?) In the whole area between the Mississippi and the Atlantic, though most abundantly in Ohio and the southern states, we find the famous remains of the old mound builder civilisation, which, in several respects, was at a higher level than the culture encountered by the early explorers among the trans-Appalachian Algonkians. [Ibid., p. 22.]

In the piedmont area of the Appalachians in Virginia and the Carolinas there was another group of Siouans (Catawba a. o.) that is now nearly extinct, and separated from the rest of the stock were the Biloxi at the Gulf Coast (Mooney, 1894). [Birket-Smith, 1930, p. 24.]

Hale made a great impression upon the linguists and ethnologists of America by his declaration of a Siouan-speaking group east of the Mississippi River. He was taken literally at face value and no actual critical examination of his material was evidently ever undertaken. From here on to the present day his word has been accepted as "gospel truth" and not questioned. The same can be said about Mooney (1894) and his study of the "Siouan Tribes of the East."

While the writer was conducting a rather intense archeological program within the area supposed to have been occupied by Siouan-speaking groups—the Occaneechi, Saponi, and Tutelo—a reevaluation of the whole situation was undertaken so as to either corroborate or disprove that these Siouan-speaking groups actually occupied this portion of southern Virginia at the time they were supposed to have been here. The results of the study are presented in the present paper.

Powell, reflecting James Mooney, gave a very brief historical summary of the movements of the Tutelo.

The Tutelo habitat in 1671 was in Brunswick County, southern Virginia, and it probably included Lunenburg and Mecklenburg counties. The Earl of Bellomont (1669) says that the Shateras were "supposed to be the Toterós, on Big Sandy River, Virginia," and Pownall, in his map of North America (1776), gives the Totteroy (i. e., Big Sandy) River. Subsequently to 1671 [4] the Tutelo left Virginia and moved to North Carolina, (Lawson, 1714; reprint 1860, p. 384). They returned to Virginia (with the Saponi), joined the Nottoway and Meherrin, whom they and the Tuscarora followed into Pennsylvania in the last century; thence they went to New York, where they joined the Six Nations, with whom they removed to Grand River Reservation, Ontario, Canada, after the Revolutionary War. [Powell, 1892, p. 114.]

Now, we come to Mooney's important paper "Siouan Tribes of the East." Mooney, like Hale, continued the inferences and assumptions together with possibilities and probabilities, and upon these ethereal statements he has constructed the whole Siouan problem of the east. Not only does he delimit the area of influence dominated by this so-called Siouan group but he gives the extent—"an area of about 70,000 square miles, formerly occupied by about forty different tribes" (Mooney, 1894, p. 9). Who these 40 different tribes were or are he does not bother to mention.

Mooney set up a number of "straw men" to be knocked down. The best example is:

Who were the Indians of this central area? For a long time the question was ignored by ethnologists, and it was implicitly assumed that they were like their neighbors, Iroquoian or Algonquian in the north and "Catawban" in the south. It was never hinted that they might be anything different, and still less was it supposed that they would prove to be a part of the great Siouan or Dakotan family, whose nearest known representaties were beyond the Mississippi or about the upper Lakes, nearly a thousand miles away. Yet the *fact* is now established that some at least of these tribes, and these the most important, were of that race of hunters, while the apparently older dialectic forms to be met with in the east, the identification of the Biloxi near Mobile as part of the same stock, and concurrent testimony of the Siouan tribes themselves to the effect that they had come from the east, all now render it extremely probable that the original home of the Siouan race was not on the prairie of the west but amidst the eastern foothills of the southern Alleghanies, or at least as far eastward as the upper Ohio region. [Mooney, 1894, p. 9.]

⁴ Birket-Smith stated that the Conestoga were expelled in 1675 from their home on the Susquehanna River. This same year they received permission from the Occaneechi to settle with them. Then came Bacon's rebellion, and then the so-called migration of the group into North Carolina. Either Powell or Mooney got his dates confused, for no one knows when the actual migration took place; but it did take place sometime between 1673, after Needham and Arthur's experience with the Occaneechi, and Lawson's expedition when he found the various groups in northern North Carolina.

No one has ever assumed such a premise before and this is ably demonstrated by Cyrus Thomas' notes (MS., Doc. No. 4014), now in the Archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Let us here quote from these notes since they have a direct bearing upon this phase of Mooney's theory:

On pg. 11—He has those going west—first crossing the mountains and following “down the valleys of New River and the Big Sandy to the Ohio.” Yet, as he informs us their homes were on the upper Ohio. The route taken to go west seems a rather strange one.

Pg. 11—He says “the theory of a Siouan migration down the Big Sandy is borne out by the fact that this stream was formerly known as the Totteroy a corruption of the Iroquois name for the Tutelo.” Yet in the quotation from pg. 29 [quoted earlier], the eastern branch is said to have crossed the mountains from upper Ohio region to the waters of Virginia and Carolina.

Pg. 9—The statement that “the concurrent testimony of the Siouan tribes themselves to the effect that they had come from the East” is not true as here used. The western Sioux claim to have come from a more eastern locality, but this does not reach farther east than Lake Michigan. The statement given above is therefore misleading and *the truth concealed, to maintain a theory.*

Pg. 9—“The inference that the region west of the Mississippi was the original home of the Siouan tribes” is a man of straw set up by the writer to be knocked down. No acceptable authority, if any, ever held such a theory.

Pg. 10—The statement that “As early as 1701 Gravier stated that the Ohio was known to the Miami and Illinois as the ‘river of the Akansea’ is untrue.” Gravier says the Ouabache [Wabash] and expressly distinguishes between it and the Ohio—continuing the Wabash and the Mississippi and making the Ohio a tributary to it. It was from this erroneous interpretation of Gravier's words that the Sibley Osage tradition—in all its various forms—grew up.

Pg. 10—The statement that Dorsey found the tradition of an eastern origin (in the sense here used) as “common to almost all the tribes of that [Siouan] stock”, is incorrect. Dorsey also contradicts himself on this point—moreover his statements do not include the Dakota group.

Pg. 10—De Soto found the Quapaw only a short distance above the locality occupied when the French descended the Mississippi. De Soto did not pass through any portion of the Osage country.

Pg. 11—No Ohio tribe, so far as known, had any tradition regarding the Quapaw (or Akansa)—This was limited, so far as known to some Illinois tribes.

It is not true that the Quapaw were “in the vicinity of that stream [the Ohio] when encountered by De Soto.” This is apparent from the fact that they were then somewhere in the vicinity of the site of Helena, Arkansas.

