THE ERIE INDIANS: MYTH AND FACT

by

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INTRODUCTION

Although the Native American population termed the Erie ['ēr,ē], also Eries or Eriez (an error in orthography by two French cartographers, Esnauts and Rapilly in 1777, who substituted a "z" for "s," gave rise to the Eriez spelling) has been extinct as a viable sociopolitical entity since 1656, the historical legacy of the Erie is found in their influence on geographical place names in the northeastern United States and in other areas of North America. The name of one of the Great Lakes, the city of Erie, Pennsylvania, counties in the states of New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania, and place names in diverse states embody the name. Among these are communities in Weld County, Colorado; Whiteside County, Illinois; Neosho County, Kansas; Monroe County, Michigan; Cass County, North Dakota; and Loudon County, Tennessee. Erieside in Lake County, Ohio and Erieville in Madison County, New York are other examples.

The now defunct Erie Canal and the Erie Railroad embraced the name, as do contemporary institutions, businesses, and industries – ranging from airlines, colleges and insurance companies to yacht clubs – in communities in the Lake Erie Basin. In addition, the synonyms and spelling variants, notable Eriez, remain in our modern world as vague reminders of an aboriginal society that was once a potent force which affected surrounding Native American cultures and their relationships with European nation-states during early Colonial American history.

The Problem: Myth and Fact

Numerous myths and legends, fictive accounts, misinterpretations of primary ethnohistoric data and documents, old and

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invalid archaeological data and the misinterpretation of earlier concepts of local and regional prehistory, and the use of Iroquoian (especially Seneca) analogs, have helped obscure the picture of the Erie. For example, various writers have used the term to connote a geographic region, an aboriginal "tribe" or "nation" (ethnic grouping), several distinct tribes, a group of tribes, a confederation or alliance of tribes, or the name of an aboriginal community or village. Nonetheless the Erie, regardless of their sociopolitical organization, were a populous people who occupied or controlled a considerable expanse of territory.

Some writers and cartographers have considered the Erie as occupying or controlling the lands west of the Genesee River in New York State to the Niagara Frontier and westward along the Lake Erie Plain to Sandusky Bay, and even into Monroe County, Michigan. The southern "boundary" was often stated as the Lake Plain and the adjacent escarpment, including also the headwaters of Cattaraugus Creek, Lake Chautauqua, the headwaters of the Allegheny River and French Creek drainage. Yet other authors considered the Erie as occupying territory south to the Ohio River in the present State of Ohio, and even into West Virginia and Virginia. Some or all of these inferences may be true, but also reflected a diachronic view and the movements of Native American populations from ca. A.D. 1600-1800.

Purpose

The purpose of this article is not to present a definitive study of the prehistory and/or ethnohistory of the Erie Indians, although an up-to-date one is sorely needed, but to categorize and evaluate some of the more common myths and to present an overview of our current understanding of these Native Americans. In this analysis data from prehistoric and historic archaeology, ethnography and ethnohistory, cartography, history and archival and Colonial North American documents will be used to elucidate fact and explode common, erroneous myths. Despite over 330 years of interest in the Erie, their predecessors and contemporaries, their defeat as a polity, and dispersion of the societal "remnants," we yet have a number of primary questions unresolved. The last section of this article, therefore, represents a review of our current understanding and knowledge.

Source Materials

The primary ethnohistoric sources on the Erie include the 73-volume *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents . . . 1610-1791*

(Thwaites, ed., 1896-1901), and a group of maps, especially those of Sanson, DuVal, Bressani, DeCreux, Franquelin, Bernou, Coronelli, and Delisle, among others. All but one of these cartographic works were *ex post facto* of the defeat and dispersal of the Erie. Nearly all of the 117 county histories for the sixteen counties in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan which border Lake Erie make at least some reference to the Erie Indians, but their authors most often relied upon informant evidence, secondary sources, and available general histories rather than the primary data (Kolb 1980: 11-22).

Commonly the brief but dated treatments by Hewitt (1907: 430-432), Donehoo (1928: 60-61), Fenton (1940: 194-199), Hunt (1940: 94-102, 131), Swanton (1952: 33, 55, 230-231), Hoffman (1967), and Grinde (1973) are used by students of the Erie. However, the most elaborate and well-documented interpretations have been by the late Marian White (1961: 40-51, 1971: 25-27, 1978: 412-417). Murdock and O'Leary (1975 (1): 210-211, 1975 (4): 50-51, 74-75) produced a list of twenty-two ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources on the Erie, including one novel, but a more recent compilation of archaeological, ethnohistoric and ethnographic sources on the Erie comprises some 449 references (Kolb 1981). These items have been read and critiqued by the present author, who has published some results elsewhere (Kolb 1980). A brief re-evaluation of the voluminous archaeological data appears in a subsequent section of the present article.

The task of reporting on the Erie is less than simple. The present author has had the good fortune to be trained in the disciplines of Colonial American history, historiography, ethnology, archaeology, and cultural geography, all of which are essential for a re-evaluation of the Erie data. Nearly all authorities on ethnology, historiography and history emphasized that ethnohistory is not a separate discipline but is a method or technique of evaluating data. It therefore combined the elements of cultural anthropology, history and archival research just as archaeology, for example, is a unique method for collecting cultural anthropological data on extinct human societies. Such investigations attempt to reconstruct the cultural history of indigenous peoples and to discern the causes and effects of mechanisms of cultural dynamics, in essence to attempt to ultimately determine "how" and "why" changes occur -- to comprehend cultural processes. My own theoretical and me-

thodological orientations are those of the archaeologist and ethnohistorian trained within the framework of cultural ecology and multilinear evolutionism (Steward 1955).

In summary, this article has the multiple purposes of elaborating the synonymy of the Erie, putting to rest three common myths about that society ("Red Panther", "Queen Yagowanea", and the "Kahkwa"), and summarizing the factual evidence on the Erie from the extant data from the disciplines of cartography, ethnohistory, and archaeology. The latter three sets of data will be combined in a section, "The Erie as We 'Know' Them, ca. 1981."

SYNONYMY

At least fifty-five synonyms were found in the ethnohistoric and early historic literature on the Erie. These data are summarized in Table 1, and include all primary as well as major secondary sources. There are also "*Notes*" which refer to historic source and cartographic errors, spelling variants, etc. Many secondary and tertiary sources simply replicated the earlier references. White (1978: 416-417) provided an initial compilation on synonymy which is expanded here.

French and Huron Synonyms

The Erie were normally referred to in the French sources, especially the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents . . . 1610-1791* (Thwaites, ed., 1896-1901), by the full form of their Huron name in various spellings (Eriehronon, Erieeronons, Ehriehronons and Rhiierrhonons) depending upon which Jesuit priest composed the report. (Hereafter references to the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* will be abbreviated *JR* with appropriate volume(s) and page number(s).) The earliest mention of the Erie was in 1635 (*JR* 8:293 for 1634-1636) and the name was also included in a list of tribes made in 1640 by Fr. LeJeuen from a map drawn by Fr. Ragueneau (*JR* 18:233-235 for 1640). In 1641 the Neutral Nation of Indians was located by Fr. Lalemant (*JR* 21:191 for 1641-1642) with reference to Lake Erie, the "Lac du Erie, o la Nation du Chat."

An early misprint in Radisson (1684 [1967]: 159) was "Ekriehronoms," which should have been Ehriehronnons (*JR* 41: 74-75 for 1654-1656). The French also termed the Erie as La Nation du Chat, La Nation de Chat, La Nation des Chats, or simply les Chats (Sagard-Theodat 1636 [1939]: 224, 382-383; *JR* 21: 190-191 for 1641-1642; *JR* 42: 52-53, 56-57, 74-75, 96-97, 112-113 for 1656-1657; *JR* 43: 260-261 for 1656-1657).

TABLE 1: Erie Synonymy

Synonym	*Note	Language(s)	Sources
Arreghaga = Black Minqua		Dutch	P, NN
Atiwandaronk = Neutrals	1	Dutch	GG, LL
Awenrehronon		Huron (?)	C, II
Black Minqua = Honiasont		English, Dutch	P, NN
Carantöuans = Susquehannock	1	—	N, CC, KK
Cat Nation, Cats, The Cats		English	L, BB, GG, II, JJ, LL, MM, OO, PP
les Chats		French	H, L, GG, LL
Ehriehronnons		Huron	F, L, II, PP
Ehriehronons		Huron	MM
Eirgas	2	—	KK
Ekriehronoms	3	—	Q
Erians		English	V, II, PP
Erie, Erié		French	C, D, L, AA, JJ, KK, MM, NN
Eriechronons		French	C, L, PP
Eriée		French	JJ
Erieehronons		Huron	C, L, II, PP
Erieeronnons		Huron	C, F, L
Eriegonckkak		Iroquois (?)	L, JJ
Erie-hronons		Huron	GG, LL
Eriehronons		Huron	B, L, II, KK, OO
Eriehronnons		Huron	B, L, PP
Eriekronois	4	French	C, L, II, PP
Erielhronons	5	—	BB, II
Erieronons		French	U, II
Eries		French (?)	S, AA, BB, GG, II, JJ, KK, LL, MM
Eriez	6	French	FF, HH, LL, QQ
Erigas		French	L, T, GG, II, LL
Erigouechkak		Iroquois (?)	L, JJ
Errieronnens		Huron (?)	R
Errieronnons		Huron (?)	R, HH
Errieronons		Iroquois, Huron (?)	L, R, II
Eves	3	French	Y, II, PP
Gä-quä-ga-o-no		Iroquois	AA, II
Gahkwas	1	Iroquois	EE, II
Herie, Heries	7	Italian	E, II, PP

Synonym	*Note	Language(s)	Sources
Honiasont = Black Minqua		Dutch, English	P, NN
Irrironnon(s)	8	Huron (?)	W, II
Irrironon(s)	9	Huron (?)	W, II
Kahkwahs, Kahquas, Kakhwas = Neutrals	1	Iroquois, Huron (?)	L, M, BB, DD, II, KK, PP
Mad-spirits		English	GG, LL
la Nation du Chat(s), N. des Chat(s)		French	C, G, I, L, O, II, JJ, PP
Neutrals	1	—	AA, GG
Pungelika		Delaware	X, Z, II
Rhiier		Huron	JJ
Rhiierhonons		Huron	L
Rhiierronnons		Huron	A, L, JJ
Rhiierronons		Huron	A, L, II, JJ
Rigneronnons	3	Iroquois	I, II
Rigué (community name)	10	Iroquois	G, L, NN
Riguehronons		Iroquois	G, J, K, L
Rigueronnons		Iroquois	G, J, K, L, II
Riqué (community name)	11	Iroquois	G, L
Riqueronnons		Iroquois	G, I, L, II, KK
Satanas		Dutch	GG, LL
Shaonons		Dutch	GG, LL
Wild Cat Tribe		English	W

***Note Explanations:**

1 Error in tribal interpretation by author(s).
2 Error of transposition, see "Erigas".
3 Error in typography from original source.
4 Error in cartographic interpretation, Hennepin Map of 1698.
5 Error in typography.
6 Error in cartographic interpretation, Esnauts and Rapilly Map of 1777.
7 Source cited by II as Brown in Beach (1877) was unconfirmed.
8 Variant of "Errieronnons".
9 Variant of "Errieronons".
10 Variant of "Riqué".
11 Variant of "Rigué".

