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OBSERVATIONS ON CERTAIN ANCIENT TRIBES OF
THE NORTHERN APPALACHIAN PROVINCE

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OBSERVATIONS ON CERTAIN ANCIENT TRIBES OF THE NORTHERN APPALACHIAN PROVINCE

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is the outcome of a detailed study conducted on the relationships between certain little-known tribes of the Appalachian region which are implied or indicated by the historical sources. The method employed is based upon the logical proposition that if A implies B, and B implies C, then A implies C, and consists simply of attempting to establish the identity of various pairs of the tribes in question and then of studying the relationships implied by these interconnections.

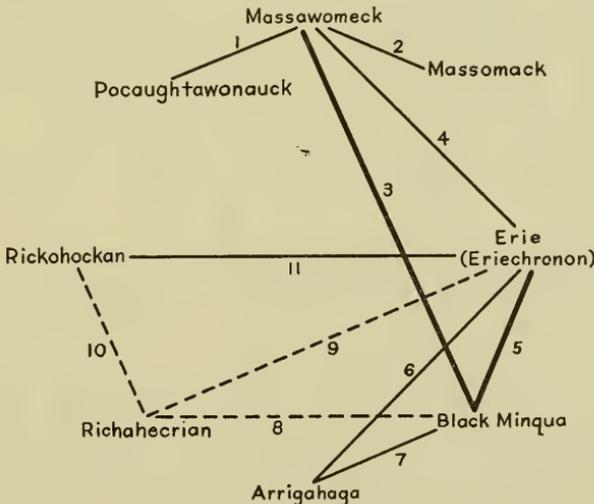


FIGURE 16.—Diagram of name relationships.

This procedure can be expressed graphically in a diagram such as that presented in figure 16, which depicts the relationships to be discussed. The point of entry here was a consideration of the name

Massawomeck, and of its possible synonyms, and proceeded to a consideration of the synonyms of the synonyms. This led respectively to a consideration of such names as Pocaughtawonauck, Massomack, Erie, Black Minqua, Arrigahaga, Richahecrian, Rickohockan, and even of such groups as the Nayssone, Monocan, Mannahoack, and Saponi. In the course of this exploration a number of longstanding problems and disputes emerged in a new light, and a number of previous concepts were revealed as inaccurate. It is the purpose of this report to present the evidence and conclusions thus assembled and arrived at, and to indicate the implications of this material.

EVIDENCE FOR RELATIONSHIPS

1. POCAUGHTAWONAUCK-MASSAWOMECK CONNECTION

The Pocaughtawonauck Indians first are referred to on the so-called Anonymous-Zuñiga map (pl. 26) dating from c. 1608, which was apparently drafted in the Virginia Colony, sent to England, acquired in copy or original by Spanish spies, and sent to Philip III by the Spanish ambassador to England, Don Pedro de Zuñiga.

The map depicts Tidewater Virginia and North Carolina between Cape Lookout and the Potomac River, and reflects not only the current English knowledge of the Virginia coastal plain, but also the current belief in a sea or ocean west of the mountains at the headwaters of the Virginia rivers. West of the head of the Rappahanock River (which can be identified through comparison with map 4, the printed John Smith map of 1612), the Anonymous-Zuñiga map displays a legend reading:

Pocaughtawonaucks, a salvage people dwelling upon the bay beyond this mayne that eat of men and women. [Brown, 1890, vol. 1, pp. 183-185.]

This legend can be compared with John Smith's comments in his "True Relation" of 1608, where he states

[that Powhatan] described also vpon the same Sea, a mighty Nation called Pocoughtronack, a fierce Nation that did eate men, and warred with the people of Moyaoncer [Moyaones, of the Piscataway] and Pataromerke [Potomac], Nations vpon the toppe of the head of the Bay, vnder his territories; where the yeare before they had slain an hundred. He signified their crownes were shaven, long haire in the necke, tied on a knot, Swords like Pollaxes. [Smith, 1884, p. 20.]

In his famous printed map of 1612, however, Smith no longer uses the name "Pocaughtawonauck." In its place, beyond the supposed headwaters of the Potomac and the Rappahanock, he has the name "Massawomeck" signifying a people of whose existence he first



MAP 4.—Facsimile of section of John Smith's map of 1612.

became aware while visiting the Nanticokes and Wiccomiss in 1608. In his later accounts of his travels he stated:

Beyond the mountaines from whence is the head of the river *Patawomeke*, the Savages report, inhabit their most mortall enemies, the *Massawomekes*, vpon a great salt water, which by all Likelyhood is either some part of *Cannada*, some

great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the South sea. These *Massawomekes* are a great nation and very populous. For the heads of all these rivers, especially the *Patawomekes* [Potomacs], the *Pautuxintes* [Patuxents], the *Sasquesahanocks* [Susquehannocks], the *Tockwoughes* [Wicomiss], are continually tormented by them. . . . [Smith, 1624; 1884, pp. 71, 367.]

In the course of his 1608 exploration of the upper Chesapeake Bay, John Smith actually did encounter seven canoes containing Massawomeck warriors:

. . . whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccopipes, Platters, Bowes and Arrowes, and every thing shewed, they much exceeded them of our parts: and their dexteritie in their small boats, made of the barkes of trees sowed with barke, and well luted with gumme, argueth that they are seated vpon some great water. [Smith, 1884, pp. 72, 367; see also pp. 349, 350, 422, 427-428.]

Since John Smith never uses these two names together in the same text, it would appear that Pocaughtawonaucks was a Powhatan name which he later dropped in favor of Massawomeck, a Nanticoke or Wicomiss name. In his description of the peoples and languages surrounding the Powhatan confederacy, for example, he states:

Amongst those people are thus many severall nations of sundry languages, that environ *Powhatans* Territories. The *Chawonokes*, the *Mangoags*, the *Monacans*, the *Mannahokes*, the *Masawomekes*, the *Powhatans* [sic], the *Sasquesahanocks*, the *Atquanachukes*, the *Tockwoghies*, and the *Kuscarawaokes*. Al those not any one vnderstandeth another but by Interpreters [Smith, 1884, pp. 55, 351.]

In contrast to Smith, William Strachey treats these two names as if they were separate and distinct, informing us in his "The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania . . . (1612)" that Powhatan's territory extended to the southwest as far as

. . . *Anoeg* . . . : West to *Monahassanugh* [of Monacan], which stands at the foote of the mountaines . . . ; Nor-west to the borders of *Massawomeck* and *Bocootawonaugh*: Nor-east and by East to *Accohanock*, *Accowmack*, and some other petty nations, lying on the east side of our bay [Strachey, 1849, pp. 48-49.]

However, since Strachey does not mention either the Mannahoke or the Susquehannock, his account would seem to be less accurate and reliable than John Smith's. The equivalence of the two names "Pocaughtawonauck" and "Massawomeck" may be regarded as highly probable, although it cannot be considered to be established absolutely.

2. MASSAWOMECK-MASSOMACK CONNECTION

Evidence for the equivalence of the names Massawomeck and Massomack derives in part from the similarity in the names and in part from the similarities in location, activity, and relationship with the colonists indicated by the sources. The similarity in the names is evident. The information given by John Smith places the Massawomeck in the mountains west of the Potomac. The sources re-

ferring to the Massomack indicate a similar location, and reveal other similarities.

The earliest pertinent reference derives from the "Relation of Virginea" written by Henry Spelman, who was held captive by the Virginia Indians between 1609 and 1610. Spelman tells us (*in* Smith, 1884, p. cxiv):

In y^e time I was ther I saw a Battell fought betwene the Patomeck and the Masomeck, ther place wher they fought was a marish ground full of Reede. Beinge in the cuntry of the Patomecke the peopel of Masomeck weare brought thether in Canoes which is a kind of Boate they haue made in the forme of an Hoggs trough But sumwhat more hollowed in, On Both sids they scatter them selues sum little distant one from the other, then take them ther bowes and arrows and hauinge made ridie to shoot they softly steale toward ther enimies, Sumtime squattinge doune and priinge if they can spie any to shoot at whom if at any time he so Hurteth that he can not flee they make hast to him to knock him on the heade, And they that kill most of ther enimies are heald the cheafest men amonge them; Drums and Trumpetts they haue none, but when they will gather themselues together they haue a kind of Howlinge or Howbabub so differinge in sounde one from the other as both part may uery aesely be distinguished. Ther was no greater slawter of nether side But y^e massomecks having shott away most of ther arrows and wantinge Vitall [was] weare glad to retier.

The next reference dates from 1632, at which time English traders were actively engaged in transporting trade goods up the Potomac to the Anacostia Indians, who in turn traded these goods to the Massomack living to the west in exchange for furs. Our source here is the manuscript journal written by Capt. Henry Fleet, entitled "A Brief Journal of a voyage made in the Bark Virginia, to Virginia and other parts of the continent of America," preserved in the library of the Archbishop of Canterbury and published in Neill (1876, pp. 10-19).

The Fleet journal informs us that at the time of Fleet's trading expedition in 1631 there was

. . . but little friendship between the Emperor [of Piscatoway], and the Nacostines, he being fearful to punish them, because they are protected by the Massomacks or Cannyda Indians, who have used to convey all such English truck as cometh into the river to the Massomacks [Ibid., p. 25.]

Having established contact with Massomacks while at Anacostia, Fleet sent his brother with two Indian companions into their country, the journey taking 7 days from the falls of the Potomac and 5 days on the return, and lasting, all told, from June 14 to July 3, 1631. Fleet had learned from the Massomacks at Anacostia that

. . . the Indians of that populous place are governed by four Kings, whose towns are of several names, Tonhoga, Mosticum, Shaunetowa, and Usserahak, reported above thirty thousand persons, and that they have palisades about the towns made with great trees, and scaffolds upon the walls [Ibid., p. 27.]

Upon his return from the Massomack country, Fleet's brother confirmed this picture of fortified villages with large populations and—more important to Fleet—reported the existence of great stocks of furs. Seven days later, on the 10th of July, a party of Massomack arrived to trade with Fleet.

. . . These were laden with beaver, and came from a town called Usserahak, where were seven thousand Indians. I carried these Indians aboard, and traded with them for their skins. They drew a plot of their country, and told me there came with them sixty canoes, but were interrupted by the Nacostines who always do wait for them, and were hindered by them . . . [Ibid., pp. 29-30.]

The following day

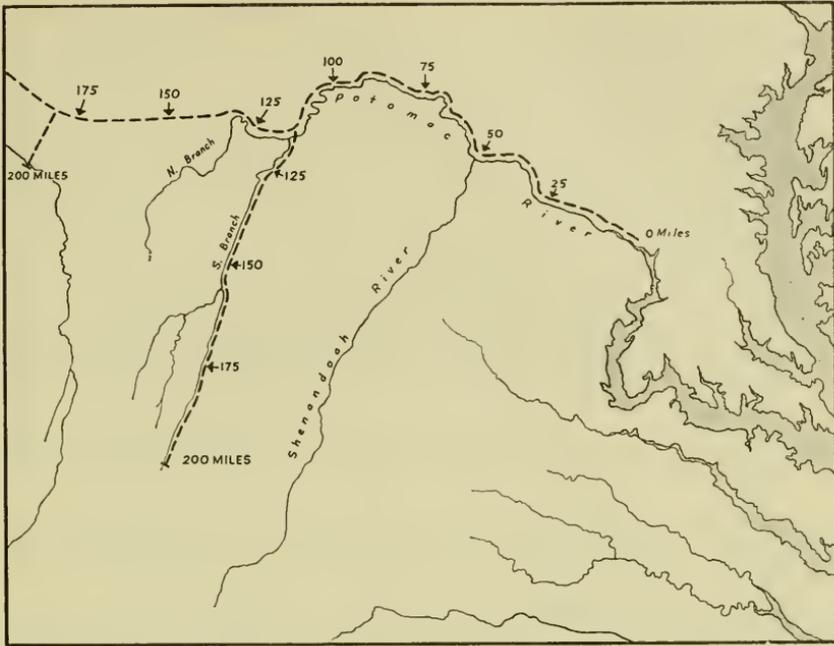
. . . there came from another place seven lusty men, with strange attire; they had red fringe, and two of them had beaver coats, which they gave me. Their language was haughty, and they seemed to ask me what I did there, and demanded to see my truck, which, upon view they scorned . . . these Indians, after they came aboard, seemed to be fair conditioned, and one of them, taking a piece of chalk, made a plain demonstration of their country, which was nothing different from the former plot drawn by the other Indians. These called themselves Moticums, but afterwards I found they were of a people three days' journey from these, and were called Hereckeenes, who, with their own beaver, and what they get of those that do adjoin upon them, do drive a trade in Cannida, at the plantation which is fifteen days' journey from this place . . . [Ibid., pp. 30-31.]