Pg. 11—After stating that the cause of the exodus of the Siouan tribes from their original home, was probably pressure by northern and southern alien tribes, he says “they retreated across the mountains, the only direction in which a retreat was open to them.” Does this refer to those who went west or those who went east into “Virginia and Carolina”?

Pg. 12—The statement that “within this period, traditional and historical evidence point out as the cradle of the Algonkian race the coast region lying between Saint Lawrence river and Chesapeake bay” is untrue. The most “coherent” tradition points to some locality north of the lakes as their original home. The Leni Lenape were the “grand-father”, and that was their original home.

Pg. 12—"When their [the Iroquois] warfare against the southern tribes was inaugurated we do not know. It was probably continuous with the expulsion of the Cherokee from the Upper Ohio." As the Cherokee were in their southern home in 1540—it may be safely assumed that their expulsion could not have occurred later than the latter part of the 15th century. Were the Iroquois already raiding the southern tribes at this early date?

Pg. 19—Compare the statements in the first paragraph of this page as regards the information respecting the Manahoacs and subdivisions with what is stated near the bottom of page 22 and top of page 23.

The inference of relationship of Manahoac with Monacan on page 23 is changed to certainty on page 26—"the cognate Manahoac."—[. . . were "very barbarous" and subsisted chiefly by hunting and by gathering wild fruits. They were in alliance with the Manahoac and at constant war with the Powhatan, and in mortal dread of the Massawomeke or Iroquois beyond the mountains (Smith, 7). He seems to imply that the Monacan tribes named spoke different languages, although in another place (Smith, 8) we are led to infer that they had but one. The difference was probably only dialectic, although the cognate and confederate tribes farther southward probably used really different languages. (Mooney, 1894, p. 26.)]

From the quotations given above it can be seen that Thomas did not go along with Mooney and his theories concerning the Siouan origin of the tribes in Virginia and the Carolinas as is shown in an undated letter to Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt which has already been quoted on page 169.

Dorsey's notes (MS., Doc. No. 3804) in the Archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology bearing upon this Siouan problem reveal that he, too, did not go along with Mooney and his migration theory. He says:

Some authors speak of a series of migrations of these tribes from the west toward the east; but the writer has not been able to learn on what authority such statements have been made; nor has he ever found any tradition of such eastward migrations among the tribes that he has visited.

Mooney [in the Siouan Tribes of the East, Galley 4 AL] says:—"The theory of a Siouan migration down the valley of the Big Sandy is borne out by the fact that this stream was formerly known as the Totteroy, a corruption of the Iroquois name for the Tutelo and other Siouan tribes of the South."

(Big Sandy, the Big Totteroy; and Little Sandy, Little Totteroy.) If Mooney accepts this traditional name of the Big Sandy as good evidence (see above), why should he reject the traditional name of the Kentucky R. (a stream near the Big Sandy), Cuttawa, Cuttawo, or Catawba River? He says in Galley 26 AL: "The Shawano and other tribes of the Ohio Valley made the word (i. e., Catawba) Cuttawa."

Catawba in Carolina as early as 1569
(La Vandra)

Kawapa on the Mississippi in 1540-41
(De Soto)

Yet:—

Kentucky R. given as "Cuttawa"
on Vaugondie's Map (1755)

Yet:—

Ohio given as "R. d'Acansa"
on De l'Isle's Map (1722)

Big Sandy called Totteroy in 1746.

Mooney says (The Siouan Tribes of the East, (p. 70) Galley 26 AL).

"The Catawba were found living about where we have always known them as early as 1567. Kentucky river was called by that name among the Shawano and

other northern tribes because up that river lay the great way trail of the Catawba country."

This may be so; but what proof have we of this. If proof can be given, that settles the question of the origin of this name for Kentucky river; but if no proof (no authority) can be given for this statement, if it be a mere inference on the part of Mr. Mooney, it is in order to call attention to another explanation of the origin of the appellation, i. e., that it referred to a traditional or prehistoric occupation of that region by the Catawba tribe, just as the name Totteroy, applied to the Big Sandy, referred to a traditional or prehistoric occupation of that region by the Tutelo tribe or confederacy.

Thus spoke two of Mooney's contemporaries.

William Tooker (1895) in "The Algonquian Appellatives of the Siouan Tribes of Virginia," pointed out that there are four questions which must be answered in relation to these.

The questions that now arise, and which I shall endeavor to answer, are these: First, What were the commodities of the Monacans that Smith was instructed to search for? Second, What was it that gave rise to lasting impressions in the minds of the Virginia colonists that valuable mines of copper, iron, gold, and silver were to be found in the same region? Third, Can any of the Mannahoacks be identified with tribes or peoples of a later historic period? Fourth, To what language must be assigned these and other names of Captain John Smith?

I will proceed to analyze those terms, descriptive in their character, which we have found applied to these people in the early days of the period of colonization. These appellatives were bestowed upon them by their neighbors on the east, the Powhatans and their confederates, who are well known to have been a branch of the Algonquian stock. Therefore, there ought to arise no question whatever in the mind of the critical student of Smith's works against the dictum now submitted, that every one of these terms, without a single exception, are necessarily Algonquian, and consequently should be analyzed and translated by the aid of that language, no matter what the nativity of the people themselves may have been. This declaration will also apply to every aboriginal name occurring upon Smith's map of Virginia, for he was never in contact with other than an Algonquian long enough to learn a name. Besides, the historical evidence would seem to indicate that the greater number of these terms were heard spoken from the lips of the Powhatan long before the colonists saw a Monacan. For instance, Captain Newport's guide and interpreter was a savage of Powhatans called Namontack. Newport named a mine six miles above the falls after him because he discovered it. Smith's interpreter while among the Mannahoacks was an Algonquian, as was also his Tockwogh interpreter while interviewing the Sasquesahanoughs. His very brief parley with the Massawomecks, as he relates, was entirely by signs. Therefore, it seems to me that failure would be necessarily foreordained in seeking for other than Algonquian elements in any of the aboriginal names of Virginia as bequeathed to us by Captain John Smith.

William Strachey, secretary of the colony, 1609-1612, who was more or less familiar with the language of the Powhatans and left us a valuable vocabulary of that dialect, derives the name Monacan from Monohacan (or Monowhawk), "a sword," while Heckewelder, through the Delaware, translates it as "a spade or any implement for digging the soil," corrupted from Monohacan. Heckewelder is so rarely correct in his place-name etymologies that he should have due credit

for this suggestion, for the fact appears that both of these authorities are correct in their identification of the verbal element of the name, but not in the grammar, application, or true analysis of the term as applied to a people.