Sources for TABLE 1: Erie Synonymy

A *JR* 1634-1636, 8: 116-117
B *JR* 1640, 18:234-235
C *JR* 1641-1642, 21: 190-191, 230-231
D *JR* 1648-1649, 33: 60-61
E *JR* 1652-1653, 38: 234-237
F *JR* 1654-1656, 41: 74-75
G *JR* 1632-1657, 42: 52-53, 56-57, 74-75, 96-97, 112-113, 186-187
H *JR* 1656-1657, 43: 260-261
I *JR* 1659-1660, 45: 206-207
J *JR* 1662, 47: 58-59
K *JR* 1664-1667, 50: 116-117
L *JR* Index, 72: 152, 223-224
M *JR* Index, 73: 52
N Champlain 1626 [1907]
O Sagard-Theodat 1636 [1939]
P Van der Donck 1656 [1841]
Q Radisson 1684 [1885]
R Lahontan 1703 (1): 217
S Jefferys 1760 (1): 103
T Barton 1798: 65 [quoting Evans 1646]
U Marshall 1824 (1): 36 ["Introduction" by Rafinesque]
V Macauley 1829 (2): 180
W Day 1843: 309, 311
X Rafinesque 1836 (1): 138
Y M'Kenney and Hall 1836-1844 (3): 79
Z Rafinesque 1838 (1): 112
AA Morgan, L. H. 1851: 41-42
BB Schoolcraft 1853-1857 (3): 290, (4): 207, (6): 148
CC Parkman 1867: 35-36
DD Gale 1867: 37
EE Ruttenber 1872: 52
FF Whitman and Russell 1884: 173
GG Sanford 1894: 15, 17
HH Whitman 1896: 91-92
II Hewitt 1907: 430-432
JJ Parker 1907: 526
KK Miller 1909: 14-15
LL Reed 1925: 94
MM Edson 1935: 36-44
NN Fenton 1940: 194-199
OO Wallace 1961: 14-15
PP Kubiak 1970: 163-167
QQ Wellejus 1980: 1

"Nation du Chat" has often generally been translated as "Cat Nation", which some investigators assumed was a reference to the wildcat *(Lynx rufus)*, or lynx *(Lynx canadensis)*, or panther or eastern puma *(Felis concolor)*, or bobcat *(Felis rufa)*. It was possible that the Huron were denoting the totemic symbol of the Erie society, a group of societies, or confederation of tribes which inhabited portions of the southern Lake Erie Basin. Hewitt (1907: 430) stated that the word Erie was derived from the Huron *yĕ̄nresh*, "it is long-tailed", referring to the eastern puma or panther, possibly because, according to Edson (1935:43) such skins or pelts were worn by members of the Cat Nation. It appeared certain that the Huron had never seen a domestic cat *(Felis catus)* but were certainly familiar with the Canada or Northern Lynx *Lynx canadensis)*. Sagard-Theodat's description of "wildcats" (chats sauvages), called *tiron* in Huron, however, suggested the raccoon *Procyon lotor)* as the appropriate totemic animal of the Nation du Chat (1636 [1939]: 382-383, 679-680). Chat sauvage in French Canadian and *atí·rq* in Mohawk both signified "raccoon" (*JR* 21: 315-316 for 1641-1642, *New York Colonial Documents* 1684 (9): 216-221, White 1978: 416). Schoolcraft's (1846) ethnographic data from his Seneca informant Ely Parker, repeated by Morgan (1851: 41-42), that the "Cats" were the Neutral Nation, had no support in the seventeenth century historical documents (White 1978: 416). It would, therefore, appear that the "Cat Nation" should be referred to as the "Raccoon Nation". Thwaites, editor of the *Jesuit Relations*, used "Eries" and "Nation du Chat" as synonyms *(JR* 72: 223-224).

Iroquois Synonyms

Erie, in Iroquois dialects, was spelled in three different ways *(JR* 42: 186-187 for 1632-1657, *JR* 45: 206-207 for 1659-1660, *JR* 47: 58-59 for 1662, *JR* 50: 116-117 for 1664-1667), all of which translated as "people of the village of Rigue" (or Rique). The community name of Rigue (or the variations Rique, Rigué, or Riqué) was derived from Riguehronnon and translated as "at the place of the "panther." [? read 'raccoon'] *(JR* 45:209-210 for 1659-1660, Fenton 1940: 195, White 1961: 40); This community or village was regarded as the "capital" of the Erie "tribe" and where the decisive battle was fought in 1656 (Hewitt 1907: 431; Carpenter, Pfirman, and Schoff 1949: 6), but there is no evidence to suggest that this community was the capital or

even a large village, nor was the location confirmed. Hewitt (in Hodge 1912 (2): 392) and Carpenter et al (1949: 6) would place Rique at Erie, Pennsylvania, a supposition repeated in Shetrone (1919: 311) and in numerous other secondary and tertiary sources published since the early 1920's. In addition, there was no direct *Jesuit Relations'* evidence connecting Rique with the Erie village destroyed by the Seneca and their Onondaga allies in 1656. A second Erie community, Gentaienton, was mentioned *(JR* 42: 196-197 for 1632-1657; *JR* 61: 194-195, 270-271 for 1677-1680) as being sacked by the Iroquois. The location of the sociopolitical entity, the "Erie", and the two communities will be considered in the section of this article on the cartographic evidence.

White (1978: 417) observed that the term Rhiierrhonons, without the "k" ("qu") or "g" would be the expected Huron dialect form of the Iroquois name Riquehronnons (ignoring the Jesuit spelling variations in French, Latin and Italian).

Other Synonyms

Champlain (1626 [1907]: 352-359) has apparently confused the issue by using the name "Carantouans" in reference to a polity which inhabited areas south of Lake Erie. His information was entirely based on the participant observations of his interpreter, Étienne Brûlé, who was among the Huron from 1610-1633 but was absent for short periods to visit the Neutrals (but left no account) and the Ojibwa in 1622, and possibly the Nipissing – all of whom were located north of Lake Erie. However, during the winter of 1615-1616, Brûlé visited some Huron allies south of the Niagara Frontier. Some authors have inferred that these allies were the Erie, but more likely they were the Susquehannock (Andastogue or Andaste) of the upper Susquehanna River drainage immediately south of Seneca Iroquoian territory. The Susquehannock, called Minqua or Minquuas by the Dutch, and the Susquehanna or Conestoga by the English, were sometimes referred to as the "White Minqua" (Fenton 1940: 196; Hunt 1940: 102; Hoffman 1964: 196 ff.; Jennings 1978: 362-363, 367).

The "White Minqua" (Susquehannock) were trading partners with the so-called "Black Minqua" (Honiasont or Arregahaga), and the latter came to trade with the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware River as early as 1643 (Van der Donck 1656 [1841]: 209). Van der Donck stated that the Black Minqua occupied an

inland position and that they ". . . are thus named because they wear a black badge on their breasts, and not because they are really black, by the Senecas [and Oneida], and by the Maquas [Mohawks], and by the Rondaxes [Algonquin] . . ." (1656 [1841]: 209). Fenton (1940: 196, 197) ascertained that Black Minqua was a term applied to a *part* of the Erie before their dispersion in 1656, and later to the defeated Erie who allied themselves with the Susquehannock against the Seneca in 1662. The term Black Minqua may have embraced a number of remnant cultures who resided in the Allegheny River Valley after being defeated by the Seneca and their allies. Minqua has been Anglecised into "Mingo" or "Mingoe" *(Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd Ser.* 1662 (7): 742; Hanna 1911 (1): 15-16; Sipe 1929: 56-58; Hunter 1978: 588, White 1978: 416). The Dutch were also reported to have called the Erie by the names of "Shaonons" or "Satanas" (Sanford 1894: 15, Reed 1925: 94), but there was no absolute justification for these designations.

Occasionally one finds references to the Kahkwa (or Kahqua or Kah-kwas), who were apparently members of the Neutral Nation, although some authors have inferred them to be Erie (Miller 1909: 14-15). The Kahkwa will be considered in the subsequent section on myths.

Summary of Synonymy

In summary, a vast series of synonyms have been associated with the Erie literature. Some of these synonyms were the results of transcription or cartographic errors (see *"Notes"* for Table 1). The translation of "Cat" has led to the conclusion that the totemic symbol of at least some of the Erie was that of the raccoon rather than the panther, hence "Raccoon Nation" is the best translation and interpretation. The Seneca Iroquoian dialect, however, refered to the peoples of the place called Rique (panther? or raccoon). Champlain's Carantouans were the Susquehannock or Andaste rather than the Erie. The term "Black Minqua" denoted the inland trading partners of the Susquehannock, therefore these partners may inferrentially have been Erie or a part of that "tribe" or "nation", or confederation, or simply the occupants of the geographic region once controlled by the Erie.

It goes without saying that the term Erie and its variants and interpretations is yet a matter of controversy among anthropological linguists and ethnohistorians (Lounsbury 1978: 334,

White 1978: 417).

COMMON MYTHS

In the question and answer period of a number of general, public lectures and in oral professional papers I have given on the Erie (Kolb 1977a, 1977b, 1979, for example), three recurrent inquiries often are posed by members of the audience. I have categorized these into three common "myths", the "Red Panther Myth", the "Queen Yagowanea Myth", and the "Kahkwa Myth", which are subsequently considered.