However, Fleet was informed by one of the Hereckeenes "that they were a people of one of the four aforementioned nations." All of these peoples—of Tonhoga, Moticum, Shaunetowa, Usserahak, and also the Hereckeenes—were designated as "cannibals" by the Tidewater Indians (ibid., pp. 31, 33, 35).

Although Spelman and Fleet use only the name Massomacks, the name Massawomeck was apparently still in use and was used to designate what would seem to be the same group. In Leonard Calvert's letter of May 30, 1634, to Sir Richard Lechford, discussing the state of the fur trade, the former wrote:

. . . The nation we trade withal at this time a-year is called the Massawomeckes. This nation cometh seven, eight, and ten days journey to us—these are those from whom Kireke had formerly all his trade of beaver. We have lost by our late coming 3000 skins, which others of Virginia have traded for . . . [Morrison, 1921, p. 224.]

If we assume that Calvert is calculating his distances from the lower falls of the Potomac, the distances (or rather, times of travel) agree with Fleet's statements (see map 5). Assuming a travel rate of 20 miles a day going upstream, we would have a distance of 140 miles in the case of Fleet's brother. Assuming that the return trip covered the same route and distance we see that the return rate of travel would be 28 miles a day. This rate is plausible if traveling were by canoe, but not if on foot. The Indians, however, seem to



MAP 5.—Possible Potomac route of Captain Fleet's brother.

have traveled this route by canoe at least as far down as the Great Falls of the Potomac. Accepting 100 miles as the minimal distance indicated and 200 miles as the maximum, the Massomack or Massawomeck Indians would seem to have resided on the headwaters of the Potomac or on the Youghiogheny branch of the Monongehela.

3. MASSAWOMECK-BLACK MINQUA CONNECTION

With the establishment of the Swedish colony on the Delaware a new set of tribal names makes its appearance in the historical sources, and this new nomenclature eventually becomes predominant. Those names of particular concern to us are "Black Minqua" and "White Minqua."

In a letter dated June 11, 1644, in which he discusses future Indian policy, Johan Printz, the governor of the Swedish colony, stated that:

. . . when we have thus not only bought this river, but also won it with the sword, then no one, whether he be Hollander or Englishman, could pretend in any manner to this place either now or in coming times, but we should then have the beaver trade with the Black and White Minquas alone, four times as good as we have had it, now or at any past time [Johnson, 1930, p. 117.]

In a letter dated February 20, 1647, Printz repeatedly refers to the Black and White Minqua and to their position in the fur trade.

Concerning the trade in the year 1644, when the ship *Fama* went from here, [it can be said that] there was very little of the cargo left in store; and as we have been without merchandise ever since, not only has the Right Company suffered the great damage that 8 [000] or 9000 beavers have passed out of our hands, but besides, the Hollanders have drawn the principal traders (who are the White and Black Minquas) from us, that we shall be able only with great difficulty to regain them. . . .

The Savages now have war amongst themselves in many places, more to the prejudice than to the advantage of the beaver-trade. . . .

If we are able to renew our friendly relations with the White and Black Minquas (as we hope and are assured we shall), the trade with these will commence next April and continue the whole summer until fall. [Johnson, 1930 pp. 132, 136-7, 140.]

In a letter of April 26, 1653, Printz seems to refer to these same Indians, but uses different names.

. . . from the fur trade [there is] no profit any more, and especially now since the Arrigahaga and Susquahannoer (from whom the beavers come) begin to fight one another. [Ibid., p. 188.]

Later authors provide still further details. Adriaen Van der Donck, writing in 1653, makes it clear that the name "Minqua" refers to an Iroquoian-speaking people.

Their various tongues may be classed into four distinct languages, namely, *Manhattan*, *Minquas*, *Savanoos*, and *Wappanoos*. . . . With the Minquas we include the Senecas, the Maquaaas, and other inland tribes. . . .

He also informs us that

The beavers are mostly taken far inland, there being few of them near the settlements—particularly by the black Minquas, who are thus named because they wear a black badge on their breast, and not because they are really black. [Van der Donck, 1841, pp. 206, 209.]

In 1662 William Beeckman, writing from Tinnekunk [or Altena, now New Castle, Del.] to the New York authorities to inform them about the status of the Susquehannock–New York Iroquois war, stated that

. . . five Mincquas chiefs had arrived there and were expecting assistance shortly of 800 Black Mincquas, 200 in fact having arrived, to fight the Sinneucus in the Spring. [Fernow and O'Callaghan, eds., 1853-87, vol. 12, p. 419; Hazard 1852-1935, vol. 7, p. 742].

We also have an interesting comment by Peter Lindeström in his "Geographia Americae," compiled from notes collected between 1654 and 1656, to the effect that:

This country extends inland of which we do not [know] the limit, but it is supposed to be a continent. Neither have the Swedes yet had any trade or intercourse with savages, or any other savage nation who lived further in the

These mighty High and Great Mountains trenching NE and SW and W SW is supposed to be the very middle Ridge of Northern America and the only Natural Cause of the fierce-ness and extreme Stormy Cold Winds that comes NW from hence all over this Continent and makes Frost. And as Indians reports from the other side, Westwards doe the Rivers take their Originall issuing out into the West Sea especially first discovered, a very great River called the Black Miniquas River over one of which above the Sagsquahana fort, meets a branch Some leagues distance opposite to one another, the Sagsquahana River where formerly those Black Miniquas came over and as far as Delaware to trade bet the Sagsquahana, and Sainicus Indians went over and left, yet that very great Nation and whether that same River comes out into the Bay of Mexico or the West Sea is not known Certain it is that as the Spaniard is possessed with great store of Minerals at the other side of these Mountaines the same Treasure they may in process of time afford also to us here on this side when Occupied which is Recommended to Posterity to Remember

Monardoch

Miconna

MAP 6.—Facsimile of legend of Augustine Herrman's map of 1673.

[interior of the] country than the Black and White Minquesser, who also do not know any limit to the country, but as far as they have been inland [they have found that] the country is occupied by savage nations alongside of nations of various kinds. [Lindeström, 1925, p. 166.]

The identity of the White Minqua, or simply Minqua, is easily established. From the information given by Printz and other writers, as well as from the statement made by Thomas Campanius Holm that

[the Minquas] lived at the distance of twelve [Swedish] miles [or 84 English miles] from New Sweden. [Holm, 1834, p. 157.]

there is general consensus that these Indians were the Susquehannock of the Susquehanna river.

The identity of the Black Minqua is indicated fairly explicitly by the Augustine Herrman map of 1673 (map 6), which displays a legend west of the headwaters of the Potomac and the Susquehanna reading:

These mighty High and great Mountaines trenching N:E and S:W and WSW [the Appalachians] is supposed to be the very middle Ridg of Northern America. . . . And as Indians reports from the other side Westwards doe the Rivers take their Origin all issuing out into the West Sea especially first discovered a very great River called the Black Mincquaas River [the Ohio] out of which aboute the Sassquahana fort meetes a branch [the Conemaugh?] some leagues distance opposit to one another out of the Sassquahana River [the Juniata] where formerly those Black Mincquas came over and as far as Delaware to trade but the Sassquahana and Sinnicus Indians went over and destroyed that very great Nation. [Herrman, 1673.]

A comparison of the location of the Black Minqua on the Herrman map with the location of the Massawomeck on the John Smith map suggests that these two names identify one and the same people. The John Lederer map of 1672 (map 7) seems to confirm this, for it displays a legend west of the headwaters of the Rappahanock River—

The Messamomecks dwelt heretofore beyond these Mountaines.

The equivalence of the names Massawomeck and Black Minqua thus seems to be indicated strongly.

4. MASSAWOMECK-ERIE CONNECTION

Evidence relating to the possible equivalence of the names Massawomeck and Erie is scanty, being limited to the general correlation of the position indicated for the Massawomeck by the Smith and Lederer maps with that indicated for the Erie (Eriehronon) by French sources. Ragueneau, writing in 1648, stated:

This Lake, called Erié, was formerly inhabited on its Southern shores by certain tribes whom we call the Nation of the Cat; they have been compelled to retire far inland to escape their enemies, who are farther to the West. [Thwaites ed., 1896-1901, vol. 33, p. 63.]

The Sanson map of 1656 pictures the "Eriechronons ou N. du Chat" south of Lake Erie and west of Virginia and Maryland, although the cartographic distortion is such that this latter fact may not be significant. A detailed discussion of the problems involved in attempting to draw conclusions concerning the position of the Erie by inspection of early cartographical representations has been given by Marion E. White (1961, pp. 40-49), who calls attention to a very important clue. The so-called Bernou map of c. 1680 shows a legend below Lake Erie (here called "Lac Teiocha-rontiong") reading,

This Lake is not Lake Erie, as people usually call it. Erie is a part of Chesapeake Bay in Virginia, where the Eries have always lived.

5. BLACK MINQUA-ERIE CONNECTION

As with the Massawomeck, there exists no indisputable evidence to link the Black Minqua to the Erie. There does exist, however, a considerable amount of elusive and circumstantial data which, when considered in toto, does seem to render such a conclusion at least plausible.

First of all, it is apparent that just as the Massawomeck of the Smith and Lederer maps seem to fall within Erie territory, so do the Black Minqua of Herrman's map. Second, there seems to be some relation between the name Erie or Eriehronon and the name Arrigahaga as used by Printz. In this connection it should be noted that Lewis Evans used the form Erigas on his map of 1755 (Evans, 1939, p. 13).

Above and beyond this there seem to be numerous parallels between the history of the Erie and the Black Minqua which, when taken together, seem to be more than mere coincidence. This best can be seen in a comparison of the Erie and Black Minqua histories insofar as we can reconstruct them from the sources.

According to the French, the Erie-Iroquois war began shortly after the Iroquois defeat of the northern Algonquian, the Huron, the Tionontati, and the Neutral; that is, between 1651 and 1653. The Iroquois account of the cause for this war, as given to the French at Onondaga, was that

The Cat Nation had sent thirty Ambassadors to Sonnontouan, to confirm the peace between them; but it happened, by some unexpected accident, that a Sonnontouahronnon [Seneca] was killed by a man of the Cat Nation. This murder so incensed the Sonnontouahronnons, that they put to death the Ambassadors in their hands, except five who escaped. Hence, war was kindled between these two Nations, and each strove to capture and burn more prisoners than its opponent. [De Quens, 1657; *in* Thwaites, ed., 1896-1901, vol. 42, p. 177.]

The Onondaga also blamed the Huron for this, claiming that those who took refuge among the Erie "stirred up this war which is filling the Iroquois with alarm" (Thwaites, ed., 1896-1901, vol. 41, p. 83).

Whatever the cause, the war started un auspiciously for the New York Iroquois. In 1653, apparently, the Erie took and burned a frontier town of the Seneca, cut to pieces the rearguard of 80 picked men of a Seneca expedition returning from Lake Huron, and captured and burned a great captain of the Seneca and one of the Onondaga (*ibid.*, vol. 41, p. 81). Curiously, the French accounts of this early phase of the Erie-Iroquois war make no mention of the Susquehannock or Andaste, but Printz wrote in this year, as previously mentioned, that war had broken out between the Arrigahaga and Susquahannoer.

