

The Kakouagoga or Kahkwas: An Iroquoian Nation Destroyed in the Niagara Region

JAMES F. PENDERGAST

*Research Associate
Canadian Museum of Civilization*

Various historical, ethnohistorical, and cartographical evidence combines with the archaeological data to suggest that during the seventeenth century there was a concentration of Iroquoian groups (tribes?) in the Niagara region that was unmatched elsewhere in contemporary Iroquoia. These sources indicate that several smaller and less well-known Iroquoian groups shared the Niagara region with eastern elements of the Neutral and Erie confederacies. Possibly the largest of these were the Massawomecks, who are still largely known only as a result of their having traded with the English settlers at Jamestown and St. Mary's City on Chesapeake Bay in the seventeenth century before they disappeared in 1634 (Pendergast 1991). Two other groups, the Antouhonorons and the Akhrakvaetonon, who are known by these names with several other spellings, were also located in the Niagara region. It has been suggested that these Antouhonorons, who were the Huron's enemy attacked by Champlain in 1615, were known in New France by their Iroquoian name Antouhonorons and to the English on Chesapeake Bay by their Algonquian name, Massawomecks (Pendergast 1991). The Akhrakvaetonons on the Bourdon (?) map of ca. 1646 and the Kakouagoga on the Bernou map of ca. 1680, are believed to be synonyms for the Kahkwas (Steckley 1985: 13) who also lived in this area. At present no archaeological sites have been attributed to any of these obscure Iroquoians. The Wenro, yet another Iroquoian tribe in this region, has been placed in several widely separated locations (White 1961: 29-50). Those who have identified the Wenro as an eastern element of the Neutral confederacy attribute several archaeological sites on the south shore of Lake Ontario in New York State between Oak Orchard Creek and the Niagara River to these people.

As early as 1850, questions arose regarding the veracity of the concept that would create this uncharacteristically dense clustering of discrete

Iroquoian tribes in so small an area. Possibly it was in reality an accumulation of names resulting from early chroniclers, having recorded various names for the same people as they had been reported by early travellers in the region (Turner 1850). Recently this possibility has been raised again by William Engelbrecht (pers. comm. October 1989).

This paper examines the evidence available in several disciplines seeking to verify the identity of the Kahkwas, and to reconstruct, in general terms, events that marked the terminal years of this still largely unknown group of Iroquoians, who were destroyed ca. 1640.

EARLIEST DOCUMENTARY REFERENCES

The earliest documentary reference to the Kahkwa occurs in the *Jesuit Relation* for 1640 under the synonym *Akhrakuaeronon* (Thwaites JR 18: 232-35). Subsequently they appear in the *Relation* for 1651-52 when their homeland is mentioned as *Atrakwae* (Thwaites JR 36: 141; 37: 111). In 1652 they reappear as the *Atrakwaeronnons* (Thwaites JR 37: 105), in 1656 as the *Takoulguehronons* (Thwaites JR 42: 197) and in 1660 as the *Trakwaerronnons* (Thwaites JR 45: 207). In the 1740s their homeland appears as *Trakwae* (Potier 1920a: 662; Steckley 1985: 12). The significance of this synonymy and the context in which it occurs will be discussed later.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY CARTOGRAPHY

Only four cartographers—Bernou, Franquelin, Coronelli, and Del'Isle—compiled maps or globes that indicate the location of the Kahkwas. All, save Franquelin, recorded their presence using the caption *Kakouagoga*. Franquelin erroneously recorded this as *Rakouagega*. None of these men had visited the Niagara region, but the first three mentioned—Bernou, Franquelin, and Coronelli—had had direct access to La Salle, or members of his entourage either in Quebec or in Paris, who had visited the Niagara region. The *Kakouagoga* caption that appears on the Del'Isle manuscript map of ca. 1702 is attributed to Bernou by the Del'Isles.