The prefix *Mona* is undoubtedly the verb signifying "to dig" occurring in the same primitive form in many Algonquian dialects, from the Cree *Móona*, in the far north, to the Narragansett *Mona*, on the east, and is reproduced at the south in the Powhatan *Monohacan*, "sword" literally a digging instrument, from *Mono*, "to dig," prefixed to *hacan*, an instrumentive noun suffix used only as a terminal in compound words denotive of things artificial, so designated because so used by the Indians when purchased from the settlers. The same verb figures in other Powhatan cluster words, this revealing its identity; for instance in *Monascunnemū*, "to cleanse the ground to fit it for seed," making it the equivalent of the Narragansett *Monaskúnneemun*; Delaware *Munáskamen*, "to weede." It will be found by analyzing carefully the various synonyms of the term *Monacans*, or *Monanacans*, with its English plural as displayed, that it resolves itself into the components of *Moná-ackáñough*, from *Mona*, "to dig"; *ack*, "land or earth," with its generic plural of *-anough*, "nation, or people"—that is, "people who dig the earth" the phonetic sounds of which were shortened into *Monacans* by the English, which may be freely and correctly translated as the "diggers or miners." The term as such probably designated the whole confederacy collectively. This abbreviation of the sounds of tribal appellatives is characteristic of English notation, as in *Mowhawk*, from *Maugauog*; *Mohegans*, from *Manhiganeuck*; *Pequot*, from *Pequttoóg*, and others. [Tooker, 1895, pp. 378-380.]

Saponi derived from *Monasukapananough* [diggers of ground nuts]. [Ibid., p. 384.]

The *Whonkentyaes* or *Whonkenteas* are another tribe of the *Mannahocks*, or tributary to them who are unplaced on Smith's map. The phonetic sounds of this appellative suggests that they were probably the ancestors of the *Akenatzies*, or *Occaneeches*, as it is varied, who were living, as Mr. Mooney has indicated, on an island just below the confluence of the rivers *Dan* and *Staunton*, in *Mecklenburg County, Virginia*, when visited by *John Lederer* in 1670. I would suggest that the derivation of the term *Whon-kente-as* or *Whon-kenchi-aneas* as from the Narragansett *awaun*, Massachusetts *auwon*, "there is somebody," i. e., who is strange or different from those speaking. The second component, *-kentie*, *-kenatzie*, or *-caneche*, seems to have its parallel in various forms of the verb "to talk" or "to speak," as in the Long Island *unkenchie*, "the strange talker;" Narraganset *awáun-kéntauchem?* "Who are you that discourses?" Delaware *n'iechsin*, "to speak;" Powhatan *kekaten*, "you tell," which, with its terminal, gives us *whon-kentie-anies*, "people of a strange talk, or another speech." This analysis confirms Smith's statement that the *Mannahocks* were "many different in language." Again, in noticeable corroboration of this derivation, the *Occaneeches* seem to have been of a different linguistic stock to their Siouan neighbors. . . . Now, it appears to me, on careful consideration of this statement of *Beverly*'s in all its aspects that is open to only one construction—that is to say, if the term *Whonkenties* is a translation of an Algonquian interpreter of a Siouan description of a nation of another of different speech, residing among and tributary to them, and is also, as I suggest, a synonym for *Occaneeche* or *Akenatzie*, it would surely lead us to infer that the language of the *Occaneeches* was not Siouan, but was really nothing more or less than a dialect of the Algonquian. [Ibid., p. 389.]

The fact that *Beverly*, as he remarks, was unable to determine the difference between the language of the *Occaneeches* and that of the Algonquians would indicate to my mind that they were practically identical, with only an archaic difference—a difference similar to that mentioned by Mr. Mooney as existing

between the Cherokee language and that used in the sacred formulas of their shamans. [Ibid., p. 391.]

Whether Tooker's explanation is a valid one relies upon the reexamination of the whole linguistic problem by capable linguists and is not based upon inferences but upon direct linkage and correlations with known and valid vocabularies.

Daniel Brinton's explanation of this ceremonial language, as indicated by Beverley, runs thus:

The travellers Balboa and Coreal mention that the temple services of Peru were conducted in a language not understood by the masses, and the incantations of the priests of Powhatan were not in ordinary Algonkin, but some obscure jargon.

The same peculiarity has been observed among the Dakotas and Eskimos, and in these nations, fortunately, it fell under the notice of competent linguistic scholars, who have submitted it to a searching examination. The results of their labors prove that in these two instances the supposed foreign tongues were nothing more than the ordinary dialects of the country modified by an affected accentuation, by the introduction of a few cabalistic terms, and by the use of descriptive circumlocutions and figurative words in places or ordinary expressions, a slang, in short, such as rascals and pedants invariably coin whenever they associate. [Brinton, 1896, footnote, p. 326.]

Whether this was the actual case of this language as used by the priests in their religious rites cannot be vouched for, since the language is defunct.

Hale states that the Tutelo he studied trace their descent through the female. James O. Dorsey, on the other hand, says:

Among the tribes of the Siouan family the primary unit is the clan or gens, which is composed of a number of consanguinei, claiming descent from a common ancestor and having common taboos; the term clan implying descent in the female line while gens implies descent in the male line. Among the Dakota, as among the Cegiha and other groups, the man is the head of the family.

In 1907 Leo Frachtenberg went up to the Grand River Reservation in Ontario, Canada, where Hale had earlier collected. Using one Lucy Buck, "an old Tutelo woman," he collected a few phrases and words. As Frachtenberg put it:

As she was unfamiliar with English, it was necessary for me to obtain this scanty material by using as an interpreter Andrew Sprague, a Cayuga, who in his early youth had been adopted by the Tutelo tribe. . . .

This material is presented in the form in which it was given to me. No attempt to verify the words by means of other vocabularies has been made, owing chiefly to the fact that I deemed the material obtained highly unreliable, as a glance at the various confusing terms given for the different cardinal numerals will show. [Frachtenberg, 1913, pp. 477-478.]

This demonstrates that Frachtenberg placed no emphasis upon this material, but only presented it as given him so as to clear the records. Apparently he thinks that Lucy Buck confused the issue by giving him a number of words whose meanings are unknown since they did not correlate with recognizable forms.