Red Panther Myth

The "Red Panther Myth" referred to a novel by James A. Braden entitled *Little Brother of the Hudson: A Tale of the Last Eries* (1928). I shall not detail the elaborate plot in this fictional work, but suffice to say that there were numerous ethnohistoric references to the Erie as well as interpretations of the then valid Whittlesey archaeological culture as representing the ethnographic Erie (1928: 70-81, 83, 88, 107, 128, 133, 185-187, 193-197, 206-207, 221, 232-244). The novel was well-written and historically persuasive with much of the action taking place in the region bounded by present-day Conneaut, Akron and Cleveland, Ohio. One of the major characters was an "Erie Indian brave" named "Red Panther" (1928: 104), who was merely reflective of the imagination of Braden and had no basis in ethnohistoric fact. Nowhere in the *Jesuit Relations* was the proper noun name of an Erie male used, not even for the leaders let alone an ordinary citizen ("brave"). It should be noted that no European reached Erie territory until after their political demise in 1656, and that all Erie references made by Jesuit priests were second-hand through the Huron or the Seneca. No other primary documents (Champlain 1626, Sagard-Theodat 1636, Van der Donck 1656, Radisson 1684) referenced Erie individual's names, and only generally referred to the socio-political entity. Therefore, "Red Panther" was simply a fictional creation by Braden. As an historical novel, *Little Brother of the Hudson* is to be recommended, and even has appeared in Murdock and O'Leary's ethnographic sources on the Erie (1975 (4): 74).

Queen Yagowanea Myth

The "Queen Yagowanea Myth" has recently resurfaced in a popular newspaper account (Schember 1975) which treated

fiction as fact. A small pamphlet published in 1825 by a semi-educated Tuscarora Indian, David Cusick (also spelled Cusic), related a number of aboriginal traditions of western New York State, among these the tale of Queen Yagowanea (Yagowena or Yagowania; *Gegosasa* in Seneca). This rare document was reproduced by Beauchamp (1892) and is now generally available (Cusick 1961). Sanford (1894: 17) stated that Cusick's ". . . writing, though crude, ill digested and generally obscure, throws much light on the history of the Eries." On the contrary, the contents of the pamphlet have obscured our understanding of the Erie. It must be recalled that the Erie were dispersed in 1656, and that our knowledge of them from European documents was filtered through Huron or Seneca informants. The Tuscarora did not migrate into southern New York State from the Carolinas until 1715-1720, therefore Cusick's data was minimally 110-169 years old before he committed the story to paper.

Whitman and Russell (1884:173) apparently accepted Cusick's account as valid, although called the individual Queen Yagowania, the "mother of nations", whose office was that of "keeper of the symbolic house of peace". Sanford (1894: 17-18) was somewhat critical of the pamphlet, but nonetheless indirectly quoted nearly 450 words from it. Whitman (1896: 92) again made brief reference to Yagowania, and noted a French visit to the Erie in 1626, implying this as a documentary reference for the story. Brûlé would have been in the region with the Susquehannocks ten years earlier. John Elmer Reed (1925: 95, 96-97) quoted extensively from Sanford's rendition (ultimately based on Cusick's original) but added that "the queen was called by a hereditary title, spelled by white folks variously as 'Ge-keah-saw', 'Ge-go-sa-sa' etc . . . ." (1925: 95), and he also rendered the name as Yag-o-wanea (1925: 97). Both Sanford's (1894: 18-19) and Reed's (1925: 96-98) accounts of the Queen were followed by descriptions of the "first war" of the Erie in 1634 and a second "war" in 1653. In sum, the story of Queen Yagowanea originated with Cusick's 1825 pamphlet. There was no independent verification in the *Jesuit Relations* or other primary, or for that matter, secondary sources. Cusick's own original source is unknown, his methodology, reliability and purpose (probably to garner funds) are unknown, and the validity of the story is open to question. It is possible that such a myth could have survived as oral tradition among the Seneca or other Iroquoian-speaking peoples and transmitted to the immigrant Tuscarora. A careful

reading of the prefatory remarks of Cusick (1961) suggested that the story may, in reality, refer to the Neutral Nation who were expelled from the Niagara Frontier and subsequently destroyed by the Seneca and their allies from 1647-1651 (*JR* 36: 116-119 for 1650-1651). The historian Harry Lupold also discounted this myth (1975: 42).

Kahkwa

The Kahkwa, a little-known Huron - Iroquois peoples defeated by the Seneca (?) Iroquois (*JR* 8:302-305 for 1634-1636, *JR* 21: 312-315 for 1641-1642) has a role in the third "myth". A persistent story is that the Kahkwa (Kahkwas, Kah-kwah, Kakouagoga) were aboriginal inhabitants of the souther Lake Erie Plain, especially in and around present-day Buffalo, New York and present-day, Erie, Pennsylvania (Schmitz 1878). This story had its apparent origin with Schoolcraft's Allegheny Seneca informant Jacob Blacksnake (Ha-yek-dyoh-kunh), who reported the tale of a battle between the Kahkwa and Seneca fought in the vicinity of Buffalo at an unspecified time in the past (Schoolcraft 1846: 176-179, 221). Turner (1849: 26-28, 30) specified the "burial ground" established after the battle as what is now called the Buffam Street Site (Buf 3-4) in Buffalo. Lewis Henry Morgan (1851: 41-42) subsequently identified the Kahkwa or Gä-quä-gá-o-no as the Erie or "Cat Nation", whereas Parkman (1867: xlvi, 36-37) thought they were Champlain's Carantouans. Beauchamp's Tuscarora informant, Albert Cusick, identified the word Kah-kwah as meaning "an eye swelled like a cat's" (ie. prominent rather than deep set), and also determined the word a synonym for Erie (1892: 55 ff.).

However, some investigators concluded that Kahkwa was a synonym for the combined Neutral and Erie "bands" (Morgan 1871: 152; Thwaites, ed., *JR* 8:313-315 endnote), or referred only to the Neutrals who had occupied portions of the Niagara Frontier before 1650 and whose original territory was west of Lake Ontario and north of Lake Erie (Parkman 1867: xlvi; Marshall 1881: 6, 35). The only cartographic evidence of the Kahkwa, Coronelli's Map of 1688, has inscribed a legend "Kakouagoga, a destroyed nation" [in translation] with a placement at or near Buffalo (Delanglez 1938: 38). Parkman (1867: xlvi), Marshall (1881: 35), and Beauchamp (1892: 57) concurred that present - day Eighteen Mile Creek,

Gah-gwah-gá-ǧă-aah in Seneca Iroquoian, translated into "the residence of the Kah-kwas". The *United States Statutes at Large* (1797 (7): 602) in reference to a Seneca-American agreement gave the name Koghquauga to the creek. However, Morgan (1851: 466) gave the Seneca name of Caugwaga Creek (Erie County, New York) as Gä̈-gwä̈-ga, and translated it as "the creek of the Cat Nation".

The term Kahkwa was correctly considered as a synonym for the Neutrals by historians such as Miller (1909: 14-15), although Braden (1928: 172) in his novel continued to associate the term with the Erie Indians. The primary confusion in the area of Erie, Pennsylvania was that Whitman, in his county history, stated that Kahkwa was ". . . a local title given to a tribe located at or near the foot of the Lake [Erie]" (1896: 92). Whitman was referring to the Niagara Frontier as the "foot", but some Pennsylvania residents have assumed that "foot" meant the south shore at or near Erie. I have been told by several amateur local historians that the Kahkwa occupied areas on Presque Isle and were also situated at the mouth of Mill Creek as it entered the Bay at Erie. There is no supportive evidence for these claims. Some families of Native Americans did live near the mouth of Mill Creek at the time of French and later Colonial American contact (eg. post 1753), but these peoples were unnamed in the ethnohistoric documents and probably represented the displaced remnants of a number of possible societies (Neutral, Wenro, Huron, and/or Erie ?). Locally, the word Kahkwa is embodied in Kahkwa Club and several business concerns, but as a term related to the Neutral Nation (or a part of them) who were defeated and dispersed by the Seneca and their allies before 1651.

CARTOGRAPHY

The general location of the Erie "tribe" or "nation", group of tribes, confederation, or geographic region was delineated on a number of early maps, some of high reliability and others merely copies or embellishments of earlier cartographic efforts.* As in historiography the reliability of early maps lies in their authors and their informants or other sources of data. Hence there are

*Excellent reproductions of all of the maps considered in this section are available for use by the serious scholar at the Newberry Library (Center for the History of the American Indian, "Documentary History of the Iroquois Project"), Chicago, and the Dominion Archives, Ottawa. Tanner's forthcoming (n.d.) atlas will be extremely valuable.

four key words in the critical appraisal: 1) opportunity (position, intelligence and background of the author), 2) objectivity (reputation, accuracy, honesty, non-prejudicial/unbiased reporting), 3) transmission (use of field notes, transcription, rewriting, preliminary drafts, etc.), and 4) meaning (perspective, purpose of the work, changing denotation and connotation of terms, etc.).

The Erie were first mentioned in the 1635 *Jesuit Relation (JR* 8: 292-293), initially represented cartographically by Fr. Ragueneau in 1640 *(JR* 18: 232-235), and located with reference to the Neutral Nation by Fr. Lalemant in 1641 *(JR* 21:190-191). Lalemant indicated the "Lac du Erie, o Nation du Chat" but did not give the location of the sociopolitical entity for whom the body of water was named. Fr. Gendron's letter of 1644-1645 (1868: 8-9), which was referenced in a later *Jesuit Relation* by Fr. Ragueneau *(JR* 33: 62-63 for 1647-1648), specified the size of the Lake. Fr. Ragueneau stated that "This Lake called Erie, 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" *JR* 33:62-63 for 1647-1648) [emphasis mine]. This primary evidence suggested that, prior to about 1645, the Erie were located south of Lake Erie, and were forced to move inland away from the Lake Plain toward the southeast, south or southwest. The Jesuits, relying on Huron informants, clearly indicated "tribes" or several societies who occupied a considerable territory south of Lake Erie.