In 1654 the Iroquois secured their rear by concluding a peace treaty with the French, at which time they announced:

Our young men will wage no more warfare with the French; but, as they are too warlike to abandon that pursuit, you are to understand that we are going to wage a war against the Ehriehronons (the Cat Nation), and this very summer we shall lead an army thither. The earth is trembling yonder, and here all is quiet. [Le Mercier, 1655; *in* Thwaites, ed., 1896-1901, vol. 41, p. 75.]

While preparations were being made for this invasion, Erie war parties still lurked around the New York towns, even ambushing three men within 1 day's journey of Onondaga (Thwaites, ed., 1896-1901, vol. 41, p. 75).

The Iroquois attack, when it finally was carried out in August of 1654, was massive, involving some 700 (or 1,200) men. After its entry into their country the northern Ehriehronon abandoned their frontier towns and retreated some 5 days before taking refuge in the fortified town of Rique, inhabited by the Riquehronnon (Rigueronnon), who apparently had just experienced an attack by the "Andastogueronnons" or Susquehannock. Here the Erie beat off the initial attacks in heavy fighting. Finally, carrying their canoes before them as shields and then using them as ladders to scale the walls, the Iroquois stormed the fort. The Eries' gunpowder supply becoming exhausted, the defense collapsed, and the defenders were massacred to the number of 2,000 men, plus women and children (*ibid.*, vol. 41, p. 121; vol. 42, pp. 178-179, 187-188, 191, 195; vol. 45, p. 209).

At approximately the same time, that is, in 1654 or 1655, a battle took place between a party of Black Minqua and Englishmen from Virginia in which the latter suffered a defeat of some proportions.

I also want to mention briefly what happened among the Black Minquas further in the [interior of the] country, with 15 individual Englishmen whom they had taken prisoners; from which one can learn of the horrible cruelty of the Minquas.

It happened that the English of Virginia carried on war against these Minquas. When the English now came to these savages, marching 2 or 3 hundred men strong, with a few [small] field cannon, they pitched their camp a short distance from the dwellings of the above-mentioned savages. But these savages are somewhat cleverer in building, than our own river Indians who live closer to us, using palisades around their dwellings. Therefore the English did not run, precipitously upon them, but first fired a few cannon [balls against their fort]. Then the English did not know a word about it, before the savages had surrounded the English, were in their rear and drove them into flight, killing some of them and brought home with them 15 prisoners, whom they later, after a lapse of a few days, martyred to death wretchedly and unchristianlike. Because some of these prisoners were of noble birth and of some importance and value, the English offered for each one of them a few 100 florins for ransom; but the savages did not care for ransom or a sum of money, but seemed to be more anxious to exact their revenge and satisfy their anger on these poor prisoners. They therefore erected a high platform, placing large piles of bark below it, upon which they poured all kinds of pitch, bear-fat, *et talia*, etc. Through this they wanted to indicate that whatsoever kind of drink the English wanted to pour out for them, that they themselves would now have to imbibe. They also erected a post in the earth for each prisoner, around which they also placed piles of bark and poured fat thereupon, just as has been stated before. Then they took the prisoners out to undergo their punishment. They first brought them up on the high framework, who were bound around their waists with long slender iron chains; then they put fire to the bark, lying below, and later, shoved one prisoner after the other down into the fire, which burnt with terrible violence. When they had been tormented somewhat in this fire, then the savages pulled them out of it.

Then they bound the said prisoners to the above-mentioned poles, put fire also to that bark in which they had to dance, until they were practically half roasted. Nor did they want that any of them should lose his life in the fire, because they wanted to inflict upon them as much suffering as possible; wherefore they pulled the prisoners out again, placing them in front of themselves. Then they brought forth their doctor of medicine, whom they otherwise called the devil-chaser (why he has this name we will learn to know in the next following chapter). He took his knife and cut each one of the prisoners right over the forehead from one ear to the other, then he took the skin and pulled it backward on the neck or the throat, then he cut the tongue out of the mouths of all the prisoners. On one of them he wanted to prove his mastery and cure him again, if there was any one of them who wanted to live, and then that one would escape further punishment, which his other comrades still would have to stand, but there was no one of them who wanted to live. Then the devil-chaser cut all the fingers off the prisoners and threaded them upon a string, which he delivered to their sachem or ruler, who tied them around his neck. When this was done the devil-chaser cut all their toes off, which he also delivered to their sachem. These he tied around his legs at the knees. The sachem carried them on his body until the flesh rotted away, but when the flesh had rotted off and dried away, he scrapes the bones clean and white, when he threads them anew upon a ribbon and carries them afterwards continually on his body, to show his great courage,—the greater skeleton bones these Minqua sachems carry, the braver warriors they are supposed to be. Then they brought forth fifteen bundles of reeds, like reeds here in Sweden, which were saturated in fat. Of these they bound a bundle on the back of each prisoner, turned them towards Virginia, set fire to the bundles, and told them to run home again, where they had come from, and relate to their countrymen, how well they had been treated and entertained among the Black Minquas. They

also sent good guides with them, whom the boys followed with a great noise, shot at them with their quarrels [blunt arrows] until the one fell here and the other there. Such a miserable departure and end these poor people had, from which we can observe the awful cruelty of the Minquas. These Minquas are of two kinds, Black and White Minquas.

The author of the preceding passage, Peter Lindeström, follows it with another indicating some familiarity with these Indians.

Besides I further want to relate about the bloodletting of the savages and their wonderful medicines, which I have seen at least a hundred times among these savages.

When the savage undertakes to march a long journey, the first day he has marched, in the evening, when he strikes camp, he makes up a fire, takes a piece of flint as long as a finger which he has prepared and fitted for this purpose, sharp as a razor, with this he cuts himself all over his body into the deepest flesh, on his arms, thighs and legs, the depth of a finger, according to the depth of the flesh, deeper or less, standing then before the fire to shake off the blood, which runs off him, as if one had butchered an ox. When he has allowed as much blood to run off as he thinks proper, then he takes a kind of ointment, which he smears over his body, wherever he has cut himself. Before morning, it is healed over and run together, and blue streaks remain after it just as when one burns oneself with powder, wherefore the savages appear entirely striped and streaky and especially the Minquas. This is now [something about] the blood letting and cutting of the savages, from which one can observe that they are patient and not tinder-skinned. When now the savage has thus removed some blood, he may march and run as fast and as far as he wants to, he will not tire. [Lindeström, 1925, pp. 241-245.]

At almost the same time (1656) the records of the Virginia Assembly report that,

. . . many western and inland Indians are drawne from the mountaynes, and lately sett downe near the falls of James river, to the number of six or seaven hundred. [Virginia Assembly, 1823 a, p. 402.]

After due consideration the Assembly resolved to remove these foreign Indians from the borders of the colony by peaceful or martial means, charging Col. Edward Hill to carry out the resolution and to enlist the aid of the Pamunkey chief Tottopotomoy. From later sources which describe Tottopotomoy's defeat and death at the hands of these Indians it would appear that they were Siouan and not Iroquoian. However, these two battles—with the Black Minqua and with the Nahyssan and Mahock—almost certainly are not unrelated (see "Richahecrian-Black Minqua Connection").

Decisive as their capture of Rique may have been, it did not end entirely the Erie threat, for in September of 1655 the Onondaga delegation to Quebec, "representing all the upper Iroquois Nations," asked "for French Soldiers, to defend their villages against the inroads of the Cat Nation, with whom they are at open war" (Thwaites, ed., 1896-1901, vol 42, pp. 49, 53). By 1656, however, the tide of war had gone against the Erie to such an extent that some surrendered voluntarily, and the Iroquois again proclaimed their total destruction

(*ibid.*, vol. 44, p. 153). The French Jesuit De Lamberville, writing from the Seneca country in 1682, reported that another surrender took place about 1672, in which

Six hundred men, women, and children of the nation of the chats, near Virginia, surrendered voluntarily, for fear that they might be compelled to do so by force. [De Lamberville, 1682; *in ibid.*, vol. 62, p. 71.]

A similar statement, apparently referring to an event which occurred about 1680, was made to the Governor of Maryland in 1681 by an Onondaga and a Cayuga.

Another Nation, called the Black Mingo, are joined with the Sinnondowannes, who are the right Senecas; that they were so informed by some New York Indians whom they met as they were coming down. They told them that the Black Mingo, in the coming to the Sinniquos, were pursued by some Southern Indians, set upon and routed, several of them taken and bound, till the Sinniquos came unto their relief. [Hanna, 1911, p. 16.]

One additional type of evidence which may be cited in support of the proposition that the Erie were one and the same with the Black Minqua is the fact that, while the historical sources indicate that both of these groups were "destroyed" by the Iroquois, the Iroquois themselves claimed only to have destroyed the Erie in this general area at this time. This argument rests, of course, on the assumption that if the Black Minqua had not been identical with the Erie the Iroquois would have made the fact clear. One thing is indisputable: the Iroquois, and particularly the Seneca, were never particularly modest in their claims of martial prowess and triumphs.

6. ARRIGAHAGA-ERIE CONNECTION

Evidence for the identity of the Arrigahaga, mentioned by Printz, with the Erie is largely linguistic. The material already considered indicates that the name "Arrigahaga" is used in such a context that its synonymy with the name "Black Minqua" is indicated strongly; the possible identity of the Black Minqua with the Erie has also been discussed. Above and beyond this it can be argued that the term "Arrigahaga" is a cognate of the term "Erie," having an Iroquoian stem meaning "people of" (Hodge, 1907, pt. 1, p. 921).

The evidence for this derives, first of all, from Lewis Evans' use of the form "Eriga" as a variant for "Erie" in the commentary published in connection with his map of 1755. The second line of evidence derives from the known use of the ending "-haga," as well as cognate forms, in known Iroquois tribal names (Hodge, 1907, pt. 1, pp. 224, 924; 1910, pt. 2, pp. 87, 507-508):

Aniakahaka-Caughnawaga name for Mohawk
 Kaniengehaga-Mohawk name for Mohawk
 Kuyukuhaga-Mohawk, for Cayuga

Kuenyuguhaka-Tuscarora, for Cayuga
Cheroenhaka-Nottaway, for Nottaway
Tshotinondowaga-Seneca, for Seneca
No^towaka-Tuscarora, for Seneca
Ani-Nundawegi-Cherokee, for Seneca

From this evidence it would seem that the original form of the name given by Printz was probably "Erigahaga."

7. ARRIGAHAGA-BLACK MINQUA CONNECTION

Direct evidence for the identity of the names Arrigahaga and Black Minqua stems from the occurrence of these names in circumstances indicating their synonymy. This material has already been discussed under "Massawomeck-Black Minqua Connection."

8. RICHAHECRIAN-BLACK MINQUA CONNECTION

The identity of the Richahecrian Indians who invaded Virginia in 1655 long has been the subject of controversy and discussion. This group has been associated, on different grounds, with the Erie, Cherokee, Westo, Huchi, and Yuchi. However, few of these studies have been based upon the original documentary sources and several most crucial references have been ignored completely.

The earliest document pertinent to the Richahecrian question consists of an Act passed by the Virginia Assembly on March 10, 1656, and preserved in the Randolph Manuscript (Virginia Assembly [1642-62]) in the Jefferson Collection of the Library of Congress, and published in Hening's "Statutes at Large."

Act XV

Whereas information hath bin given that many western and inland Indians are drawne from the mountaynes, and lately sett downe near the falls of James river, to the number of six or seaven hundred, whereby vpon many seuerall considerations being had, it is conceived greate danger might ensue to this collony, *This Assembly therefore do think fitt* to resolve that these new come Indians be in noe sort suffered to seate themselves there, or any place near vs it having cost so much blood to expell and extirpate those perfidious and treacherous Indians which were there formerly, It being so apt a place to invade vs and within those lymitts which in a just warr were formerly conquered by us, and by vs reserved at the last conclusion of peace with the Indians, In persuanee whereof therefore and due respect to our own safety, *Be it enacted by this present Grand Assembly*, That the two vpper countyes, vnder the command of Coll. Edward Hill, do presently send forth a party of 100 men at least and that they shall endeavour to remove the said new come Indians without making warr if it may be, only in a case of their own defence, alsoe strictly requiringe the assistance of all the neighbouring Indians to aid them to that purpose, as being part of the articles of peace concluded with vs, and faileing therein to look duely to the safety of all the English of those parts by fixing of their arms and provideing ammunitiion, and that they have recourse the Governour and Councill for further direction therein. And the Governour and Councill are desired to send messages to Tottopotomoy and the Chickahomynies

and other Indians and to treat with them as they in their wisdoms and discretions shall think fitt [Hening, 1819-1823, vol. 1, pp. 402-403].