The earliest maps with the caption *Kakouagoga* are two undated and unsigned manuscript maps which have been variously dated from 1680 at the earliest, to 1686 at the latest. Since 1941 both these maps have been attributed to Abbé Claude Bernou (Delanglez 1941: 115; Heidenreich 1980: 47-48).¹ On both these maps (Figs. 1 and 2) the *Kakouagoga* cap-

¹ Prior to 1941 the two undated maps in the Bibliothèque du Service historique de la Marine (Paris) now attributed to Abbé Claude Bernou, ca. 1680, were sometimes referred to by making reference to Parkman (1869: 452) and Winsor (1886 (4): 215, 217) as is evidenced by Thwaites in his *Jesuit Relations* (21: 314). Photocopies of these maps are in the National Map Collection, Public Archives of Canada, catalogued H3-902. Trigger (1976: 838) and White (1978a: 408) included illustrations of these Bernou maps in their works. Gordon Wright speculated that there are five maps depicting the Niagara region, all dated ca. 1680 (Wright 1963: 85), that may be attributed to Bernou. All of these have been examined, but only those with the *Kakouagoga* caption are considered here. J. G. Henderson's advice that

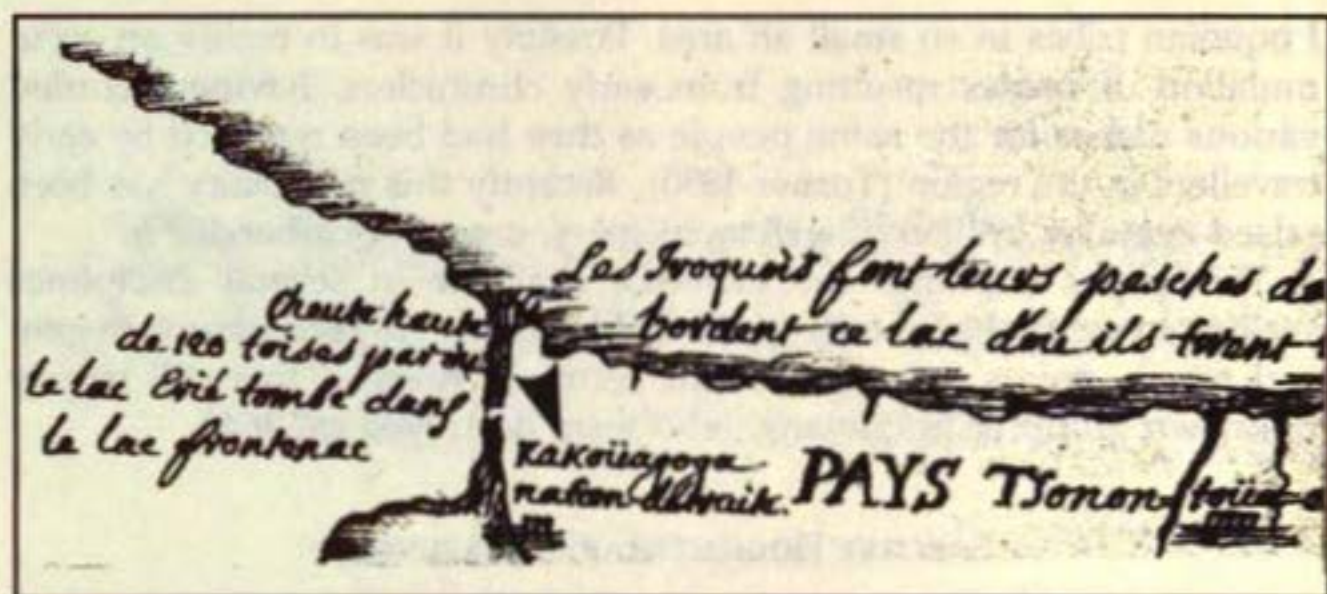


FIGURE 1. Abbé Claude Bernou's map Paris ca. 1680 numbered '1479'.



FIGURE 2. Abbé Claude Bernou's map Paris ca. 1680 numbered '1480'.

tion² appears on the east shore of Lake Erie not far from the head of the Niagara River, in what is now Buffalo, New York. Both Bernou maps indicate that the Kakouagoga were a "Nation détruite" (sic) by ca. 1680.³ Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin's map *Carte de la Louisiane* (1684) (Fig. 3), which possibly may predate the Bernou maps (Heidenreich pers. comm. October 1990), places the caption *Rakouagega* in much the same place Bernou had

the caption *Kakouagoga* appears only on the Bernou and Coronelli maps (Henderson in Thwaites JR 21: 314) overlooks the Coronelli globe gores (Fig. 8), the Del'Isle map of ca. 1720 (Fig. 10) and the misspelled *Rakouagoga* entry on the Franquelin map of 1684 (Fig. 3).