Edward Sapir, while on the Six Nations Reservation in 1911, heard about a Cayuga Indian named Andrew Sprague—

who had had opportunity during his childhood to hear Tutelo spoken fluently and who was supposed to remember considerable of it. As Tutelo is an extinct language, I thought it imperative to rescue from oblivion what was still to be obtained and thus add, if only a mite, to what had already been put on record. As a matter of fact, it turned out that Andrew remembered only very little indeed of Tutelo, and what small amount of material could be obtained from him was extorted with some difficulty. No attempt will here be made to discuss the data. They are given for what they are worth in the hope that they may at some future time prove of use to the student of comparative Siouan linguistics. [Sapir, 1913, p. 295.]

A great many of the terms recorded by Sapir occur in the list submitted by Frachtenberg, so there appears to have been some collusion attempted on the part of the Indians of the Grand River Reservation.

W. H. Holmes in speaking about the Indians of Virginia and North Carolina states that—

the aborigines, largely of the Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan stocks, were primarily hunters and fishers, although agriculture was practiced successfully in many of the fertile valleys. The native culture of both colonial and precolonial times, so far as known, though varying with the widely distributed centers of habitation, were quite uniform in grade and general characteristics. It is well differentiated from that of the south and middle west, but passes with no abrupt change into that of the upper lakes and the great interior region of the north. The changes from north to south were due in large measure to differences in food resources and the influence of neighboring cultures. [Holmes, 1914, p. 417.]

As we all recognize, language does not predict archeological remains but may in fact differ so radically that there may appear, on the surface, to be no similarity or connection. Whether such will prove to be the case in Virginia remains to be determined at a later date.

Swanton and Dixon's "Primitive American History" reveals that—

It is a striking fact, that, in contrast with both the Muskogean and Siouan peoples, the migration legends which have been preserved from the Indians of this stock are meager and unsatisfactory. According to colonial documents the Meherrin were a band of refugee Conestoga which fled south after the destruction of that tribe by the Iroquois about 1675, but one form of their name occurs in the census of Virginia Indians taken in 1669. Thus it is evident either that some Conestoga had replaced an Algonquian tribe of similar designation or else that the tribe antedated the destruction of the Conestoga and the reputed influx of population at that time. Possibly, as Mooney suggests, an original small Iroquoian tribe was practically submerged by later immigrations of Conestoga. At all events the whole question of origin is left in uncertainty. . . . So far as this evidence goes, however, it indicates a northern origin for the southeastern Iroquoian group. [Swanton and Dixon, 1914, p. 390.]

Whether this same applies to the "Tutelo-Meherrins" of Gallatin is not known.

Later Swanton in throwing "New Light on the Early History of the Siouan Peoples" admits "much speculation in all this, but I have considered that the facts are of sufficient importance to both the ethnologist and the archaeologist of the Ohio region to present them in a usable form" (Swanton, 1923, p. 43).

Hewitt (1927), while working among the Iroquois Indians living on their reserve in the vicinity of Brantford, Ontario, and at Caughnawaga near Montreal, Quebec, Canada, contacted John Buck, "an Onondaga-Tutelo mixed blood, as an Onondaga informant and interpreter" and as a consequence "obtained a fine Mohawk version and literal translation of the remarkable Requickening Address of this famous Council." John Buck, brother of Lucy Buck was supposed to be most affluent in the Tutelo tongue. Instead of checking against the list of words and phrases volunteered by the sister, Hewitt used John as an informant and interpreter in Mohawk. Lucy, according to Frachtenberg, was a Tutelo, supposedly of unmixed blood while her brother is of mixed Onondaga-Tutelo stock. Later, in 1929, Hewitt made use of John Buck (this time a "Junior") of Onondaga-Tutelo mixed blood, detailing the Tutelo migration tradition, in *Onondaga*, from Virginia and North Carolina to the Cayuga country in which a number of allusions were made to customs "and especially intertribal amenities at an early day and customary precautions taken for such a journey of a tribal people through the lands of other hostile peoples" (Hewitt, 1930, p. 201). Heretofore, it has been recorded that the Tutelo, in company with the Tuscarora, Nottoway, and Meherrin, migrated northward to the Cayuga. In another instance, it has been stated that while the Iroquois were down in this area they took these tribes under their protection and brought them into the Cayuga country. What really happened? It would seem strange that a mixblood Indian had to give a Tutelo tradition in Onondaga rather than in his native tongue, if ever such were the case.

It is noticeable at this stage that there are a number of extraneous details which do not fit into a well-rounded picture of the so-called Siouan tribes, namely linguistic deviations based on inferences and assumptions. To further befog the issue we have assumptions by Bushnell in his several papers on the Indians of Virginia. Occasionally we do retrieve a grain of truth as such:

How long the country had been occupied by the Siouan tribes can never be determined. Others had preceded them, but who they were or whence they came may ever remain unknown. [Bushnell, 1930, p. 5.]

Powhatan's statement to Captain Newport at the time of their first visit in 1608 that the Monacan "came Downe at the fall of the leafe and invaded his Countrye," would indicate that the Monacan rather than the Algonquian dominated the region and did not fear the latter. [Ibid., p. 5.]

Bushnell mentions the inaccuracies of Lederer as to distances traveled, but this is the usual thing noted on travel accounts not only by Lederer, but by Batts and Fallam, John Smith, De Soto, ad infinitum. But he agrees that Lederer is accurate as far as names of streams and places are concerned. If inaccurate in one instance, why not in the other? If such an attitude were universally adopted, we would then have to discard all the early narratives by explorers and traders which constitute our whole basic stock of knowledge.

Bushnell is of the opinion that these so-called Siouan tribes of Virginia followed the burial customs of the western branch—either tree or scaffold burials.

It is believed . . . that all disposed of their dead as did the people of Monasukapanough, whose village stood on the banks of the Rivanna far above Rassawek. Consequently the discovery of other sites along the course of the James, where the dead had been buried in shallow pits scattered through the village, suggests that some other tribe or tribes may have preceded the Monacan. [Bushnell, 1930, p. 13.]

Mooney was of the belief that Monasukapanough was possibly "the original of Saponi." There is little reason to doubt the correctness of this belief. Lederer stated that he "arrived at Sapon, a village of the Nahyssans." The latter, as previously shown, were the Monahassanugh whose name appears on the map of 1624. (Strachey, pp. 48-9) says: That Monahassanugh, which stands at the foote of the mountaines.) Therefore, it is quite evident that at the time of the settlement of Jamestown, 1607, the site on the banks of the Rivanna was occupied by the Saponi, closely allied with the Monahassanugh or Tutelo, whose village stood on the banks of the James some miles away in a southwesterly direction. [Ibid., p. 18.]