An action of this same Assembly passing sentence upon Colonel Hill, for some "weakness" during a "late expedition against the Indians," which is usually interpreted as constituting a sequel to the passage just quoted, was passed down between March and December 1656.

Debate and consideration of the charge and defence of Coll. Edward Hill by the general and unanimous assent and vote of both houses without any contradiction hath been found guilty of these crimes and weaknesses there alleaged against him and for the vindicating themselves from any imputation of his crimes and deficiencies have ordered that his present suspension from all offices military and civil that he hath had or may have continue & be made incapable of restitution but by an Assembly, and that he be at the charge of whats already expended in procuring a peace with the Richaheerians and if the Governour or Council shall find any nearer way to effecting thereof that it shall be acted at the said Coll. Hills proper cost and charge (Bland MS., *in* Hening, 1809-23, vol. 1, pp. 422-423).

In addition we must consider Lindeström's description of an English defeat at the hands of the Black Minqua, and two passages appearing in Lionel Gatford's "Publick Good without Private Interest . . ." (1657).

The Planters have turned some of the Indians out of their places of abode and subsistence, after that the Indians have submitted to the Colony, and to their government, and have taken up their own lands, after the custom, used by the Colony. As they did otherwise also very unchristianly requite the service which one of the Indian kings did them in fighting against other Indians, that were presumed to be enemies to the English, and to draw towards them, to do them mischief. For that, when the said King desirous to show his fidelity to the English, if not in obedience to some of their commander's orders, did adventure too far with his own Indians, in the pursuit of those other Indians, and thereby lost his life in that action, as some report, though others thought him to be taken alive by the enemies. His wife and children that were by him, at his expiring, recommended to the care of the English . . . were so far from receiving the favour and kind usage, merited by their father, that they were wholly neglected, and exposed to shift for themselves.

And though it be alleged by some, as to the former part of this grievance, that the portion of land which was taken from the said King, before his death, by an English colonel was acknowledged openly in court, yet 'tis generally believed, and by some stoutly asserted, that the said King was affrighted and threatened into that acknowledgement by the said Colonel . . .

. . . The Planters [of Virginia] did lately, viz. *Anno* 1656, (when a numerous people of the Indians, more remote from the Colonie, came down to treat with the English about settling of a Peace, and withall a liberty of trade with them) most perfidiously and barbarously (after a declaration of their desires and intention) murder five of their Kings, that came in expectation of a better reception) [sic] and brought [sic] much Beaver with them to begin the intercourse of the commerce. [Gatford, 1657, pp. 6-8.]

cock, where its North and South branch (called *Ackmick*) joyn in one. In the Peninsula made by these two branches, a great Indian king called Tottopotoma was heretofore slain in battle, fighting for the Christians against the Mahocks and Nahyssans, from whence it retains his name to this day. [Lederer, 1958, p. 10.]

Lederer depicts the site of this battle on his map of 1672 with the legend "Tottopotoma" at the fork in question. Since this name appears in a similar location on the Augustine Herrman map of 1673 (map 8) it would seem that it was generally believed by the contemporary Virginians that Tottopotomoy met his death here.

From a reference appearing in the Maryland Archives for 1661 it would appear that the Nahyssans mentioned by Lederer were still in northern Virginia at this time. This reference derives from the consideration given by the General Assembly of Maryland, sitting at St. John's in St. Marys County, to a petition by the Susquehannock Indians for assistance and aid.

Tuesday the 23th April

. . . .

At a Grand Committee of both howses

It is ordered M.^r Edward Lloyd and M.^r John Bateman Coll. W.^m Evans M.^r Thomas Manning M.^r John Brewer and M.^r George Vtye doe drawe up an Acte impowring the Governor and Councell in the Intervall Betweene this Assembly and the next to rayse what forces they in their discrecon shall finde necessary for the Assistance of the Sasquehannough Indians ag.^t the Cynaco or Naijssone Indians that have lately killed some English in Patapsco River [which runs into Baltimore Bay] that they doe rayse by equall Assessment vpon the Freemen of this Province and the Charge of the warre and that the said Committee doe agree and ascertyne the wages and pay of the Souldiery in the Acte and that they doe meete by two of the Clock in the Afternoone to drawe up the Acte

. . . .

Thursday the second of May

. . . .

An acte Impowring the Governor and Councell to Rayse forces and maytayne a Warre without the Province and to ayde the Sasquehannough Indians

Whereas it doth appeare to this p^rsent Generall Assembly that this Province is in Eminent danger by a warre begun in itt by some forreigne Indians as it hath been made appeare by credible informacon given of a person lately killd and of others that are probably cutt off by these forreign Indians And that in humane probabillity our neighbour Indians the Sasquehannoughs are a Bullwarke and Security of the Northerne parts of this Province And that by former treatyes with that nacon they have very much assured vs of their affeccons and friendship And that they expected the like from vs, And by their treatyes it was agreed Assistance should be granted to each oth[er] in tyme of danger And vpon their severall late Applicacons to vs to that purpose Ayde hath been promis[ed] them accordingly.

It is Enacted and be it enacted [by] the Lord Proprietary of this Province by and with the advice and consent of the vpper and lower how[se] of this p^rsent General [Assembly] that the Governor with the advice and consent of the Councell

have power to leauy and rayse by presse or otherwise fifty able men with Armes and Provision and all things necessary for them to be sent to the Sasquehannough Forte for the end aforesaid And the proporcon of the said Souldiers to be rayseed out of the severall Countyes as followeth. (vizt) out of the County of St. Marys Eleaven, out of Calvert County fiteene out of Charles County seaven, out of Anne Arrundell eleaven out of Kent three, with one Interpreter a Captaine and a Chirurgeon. And for the pay of the officers and Souldiers aforesaid to be proporconed as followeth vntill the Souldiers retourne To the Comander in cheife Six hundred pounds of tobacco in Caske p moneth To the Interpreter six hundred p moneth to the Leiuetennant four hundred p moneth To the Serjeant three hundred p moneth and to the Chirurgeon foure hundred p moneth and to every private Souldier two hundred and fifty p moneth. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that for the defraying of the Charge of the said warre and all charges incident to itt That the Governor and Council are hereby impowred to leauy by waye of Assessment p pole according to the vsual Custome out of this Province And in the Intervall of Assemblies to rayse what forces they in their discrecon shall thinke necessary against the Cynacs or Nayssone Indians or any other Indians that shall be found to have killed any of the Inhabitants of this Province or that have or shall disturbe the peace thereof. And the Charges to be defrayed as aforesaid This Acte to continue and be in force for two yeares or the next Generall Assembly which shall first happen

The Lower howse }
 haue Assented }
 Will Bretton Clk }

The Vpper howse }
 haue Assented }
 John Gittings Clre: }

(General Assembly of Maryland,
 Upper House, 1883).

The passage "Cynaco or Naijsonne Indians" in one instance, and that of "Cynacs or Nayssone Indians or any other Indians" in another, can be interpreted to mean either that the name "Cynaco" was a synonym for the name "Naijssone" or "Nayssone," or that the Maryland officials and the Susquehannock were uncertain which of two groups of Indians may have been involved in the incident at Patapsco River. However, the term "Cynaco" or "Cynacs" has numerous cognates including "Cinnigos," "Cynikers," "Sannagers," "Senacae," "Senequas," "Seneques," "Senneks," "Sinacks," "Sinica," "Sin-nagers," "Syneck," and "Synicks" (Hodge, 1910, pt. 2, pp. 507-508), all of which are variants of a general Dutch and English term for Iroquoian-speaking peoples (and thereby similar to the Swedish term "Minqua"). According to Hewitt, the term "Seneca" became "the tribal name of the Seneca by a process of elimination which excluded from the group and from the connotation of the general name the nearer tribes as each with its own proper native name became known to the Europeans" (Hodge, 1910, pt. 2, p. 504).

It easily can be demonstrated, however, that the Nahyssan were a Siouan-speaking group, and that they are therefore separate and

distinct from a "Cynaco" group. Lederer, in his discourse on his second expedition of 1670, states:

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; and though I had just cause to fear these *Indians*, because they had been in continual Hostility with the *Christians* for ten years before; yet presuming that the *Truck* which I carried with me would procure my welcome, I adventured to put my self into their power, . . . [Lederer, 1958, pp. 22-23.]

In a separate passage Lederer associates these "Saponi" or "Nahyssan" with a number of other tribes or groups.

These parts [the Piedmont of Virginia] were formerly possessed by the *Tacci* alias *Dogi*; but they are extinct; and the *Indians* now seated here, are distinguished into the several Nations of *Mahoc*, *Nuntaneuck*, alias *Nuntaly*, *Nahyssan*, *Sapon*, *Monagog*, *Mongoack*, *Akenatzy*, and *Monakin*, & c. One language is common to them all, though they differ in *Dialects*. [Lederer, 1958, p. 10.]

At a considerably later date, Alexander Spotswood (1882-85, vol. 2, p. 88), Governor of the Virginia Colony, stated:

. . . I engaged the *Saponie*, *Oconeechee*, *Stuckanox* and *Tottero* *Indians*, (being a people speaking much the same language, and therefore confederated together tho' still preserving their different Rules).

At a still later date William Byrd, while helping survey the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina, recorded a number of Saponi names for creeks emptying into the middle Roanoke, as follows: *Moni-seep* or Shallow Water; *Massamoni* or Paint-Creek; *Ohimpa-moni*, *Ohimpamony*, or Jumping [Fish?] or Fishing Creek; *Yaypatsco*, *Yapatoco*, or Beaver Creek; *Tewahominy*, *Tewaw-homini*, *Tewakominy*, or Tuskarooda Creek; *Hicootomony*, or Turkey Buzzard River; *Wicco-quoi* or Rock Creek. An analysis of these names (see table 1) clearly indicates their Siouan nature. In addition, Tutelo has been firmly established, through more recent evidence, as being Siouan (Byrd, 1929, pp. 158, 164-166, 168; Sturtevant, 1958).

From this analysis it would seem that the Maryland General Assembly of 1661 was apprehensive of attack by either a Siouan or an Iroquoian group. It also is obvious that the battle in which Totopotomoy met his death was separate and distinct from that in which the English of Virginia met defeat at the hands of the Black Minqua. The question thus arises as to whether all the statements which generally have been taken to refer to the "Richahecrian" or "Nahyssan" and "Mahock" defeat of the English refer to two separate battles or to one.

TABLE 1.—Comparative analysis of Byrd's Saponi place names ¹

English	Byrd's Saponi	Tutelo	Dakota	Hidatsa
Shallow.....	seep			
Water.....	moni-	manī	mini	{ mini midi
Creek.....	-moni			
River.....	-----	taksīta	{ wakpa watpa	azi
Jump.....	{ ohimpa ?}			
Fish.....	-----	{ wihoi, bisōká	hoghañ	mua
Beaver.....	{ Yayp Yapa	Yaop	teapa	mirapa
Turkey Buzzard...	Hicooto-			
Pigeon.....	-----	{ mayutkāi wayotkāi	wakiyedañ	
Paint.....	massa-			
Rock.....	wicco(?)			

¹ Hale (1884), Frachtenburg (1913), Byrd (1929, pp. 164-169).

The statements which actually exist are as follows:

Statement A.—A group of “western and inland Indians,” 600 or 700 strong, is reported in the spring of 1656 to have moved from the mountains and established itself at the falls of the James. Colonel Hill is sent to persuade its members to remove, or to force them to do this. Tottopotomoy and other Indians are asked to give aid. These “western and inland Indians” are not named.

Statement B.—An act passed by the Virginia Assembly and recorded at the close of its session in December 1656 cashiers Colonel Hill for his “crimes and weaknesses.” He also is ordered to bear the cost of securing a peace with the Richahecrians.