² Both the Bernou maps clearly indicate that the spelling is *Kakouagoga*. The spelling *Rakouagega* on the Franquelin map of 1684 is believed to be a copying error.

³ René-Robert Cavelier de La Salle is usually credited with having been the primary source for the *Kakouagoga* information indicated on contemporary Bernou, Franquelin, and Coronelli maps and globe gores. Possibly La Salle obtained this information when, together with François Dollier de Casson and René de Brehaut de Galinée he visited the Seneca and Cayuga for a month late in the summer of 1669 (Dupré 1966: 174-75; Maurault

located the *Kakouagoga*. Those who would have the Bernou maps predate Franquelin's maps attribute Franquelin's spelling *Rakouagega* to a copying error of *Kakouagoga*.

Subsequently commencing in 1688 Vincenzo Maria Coronelli⁴ placed the village symbol for the *Kakouagoga* on his maps *Partie Occidentale du Canada* (1688) (Fig. 4) and *Partie Orientale du Canada* (1689) (Fig. 5) at the east end of Lake Erie in much the same location indicated by Bernou.

1966: 127). However, Galinée explains that communication with the Seneca, which at this time was through a Dutch interpreter, was particularly difficult. Indeed, neither of La Salle's surviving letters nor Galinée's account (Coyne 1903: 21-39), mention the *Kahkwas* by this name or by any of the known synonyms. Possibly Dollier and Galinée learned of the *Kahkwas* from the Neutrals when they crossed from Burlington Bay to Lake Erie and spent the winter of 1669-70 on the Grand River. But it seems likely that the *Kakouagoga* became known as a result of La Salle's expedition in 1678. At that time Dominique La Motte du Lucière and Louis Hennepin became the first Europeans to explore the Niagara River when they made a reconnaissance of the area for La Salle prior to his arrival in December 1678. Between December 1678 and September 1679 LaSalle had access to the Seneca while the expedition remained in the Niagara region where seventeenth-century cartographers located *Kakouagoga*, while he constructed Fort Conty at the mouth of the Niagara River, and built his ship *Griffon*, above Niagara Falls to sail on Lake Erie. During this period La Salle also negotiated with the Seneca regarding French plans to establish a mission among them. Bernou and Franquelin could have learned of the *Kakouagoga* from La Salle when he returned to Quebec in 1680, possibly earlier when he was at Fort Frontenac (Kingston, Ontario) over the period from January to July 1679. This might explain why earlier maps—for instance the Sanson maps (1650, 1656), the Bressani (?) map (1657), the Du Creux map (1660), the Rossi map (1667), and the Sanson Heirs map (1669)—do not locate the *Kakouagoga*. However, it is surprising that Hennepin, having been in the Niagara region, his maps *Nouvelle France* (1683), *Nouveau Francia* (1686), *Tres Grand Pais* (1697), *Nouveau Monde* (1697), *America Septentrionale* (1698), *Newly Discovered Country* (1698) or on his *New World* (1698) make no mention of the *Kakouagoga*.

Nute's detailed account of Abbé Bernou's relations with La Salle, including his having become La Salle's agent as early as 1679, describes their close association (Nute 1943: 160-61). La Salle is known to have written to Bernou regarding his discoveries but unfortunately the portion of La Salle's letter describing his activities over the period 7 August 1679, to 1 January 1680, is missing (Delanglez 1941: 56). "The missing part is known to have included the voyage of the 'Griffon' and probably other information on the Niagara Frontier since some descriptions of these events were later included in Bernou's *Relation des découvertes et des voyages de Sieur de la Salle* which was based on La Salle's earlier letters" (Delanglez 1941: 56-57; White 1961: 47-48). Neither of the La Salle letters extant nor Bernou's relation mention the *Kakouagoga*. Conrad Heidenreich's essay "Mapping the Great Lakes" examines the sources for the information depicted by Bernou on his maps and the roles played by La Salle, Jolliet and Franquelin in the compilation of contemporary maps (Heidenreich 1980: 47-48).