This whole placement of the Saponi and Tutelo in relation with the Monasukapanough and Monahassanugh is purely assumptive on the part of Mooney and Bushnell.

Bushnell continues:

Had it not been for the work and interest of Jefferson, no account of the great burial mound which once stood at the ancient village of Monasukapanough would not be available. It would have disappeared as have the burial places once belonging to other villages of the Siouan tribes and no reference to it would have been preserved. The site of the Indian town was visible from Monticello, and the burial mound stood near the south, or right bank of the Rivanna. [Ibid., p. 18.]

A few paragraphs further on he says:

The exact position of the mound [excavated by Jefferson] may never be determined, but it certainly stood on the low ground, on the right bank of the Rivanna, evidently nearer the river than the cliffs, and it may have been some distance above the ford. [Ibid., p. 20.]

The former is a positive statement while the latter is a conditional one. We either know or we do not know where this mound stood. The discordant note is the presence of mounds attributed to Siouans.

In the area under consideration mounds are the exception rather than the rule and as a consequence cannot be attributed directly to any of the so-called Siouan groups under consideration. If the Sioux buried their dead within mounds, such structures would have to appear more often and not as isolated entities.

There is no known record of a white man having visited Monasukapanough, the ancient Saponi village on the banks of the Rivanna, and consequently no description of the settlement has been preserved. . . . It is believed [by whom?] that some time before the year 1670 the people, or at least the greater part of them moved from the valley of the Rivanna and went southward to establish a new village which, according to Mooney, "was probably on Otter river, a northern tributary of the Roanoke, in what is now Campbell county, Virginia, nearly south of Lynchburg." Here they were visited by Lederer in 1670, and by Batts party during the following year, but these explorers failed to describe the settlement. Soon the movement was resumed; they wandered far, nearly reaching the center of North Carolina, later returning to Virginia. [Ibid., p. 28.]

At this point inferences have become positive statements. Mooney only inferred that Monasukapanough might be the ancient village of the Saponi without showing any proof whatsoever. Bushnell comes along and makes a positive statement out of this, as well as attributing Monahassanough to the Tutelo. These villages were noted by Smith and hence any correlation between them and the Tutelo and Saponi is only inferential and must be accepted as such. What we do know is that the Saponi were located northeast of the Occaneechi, as noted by Lederer, and the Tutelo were located a considerable distance west of the Saponi in the "western mountains." After that they were located by Lawson in North Carolina either on the Eno River or on the Yadkin River. Sometime later they were gathered up and installed at Fort Christanna by Governor Spotswood and from there on they migrated northward out of Virginia and never appeared again in Virginia's history.

Ludwik Krzywicki in his study "Primitive Society," etc., sums up this whole situation regarding place names rather well. He states:

Earlier sources give the names of the same tribe variously; sometimes these various versions are extremely unlike and often differ greatly from the designations commonly accepted today. These sometimes quite numerous variants of tribal names do not appear in our statistics of tribal population. [Krzywicki, 1934, p. 520.]

In 1935 Bushnell acknowledges that—

As yet it has not been possible to translate the names as given by Smith and Strachey. They were undoubtedly in some Siouan dialect [who never having had contact with any Siouan—how could they possibly have given a Siouan equivalent for any place or tribal name?] and were told to the English by an Algonquian Indian. The latter appears to have attempted to translate the Siouan word into his own language, and this resulted in the names as recorded by the English being a combination of Siouan and Algonquian, making it difficult, if not impossible, ever to learn their true meaning. [Bushnell, 1935, p. 8.]

This brings to mind a book review of Bushnell's "Native Cemeteries and Forms of Burial East of the Mississippi" made by Alson Skinner (1921). In it he says:

Owing to the lack of space required for an exhaustive critique of Mr. Bushnell's paper, the writer will confine himself largely to a few observations on one of the regions which the archaeology and history in which he is somewhat familiar, namely the Iroquois and Algonkian area of the Middle Atlantic States. [Ibid., p. 366.]

We hereby refer him [Bushnell] to Dr. Beauchamp's observations on the lack of identity between the Iroquois and the builders of the mounds found in their territory. . . . Otherwise it would not have escaped his notice that the Iroquois were not the pristine inhabitants of the region in question, and that there are evidences of, not one, but several peoples of different culture who preceded them. [Ibid., p. 367.]

If, as Bushnell states, on unknown authority, a piece of mica is proof positive that a mound opened near Chenango, N. Y., was of Tuscarora origin, then on this evidence the makers of the shellheaps at Shinnecock Hills, Long Island, and at Tottenville, Staten Island, hitherto considered Algonkian on mere cultural and historical evidence, were Tuscarora, and so were the inhabitants of what we considered to be an ancient pre-Iroquoian Algonkian burial village and burial site at Cayuga, N. Y., for mica has been found in all these places. The mystery of the origin of certain Ohio mounds will also be dissipated by this token. [Ibid., p. 368.]

Bushnell's attempt to explain this so-called Siouan occupancy is put this way:

Although Siouan tribes were occupying villages on the banks of the James and Rivanna rivers at the beginning of the seventeenth century, they are believed not to have been there many years; consequently all the small camp sites and numerous objects of native origin discovered in the region should not be attributed to the Monacan. Algonquian tribes may have preceded them as occupants of the same territory. The latter had evidently been pushed eastward by the Siouan people coming from the direction of the Ohio, and the pressure was still being exerted in the year 1607, at which time Powhatan related to Captain Newport "that the Monacan was his Enmye, and that he came Downe at the fall of the leafe and invaded his Countrye." With these continued invasions the Algonquian villages near the falls would soon have been abandoned, thus enabling the Monacan to have advanced still farther eastward. . . .

If the belief that the Siouan tribes moved eastward from the Ohio is correct, they must necessarily have crossed the valley of the Shenandoah—the Valley of Virginia—before entering the piedmont where they were established when first encountered by Europeans, but the rich and fertile region just west of the Blue Ridge . . . was not occupied by any native tribe when it first became known to the colonists. War parties of the northern Iroquoian tribes traversed the land, and evidently the fear of their coming had caused the less warlike to abandon the region and to seek new homes elsewhere. Thus it is believed the Siouan groups crossed the Blue Ridge and occupied the piedmont country, in turn pushing the Algonkin tribes before them. [Bushnell, 1933, pp. 2-3.]