Statement C.—During this same session the Virginia Assembly considered a number of petitions for “compensation for losses suffered during the late expedition” against the Indians (Virginia Assembly (1656)). These petitions were not referred to by later historians. Mention is also made of the former careless killing of Indians.

Statement D.—According to Gatford, writing in 1657, the Virginia colonists murdered five Indian ambassadors who had “come down to treat with the English about settling of a Peace, and withall a liberty of trade with them” in 1656. Beaver is mentioned.

Statement E.—Gatford also states that an Indian King, name not given, had advanced too rashly in the pursuit of “other Indians” and was either killed or captured.

Statement F.—Lederer, writing in 1672, stated that the Indian King Tottopotomoy was killed in a battle with the Mahocks and Nahysson on the Pamunkey River. This location is confirmed on the Herrman map.

Statement G.—Lindeström, probably citing an incident which occurred before his departure from America in October 1655, describes an English defeat at the hands of the Black Minqua.

Statement H.—The Maryland General Assembly and the Susquehannock Indians express concern in 1661 about an Indian group, either Nahysson or "Cynaco," which is threatening the borders of the colony near present-day Baltimore.

From the evidence given in these eight references it would seem that Statement G (from Lindeström) indisputably refers to an Iroquoian group, while Statement F indisputably refers to a Siouan group. It also seems probable (though not indisputable) that Statements A and E also can be associated with this Siouan group. Since the Indian group in Statement E is distinguished from that in D, this later statement may apply to the Black Minqua of G. We thus have Statements B and C of uncertain attribution, and we have tentatively established that:

(1) The group which established itself at the falls of the James and defeated Tottopotomoy on the Pamunkey was comprised of the Mahock and Nahysson.

(2) The Black Minqua defeated the English and later suffered the loss of five ambassadors.

From internal evidence—namely, the fact that Lindeström left in October of 1655 (Lindeström, 1925, p. xxiv), as well as the fact that Gatford dates the murder of the ambassadors as occurring in 1656—the order of events would seem to be as indicated in (2) above. This gives us a clue as to why Hill was cashiered. Considering the case in historical perspective, it seems unlikely that Hill would have been prosecuted merely because Tottopotomoy had disobeyed orders and had been cut off, or even if he had been defeated in an open battle with the Black Minqua. (Hill does not seem to have suffered losses in the Tottopotomoy episode, and Indian allies are not mentioned in Lindeström's account.) What might have been sufficient and full reason for a court-martial may have been Hill's conduct when the Indian ambassadors were murdered, which presumably caused a new outbreak of the war. These ambassadors were "Richahecrians" but quite likely they were also Black Minqua. The fact that Hill was not cashiered for weaknesses displayed in connection with the Mahock and Nahysson is significant. Statement B, and possibly Statement C as well, probably is to be associated with the Black Minqua.

This interpretation of an important episode in Virginia history must

be compared with the more usual version which seems to have originated with Burk.

Whilst the assembly were employed in these wise and benevolent projects, information was received that a body of inland or mountain Indians, to the number of six or seven hundred, had seated themselves near the falls of James river, apparently with the intention of forming a regular settlement. Some movements were at this time noticed among the neighboring tribes, which seemed to indicate something like a concert and correspondence with these strangers; and the minds of the colonists always alive to, and apprehensive of, Indian treachery, were unusually agitated on this occasion. The place these Indians had made choice of, was another source of disquiet. It was strong and difficult of access, alike calculated for offensive and defensive operations; and they recollected the immense trouble and expence that had been incurred in extirpating the tribes which formerly dwelt in that place. At the conclusion of the last peace with the Indians, this station was considered so important, that its cession was insisted on, as the main pledge and security of peace; and it had hitherto continued unoccupied as a sort of barrier to the frontiers in that direction. Under all these circumstances, they could not see it, without anxiety, occupied by a powerful band of hardy warriors, who perhaps were only the advance guard of a more formidable and extensive emigration.

The measures of the assembly in removing this ground of alarm were prompt and vigorous.* [fn. printing Virginia Assembly (1642-1662) pp. 111-112]. One hundred men were dispatched under the command of Edward Hill, to dislodge the intruders. His instructions were to use peaceable means only, unless compelled by necessity; and to require the assistance of all the neighboring Indians, according to the articles of the late treaty. The governor was at the same time directed to send an account of this invasion to Totopotomoi, and desire that his influence should be exerted in procuring the immediate co-operation of the friendly tribes.

It is difficult to form any satisfactory conjecture as to the motives of the extraordinary movement directly against the stream and tide of emigration. It was certainly a bold step to descend into the plain, in the face of an enemy, whose power they must have heard of, and which could scarcely fail of inspiring astonishment and awe; and to take the place of warlike tribes, whom the skill and destructive weapons of the whites had lately exterminated and swept away.

The scanty materials which the state records have preserved of Indian affairs, throw little light on this subject. But though they do not present this people in all the various relations of peace and war, we generally see them in one point of view at least; and are often able by induction, to supply a considerable range of incident and reflection. In the second session of assembly colonel Edward Hill was cashiered, and declared incapable of holding any office, civil or military, within the colony, for improper conduct in an expedition against the Richaheerians. We are not told whether the offence of Hill was cowardice, or a willful disobedience of the instructions he had received. There is however reason to believe, that he was defeated, and that the Rechaheerians maintained themselves in their position at the falls by force; for the governor and council were directed by the assembly to make a peace with this people, and they further directed that the monies which were expended for this purpose, should be levied on the proper estate of Hill.* [fn. printing Virginia Assembly, *et al* (1606-92), p. 200].

From other sources almost equally authentic, we learn that the aid demanded of the Indians was granted without hesitation. Topopotomoi marched at the head of an hundred warriors of the tribe of Pamunkey, and fell with the greater

part of his followers, gallantly fighting in this obstinate and bloody encounter (Burk, 1804-16, vol. 2, pp. 104-107).

Burk's account seems to have constituted the primary source for most later authors writing on this battle, although a few also have employed Gatford or have cited Hening's printing of the Virginia Assembly documents. Lindeström's account of a battle between the English of Virginia and the Black Minqua, as well as the material from the Maryland Archives and part of Lederer's statements, has generally been ignored.

9. RICHAHECRIAN-ERIE CONNECTION

The identity of the Richahecrian with the Erie is based, in part, upon De Lamberville's comment that "six hundred men, women, and children of the nation of the chats" once lived "near Virginia," and, in part, upon some degree of similarity in the names. The latter evidence is not completely convincing, but it is still suggestive.

Richahe_crian.....	English (Va. Assembly, 1656)
Arrigahaga.....	Swedish (Printz, 1653)
Eriga.....	English (Evans, 1755)
Erieh____ronon.....	Huron (Thwaites, ed., 1896-1901, vol. 18, p. 235)
Erieeh____ronon.....	Iroquois (ibid., vol. 21, p. 191)
Erieh____ronnon.....	Iroquois (ibid., vol. 41, p. 81)
Rigue____ronnon.....	Iroquois (ibid., vol. 47, p. 59; vol. 50, p. 117)
Rhiie____rrhonon.....	Huron (ibid., vol. 8, p. 115)

10. RICHAHECRIAN-RICKOHOCKAN CONNECTION

In his report on his second expedition of 1670, Lederer stated, in connection with a visit at "Akenatzy":

. . . I have heard several Indians testife, that the Nation of the *Rickohockans*, who dwell not far to the Westward of the *Apalataean* Mountains, are seated upon a Land, as they term it, of great Waves; by which I suppose they mean the sea-shore.

The next day after my arrival at *Akenatzy*, a *Rickohockan* Ambassadour, attended by five Indians, whose faces were coloured with *Auripigmentum* ["gold paint"] (in which Mineral these parts do much abound) was received, and that night invited to a Ball of their fashion; but in the height of their mirth and dancing, by a smoke contrived for that purpose, the Room was suddenly darkned, and for what cause I know not, the *Rickohockan* and his Retinue barbarously murdered. [Lederer, 1958, p. 26.]

Lederer also shows the "Rickohokans" on his map of 1672 as being west of the present-day site of Roanoke, Va., and apparently west of the Great Valley of Virginia on the New River. This location is also due west of the principal Virginia settlements of 1656 and only a short distance, therefore, from what was then taken as the borders

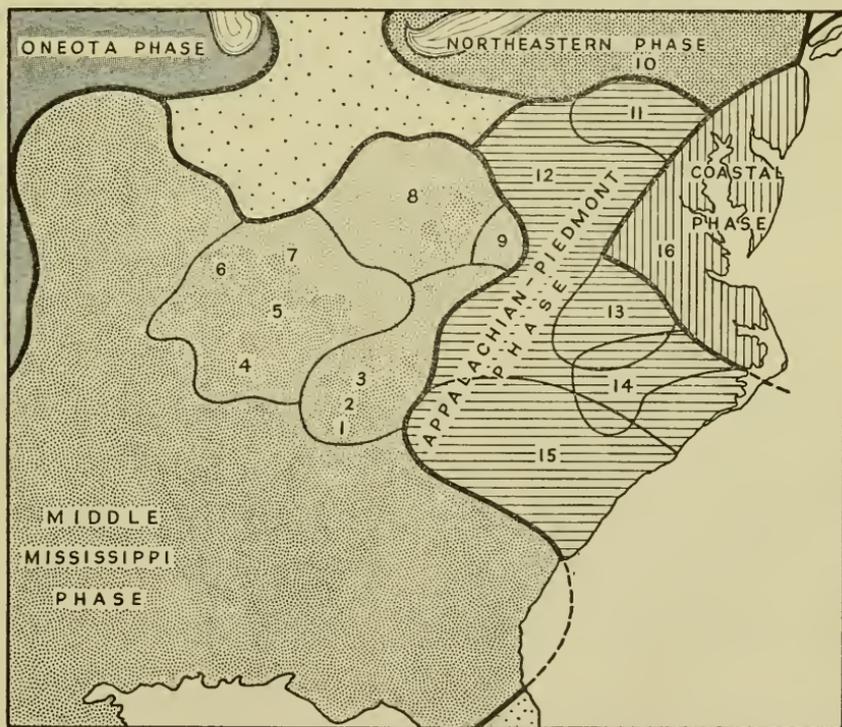
of the colony. The Rickohockans were thus close enough to the Virginia Colony to have been the Richahecrians. The similarity in names is also suggestive.

11. RICKOHOCKAN-ERIE CONNECTION

The identity of the Rickohockan with the Erie is suggested by the general similarity of geographical location and by linguistic evidence. The first name easily can be broken down into "ricko-" and "hockan" and compared to the name "rigue" or "rique" in "riquehronnon," the Iroquois name for the Erie of Rique, and to the stem "haga" or "haka" meaning "people of." Thus the name "Rickohokan" possibly can be interpreted as an Iroquois name meaning "People of Rique."

CONCLUSIONS

From the material which has been considered here it is apparent that Iroquoian tribes played an important part in the early history of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and that a particularly important group in this respect included the Erie, Black Minqua,



MAP 9.—Protohistoric and early historic archeological phases of the Eastern United States.
Aspects: 1, Mouse Creek; 2, Dallas; 3, Large Log; 4, Duck River; 5, Cumberland; 6, Kincaid; 7, Angel; 8, Late Fort Ancient; 9, Clover; 10, Iroquois; 11, Shenk Ferry; 12, Allegheny; 13, Clarksville; 14, Hillsboro; 15, Pee Dee; 16, Potomac Creek.

or Massawomeck, who lived west of the Siouan tribes occupying the Virginia Piedmont. As far as we can determine, these Iroquoian tribes were established on the headwaters of the Potomac and on the upper Ohio drainage area. In light of this probable distribution it is pertinent to ask to what degree this does or does not show correlation to known archeological complexes in the area.