Sanson's Maps: 1650, 1656

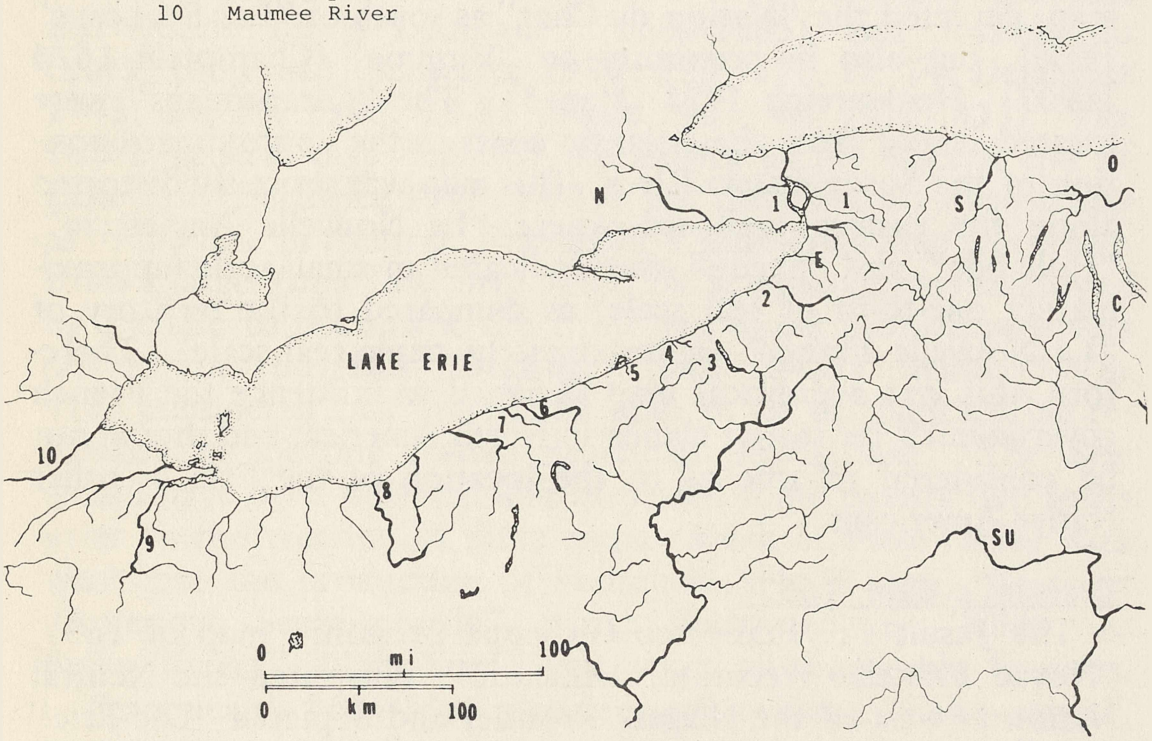
The Erie are shown on Nicolas Sanson d'Abbeville's 1650 map, "Amerique Septentrionale" (38 x 56 cm, engraved and handcolored), which was also the first to illustrate all five Great Lakes (Sanson 1658; Schwartz 1980: 111-112, Pl. 61; White 1961: 41-44, Fig. 2, 1971: 25, 1978: 413, Fig. 2; Heidenreich 1971: Map 8). The designation "N. du Chat" began at the Niagara Frontier and extended east to the Genesee River. A major inland body of water, Lake Chautauqua, was distinctive in its shape but was located further west than its true position. An unnamed stream, probably Cattaraugus Creek or Chautauqua Creek, and the headwaters of the unnamed Allegheny River were also depicted. Therefore, Erie territory would appear bounded to the north by Lake Erie and the Niagara River, to the east by the Genessee River, to the south by the Allegheny headwaters, and to the west possibly by Lake Chautauqua. Sanson's

1650 map is considered most reliable, and since the viable Neutral Nation appeared north of Lake Erie, White (1971: 25, 1978: 413) suggested that the data depicted events prior to 1647, and probably reflected data collected from 1639-1647 since the Wenro were not illustrated in the region of the Niagara Frontier or north of Lake Erie.

GENERAL MAP OF THE LAKE ERIE REGION

Key:

1	Niagara Frontier	C	Cayuga
2	Cattaraugus Creek	E	Erie
3	Lake Chautauqua	N	Neutrals
4	Ripley Site (New York)	O	Onondaga
5	East 28th Street Site (Erie, Pennsylvania)	S	Seneca
6	Conneaut Creek	SU	Susquehannock
7	Ashtabula Creek		
8	Cuyahoga River		
9	Sandusky River		
10	Maumee River		



Sanson's 1656 map, "Le Canada, ou Nouvelle France &c." (39 x 53 cm, engraved and hand-colored), had a more accurate portrait of the Great Lakes although the Niagara River was greatly attenuated (Sanson 1656; Schwartz 1980: 111, 114, 121, Pl. 62; White 1961: 41-45, Fig. 3, 1971: 25, 1978: 413, Fig. 3; Heidenreich 1971: Map 9). "Lac Erie o du Chat" and the political designation "Eriechronon o du Chat" appeared, with the latter located further south than in the 1650 map. The Erie were depicted south of an unnamed stream, possibly Rush Creek or Eighteen Mile Creek, southwest toward another stream, probably

Chautauqua Creek, which connected with Lake Chautauqua. The headwaters of the Allegheny River were not included under the legend, but four new streams were added in the southeast Lake Erie Plain, suggesting that the 1656 map illustrated new information obtained at least after 1647 and possibly after 1651 since the Neutrals had been displaced north of Lake Erie. The locational shift of the Erie could be the one described in Gendron's letter of 1644-1645 (1868: 8-9). White (1961: 44-47) offered other interpretations and data, but because of the poor geographic representations south of Lake Erie, she placed "little confidence" in the precise location of the Erie.

DuVal's Map: 1653

DuVal's 1653 map, "Le Canada", based on Champlain's 1632 map, depicted the "Nation du Chat" as south of "Lac St. Louis" [Erie], but also in proximity to "Virginie" (Champlain 1626 [1907], Heidenreich 1971: Map 5). The "Carantouans" were located inland from the Atlantic coast in the approximate position of the Susquehanna River. This map was seriously distorted along the eastern seaboard where "La Nouvelle Angleterre", "Hollande", and "Svede" were indicated in small scale (approximately one-third of real scale) as compared to the territory of "La Nouvelle France" (approximately triple real scale). Therefore, this was a political map designed to influence the French government's territorial claims in North America, and should not be considered reliable as to the location of the Erie or other Native Americans.

Bressani's Map: 1657

The Jesuit Fr. Francesco Gioseppe Bressani's map of 1657, "Novae Franciae Accurata Delineatio", illustrated the Neutral Nation as west of the Niagara Frontier and depicted "Lac Erie" (*JR* 1: end map, Heidenreich 1971: Map 10). Approximately half way along the southern Lake Erie shoreline was an unnamed major stream which flowed northward into the Lake. The stream bifurcated in the interior region south of Lake Erie, and the legend "Erie populi" was depicted. This questionable location of the Erie people would be much further south and west of subsequent Erie locations. Fr. Bressani had previously described "Lac St. Louis" [Erie] in his report of 1653 (*JR* 38: 236-237), entitled "Description of the Country of the Hurons". In reality, he knew only that the Erie were situated south of Lake Erie.

DuCreux' Map: 1660

Francois du Creux' map of 1660, "Tabla Novae Franciae" (*JR* 1: end map), located the Erie west of Chautauqua Creek, which was unnamed, and depicted no other groups in the vicinity (Heidenreich 1971: Map 11, White 1978: 413). White was of the opinion that this map greatly influenced subsequent cartographic works by locating the Erie due south of Lake Erie rather than southeast of that Great Lake. Franquelin's Maps: 1678a, 1678b, 1684-1685, 1688.

Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin's 1688 map, "Carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale" (146 x 152 cm, pen and ink with watercolor), depended upon his three earlier maps, "Carte pour seruir a l'ecearrissement du Papier Terrier de la Nouvelle France" (1678a), "Carte G'nlle de la France Septentrionale" (1678b), and "Carte de la Louisiane" (1684-1685), and possibly du Cruex' 1660 map (Schwartz 1980: 129, 131, Pl. 74; Delanglez 1943: 34, 60, 1948: 78-81; White 1961: 46, 1978: 413). The 1678b general map depicted the Seneca at the eastern end of Lake Erie (Delanglez 1948: 78-79), but there was no information as to the Erie or Neutral. Franquelin's 1684-1685 map was drawn from a larger (now lost) map dated 1675, when he was employed by LaSalle to document the Ohio and upper Mississippi Rivers (*JR* 63 for 1667-1687, Delanglez 1948: 78-81). White (1978: 413) considered this 1684-1685 map to be of questionable reliability in locating Native American populations. The Erie would have been defeated and dispersed some twenty-two years prior to the creation of these maps. Much of these earlier data went into the production of Franquelin's 1688 map, "Carte de l'Amerique Septentionale", which illustrated the "Ohio, ou Belle Riviere", "Lac Erie", and other physiographic features.

Franquelin's 1684-1685 map depicted a village, "Rakouagega", near a stream on the eastern shore of Lake Erie. Fenton (1940: 195) suggested that this village was "Rique", an Erie community, and that the stream was Chautauqua Creek. Also illustrated further to the south was "Kentaientonga, 19 v. detruits", which Fenton has interpreted as "Gentaienton", the other possible Erie village, with an apparent cartographic location on the Allegheny River (1940: 195). White (1961: 46), however, observed that the legend referred to a *group* of nineteen destroyed villages, hence, Fenton's interpretation is possibly in error.

The location of the community of Rique, "at the place of the panther [raccoon]" (*JR* 45: 208-209 for 1659-1660), is un-

confirmed by ethnohistory, cartography and archaeology. Gentaienton or Gentagega (*JR* 58: 74-75 for 1679) could have referred to a second community of the Erie, or a political subdivision of the Erie, or been a synonym for the society or a segment of it, or been an entirely separate group or series of related villages. The sources were not sufficiently clear. Therefore, Rique was a viable Erie community but its location was undetermined, whereas Gentaienton as a village was not confirmed.

Bernou's Map: ca. 1681 (?)

The Bernou (?) map of 1681, possibly pre-1681, depicting Lake Erie also located "Kakouagoga, nation detruite" at the northeastern corner of the Lake, "Lac Teiocha-rontiong . . ." (Delanglez 1941: 113, White 1961: 47, Fig. 4). White translated the legend as: "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." A legend at the southeastern end of the Lake translated as: "The land around this lake and the western end of Lake Frontenac [Ontario] are infested with Gantastogeronons [Andaste or Susquehannock] who are different from the Iroquois." The Susquehannock were delineated as too far to the northwest, in the headwaters of the upper Allegheny. Although there are a number of questions to be raised about the validity of portions of Bernou's map, he was the first cartographer to show the "Kakouagoga", which some researchers believed were the Kahkwa (Schoolcraft 1846: 176-179, Houghton 1908, White 1961: 48). The Kahkwa have previously been considered in this article.