Speck (1935) makes the suggestion that—

A question that has engaged attention for some time is that of the former wider distribution of the eastern Siouan peoples farther to the eastward and northward

of where they were found by the first explorers. I have still to find convincing proof that the Algonkian populations did not displace some of these Siouan kindreds in their expansion southward and into the Alleghenian region.

The deep-rooted hostility that prevailed between the Powhatan and the Monacan and Manahoac may be attributed to intrusions of the one upon the territory of the other in later times. And in this case it would seem to have been due to the aggression of the Powhatan, supposedly the later arrivals in the Virginia lowlands.

Such an attitude toward cultural history here could be held to account for the allocation of the Powhatan peoples in the lower country to the eastward and the Siouan peoples in the piedmont region, their hostility toward each other, the survival of the language of the Occaneechi as a trade language of the region and as the language of religious ritual, which facts we learn from Strachey. If accordingly my inferences for a more easterly habitat of certain Siouan peoples, the Shoccoree and possibly the Eno, are accepted, then we have a trend of evidence hinting at the conclusion that Siouan peoples were earlier residents in eastern Virginia and Carolina and were invaded several centuries before the coming of the Europeans by the Powhatan, and gradually dispossessed of their territories by them. [Speck, 1935, pp. 202-203.]

Saponi and Tutelo.—The identification of these two tribes in the historic period with the Monahassanugh and Monasickapanough (Smith, 1607), divisions of the Monacan group, as residents in the Virginia foothills has been undertaken by Mooney and concluded by Bushnell. Their exodus from Virginia, their wanderings outward and then their return to Virginia, to settle for a while at Fort Christanna have been succinctly traced by Mooney. As yet, however, we have no mention of their association with the Catawba as allied or as incorporated units. Nevertheless there must have been at one time an association between the northern [Tutelo and associated peoples] and the southern [Catawbas, Woccon, and others] divisions of the Siouan tribes of the region. Swanton thinks that the incursion of the Spaniards into the Carolinas in the 16th century resulted in forcing certain of them to the northward.

Catawba tradition is silent in regard to the Tutelo. A single echo of the once important name Saponi possibly comes down to us through Catawba memory in the mention of Margaret Brown of a tribe whose name was remembered as (ye)pa'na spoken of by her mother. She knew nothing more of the term or its meaning.

Of the proper names denoting the Tutelo [Toteri, Yesang, Nahissan, etc.] there is no hint of cognizance among the Catawba. Treating the village names of the Tutelo and Saponi identified as Monahassanugh and Monasickapanough, from the viewpoint of Catawba stem similarity, the element mona- is valid as the Catawba designation for "land, earth, ground" but this etymology does not apply to forms in the dialects of the northern [Monacan] eastern Siouan area. [Ibid., p. 205.]

Under another form of the tribal name, Mohetan, a village of this affinity is indicated on Alvord and Bidgood's map (1673-74), visited by Needham and Arthur, a days journey from the Great Kanawha River, W. Va. At present we may admit that this reference means an earlier wider extension toward the west in the Alleghenies or a move toward the end of the 17th century in that direction, after which the village may have acquired a name derived from some other tongue. [It is not explained what tongue is referred to.]

The association of the Mannahoac with the Monacan brings up another aspect of the problem. Both peoples are described as members of related tribes, by all the authorities who speak of them since Hale and Mooney, both as concerns the

characteristics of speech and culture. Since, therefore, we possess a vocabulary from only the one language of Virginia area, namely Tutelo, it may be profitable to apply the lexical forms of Tutelo to the half dozen terms preserved by Captain Smith as place or tribal names of the Mannahoac confederacy. . . . Without intending to assume a positive attitude concerning the interpretation of Mannahoac names written in Smith's manuscript three hundred years ago, by a stranger to the Indian tongue, explained through the medium of the small Tutelo vocabulary (spoken by a Siouan tribe about one hundred miles distant from them) of about one hundred fifty words recorded by Hale in 1870, the above suggestions will be accepted merely as such.

Occaneechi.—The term Occaneechi (with its variants Akenatzy, Occaneecheans, Patshenins) [The latter is a newly introduced synonym of Speck's not previously referred to the Occaneechi.] comes down to us as the tribal designation of an early people of the Virginia-Carolina frontier, dwelling (1670) on a large island in Roanoke River just below the confluence of the Staunton and the Dan Rivers, near the site of Clarksburg [Clarksville], Mecklenburg Co., Virginia. It is undoubtedly, as Mooney has shown [but on inferential grounds], the designation of a Siouan-speaking tribe affiliated with the Saponi and Tutelo.

Let us digress from the quotation from Speck but a moment to point out here that no historical records would validate the association of the Occaneechi with the Saponi and Tutelo until Governor Spotswood gathered the group together and took them up to Fort Christanna. After first located by Lederer on the Roanoke, not at the confluence of the Staunton and Dan Rivers, they were next located by Lawson in 1700 on the Eno, and it was from there that Spotswood enticed them to move to Fort Christanna along with the Saponi and Tutelo who occupied villages on the Yadkin River. This constitutes their first association—historically.

Now we have a really questionable statement from Speck:

Yet we have no linguistic proof of such an affinity beyond the statement that their languages were similar, which is supported by testimony given to Hale by Nikonha, the Tutelo. Nor is it possible to add anything to its meaning or history from Catawba sources. [Italics are writer's.] Its connections were, however, definitely with the northern [Tutelo, Saponi, or Nihassan] branch of the eastern Siouan tribes with whom they finally combined. Bland (1650) writes of the Occaneecheans and Nessoneicks [which I have already noted is a synonym for Nahissan] as living together on a branch of the Roanoke.

As an advance step in the attempt to explain the tribal names in this area of puzzling terms, I would make bold to suggest a possible explanation of the word Occaneechi, using Tutelo sources for the purpose, since we have accepted the conclusion offered by Hale and Mooney that Saponi, Tutelo, and Occaneechi were related and reciprocally intelligible tongues. Reverting to Tutelo vocabulary recorded by Hale we encounter the term yuhkān, "man," among five other synonyms listed. I suggest, accordingly that Occaneechi, and its related forms, are derivations from this form (occan=yuhkān) with a terminal modifier; whence Occaneechi, Occanachee(ans), Akenatzy, denote an equivalent of "people." This possibility leads even farther. In the early form Monacan, denoting, in the 17th century, the Saponi, Tutelo, and probably the Occaneechi assembled, we may have a corruption of Tutelo amāni, amai, "land," prefixed to the term yuhkān, whence

tentatively develops amān(i) (y)uhkañ of Monacan, "people of the land." The sense of this meaning, as being logically applicable to native tribes in America and elsewhere in reference to themselves, is too obvious to be seriously disputed by the ethnologist. [Speck, 1935, pp. 212, 213.]