The following protohistoric and early historic archeological units (see map 9) are pertinent in this connection:

MISSISSIPPI PATTERN

Middle Mississippi Phase

Fort Ancient Aspect

Madisonville Focus

Anderson Focus

Baum Focus

Feurt Focus

Clover Focus

WOODLAND PATTERN

Appalachian Phase

Shenk's Ferry Aspect

Shenk's Ferry Focus

Stewart Focus

Monongahela Aspect

Monongahela Focus

Luray Focus

Northeastern Phase

Iroquois Aspect

Madison Focus

Genoa Fort Focus

Factory Hollow Focus

Lawson Focus

Ripley Focus

Whittlesey Focus

Tioga Focus

The distributions of the various aspects are shown on the accompanying series of maps (Griffin, 1943; 1952; MacNeish, 1952 a, pp. 51-54; Mayer-Oakes, 1955; Morgan, 1952, pp. 93-98; Ritchie, 1951; Schmitt, 1952, pp. 62-70; Witthoft, 1951; 1955 (Personal communication)).

The Fort Ancient Aspect, located in the middle Ohio Valley (see map 10), constitutes the most northeastern division of the Mississippi Pattern; a major cultural division centered in the Mississippi drainage and characterized by intensive agriculture, relatively superior pottery of distinctive style, palisaded fortified villages, flat-topped pyramids or cones, and town plazas. Culturally, the Mississippi Pattern stood in roughly the same relative position to the neighboring Woodland Pattern as "river bottom farming culture" stands to "hillbilly culture" in modern America. Although the Fort Ancient peoples were marginal to the spectacular developments of the Mississippi Pattern as

it evolved along the Mississippi and Tennessee Rivers, their culture still was unmistakably Mississippian and non-Woodland. Furthermore, it had considerable homogeneity and occupied a large area including "a considerable proportion of southern Ohio, northern Kentucky, southeastern Indiana, and, to an as yet uncertain extent, the Kanawha Valley in West Virginia" (Griffin, 1943, pp. 206, 257-260, 268-269, table xiv; 1952).

Within the Fort Ancient Aspect a number of smaller and even more homogeneous units (foci) may be discerned. These foci (Madisonville, Anderson, Baum, Feurt, Clover) seem to be distinguishable partly upon regional and partly upon temporal grounds. The Madisonville and Clover foci are the latest. Historic trade objects such as copper bells and snakes, copper and brass spirals, pendants and bells, iron adzes and beads, blue glass beads, etc. have been recovered from the Madisonville and Clover components. Commenting upon these remains, Griffin states that

. . . it does not appear that any Fort Ancient focus had any considerable antiquity, and the probability is that the Madisonville Focus is only 250 to 350 years old. Even if the historic materials had not been buried in undoubted association with typical Madisonville artifacts in the Madisonville Component, this focus, on the basis of comparative analysis, could be shown to have been of no great age. [Griffin, 1943, p. 207.]

Since, however, archeological investigation has failed to reveal any connection between the Fort Ancient Aspect and the later historic Indian cultures which occupied the region, it generally is concluded that the former disappeared before 1700, probably as a result of the documented Iroquois invasion of c. 1680.

The Fort Ancient Aspect then represents a Middle Mississippi offshoot which merged culturally with a basic Woodland group already tinged with Mississippian traits. This process was interrupted by the pressure of the Iroquois from the northeast, and the southeastern Fort Ancient sites were modified as a result of the pressure of the Europeans on the Indian tribes of the Piedmont and mountain area of West Virginia and Virginia. The Madisonville Focus lasted until the period between 1670 and 1690, when its cultural unity was destroyed by the Iroquois and by the attraction of the Indians in the area to trading centers such as those of the Illinois Valley, The Middle Atlantic Area, and the Southeast. . . . As already stated, it is doubtful that any specific historic tribe or tribes can be associated with the Fort Ancient culture. It is almost certain that it is not Iroquoian, and there is little or no archaeological or historical evidence that it is a Siouan relic. This seems to leave only one linguistic stock of sufficient prominence in the area which cannot be eliminated, namely, the Algonquian. [Griffin, 1943, p. 308.]

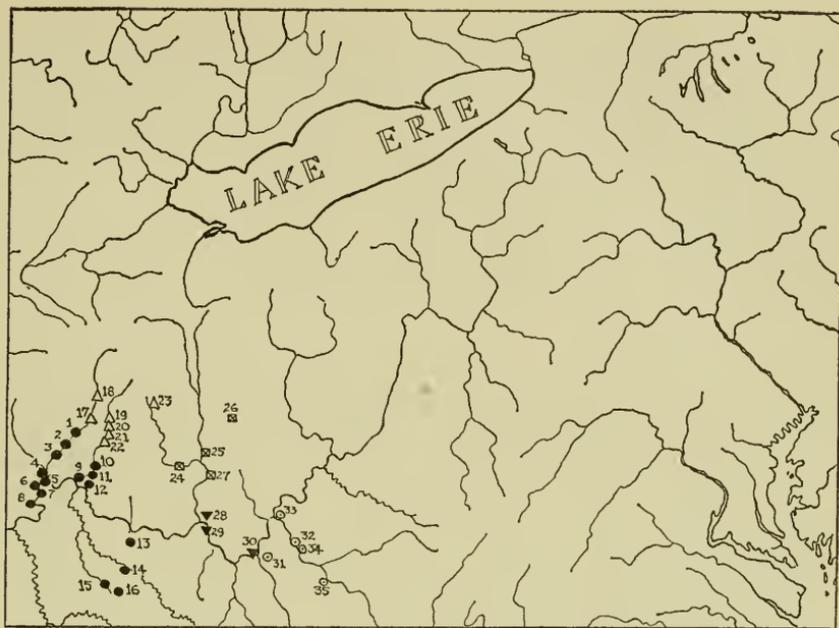
Among the various Algonquian tribes the Shawnee have what may be considered the best claim to having resided in at least part of the Fort Ancient territory during the early historic (Griffin, 1943, pp. 120-121, table xiv; Hanna, 1911, vol. 1, pp. 119-126; Mayer-Oakes, 1955, pp. 170-171; Witthoft and Hunter, 1955).

COMPONENTS OF THE FORT ANCIENT ASPECT, MIDDLE MISSISSIPPI
PHASE, MISSISSIPPI PATTERN

Components	Focus	Reference
1. Campbell Island	Madisonville	Griffin, 1943.
2. Steel Plant	do	Do.
3. Hine	do	Do.
4. 12 Dea 18	do	Do.
5. 12 Dea 19	do	Do.
6. 12 Dea 29	do	Do.
7. 12 Oho 18	do	Do.
8. 12 Oho 14	do	Do.
9. Madisonville*	do	Do.
10. Turpin	do	Do.
11. Hahn's Field	do	Do.
12. Sand Ridge	do	Do.
13. Fox Farm	do	Do.
14. Clay Mound	do	Do.
15. Larkin	do	Do.
16. Buckner	do	Do.
17. Kemp	Anderson	Do.
18. Steele Dam	do	Do.
19. Taylor	do	Do.
20. Anderson	do	Do.
21. Fort Ancient	do	Do.
22. Mill Grove	do	Do.
23. Stokes	do	Do.
24. Baum	Baum	Do.
25. Gartner	do	Do.
26. Baldwin	do	Do.
27. Higby	do	Do.
28. Feurt	Feurt	Do.
29. Fullerton Field	do	Do.
30. Proctorville	do	Do.
31. Clover*	Clover	Griffin, 1943; Mayer-Oakes, 1955.
32. Buffalo (Wells)	do	Do.
33. Orchard (Parsons)	do	Mairs, 1950; Mayer-Oakes, 1955.
34. Clifton	do	Griffin, 1943.
35. Brownstown	do	Do.

*Denotes sites containing historic materials.

East of the Fort Ancient Aspect, on the headwaters of the Ohio, Potomac, and western Susquehanna Rivers, lie two closely related basically Woodland Aspects displaying numerous influences of Mississippian character, seemingly derived from the Feurt and Clover Foci of the Fort Ancient culture. Such influences became so strong in the later phases of the Monongahela Focus that the latter has sometimes been considered a part of the Mississippi Pattern. Historically, however, the Monongahela roots seem to be Woodland, the Mississippi traits coming in as foreign elements from the west, and being of particular importance in the westernmost focus—the Monon-



MAP 10.—Components of the Fort Ancient Aspect.

gahela. The Mississippian influences are attenuated most in the Shenk's Ferry Aspect, but still give this culture a distinctive cast (Butler, 1939; Evans, 1955; Griffin, 1952; Manson, MacCord, and Griffin, 1944, p. 416; Mayer-Oakes, 1955, pp. 98-112, 155-162, 220-224; Witthoft, 1954; 1955; Witthoft and Farver, 1952).

The Monongahela Aspect is distributed over a large territory which includes eastern Ohio, northern West Virginia, and the western parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The Monongahela Focus is largely west of the Appalachian Divide and the Luray Focus entirely east of the Divide (see map 11). Both foci are characterized by distinctive pottery vessels and pipe types, by certain kinds of beads, pendants, and projectile points, and the occurrence of heavily fortified hilltop villages displaying round stockades and houses, and central plazas. From his study of the Monongahela Focus Mayer-Oakes concluded that

The abundance and relative richness of Monongahela sites imply that these peoples were probably the most numerous single group of Indians ever to live in the Upper Ohio Valley. The general excellence of pottery and other artifacts, control over environment and creation of leisure time indicate that the Monongahela villagers had reached a high level of adjustment to their natural surroundings. . . . Warfare and military activities were an important aspect of life in Monongahela times. The very structure of the village indicates that ideas of protection were prevalent. Also many village situations, on hilltops and other

commanding positions, obviously served defensive purposes. . . . While these people settled primarily in the area drained by the lower and middle Monongahela River, some settlements are known from the Ohio Valley proper and outlying villages occur in the Shenango and upper Allegheny valleys. Some of the Whittlesey focus sites are characterized by minor amounts of Monongahela pottery. "Monongahela Cordmarked [pottery]" is also found on sites in the Shenandoah and Potomac valleys, most often as trade material but perhaps as components in several instances. [Mayer-Oakes, 1955, pp. 12, 222.]

This statement possibly might apply to the Luray Focus also, which unfortunately is still relatively unknown (Manson, MacCord, and Griffin, 1944, pp. 400-401; Mayer-Oakes, 1955, pp. 158-162; Schmitt, 1952, pp. 62-64).

As is the case with the Fort Ancient culture, numerous clues indicate Monongahela contacts with neighboring groups. Iroquois trade pottery frequently has been found in Monongahela sites; conversely, Monongahela pottery is known from Whittlesey sites, and from historic sites on the lower Susquehanna and Potomac which have been dated at c. 1600. European trade goods also have been found in Monongahela components which, curiously enough, are concentrated in the middle Monongahela drainage near the headwaters of the Potomac. Historic trade goods are never abundant, however, partly because the Monongahela people do not seem to have practiced the custom of burying grave goods with their dead, and partly because the Monongahela culture and peoples disappeared before European penetration became intensive. The territory of the Monongahela Aspect seems to have remained essentially unoccupied until about 1700, at which time Indian groups from the east began a movement into it. A number of students have identified the Iroquois as the cause of the Monongahela disappearance (Mayer-Oakes, 1955, pp. 9-12, 228; Schmitt, 1952, pp. 67-69).

Somewhat more data is available concerning the fate of the Shenk's Ferry Aspect. Characterized by "widely scattered tiny hamlets," and by distinctive pottery types, the two foci of the Shenk's Ferry Aspect occupied the eastern side of the Susquehanna drainage between Harrisburg and the Pennsylvania-Maryland State line, the middle course of the Susquehanna between Harrisburg and Wilkes-Barre, and the west branch of the Susquehanna to Renova, and were overrun some time between 1560 and 1590 by the Tioga Focus from the Upper Susquehanna. This process seems to have involved, among other things, an absorption of Shenk's Ferry peoples into the Tioga culture. The reasons for this conclusion have been presented by Witthoft:

We have several reasons for believing that the Shenk's Ferry people survived into the Historic period. The best evidence comes from the Shultz Site of Washingtonboro, the earliest Susquehannock [Tioga] site on the lower Susquehanna.