Coronelli's Globe and Map: 1683, 1688

Bernou provided maps and other data to Coronelli for the production of the "Marley Globe" in 1683 and for Coronelli's 1688 map, "Partee Occidentale du Canada ou de la Nouvelle France" (White 1961: 41, 47-48). The globe used Bernou's name for Lake Erie and had similar data on the Susquehannock (Delanglez 1938: 38), but "Kakouagega" apparently did not appear. However, the name "Kakouagoga" did appear on Coronelli's 1688 and later maps.

Hennepin's Map: 1697

Hennepin's map of 1697, "Carte d'un tres grand pais nouvellement decouverte dans l'Amerique septentrionale" merely located the Erie south of a lake (Chautauqua ?), which was located extremely far to the west and south of Lake Erie, perhaps in the

vicinity of Cleveland, Ohio.

Delisle's Maps: 1703a, 1703b, 1718

Guillaume Delisle's 1703a map, "Carte du Canada ou de la Nouvelle France" (50 x 65 cm, engraved and hand-colored), depicted "Lac Erie" and "N. du Chat" while misnaming the Ohio River the Ouabache [Wabash] (Schwartz 1980: 135, 141, Pl. 80; White 1961: 41, 48). The Erie were located south of Lake Erie in what would become northern Pennsylvania and southwestern New York. However, Delisle's map was based on sketches and descriptions which appeared in the, then unpublished, *Jesuit Relations* manuscripts and therefore provided no relevant new data (*JR* 1: end map, *JR* 18: 232-235 for 1640; Delanglez 1943: 275-298). Delisle's other map (1703b), "Carte du Mexique et de la Floride" (48 x 65 cm, engraved and hand-colored), had the same Lake Erie region data as the 1703a "Canada" map (Schwartz 1980: 142-143, Pl. 82). In 1718, Delisle produced "Carte de la Louisiane et du Cours du Mississpi [sic]" (50 x 65 cm, engraved and hand-colored), which emphasized the Mississippi River Valley (Schwartz 1980: 142, 146, Pl. 84). "Lac Erie ou Du Chat" and "Nation du Chat" with "Elle a ete detriute par les Iroquois" [It had been destroyed by the Iroquois] were notable features.

Franquelin's Map: 1708

Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin's map of 1708, "A Monseigneur le Comte de Ponchartrain, 1708", illustrated the Erie territory as including nearly the entire southern shoreline of Lake Erie and extending south into the Allegheny River drainage (White 1961: 41, 48). The Ouabache [Wabash] River, an error for the Ohio, was depicted with three lengthy branches extending toward the northeast. The central branch was called "River Teiocarontiong ou de la Nation du Chat". This map's validity is open to serious question because of physiographic errors and other cartographic problems.

Summary and Conclusions of the Cartography

Samuel de Champlain's 1632 map, "Carte de la Nouvelle France", emphasized the Lake Ontario region and provided no information on the Erie (Champlain 1626 [1907]: Map). However, a number of French maps based on Champlain's 1632 work did add some data although their emphasis was on New France and the Great Lakes. Among these other important maps were

Boisseau's 1643 "Nouvelle France", and Laigniet and de Fer's 1669 "La Nouvelle France", but both were significantly distorted south of the Great Lakes.

Subsequent cartographic efforts (such as those by Moll 1720; Colden 1724; Evans 1749, 1752, 1755; Bellin 1755; Washington 1769; Buell 1784; and Williamson 1799, 1800), while producing more accurate maps of the Lake Erie region based on direct field observations, did not add any data relevant to the Erie as a Native American population (cf. Schwartz 1980: 140, 147-216).

In summary, a review of the cartographic evidence suggested that the most reliable and detailed information on the Erie comes from Sanson's 1650 and 1656 maps since he had available first-hand data on the physical and cultural geography of the Niagara Frontier and adjacent Lake Erie shores. DuVal's 1653 map was politically motivated at a time when territorial claims by the French against other European nations were of singular importance. Bressani's 1657 map lacked detail and specificity, whereas DuCreux' 1660 map was politically motivated but precisely located the Erie ca. 1650-1656 before their defeat and dispersal. Franquelin's maps did not depict the Erie but did locate a village, "Rakouagega", on a stream along the southeastern Lake Erie Plain. Fenton's (1940: 195) interpretations of this village as Rigue and the stream as Cattaraugus Creek were unconfirmed. Bernou's ca. 1681 map was the only cartographic work to depict "Kakouagoga, a destroyed nation", a possible reference to the Kahkwa (a Neutral group). White (1961: 47) has questioned the reliability of a number of features on Bernou's map.

By the 1680's, contemporary cartographers such as Coronelli used Bernou's data, while others, such as Hennepin and Delisle, relied on early maps and on the descriptions in Jesuit manuscripts. Most researchers, therefore, placed their trust in Sanson's "non-political" maps, in the words of Marion White" . . . mainly because Sanson was noted for his honesty and accuracy" (1978: 413).

Indian Paths

Paul Wallace, in his *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania* (1965), attempted to locate aboriginal trails within the Commonwealth by utilizing historic sources and archival data. Of relevance to the southern Lake Erie Basin were the Conneaut Path from Conneaut, Ohio to Meadville, Pennsylvania (1965: 37), and the Lake Shore Path from Buffalo, New York to Sandusky, Ohio

(1965: 85-88). Of special importance were the Presque Isle Portage from the mouth of Mill Creek at Presque Isle Bay to LeBoeuf Creek at Waterford, Pennsylvania (1965: 140) which continued as the Venango Path to the Forks of the Ohio at Pittsburgh (1965: 170-173), and the Chautauqua Portage from Barcelona to Mayville, New York at Lake Chautauqua (1965: 136-137). Wallace's purpose was to locate these important routes, but he did not assign any chronologies to them, although the paths were undoubtedly in use since the Late Prehistoric Period (ca. 1550-1750 A.D.) and probably the preceeding Late Woodland Period (ca. 1000-1550 A.D.).

Other significant trails in the southern Lake Erie Basin used in aboriginal times were recorded by Kolb (1980: 23-24, Map 1), and included the Seneca/Finger Lakes Path, Buffalo Creek Path, Cattaraugus Path and Chautauqua Portage, all in New York State, as well as the Conneaut Path, Ashtabula Trail, Cuyahoga Path, Huron River Path, Mahoning Path, Sandusky Path and Maumee Trail, all in the present state of Ohio. Again, no chronologies were inferred.

ETHNOHISTORY

The primary ethnohistoric source on the Erie and most other societies in southern Canada and western New York State is *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, 73. vols., edited by the professional historian Reuben Gold Thwaites (1896-1901), who directed six other historians and translators in its preparation. The English translation from the original French, Latin and Italian texts is regarded as an excellent rendition, and was accompanied by extensive editorial end-notes. Donnelly (1967) prepared a useful volume of errata and addenda which also should be consulted. The *JR* constituted the field notes of Jesuit priests in New France who had been trained in the natural history method to observe and record physiographic and cultural data while, at the same time, proselytizing and establishing commercial links in the developing North American fur trade. Much of their work was among the Huron (Heidenreich 1971) and Ottawa, with some visits to the Iroquois, especially the Seneca and Onondaga, as the political climate permitted.

No European ever visited an Erie community, hence documentary information about Erie culture is limited to often obscure comments by the priests whose data came primarily from Huron,

Seneca, and Onondaga informants. Fr. Dablon's report for 1655 indicated that Fr. Chaumonot baptized a nine-year old Erie youth before the boy was tortured and burned to death by the Onondaga (*JR* 42: 96-97), and later two young Erie men were likewise tortured to death by the Onondaga (*JR* 41: 106-107). These incidents were as close as Europeans ever came to Erie individuals before the late 1660's. We shall never know what falsehoods, half-truths or slanted opinions were presented to the Jesuits who normally accepted cultural information as factual.

The Erie, including synonymy considered in a previous section of this article, were represented in nineteen of the *JR* volumes. There are a total of 66 references covering some 101 pages, and ranged from a map notation (*JR* 1: 27 and end map for 1610) up to five consecutive pages of text (*JR* 42: 190-195 for 1632 - 1657). Chronologically, the earliest notation was in 1635 (*JR* 8: 116-117) and the last in 1666 (*JR* 50: 116-117), with three volumes providing the bulk of our information (*JR* 21 for 1641 - 1642, *JR* 41 for 1654-1656, *JR* 42 for 1632-1657). Serious scholars such as Marion White (1961, 1971, 1978) and Parker (1907) made extensive use of these primary materials, whereas less serious students have not (Hess 1978). County historians in the states of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio have overlooked (or perhaps avoided) these important sources, but professionally trained state historians frequently referenced the *Jesuit Relations.*

Several explorers, travellers and missionaries were chronological contemporaries of the Erie prior to the 1656 dispersal. Among these were Champlain (1626), Sagard-Theodat (1636), Van der Donck (1656), and Radisson (1684). Again, none ever visited an Erie community or spoke directly with an Erie, hence their few references to the Erie were often obscure and filtered through the Huron and Seneca, among others.

Other informative *ex post facto* documents included Schoolcraft's *Notes on the Iroquois* (1846), as well as a number of his later works on Native Americans (1853-1856). Lewis Henry Morgan's classic *The League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee, Iroquois* (1851) and Parkman's volume on the Jesuits (1867) provided additional correlative or potentially comparative data. Schoolcraft and Morgan utilized the informant method starting at least in the 1840's, while Morgan also became a participant observer among the Seneca.

There were a total of 117 histories for the sixteen counties bordering the southern Lake Erie shore, and nearly all had at

least some reference to the naming of Lake Erie and the Native American polity. These histories were often reliant upon informant data and secondary sources rather than the primary, documentary evidence (Kolb 1980: 11-22). Frequently the authors of more recent county histories copied or "borrowed" heavily from the earlier works and often perpetuated myths and errors along with the factual information. Each local history has strengths, weaknesses and biases which are not of concern here. Whitman (1896) depended heavily on his earlier co-authored volume (1884), while Reed (1925) followed Sanford's (1894) presentation quite closely. The specific materials on the Erie normally included the, then available, interpretations as to their origin, name and defeat by the Seneca (Whitman and Russell 1884: 172-174, Sanford 1894: 15-22, Whitman 1896: 91-92, Miller 1909: 14-18, Reed 1925: 88-98). Reed, unlike the others, also considered the cartographic evidence (1925: 102-106).

Lastly, there are vast, untapped archival materials in the Dominion Archives in Ottawa, as well as important colonial documents in New York and Pennsylvania which reference the Erie either directly or indirectly, among these are the *Pennsylvania Archives.* The *United States Statutes at Large* often provide important geographic data and place names in reference to treaties, especially in those volumes predating 1800. There is yet voluminous material that awaits the ethnohistorian and anthropological linguist.