And in the meantime we are getting farther and farther away from the initial statements upon which all these statements are based. The introduction of new terms, the free use of geography, geographical names, early spelling of Indian names, and the disregarding of the ethnic sources of information is positively breathtaking. Inferences, suppositions, and assumptions were apparently the "main stock in trade" of certain ethnologists and linguists since they have managed to construct "whole cloth" from them and present them as actually proved facts when apparently they are, upon critical examination, nothing of the sort.

Paraphrasing Speck (1935, p. 216) we might justifiably say: The possibilities rising out of these sources of information lead in many directions, one of which is that the Occaneechi, Saponi, and Tutelo were either an Iroquoian-speaking or an Algonquian-speaking group that drifted away from their linguistic kin early in the 17th century, moved westward in separate groups, and were reintroduced into the parent stock early in the 18th century along with the Tuscarora, Nottoway, and Meherrin.

Speck, the leading authority on the Catawba, intimated that—

Several Muskhogean names can be construed into meanings in Catawba without these, however, being in any way responsible for their origin. . . . Yet it should be noted that neither the Creek nor the Yemasee have been known even by name to the Later Catawba informants.

While investigation of the language was going on the entire list of tribal and place names of the supposedly Siouan area of the Carolinas [Italics are writer's] was examined with all four speakers of Catawba, with the results given above. Except for the river names in the country adjacent to the Catawba, the results show the futility of hoping for light, through a study of the Catawba language, on the history and affinities of the dozen or so mysterious tribes whose titles only remain on the colonial records. . . .

I have already referred to several of Gatschet's attempts at explanation of tribal and river designations corresponding to the terms just given. He says, "all these local appellations, probably many more, are terms from the Catawba language." As far as the Catawba etymologies are concerned there can be no objections to the statement, but I must point out that the equivalents he offers for the geographical terms are no more than analytical renderings, derived from linguistic material, not from current traditional memories of the tribes in question among the Catawba informants. It is barely possible that Billy George, who was living at the time of Gatschet's visit to the Catawba, knew more than the present informants do; but I cannot believe that even the conditions of knowledge at that time among these Indians would have justified the acceptance of the meanings given as the actual sources of origin of the long extinct tribal eponyms: "Swee" from sāwé, "island," and "Kayaways" (Kiawah) from ka'ia, "a species of turtle."

For several other names, whose identity will remain a puzzle for some time to come, there is at present little to be said. So with Keyauwee, Yadkin, Sissipahaw, and Woccon no treatment can be offered from Catawba sources that would enlighten the obscurity which surrounds their relationship with other Siouan tribes of the Southeast. [Speck, 1935, pp. 221, 222, 223.]

Speck's statement regarding Billy George can just as easily apply to Nikonha's relations as reported by Hale from the Six Nations Reservation, Canada.

Again referring to Kaj Birket-Smith (1930) on "Folk Wanderings and Culture Drifts in Northern North America," he stated:

In his famous *Anthropogeographie* Friedrich Ratzel justly complained of the ethnographical maps of North America which are generally found in anthropological and geographical text-books. When studying one of these maps—as examples I need only mention those of the *Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico* and Buschan's *Illustrierte Völkerkunde*—you will perceive immediately that howsoever conditions were in pre-Columbian America, they certainly never appeared in the manner delineated there.

The reason is obvious. As a rule a tribe has been marked out at the place where it was living at the time when it began to be better known (not always identical with the place where it was encountered for the first time); however, history of discovery of North America has a duration of three or four centuries, and they did not pass away without leaving their traces on the distribution and way of living of the aboriginal population. An ordinary ethnographical map of North America shows conditions in Mexico about 1500 and in the region of the St. Lawrence about 1600, while in western Canada we reach the 18. and in great part of the Eskimo area the 19. century. It can hardly be denied that the intrinsic value of a map of this kind is somewhat problematic. [Ibid., p. 1.]

He then goes on to explain about the Conestoga's plight and the acceptance of the Tuscarora, Tutelo, Nanticoke, Saponi, etc., by the Five Nations as the Sixth Nation.

In 1675 the Conestoga at Susquehanna River were also subjugated whereas the Tuscarora voluntarily sought admission to the league as did also some foreign tribes (Tutelo, Nanticoke, Saponi, etc.). This event, however, marked the limit of its power; farther south the Cherokee and Catawba formed an insurmountable barrier to its progress. [Ibid., p. 3.]

This well explains the movement of the various Indian groups before and after the first introduction of white colonists along the middle and northern Atlantic area. Mooney would have us believe that all Indian nations were living in peace with each other—a mild Utopia—a state which never existed at any time, for it was not the Indian's nature to be at constant peace; they enjoyed war parties like the present-day whites enjoy the game of baseball or a good football contest.

Such incidents as the inroads of the Iroquois on the small Virginia tribes and the appearance of the Cherokee on the James River, would tend to bring about periods of tension and unrest depending upon the safety factor. Then, too, the interior of Virginia was being

probed, indirectly, by the various traders ever on the alert for new markets and possible settlement areas. Conditions such as these were bound to create an unstable feeling among such groups as our Saponi, Occaneechi, and Tutelo, not to mention the rest of the small groups in the interior of central Virginia.

Birket-Smith (1930) is not altogether correct in alluding to the presence of mound builders in this area, for mounds are the exception rather than the rule. The mound excavated and recorded by Jefferson is one of the instances where the mound builders erected such a structure, but such cases are few and far between. As for the archeological facts, not enough archeological investigations have been conducted within the area under question to make such a positive statement as that of Birket-Smith. Work has been instigated in a very small portion of this area and our information must be secured from this small segment hoping for a more widespread investigation upon which we can base our observations and facts. Then, too, in 1905, Alexander Gregg said: "Beyond this, as the track of aboriginal descent and migration begins to be traced back, even conjecture is lost in a sea of uncertainty." (Gregg, 1905, p. 2.)