. . . On this site the whole Shenk's Ferry complex, including the pottery types described here, along with a majority of another type of Shenk's Ferry pottery partially acculturated to Susquehannock style, is intermixed with early colonial Susquehannock materials in a large number of the pits and graves, and apparently represents the product of a large number of captives. At the next Susquehannock Site, the Washingtonboro Site, a very few such Shenk's Ferry sherds have been excavated from Susquehannock middens of the mid-seventeenth century [now redated to 1600-1620]. [Witthoft and Farver, 1952, p. 5.]

Thus, the Shenk's Ferry history, like that of the Monongahela and Fort Ancient Aspect, affords ample proof of the nonstatic nature of Indian interrelations in the Early Historic (Witthoft, 1951, p. 318; 1954, pp. 26-27; 1955).

The remaining archeological complex represented within the northwestern Pennsylvania and Ohio area is the so-called Iroquois Aspect; a distinctive cultural unit seemingly indigenous to the interior low plateau and central lowland provinces flanking the northernmost ranges and plateaus of the Appalachian system, expanding into the Allegheny sector of the Appalachian Plateau and into the ridge and valley provinces of Pennsylvania only during the historic period.

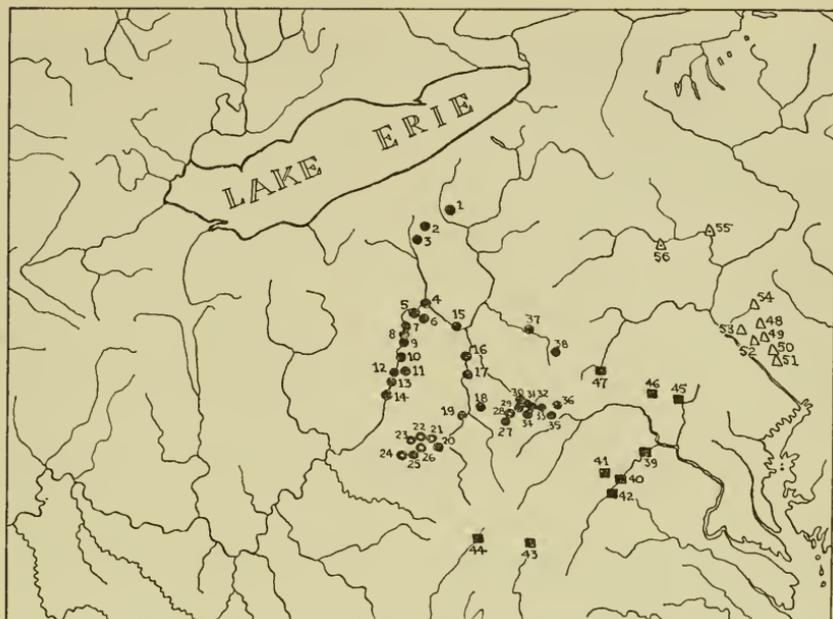
The westernmost focus of the Iroquois Aspect was the Whittlesey, the fortified towns of which extended along the Ohio shore of Lake Erie, along the Maumee River into Indiana (e.g., the Secrest-Reasoner component of Blackford County, Ind., not shown on the accompanying map), and possibly into southeastern Michigan. While its cultural affiliations largely point east to the Ripley Focus and to the Iroquois Aspect generally, the focus also shows strong influences from the Monongahela Aspect and from the Mississippian cultures, particularly Fort Ancient. Like these other archeological complexes, the Whittlesey Focus disappeared during the Early Historic—only one component, Fairport, yielding any European trade goods. As a result of this early demise, few suggestions exist as to the identity of the culture's bearers. Most archeologists have avoided the question altogether; others, lacking any other candidates, have brought forth the Erie (Black, 1935; Griffin, 1944, p. 368; Mayer-Oakes, 1955, p. 222; Morgan, 1952, pp. 96-97).

The Ripley Focus, with components lying along the southern shore of Lake Erie between Buffalo and the Ohio border, is closely related to the Lawson and Factory Hollow Foci farther to the east, and less so to the Whittlesey. The major sites, Ripley and 28th Street, are large, rich villages yielding European trade goods of an early date. No later sites have been found, leading to the general conclusion that this culture also disappeared before or about 1650. The Ripley Focus often has been identified as the remains of the Erie tribe (or nation), but its major characteristics, a small number of large villages situated very close to Lake Erie, are such that this identification may

COMPONENTS OF THE MONONGAHELA AND SHENK'S FERRY ASPECTS,
APPALACHIAN PHASE, WOODLAND PATTERN

Components	Focus	Reference
1. McFate.....	Monongahela.....	Mayer-Oakes, 1955.
2. 36 Me 17.....	do.....	Do.
3. 36 Me 8.....	do.....	Do.
4. 36 Bv 9.....	do.....	Do.
5. Shippingport.....	do.....	Do.
6. Scarem.....	do.....	Do.
7. Watson.....	do.....	Do.
8. 46 Hk 2.....	do.....	Do.
9. 46 Hk 6.....	do.....	Do.
10. 46 Br 2.....	do.....	Do.
11. 46 Oh 9.....	do.....	Do.
12. 46 Oh 5-7.....	do.....	Do.
13. 46 Oh 1.....	do.....	Do.
14. 46 Mr 5-7.....	do.....	Do.
15. McKee Rock Mound.....	do.....	Do.
16. Buncla.....	do.....	Do.
17. Newell.....	do.....	Do.
18. Phillips.....	do.....	Do.
19. Speers.....	do.....	Do.
20. Buckner.....	do.....	Do.
21. Buckner*.....	do.....	Do.
22. White*.....	do.....	Do.
23. 36 Gr 1*.....	do.....	Do.
24. Eisiminger*.....	do.....	Do.
25. Gordon.....	do.....	Do.
26. Ingraham*.....	do.....	Do.
27. Martin.....	do.....	Do.
28. Montague*.....	do.....	Butler, 1939.
29. Clouse.....	do.....	Do.
30. Reckner.....	do.....	Mayer-Oakes, 1955.
31. Hanna.....	do.....	Butler, 1939.
32. Gower.....	do.....	Mayer-Oakes, 1955.
33. Peck.....	do.....	Do.
34. Fort Hill.....	do.....	Do.
35. Troutman.....	do.....	Do.
36. Emerick.....	do.....	Do.
37. Johnston.....	do.....	Do.
38. Powell.....	do.....	Do.
39. Berryville.....	Luray.....	Evans, 1955.
40. Keyser Farm.....	do.....	Do.
41. Buracker.....	do.....	Do.
42. Luray.....	do.....	Do.
43. Buffalo Gap.....	do.....	Do.
44. Clovercreek.....	do.....	Do.
45. Waynesville sites.....	do.....	Witthoft, 1955.
46. Welsh Run.....	do.....	Do.
47. Everett.....	do.....	Do.
48. Summy.....	Shenk's Ferry.....	Witthoft and Farver, 1952.
49. Miller*.....	do.....	Do.
50. Shenk.....	do.....	Do.
51. Brenneman.....	do.....	Do.
52. Peter Rice.....	do.....	Do.
53. Swatara (Erb).....	do.....	Do.
54. Indiantown Gap*.....	do.....	Do.
55. Muncy Creek*.....	Stewart.....	Witthoft, 1954.
56. Stewart.....	do.....	Do.

*Denotes sites containing historic material.



MAP 11.—Components of the Monongahela (black) and Shenk's Ferry (white) Aspects, Appalachian Phase, Woodland Pattern.

not survive critical reading of the historical sources. Witthoft (1951, p. 320) has expressed some doubts on this point (Carpenter, Pfirman, and Schoff, 1949, p. 6; MacNeish, 1952 a, p. 6; 1952 b, pp. 22-24; Parker, 1907; 1922, pp. 271-276).

North and east of the Ripley Focus we find the Lawson and Factory Hollow Foci. The former includes several sites in the Buffalo area east of Niagara, and others in southern Ontario. Only the Buffum Street site has yielded historic trade goods, yet the entire focus is attributed, with some justification, to the Neutrals, who are known from historical sources to have resided in this same area, to have suffered several defeats at the hands of the New York Iroquois between 1648 and 1651, and to have abandoned their country shortly thereafter (Kidd, 1952, pp. 74-75; MacNeish, 1952 a, p. 54; 1952 b, pp. 10-11; Witthoft, 1951, pp. 319-320).

The Factory Hollow Focus represents the remains of the early historic Seneca. Not only are most of the sites historic but several have been identified with reasonable certainty with historically known villages. These include Rochester Junction (Totiakton, also known as Sonnontuan), Kirkwood (Gannounata), Boughton Hill (Ganagaro), and Beal (Gandougarae), all of which were destroyed by Denonville in 1687. The "direct historical method" is applicable

here. Research in this direction by Wray and Schoff (1953) has defined those archeological traits (imported and native) distinctive of Seneca culture at various times during the Early Historic, has elucidated the changes brought about in Seneca culture by European influences, and has indicated the sequence in which the various villages were occupied between 1550 and 1687. The archeological materials also emphasize the restricted distribution of these early historic villages which lie largely within a narrow ecological zone formed by the merger of the interior low plateau with the lowland bordering Lake Ontario, bounded on the east by Lake Canandaigua and on the west by the Genesee. The archeological evidence on hand at present does not indicate any extensive Seneca movement away from this area, other "Seneca" sites being known only from the Genesee and the Upper Allegheny (mostly undescribed and unpublished), and possibly on the Susquehanna. All these are historic, however, and some are historically documented Late Colonial (Houghton, 1912, pp. 363-410; MacNeish, 1952 a, pp. 53-54; 1952 b, pp. 38-39; Mayer, 1943; Mayer-Oakes, 1955, p. 72; Parker, 1919; Ritchie, 1954; Steward, 1954; Witthoft, 1951, pp. 318-319; 1955; Wray, 1954; 1955; Wray and Schoff, 1953).

The remaining foci of the Iroquois Aspect to be found in New York are not directly pertinent to the purposes of this study, and only a few comments need to be made. The Madison Focus furnishes us with a warning against the uncritical correlation of archeological foci with tribes, components showing striking similarities having been correlated with historical villages assigned to the Onondaga, Oneida, and St. Lawrence Iroquois (Kwedech) tribes. This fact is also of interest in light of the known linguistic affiliations and warns us against making any rash assumptions concerning the carriers of archeological cultures (MacNeish, 1952 a, pp. 52-53; 1952 b, pp. 56-57, 66, 84; Witthoft, 1951, pp. 316-317).

As has been intimated already, the Tioga Focus originally seems to have occupied the Upper Susquehanna drainage and to have migrated from there to the Lower Susquehanna, blotting out the Shenk's Ferry culture in the process. This conclusion is based upon studies of the datable European trade goods found in the sites and upon cross-correlation with well-known Seneca sites, and may be considered as fairly well established. The Upper Susquehanna sites, such as Homets Ferry, South Towanda (Sick), and Cass, are equivalent to the earliest historical Seneca sites, and are datable at c. 1550. The Quiggle site on the west branch of the Susquehanna is slightly later, and apparently represents the initial Tioga thrust into the lower valley. After this time both the north and west branches seem to have been abandoned, the archeological materials indicating a gap until

the arrival of Delaware immigrants around 1720. The large Schultz and Brandt sites, already mentioned in connection with the Shenk's Ferry remnants or "captives," represent the final Tioga migration downstream and are dated from 1560 to 1590. These are followed by the Herriot site at Romney, W. Va., and by the large Washingtonboro site which dated from 1600 to 1620 and therefore was in existence at the time of John Smith's visit to the area in 1608. Later Tioga sites have not been reported yet (Witthoft, 1955).

The contemporaneity of the Tioga Washingtonboro site and John Smith's visit permits a reasonable (although circumstantial) identification of the bearers of this culture. In his accounts and map Smith places a tribe named the "Sasquesahanocks" (a "mightie people") upon the Susquehanna River below the mountains and indicates several of their towns, one of which might be the Washingtonboro site. From other sources these "Sasquesahanocks" can be correlated with all or part of the Iroquois-speaking group known to the New York Iroquois, Huron, and French, as the Andasternonnon or Andaste (whence the usual name for the archeological unit). During the 17th century these people engaged in a long bitter war with the New York Iroquois, and eventually were conquered around 1674. It is interesting to note that while the Andaste language is related closely to Mohawk, the material culture as revealed by archeology is similar to that of the Factory Hollow, Lawson, and Ripley Foci (Cadzow, 1936, pp. 9-38; Hanna, 1911, vol. 1, pp. 26-87; Skinner, 1921, pp. 57-67; Witthoft, 1955).