Ethnohistoric data in combination with the archaeological evidence will be used in the final section of this article to elucidate our present understanding of the Erie.

ARCHAEOLOGY

The prehistory of northwestern Pennsylvania and adjacent western New York and northern Ohio may be divided into seven cultural periods on the basis of settlement and subsistence patterns and characteristic artifacts (especially lithic tools and, more recently, ceramics). These periods and approximate chronologies are:

Paleo-Indian	10,000	- 7000 B.C.
Archaic	7000	- 1000 B.C.
Transitional*	1800	- 800 B.C.
Early Woodland	1000	- 300 B.C.
Middle Woodland	B. C. 500	- 1000 A.D.
Late Woodland	1000	- 1550 A.D.
Late Prehistoric	1550	- 1750/1800 A.D.

*Poorly represented

Additional information may be found in *Foundations of Pennsylvania Prehistory* (Kent, Smith and McCann, eds. 1971), *The Archaeology of New York State* (Ritchie 1969), and *Ohio's Prehistoric Peoples* (Potter 1968). Of concern in this article is the Late Prehistoric Period.

The archaeological picture on the Erie was never very clear, primarily because of poor documentation in the early Colonial historic reports as to their precise location, and because they were defeated and dispersed prior to direct European contact (White 1961: 40-51, MacNeish 1976: 90-91). Ceramic data on the Erie is derived primarily from MacNeish (1952: 22-28, Pls. VI-VIII), who defined five Erie pottery types: Ripley Corded, Ripley Plain, Niagara Collared, Ripley Collared and Ripley Triangular. MacNeish (1976: 90-91) still stands by his conclusions, and no author has attempted a revision of the Erie ceramic data (Englebrecht 1980: 29, Hayes (ed.) 1980). Iroquoian lithic materials, especially projectile points, cannot be differentiated regionally or ethnically. Madison and Levanna triangular points are found throughout the Northeastern United States and into the Plains States and Southeast (Ritchie 1969: 276, 278, 308, 320; 1971: 31-34, 86-88, Pls. 15-16). For purposes of this presentation, I shall briefly evaluate the relevant archaeological data which I have divided into four geographic clusters: Niagara Frontier Region, Chautauqua Region, Northwestern Pennsylvania Region and Northern Ohio Region. As will be seen, some sites "fit" into several regions, depending upon the investigators' interpretations.

Niagara Frontier Region

The Niagara Frontier Region of western New York State has the best evidence as to Erie occupation. Early archaeological investigators, employing ethnohistoric sources as guides, located a series of sites attributed to the Erie rather than to the Seneca, Wenro or Neutrals (Beauchamp 1905; Houghton 1908, 1916; Harrington 1922; Wray and Schoff 1953). These data have been evaluated and expanded due to the efforts of the late Marian White (1961: 40-51, 1971: 25-27, 1976, 1978: 414-415), among others. She initially relied upon Sanson's maps (1658) in order to locate a number of villages, and then by archaeological survey located six others, all of which had close relationships based on artifact and settlement pattern comparisons. There were two contemporary villages whose movements or shifts (replacement

at ca. 20-25 year intervals) were spatially separated by eight to ten miles, and proceeded in a southerly direction from South Buffalo to near East Aurora and Hamburg, New York at about two miles per village shift during the time period 1535-1640. White established an ancestor-descendant relationship for these pairs, and has postulated a sequence back in time to ca. 1175 - 1200 A.D. at the Ganshaw site. The latest communities at Bead Hill and Kleis could not be traced or located subsequent to 1640, a fact which corresponded with the contemporary ethnohistoric and cartographic data. White identified the two shifting communities as Erie and the series of movements as ancestral Erie (1971: 26-27, 1978: 414). Her meticulous work is of utmost importance and mute evidence of her monumental efforts, since the Niagara Frontier has a vast number of other Late Prehistoric non-Erie sites.

Associated sites attributed to the Erie were the High Banks Silverheels village and cemetery, and a site in the Cattaraugus Creek Valley. The Ripley, New York site (Parker 1907) and the East 28th Street site in Erie, Pennsylvania (Carpenter et al 1949), probably dated to the post-1640 period because of the presence of European trade items. The pre-1175 Niagara Frontier Erie were judged to have an *in situ* development back to an undefined ancestor related to the Owasco-Princess Point-Point Peninsula complex (MacNeish 1976: 90).

Chautauqua Region

The Chautauqua Phase of the Late Prehistoric Period, defined by Schock (1976), was based on a maximum of fifteen Iroquois sites in Chautauqua and Cattaraugus Counties, New York. Most sites were located near Lake Chautauqua and the upland south of the Lake Erie Plain, but two, the Ripley and Westfield sites, were situated in the Plain (Parker 1907; Wright 1931; Guthe 1953, 1958: 25-40). Schock recognized at least four village movements similar to those in the Niagara Frontier previously delineated by White. The archaeological "Ripley Focus, Iroquoian Aspect" possibly represented the ethnohistoric Erie, but this cannot be stated with absolute certainty. Chautauqua Phase sites, which apparently represented the latest prehistoric occupation in southwestern New York, were, in the main, palisaded and located on elevated knolls. These sites and three early historic ones (High Banks, Silverheels and Ripley) have shell-tempered pottery with non-Iroquoian shapes and decorative motifs. Schock (1976: 109)

suggested that the Ripley site probably had more than one occupation (component), and also opined that the Ripley and East 28th Street sites were " . . . probably related in some way to the prehistoric Chautauqua and/or Whittlesey phases" (1976: 109), but inadequate data exists to discern these potential relationships.

Northwestern Pennsylvania Region

At least three sites and possibly a half dozen others *may* be associated with the Erie. The Ripley site (Parker 1907), East 28th Street site (Carpenter et al 1949, Pfirman 1952), and possibly the Wesleyville site (Carpenter 1949) were thought to be Erie. The East 28th Street site was known since the 1820's and was frequently pilfered by curio seekers (Whitman and Russell 1884: 183, Sanford 1894: 23, Whitman 1896: 96). Mayer-Oakes (1955: 71-72) in his now dated pioneering synthesis concluded that the Ripley and East 28th Street sites " . . . no doubt represents the time prior to actual contact with Europeans but when trade articles of European manufacture were available." Ridley (1961: 66), on the other hand, has suggested that the Ripley and East 28th Street sites were those of the Neutrals, which remains as an unproven postulate.

Other Late Prehistoric sites with European artifacts were known from the upper Allegheny River drainage in Erie, Crawford, Forest, Venango and Warren Counties (Carpenter 1942, Mayer-Oakes 1955: 72), but none are attributable to the Erie. The McFate site in Crawford County was once thought to be Erie, but current thinking suggested that it is non-Iroquoian (Dragoo 1976: 86). Many sites in the Allegheny River Valley in the aforementioned counties have ceramics which were "hybrids" of the Owasco-Iroquois tradition of western New York and the Monongahela tradition of southwestern Pennsylvania, especially those Monongahela sites in the Beaver River drainage (Kolb 1970, Curtis 1971: 173-174).

The latest synthesis of northwestern Pennsylvania prehistory by Johnson (1976: 48) made note that the region is an archaeological *terra incognito*. The McFate village, a multicomponent site with five overlapping stockades, was the type-site for McFate Incised ceramics. Similar pottery is found in sites along the Lake Erie shore from Westfield, New York west to Cleveland, and in sites in the Allegheny River drainage. The relationships of the McFate tradition to the Chautauqua Phase and Whittlesey Focus (Ohio) are yet unclear, and a matter of debate among professional

archaeologists. The research by Dragoo and others in the upper Allegheny River areas (Warren County, Pennsylvania and Chautauqua and Cattaraugus Counties, New York), has not helped to clarify the Late Prehistoric Period in the Lake Erie Basin. Conneaut Fort and Boice Fort in Ashtabula County, Ohio are apparently the easternmost manifestations of the Ohio Whittlesey Focus (Greenman 1935b: 223-227, Brose et al 1976: 72-73, Johnson 1976: 74-75). Lupold (1975: 41), an historian, erred in citing a "Seneca" village on Buffalo Creek, Erie County, Pennsylvania – he meant, of course, Erie County, New York.

Northern Ohio Region

Colonel Charles Whittlesey, a nineteenth century natural historian and amateur archaeologist from Cleveland, excavated numerous sites in northern Ohio (Whittlesey 1871). The "Whittlesey Focus, Iroquoian Aspect" or simply the "Whittlesey Culture" was named after him as a result of his pioneering work (R. Morgan 1952: 96-97, Potter 1968: 63-72). Fitting (1964: 169) correctly observed that there has always been a problem in the identification of the aboriginal societies associated with this Focus.

Twentieth century investigators, notably Greenman (1935a: 9), Morgan and Ellis (1943: 57), Morgan (1952: 97), and Lee (1958: 29) attributed Whittlesey Focus to the Erie. This judgment was based on a series of sites excavated by Greenman (1935a, 1935b, 1937a, 1937b, 1939) in the Cleveland area, particularly the Reeve, South Park, Tuttle Hill, Boice Fort, Conneaut Fort, Burrill, White, National Tube, Madison and Fairport Harbor sites. However, by 1937, Greenman was convinced that ethnic identification with the Erie was impossible (1937a: 351), but other researchers, especially R. Morgan (1952), continued this Erie-Whittlesey cultural association. Morgan's general summary of Whittlesey settlement patterns, artifacts (lithic and ceramic), burial patterns, and subsistence activities (1952: 96-97) are still valid, but his suggestion that Whittlesey Focus represented the ethnographic Erie is not. Ridley (1961: 66) decided against the Whittlesey Focus as representing the Erie, while Fitting (1964: 169-170) concluded that Whittlesey could not positively be identified, but that the Erie were a "strong contender".

More recent excavations by Murphy (1971a, 1971b, 1971c, 1974) at Fairport Harbor, Lyman and South Park sites; McKenzie

et al (1972) at the Eiden site; Brose (1973) at South Park; Brose (1976a) at the Hillside Road site; Brose et al (1976) at Conneaut Fort; and Seeman and Bush (1979) at Enderle have helped to clarify the Whittlesey and Erie "problem". Murphy (1971a: 26, 40) concluded that Fairport Harbor was not protohistoric Erie, and that the site's relationship with western Pennsylvania was "unclear". Brose (1976b, 1976c, 1978: 582) determined as early as 1972 that Whittlesey was *not* Erie. His reasoning was based on data from those sites mentioned above plus six other (1976c: 4), and employed controlled survey and sampling techniques, ceramic attribute analysis, radiocarbon dating, and locational analyses as primary methodologies.