Swanton, in 1936, was approaching the truth more nearly as the present writer sees it. He wrote:

The Saponi and Tutelo have been reported to have migrated to the headwaters of the Yadkin River after the split up of residence on the Roanoke. The Occaneechi migrated to the Eno R. near the present town of Hillsboro, N. C. This case, as evidenced by history, is borne out in that these groups separated into two groups: the Saponi-Tutelo as a unit and the Occaneechi as a separate unit. The Saponi, Tutelo, and Occaneechi were brought together later on by Governor Al. Spotswood, but what we are interested in at this time is just why was the split made thus? It would appear that there was a very close affiliation between the Saponi and Tutelo and only a friendly relationship with the Occaneechi. The Occaneechi "*associated from time to time*" with the *SUPPOSEDLY* Siouan groups of Virginia and North Carolina but when direct pressure was brought to bear upon them by outside influences they decided to go their separate way rather than to throw in their lot with the Saponi and Tutelo. [Italics are writer's. Grasp the "supposedly" used here by Swanton.]

After the Fort Christanna episode whether the Occaneechi migrated northward with the Tutelo and Saponi has never been established. They are not mentioned, with certainty thereafter. What was their fate will remain forever unknown. [Italics are writer's.] [Swanton, 1936, p. 375.]

This same line of reasoning can be applied to the association with the Tuscarora, Nottoway, and Meherrin with which the Saponi and Tutelo affiliated themselves in their migration northward to join the Cayuga. The latter are recognized Iroquoian groups and whether there was a linguistic linkage of the entire group will have to be worked out on etymological grounds.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A brief summary of events leading up to the identification of groups, their migrations, and final assimilation by the Iroquois is needed at this point.

In 1608 Captain John Smith indicated the probable location of a number of Indian villages, attributed by him to the Monacans, above the falls of the James River; the positive positions of these villages were not known and the probable positions were indicated on Smith's map of 1624. These positions were those indicated by Algonquian-speaking Indians with whom Smith was in contact at the time.

The same year (1608) Captain Newport and a number of men traveled 40 miles beyond the falls of the James and contacted some of the Monacans but never recorded any of their findings.

In 1651 Edward Bland, traveling in the interior of Virginia, was told by an Appomattox Indian about the Occaneechi and "Nes-soniecks," but he never visited either of them.

In 1670 John Lederer not only visited the "Akenatzy" Occaneechi but also visited the Saponi, bringing back firsthand information regarding these groups. He also mentioned a group known as the "Rickohockan"—possibly Cherokee who were then living beyond the mountains.

The following year, the trading team of Batts and Fallam passed through Saponi town, Hanathaskie town, and contacted the Toteris or Tuteloes, who were reported on for the first time. They mentioned that this group lived in the "western mountains" beyond the Saponi and the two groups were not in direct contact.

Three years later (1673), another trading team, Needham and Arthur, practically doubled over the track laid down by Batts and Fallam, bringing back additional facts regarding the groups contacted. At this time we learn that the Saponi were in contact with the Tutelo on a friendly basis and that a reciprocal agreement was made to give over to the Tutelo a number of Iroquois captives which the Saponi had taken to be returned to their group. Whether this whole transaction was delivered in a common language or one recognized by both was not mentioned.

In 1705 Robert Beverley indicated that the "general language," indicated by the former explorers and traders, used in this section of Virginia was recognized as belonging to the Occaneechi and was used not only during their trading but also while performing various religious rites. The Saponi and Tutelo, as well as other surrounding groups, used this general language of the Occaneechi; that is, all occupants of Virginia.

During 1714, John Lawson started out from the coast of North Carolina and taking a circuitous loop contacted the Saponi and Tutelo on the Yadkin River; he reported the Occaneechi as occupying a site on the Eno River, but never succeeded in visiting them on account of the presence of an Iroquois war party in the area.

In 1775 James Adair wrote his "History of the American Indian." He, like others of his time, attributed the origin of the American Indian to the Lost Tribes of Israel. The rest of his history is colored accordingly.

William Byrd's account of "The Dividing Line Betwixt North Carolina and Virginia" and his "Secret History" of the same event were republished in 1929. The survey was run in 1728 and during that time Byrd made a number of observations which were colored by stories told him by his Indian guides which influenced the whole outlook of the work. Thus ends our so-called primary sources of information.

Beginning with Albert Gallatin in 1836, we get the first of the evaluation of the primary sources and the introduction of some extraneous interpretations. Samuel Drake, 1848; Francis Hawks, 1858; Joseph Anderson, 1872; Horatio Hale, 1883; Edward Neill, 1886; J. W. Powell, 1892; James Mooney, 1894; William Tooker, 1895; Daniel Brinton, 1896; James O. Dorsey, 1897; and on up to James Griffin, 1945; John Swanton, 1946; Douglas Rights, 1947; John Swanton, 1952; and William Fenton, 1953, all are included in the interpretative period when each writer based his own ideas somewhat upon his predecessor's with rarely an attempt to seek out the primary sources to check upon what had been written before. Thus, the structure of the so-called Siouan Tribes of the East was given, to all appearances, a substantial footing; but upon critical examination it has been found that the foundation was unsubstantial. Likening the study to a tapestry, we find, as we have pointed out above, that it is full of dropped stitches and wrong insertions, destroying the original pattern and creating a new one. Hale with his mistaken inferences and assumptions created the illusion of a Siouan-speaking people east of the Mississippi River—all based upon a small vocabulary gathered under rather questionable conditions. Frachtenberg and Sapir would not vouch for vocabularies gathered on the same Reserve much later from so-called Tutelo sources. Hale's conclusions were later adopted by Mooney and became an accepted part of the literature.

It is the contention of the present writer that the Occaneechi, Saponi, and Tutelo, and possibly others,⁵ are not of Siouan linguistic stock but rather of a primitive Algonquian stock. This has been

⁵ Similar studies should be made on the Catawba, Biloxi, and Ofo to determine whether or not they should be assigned to the Siouan linguistic family.

demonstrated etymologically and dialectically by Dr. John P. Harrington (1955, pp. 189-202). Whether these groups represented "tag ends" of tribes who amalgamated together for mutual protection and whose tribal names are meaningless is something we are not sure of. We do know that this so-called "general language" was surely not Tutelo—as stated by Hale—for Beverley specifically made a positive statement that it was Occaneechi. From the facts presented, it would appear that the Occaneechi, Saponi, and possibly the Tutelo, were a frontier group whose cultural and linguistic affiliations are of an Algonquian stock.

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