The historical evidence relative to the location of the Erie-Black Minqua-Massawomeck is scanty and circumstantial, but still sufficient for us to correlate this tribal confederation with an archeological complex. From the material on hand it is evident that the Black Minqua were west of the Susquehanna drainage area which, in 1670, was occupied by the Susquehannock (see maps 6 and 8). The statements made by John Smith and others make it clear that the Monacan and Manahoac occupied the Virginia Piedmont, and that the Massawomeck were to the west in the mountains. The French sources also are consistent in placing the Erie in the upper Ohio River area. Three statements are particularly important in this respect. The first, dating from 1661 or 1662, derives from Lallemand.

Proceeding rather Westerly than Southerly, another band of Iroquois is going four hundred leagues from here [the Iroquois country] in pursuit of a Nation whose only offense consists in its not being Iroquois. It is called Ont'agannha, signifying "the place where people cannot speak"—because of the corrupt Algonquin in use there.

Their villages are situated along a beautiful river which serves to carry the people down the great Lake (for so they call the Sea). . . . [Thwaites, ed., 1896-1901, vol. 47, pp. 145-147.]

COMPONENTS OF THE IROQUOIS ASPECT, NORTHEASTERN PHASE, WOODLAND PATTERN

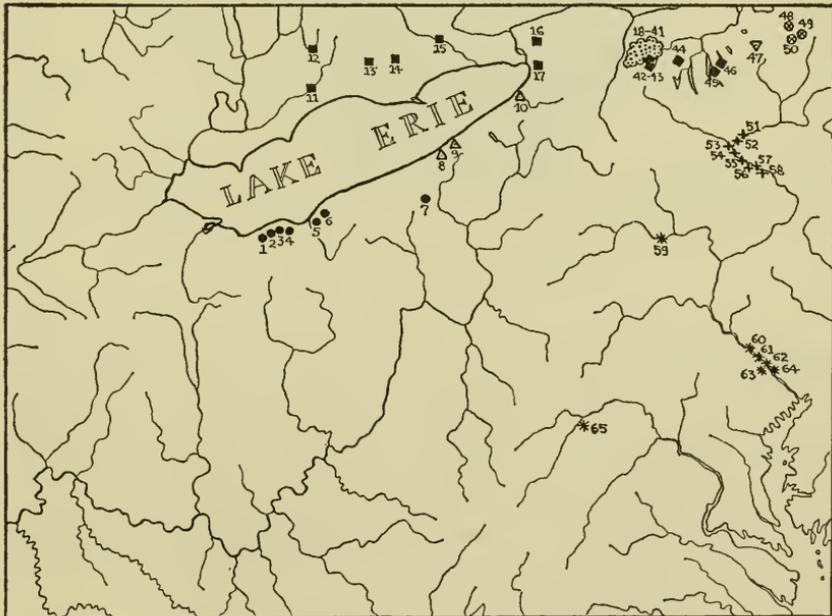
Components	Focus	Reference
1. National Tube Co.....	Whittlesey.....	Greenman, 1935 b; 1937.
2. Burrill.....	do.....	Greenman, 1935 b.
3. Tuttle Hill.....	do.....	Greenman, 1937.
4. South Park.....	do.....	Do.
5. Fairport*.....	do.....	Morgan and Ellis, 1943.
6. Reeve.....	do.....	Greenman, 1935 a.
7. Boice Fort.....	do.....	Greenman, 1935 b.
8. 28th Street*.....	Ripley.....	Carpenter, Pfirman, and Schoff, 1949.
9. Ripley*.....	do.....	Parker, 1907.
10. Goodyear.....	do.....	MacNeish, 1952 a, b.
11. Southwold.....	Lawson.....	Do.
12. Lawson.....	do.....	Wintemberg, 1939.
13. Pound.....	do.....	MacNeish, 1952 b.
14. Uren.....	do.....	Wintemberg, 1928.
15. Middleport.....	do.....	Wintemberg, 1948.
16. Kienuka.....	do.....	MacNeish, 1952 a, b; Witt- hott, 1951.
17. Buffum Street*.....	do.....	MacNeish, 1952 b.
18. Boseley Mills*.....	Factory Hollow.....	Houghton, 1912; Wray and Schoff, 1953.
19. Feugle*.....	do.....	Wray and Schoff, 1953.
20. Dutch Hollow*.....	do.....	Houghton, 1912; Wray and Schoff, 1953.
21. Kirkwood*.....	do.....	Do.
22. Adams*.....	do.....	Do.
23. Cameron*.....	do.....	Wray and Schoff, 1953.
24. Tram*.....	do.....	Houghton, 1912; Wray and Schoff, 1953.
25. Lima*.....	do.....	Do.
26. Power House*.....	do.....	Do.
27. Dann*.....	do.....	Do.
28. Rochester Junction*.....	do.....	Do.
29. Warren*.....	do.....	Do.
30. Factory Hollow*.....	do.....	Houghton, 1912; Parker, 1919.
31. Vita Taft*.....	do.....	Houghton, 1912; Wray and Schoff, 1953.
32. Conn*.....	do.....	Wray and Schoff, 1953.
33. Boughton Hill Fort*.....	do.....	Houghton, 1912; Wray and Schoff, 1953.
34. Boughton Hill*.....	do.....	Do.
35. Bunce*.....	do.....	Do.
36. Beal*.....	do.....	Do.
37. Ketchum*.....	do.....	Houghton, 1912.
38. Steele*.....	do.....	Do.
39. Marsh*.....	do.....	Houghton, 1912; Wray and Schoff, 1953.
40. Fox*.....	do.....	Do.
41. Onaghee*.....	do.....	Parker, 1922.
42. Belcher.....	Genoa Fort.....	MacNeish, 1952 b.
43. Richmond Mills.....	do.....	Do.
44. Woodley.....	do.....	Do.
45. Myer's Station.....	do.....	Do.
46. Genoa Fort*.....	do.....	Do.
47. Pompey Center*.....	Madison.....	Wintemberg, 1936; Mac- Neish, 1952 a, b.

See footnote at end of table.

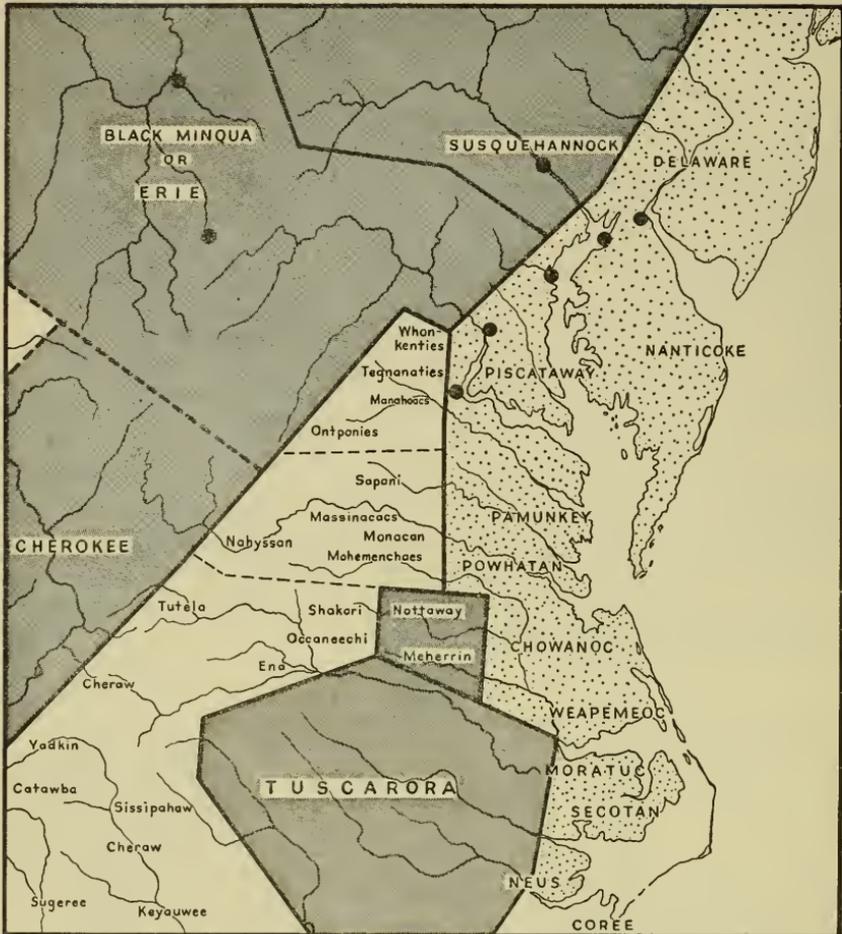
COMPONENTS OF THE IROQUOIS ASPECT, NORTHEASTERN PHASE, WOODLAND PATTERN—Continued

Components	Focus	Reference
48. Thurston*	Madison	MacNeish, 1952 b.
49. Diable*	do	Do.
50. Munnsville*	do	Do.
51. Ellis	Tioga	Lucy, 1950.
52. Murray*	do	Murray, 1921.
53. Chemung Bridge*	do	Do.
54. Queen Esther's	do	Do.
55. Old Sheshequin	do	Do.
56. South Towanda*	do	Witthoft, 1955.
57. Case*	do	Do.
58. Homet's Ferry*	do	Do.
59. Quiggle*	do	Lucy, 1950; Witthoft, 1954.
60. Brandt*	do	Witthoft, 1955.
61. Washingtonboro*	do	Cadzow, 1936; Witthoft, 1955.
62. Schultz*	do	Do.
63. Strickler*	do	Do.
64. Shenk's Ferry*	do	Do.
65. Herriot*	do	Manson and MacCord, 1940; 1943; Witthoft, 1952; 1955.

*Denotes sites containing historic materials.



MAP 12.—Components of the Iroquois Aspect, Northeastern Phase, Woodland Pattern.



MAP 13.—Probable distribution of Iroquoian tribes. Black circles indicate known locations of Black Minqua or Erie groups.

The second statement, from Gallinee, tells us that in 1668 two canoes of Senecas came to Montreal to trade, and told La Salle

. . . of such marvels of the River Ohio, which they said they knew perfectly. . . They told him that this river had its source three days' journey from Sonnontouan, and that after a month's travel he would reach the Honnia-sontkeronons and the Chiouanons, and that after having passed these and a great waterfall, which there was in the river, he would find the Outagame and the country of the Iskousogos, and finally a country so abounding in deer and wild cattle that they were thick as the woods, and such great numbers of people that there could be no more. [Margry, 1876-86, p. 116.]

In the following year, 1669, when the Abbe Gallinee attempted to obtain a prisoner from the Ohio from the Seneca to act as a guide for

La Salle on his intended journey to that river, he was informed that the Toaugenha [Ontoagnnhe] who lived there were an evil people who would attack them in the night, and that, furthermore, he would also run the risk of being attacked by the Antastoez [Andaste] (Margry, 1876-86, pp. 137-138).

Since the Iroquois already had defeated the Erie in 1655 and 1656, it is unlikely that these statements refer to them. This seems to be confirmed by the names given which refer to Algonquian groups, the name Ontoagonnha apparently being a general term referring to both the Honniasontkeronon and Chiouanon. The statement of 1668 makes it clear, however, that the Honniasontkeronon and Chiouanon lived on the Ohio *above* the falls at Louisville. The old Erie territory therefore must have been farther east. Relating this to the archeological picture, it would seem that the Honniasontkeronon and Chiouanon (Shawnee) occupied the territory of the Fort Ancient Aspect, while the Erie-Black Minqua-Massawomeck inhabited the area of the Monongahela Aspect. This interpretation of the early tribal distribution of the middle Appalachian region is depicted in map 13.

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