Vietzen, in his privately printed *The Immortal Erie* (1945), considered twenty northern Ohio sites which he believed to be Erie. It was his belief that Erie territory extended from Ripley, New York westward to Toledo, Ohio (1945: 18), although this is unfounded. A number of errors of commission and personal opinion or conjecture colored this account, for example: "The Eries were like the Chinese in feeling that one's dead ancestors had a direct bearing on one's daily life" (1945: 99). Vietzen's excellently illustrated later volume (1965) concerned the Lake Erie Basin from Paleo-Indian through early Historic Periods, and repeated the previous materials on the Erie. In general, he was uncritical of his data and sources, and his syntheses and reconstructions should not be relied upon by the serious researcher.

Lupold (1975) has written a small, general book about the Erie, but misused and misinterpreted his archaeological data while neglecting some major, primary ethnohistoric sources and practically all of the cartographic evidence. He uncritically accepted Whittlesey Focus as Erie (1975: 21-23). Most of his references were from secondary sources, and none of Brose's work was cited, and only one of Marian White's (1961). Therefore the archaeological interpretations in Lupold are wholly inadequate. Hess' (1978) superficial study of the historical geography was neither good history or good geography, and relied heavily upon secondary and questionable tertiary sources. Her research was flawed by the lack of references, conjecture, errors of ommission and commission, extraneous materials unrelated to the Erie, and an uncritical acceptance of informant opinion and dated archaeological sources. The list of supposed Erie sites in Erie County, Pennsylvania was not reliable (1978: 43), hence Hess' presentation should not be relied upon by the serious investigator.

Summary of the Archaeological Data

By comparing Brose's results from sites in northeastern Ohio assigned to Whittlesey with the data published on the Niagara Frontier Erie and the Ripley Focus (White 1976), and the information available from northwestern Pennsylvania, a number of conclusions may be reached (Kolb 1977a; 1977b; 1979; 1980: 18, 44-45, 74). There is no direct relationship between archaeological sites and the ethnohistoric cultures for the Late Prehistoric Period in the regions of Northern Ohio and Northwestern Pennsylvania. The specific ethnic identification of any Late Prehistoric archaeological manifestation is entirely speculative, therefore Whittlesey is currently not assignable to any ethnic grouping or "tribe". Sites in northwestern Pennsylvania and the Ripley site (Ripley Focus) differ markedly in ceramics from the Whittlesey Focus sites, but in ceramic attributes were closer to those sites in the Niagara Frontier.

The Chautauqua Phase was Iroquoian and again illustrated close ceramic relationships with the Niagara Frontier Erie. However, Northwestern Pennsylvania (and Ripley Focus) and the Chautauqua Phase also show some influences from the Monongahela tradition of southwestern Pennsylvania. The Niagara Frontier Erie were indeed the Erie as an ethnohistoric polity at least to 1640. Ethnohistoric and cartographic data suggested a general dispersal to the southwest between 1640-1656, with even further dispersals of the societal "remnants" after the defeat by the Seneca and their allies in 1656. Nonetheless, the Ripley and East 28th Street sites cannot be discounted as possible Erie sites during the period 1640-1656, a time of cultural turmoil when some European trade goods first appeared. These sites, excavated using the, then available, techniques (in 1906 and 1934 - 1938, respectively), are now nearly completely destroyed by subsequent human and geological activities.

There is an excellent chance that the Ripley and East 28th Street sites were multicomponent with ***at least*** two occupations (Erie and Seneca), but we cannot determine this from the existing data. The Ripley field notes were destroyed during a fire in Albany in 1911, and the East 28th Street notes are now apparently nonexistent except for a brief manuscript summary and contemporary newspaper accounts of the work. The artifacts from these sites have been dispersed to various museums (New York State, Harvard Peabody, William Penn Memorial, etc.) and materials have been lost, "disappeared" or have become parts

of private collections. For example, East 28th Street site ceramics are traceable to collections in Erie, but also to individuals' collections in Kansas, California and possibly Texas.

Again, it should be recalled that lithic projectile points associated with the Late Prehistoric Period occupations in the region from eastern New York through central Indiana are predominantly of the Levanna and Madison types (Ritchie 1971), and are not useful in differentiating Erie sites or occupations (components). MacNeish's *Iroquois Pottery Types* (1952: 22-28), although dated, remains as the best source on Erie ceramics, but these materials resemble those of other Iroquoian groups, notably the Seneca. A re-analysis of Erie pottery is an absolute necessity in order to resolve problems of both a spatial and chronological nature.

THE ERIE AS WE "KNOW" THEM ca. 1981

It would appear from the foregoing sections of this article that we have raised more questions about the Erie than have been answered. Indeed, this is partially true since a key region, Northwestern Pennsylvania, has been inadequately researched by professional archaeologists. Nonetheless, I shall attempt to delineate what we do "know" about this important Native American population. Since the Erie was Iroquoian-speakers, several investigators have assumed that their lifeways also paralleled those of the Seneca, Huron and other Iroquois (R. Morgan 1952: 96-97, Lupold 1975: 27-37, Hess 1978: 47-57). This may be true, although proofs are lacking in the primary ethnohistoric sources. The scholarly works of Louis Henry Morgan (1851) on the New York State Iroquois, and those by Elizabeth Tooker (1964) and Conrad Heidenreich (1971) on the Huron, offer potential comparative materials. The salient syntheses on the Erie remain those of the late Marian White (1961: 40-51, 1971: 25-27, 1976: 121-135, 1978: 412-417).

The term "Erie" has had different connotations to various explorers, missionaries, colonists and investigators. In addition, the use of the term has changed over the last 330 years, meaning at various times a geographic region, an aboriginal "tribe", several distinct "tribes", a confederation or alliance, or even the name of a community. Most likely Erie referred probably to a group of societies or possibly a political alliance of tribes who were culturally and linguistically related to the Huron, Neutral, New York State Iroquois (Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca and

and Mohawk), and other northern Iroquois-speakers. No archival document recorded Erie words, therefore their linguistic identification as Iroquoian-speakers rested on undocumented historical testimony (Lounsbury 1978: 334).

The Erie lived in multiple communities south of Lake Erie between Buffalo and Eighteen Mile Creek until their dispersal in 1640. White (1961, 1971, 1976) has adequately documented a number of Erie communities in western New York State up to about 1640. The territories of the Erie, Neutrals and Wenro may have overlapped at different points in time prior to 1644 (White 1961: 50). Following their political defeat in 1656, the Erie dispersed south and west into the Allegheny River drainage. The evidence did not suggest that their aboriginal pre-1656 territory extended into Virginia as suggested by Hoffman (1964) or encompassed the entire southern Lake Erie shore from Buffalo to Toledo. The names of two communities, Rique and Gentaienton, are known (*JR* 42: 186-187 for 1656, *JR* 61: 194-195 for 1679) but their specific locations are not. Two "tribes", the Riquehronnons and the Gentaguehronons, have been suggested by White (1978: 412), and these may have been political allies.

The demographic composition of the Erie has, likewise, often been a matter of speculation. Some potential clues to this "populous" tribe occur in the ethnohistoric accounts of Fr. Jean de Quens and Fr. Francois le Mercier (*JR* 41: 74-75, 82-83 for 1654; *JR* 42: 110-113, 178-179 for 1656), and have been used to arrive at estimates of 2-3,000 warriors or 8-12,000 persons in ca. 1654. Hewitt (1907: 431) suggested 3-4,000 combatants with a "conservative" total population estimated at 14,500, whereas Mooney (1910: 286-287, 1928: 11) postulated a total of 4,000 in 1650. Kroeber's analysis merely suggested that the region was "well populated" (1939: 91, 184-185). These data have been studied by Ubelaker (1976: 255, 265-266) who emphasized the conservative nature of Mooney's estimate and leaned toward accepting Hewitt's 14,500 figure. These demographic estimates did not take into account the Huron and Neutral refugees who sought and received sanctuary among the Erie following the defeat of these two polities between 1648 - 1652 (*JR* 41: 82-83, *JR* 45: 242-243).

The Erie were never visited by Europeans, hence the Jesuit references to them were second-hand through Huron, Seneca and Onondaga informants. The Erie (Nation du Chat) were initially mentioned in a report dated May 27, 1635 by Fr. Jean de Brébeuf

(JR 8: 114-115), and later their general location south of Lake Erie recorded by Fr. Paul Ragueneau in 1648 *(JR* 33: 62-63), although a similar but now lost reference was said to have been composed in 1644-1645 (Gendron 1660 [1868]: 8-9). Additional data was reported by Fr. Francesco Bressani in 1652-1653 *(JR* 38: 234-237) and Fr. Francois le Mercier in 1654 *(JR* 41: 80-83).

The following summary is based upon the ethnohistoric and cartographic sources and current evaluation of the archaeological evidence. The majority of the pre-1640 Erie sites in the Niagara Frontier Region were composed of earthen rings or banks and all lacked European trade materials. None of these sites apparently carried over into the early Historic Period when European trade goods were introduced ca. 1650. No sites along the Lake Erie shore west of Erie, Pennsylvania can be attributed to the Erie, and apparently the non-Erie Whittlesey Focus of Northern Ohio did not continue into historic times. No sites in the upper Allegheny River area are known to be Erie or may be inferred as Erie. Hence, Erie territory up to ca. 1650 was confined to the area of western New York State from Buffalo to Cattaraugus Creek and probably to Lake Chautauqua. The Westfield, Ripley and East 28th Street sites could have been Erie during the early 1650's and were later occupied by the Seneca or other Iroquois. There was no data to suggest that the East 28th Street site was the location of Rique (Rigue). It appeared likely that Erie sites were located on the Lake Erie Plain and adjacent Allegheny Plateau, especially along major water courses, including the vicinity of Lake Chautauqua after ca. 1650.

The recorded history of the Erie began in 1648 *(JR* 33: 62-63) with Fr. Ragueneau's statement:

> This Lake, called Erie, 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. These people of the Cat Nation have a number of stationary villages, for they till the soil, and speak the same language as our Hurons.

Fr. Bressani, missionary to the Huron, 1645-1649, in an account written in Italy in 1653 *(JR* 38: 234-237) reported that:

> Beyond that same neutral nation, in a direction nearly South, there is a lake 600 miles in circumference, called Herie, formed by the fresh-water sea, which discharges into it, -- and thence, by means of a very high cataract, into a third lake, still greater and more beautiful; it is called Ontario, or Beautiful lake, but we were wont to call it the lake of St. Louis. The former of these two lakes was at one time inhabited toward the South by certain peoples whom we call the Cat nation; but they were forced to proceed farther Inland, in order to escape the enemies whom they have toward the West. This nation has various Territories, cultivates the fields and speaks a language similar to the Huron.

As may be seen, there are striking parallels of organization and composition in these two reports. The reader should be reminded that Fr. Bressani wrote his report in 1653, four years after his work among the Huron, and may have had access to Ragueneau's report written in 1648. What "farther Inland" or "far inland" signified we do not know, but Sanson's 1656 map depicted a potential southwestern movement from the supposed 1650 location.

In 1654, Fr. le Mercier wrote about the Erie relying on Onondaga informants *(JR* 41: 80-83):

> They [the Onondaga] informed us that a fresh war had broken out against them, and thrown them all into a state of alarm; that the Ehriehronnons were arming against them (these we call the Cat Nation, because of the prodigious number of Wildcats in their country, two or three times as large as our domestic Cats, but of a handsome and valuable fur). They informed us that a village of Sonnontoehronnon [Seneca] Iroquois had been already taken and set on fire at their first approach; that that same nation had pursued one of their own armies which was returning victorious from the direction of the great lake of the Hurons, and that an entire Company of eighty picked men, which

> formed the rear-guard, had been completely cut to pieces; that one of their greatest Captains, Annenraes by name, had been captured and led away captive by some skirmishers of that Nation, --- who, in order to deal this blow, had come almost to the gates of their village. They declared in a word, that all the four Nations of the upper Iroquois were on fire; that they were leaguing together, and arming to repulse this enemy; and that all this compelled them earnestly to seek for Peace with us, even though they might not have had any such thoughts before.
>
> This news taught us that God, by diverting the arms and forces of our enemies elsewhere, was aiding us in a most unexpected manner.
>
> The Cat Nation is very populous, having been reinforced by some Hurons, who scattered in all directions when their country was laid waste, and who now have stirred up this war which is filling the Iroquois with alarm. Two thousand men are reckoned upon, well-skilled in war, although they have no fire-arms. Notwithstanding this, they fight like Frenchmen, bravely sustaining the first discharge of the Iroquois, who are armed with our muskets, and then falling upon them with a hailstorm of poisoned arrows, which they can discharge eight or ten times before a musket can be reloaded.
>
> We, however, are left in Peace; and Father Simon le Moine, who has recently returned from the upper Iroquois, assures us that they were arming themselves to set forth from that quarter, to the number of eighteen hundred men.

It would appear from this report that the Erie lacked firearms and relied upon volleys of arrows in attack and defense. There is no ethnographic proof that the Erie employed "poisoned" arrows, but if they did they would have been the only Native American society north of the Amazon Basin to have used such arrows. It is likely that the arrows may have been treated with some material such as excrement, which would have

resulted in septicemia. The reader should note that the report did not indicate that deaths resulted from the use of such "poisoned" arrows, only that the Erie were reputed to use them.

Ancestral Erie lands prior to 1640 had been near the Oak Orchard swamp, but as the Erie moved southwest, the Wenro temporarily moved into the region. In 1638, the Wenro abandoned their territory, which created a void between the Genesee and Niagara Rivers, except for some short-term Neutral villages immediately east of the Niagara Frontier. Subsequently, the Seneca and their allies moved into this void and defeated and dispersed the Neutrals and Huron by 1654. There was no clear and specific mention of the Erie peoples in the ethnohistoric documents between 1638-1654, the crucial period when they migrated southwestward from their ancestral lands.

Peace negotiations between the Iroquois and French led to visits by Jesuit missionaries to Seneca and Onondaga villages by 1654, and in June of that year, the Onondaga indicated plans to lead an army against the Erie in retaliation for several incidents. Among these were the previously cited Erie burning of a Seneca village, the defeat of the Onondaga war party returning from Huron country, and the capture of the Onondaga "Captain" Annenraes (*JR* 41: 74-75; *JR* 42: 30-31, 56-59, 84-103). The fact that some Huron had taken sanctuary with the Erie was also a cause for concern (*JR* 41: 82-83, *JR* 45: 242-243).

The *Jesuit Relation* for 1655-1656 gave the background for the final struggle, although the missing 1655 report may also have contained valuable information. Fr. Claude Dablon (*JR* 42: 30-31, 56-59, 84-203 for 1656) recounted the same three events leading to the Onondaga joining the Seneca against the Erie. The Erie had sent thirty "ambassadors" to the Seneca "capital" of Sonnontouan in order to initiate a peace (*JR* 42: 176-183). Sonnontouan or Totiakton was located on the west branch of Honeoye Creek, two miles north of the Falls and 12.5 miles south of the present center of Rochester (*JR* 8: 302-303, *JR* 51: 292-293). Through misfortune or accident, one of the men of the Cat Nation killed a Seneca, with the result that the Seneca retaliated by massacring twenty-five of the "ambassadors", while five escaped. White (1978: 416) observed that the time, place and circumstances of the initial death were unstated. Apparently later (?) two Onondaga were captured by the Erie and one was taken to an Erie village and offered as a potential adoptee to the sister of one of the slain "ambassadors" (*JR* 42: 176-179).

However, she chose to have the Onondaga warrior killed in revenge. Fr. Dablon did not state the name of the Onondaga captive, but he has often been identified as Annenraes. The precise sequence of these events is unclear because no Jesuit witnessed these occurrences, nor is the chronology firmly established. Nonetheless, the feuding intensified and resulted in the final wars between the Erie and the confederated Iroquois tribes, the Seneca, Onondaga and Mohawk, with perhaps some Oneida and Cayuga participants (Morgan 1851: 12, 41-42, 113, 291-292).

A story concerning a breach of faith or treachery at a ball game (lacrosse?) between the Erie and Seneca in 1653 was unsubstantiated. The Erie had given asylum to an unknown number of Neutral and Huron refugees, possibly bolstering their population of 14,500 with a total of 3-4,000 warriors from a number of villages. The Iroquois combatants sent against them numbered at least 1,800 and possibly up to 3,800 (*JR* 41: 82-83, Hewitt 1907: 431).

In late August or early September, 1654, an Iroquois war party of 1,200 Onondaga and 700 Mohawk entered Erie territory (*JR* 45: 208-209). The Onondaga stormed and burned a number of villages and pursued the Erie refugees from these fallen communities. The Erie took a stand in a palisaded fort "built for the occasion" but were subdued by the Onondaga who used canoes as ladders to scale the walls (*JR* 42: 178-181). Some Mohawk may have participated in this attack or may have stormed and destroyed yet another village. The Iroquois were said to have spent two months burying their dead, accumulating loot and captives and returning to Seneca territory before winter (*JR* 42: 180-183). The location of the village(s) was not stated.

The Onondaga planned for spring attacks or raids on the Erie during the early months of 1655, but no reports reached the French Jesuits that these hostilities took place; the *Jesuit Relation* for 1655 is unfortunately missing. A war feast was held at an unspecified Onondaga village during the fall of 1655, with the Seneca, Cayuga and Oneida represented. The Onondaga also attempted to secure additional firearms from the French in 1656 for their assaults against the Erie. Ultimately, the Iroquois alliance was victorious, but, as White noted (1978: 416), there was ". . . not a single mention of the fighting as a contemporary occurrence" in the ethnohistoric records, including the *Jesuit Relations* for 1656-1660.

The Erie were commonly said to have been "exterminated", but defeat, decimation and dispersal are perhaps better descriptive terms. They ceased to exist as an independent polity and some Erie who survived fled to other tribes while others became the captives of the Seneca, Onondaga and Mohawk (*JR* 42: 48-49, 52-53, 56-57, 60-61, 74-75, 84-85, 96-97, 110-113, 176-183, 190-195; *JR* 43: 264-265; *JR* 45: 204-211; Hunt 1940: 94-102). Some women and children, who were adopted by the Seneca to "replace" Seneca women and children killed during the early stages of the conflict, gained new tribal, clan and family affiliations after being sent to Seneca frontier settlements west of the Genesee River (Parker 1926: 48). While some Erie settled among the Seneca, others fled south into the Susquehanna River and upper Allegheny River regions (Fenton 1940: 197).

The Black Minqua (Van der Donck 1656 [1841] : 209, Fenton 1940: 196-197) were a part of the Erie prior to the 1656 dispersion; and at least some of them survived in northern Pennsylvania to 1662. Hanna (1911 (1): 15-16), citing the *Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd Ser.* 1662 (7): 742, reported that 800 Black Minqua joined the Susquehannock against the Seneca in 1662. Fenton (1940: 197-198) was of the opinion that a tribe called the "Honiasont" or "Honniasontkeronons" by the Seneca in 1666 were Black Minqua who lived "a month's journey" down the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers from Seneca territory. Fr. Claude Chauchetiere reported in 1667 that a Christian Erie woman named Gandeakteua acted as a guide from the community of La Prairie, Kebec (Quebec) to Montreal (*JR* 63: 150-151 for 1667-1687). On August 25, 1682, Fr. Jean de Lamberville wrote that about the year 1680 "a band of 600 Erie voluntarily surrendered" to the Iroquois "near Virginia", which, to the French would have been the region of present-day southern Pennsylvania (*JR* 62: 70-71 for 1681-1683). Therefore, remnants of the Erie had dispersed to the north, east, south and possibly the west of their original territory along the southeastern shore of Lake Erie.

Gipson (1939: 56-64, 155-157), in his analysis of the cartographer Lewis Evans' 1755 "A General Map of the Middle British Colonies", reported that the Honiasont *were* the Black Minqua, part of the Erie whose abandoned village sites were visible between Lake Erie and Beaver Creek in 1754. Evans did not depict these villages on his map but did mention them in the "Analysis", a 32-page pamphlet which accompanied his illustration (1755: 13). There is no evidence to suggest that the

Catawba peoples of the Carolinas were remnantal Erie as suggested by Schoolcraft (1846: 280, Lupold 1975: 55). Lupold's (1975: 53-54) contention that the Wyandot of Wisconsin during the latter half of the seventeenth century were composed of Huron and *some* Erie [emphasis mine] is not confirmed.

Historical references to the Erie people and tribe(s) are subsequently lacking in the literature, thus closing this chapter on Colonial and Native American history. Important questions -- specifics as to sociopolitical organization, territorial "boundaries", migrations, the village locations from 1640-1656 and the final defeat – remain for the student of ethnohistory and archaeology. Some of these questions cannot be resolved.

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