⁴ Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (1650-1718), a Venetian and a member of the Franciscan Order of Conventual Friars Minor, the Recollets, was commissioned by Louis XIV to construct two large world globes, each 487 centimeters (sixteen feet) in diameter, over the period August 1681 to December 1683. While he was in Paris, Coronelli associated with the De Callières-Esèbe Renaudot Recollect group, which gave him ready access to influential members of the New France mission hierarchy, including Abbé Claude Bernou. All of them were familiar with recent information received from the colony as a result of Talon's program to explore the western and southern frontiers of New France (Nute 1943: 202; Heidenreich 1980: 47-48). Coronelli was presented with copies of the Bernou and Franquelin maps and he dedicated both his maps *Partie Occidentale du Canada* (1688) and *Partie Orientale du Canada* (1689) to Abbé Michel Antoine Baudrand who was a leading member of La Salle's circle. His 1689 map reflected the results of La Salle's explorations between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River, and it is entirely possible that Coronelli met La Salle (Pelletier 1982: 72-89; Dilke and Dilke 1984).

Only the caption *Kakouagoga* on the *Partie Occidentale* map includes the information that it was a "Nation destruite" which Bernou had noted earlier, but spelled differently, on both his maps. On the *Partie Orientale* map the caption is "*Kakouagoga des Iroquois*." On his map *Partie Occidentale*, Coronelli locates the "*Nation du Loup*" below the *Kakouagoga* caption with no indication, apart from their proximity on the map, that they are associated.⁵

The *Kakouagoga* caption occurs on three other Coronelli maps which are essentially copies of *Partie Occidentale* and *Partie Orientale*. These are the *America Settentrionale* map of 1688 (Fig. 6), the *America Septentrionale* map of 1689 and the *L'Amerique Septentrionale* map of 1689 (Fig. 7). The *Kakouagoga* caption also occurs on the gores for two of his globes; the 1688 globe (P. Coronelli 1688) and the 1695 globe (Fig. 8) (Kaufman 1989: 36, map 13) which are virtually identical in this regard. All the Coronelli maps and all his globe gores but one, *La Louisiana*, place the *Kakouagoga* caption adjacent to a creek at the east end of Lake Erie which has been interpreted to be present-day Eighteen Mile Creek. The map *La Louisiana* of 1695 (Fig. 9), like both the Bernou maps, places the *Kakouagoga* caption at the head of the Niagara River closer to present-day Buffalo.

There are other maps that include the *Kakouagoga* caption, but because they are wholly derived from the contemporary maps mentioned and provide no new information in this context, they have not been examined here. Typical of these is the nineteenth-century *Baudrand Map* which is a composite map made by Pierre Margry prior to 1851 from the two Bernou maps (Heidenreich 1980: 48).

Early in the eighteenth century, ca. 1702, father and son Guillaume and Claude Del'Isle included "plus'rs cartes de diverse endroits de Canada communiquées par M. l'abbé Bernou" to prepare a draft manuscript map (Fig. 10) in the process of their compiling data for their famous map *Cart du Canada* (Gentilcore and Head 1984: 22). On this draft map the caption "*Kakouagoga nation detruite*" (*sic*) appears again at the east end of Lake Erie near Eighteen Mile Creek. When Guillaume published the *Cart du Canada* in 1703 the *Kakouagoga* caption was not included, which suggests that some twenty-odd years after they were first mentioned by Bernou, the *Kakouagoga* were no longer significant in the affairs of New France.

The use of these early maps to locate the *Kakouagoga* more precisely is severely limited by the distortion of the Niagara region which was largely unknown to the French in the seventeenth century and by the lack of a scale consistently applicable to the whole map. Nevertheless, the location of the *Kakouagoga* caption relative to a small stream at the

⁵ As late as 1774 Jean Nicholas Bellin, a French cartographer, indicated on his map *Carte de La Louisiana* the "Village des Loups" on the Ohio River in a location south of the mid-point on the south shore of Lake Erie, approximately. William Noble (pers. comm. 1990) has suggested that the Kahkwahs were the wolf clan of the Erie. John R. Swanton identified the "Loup" as Delaware (Swanton 1952: 48).

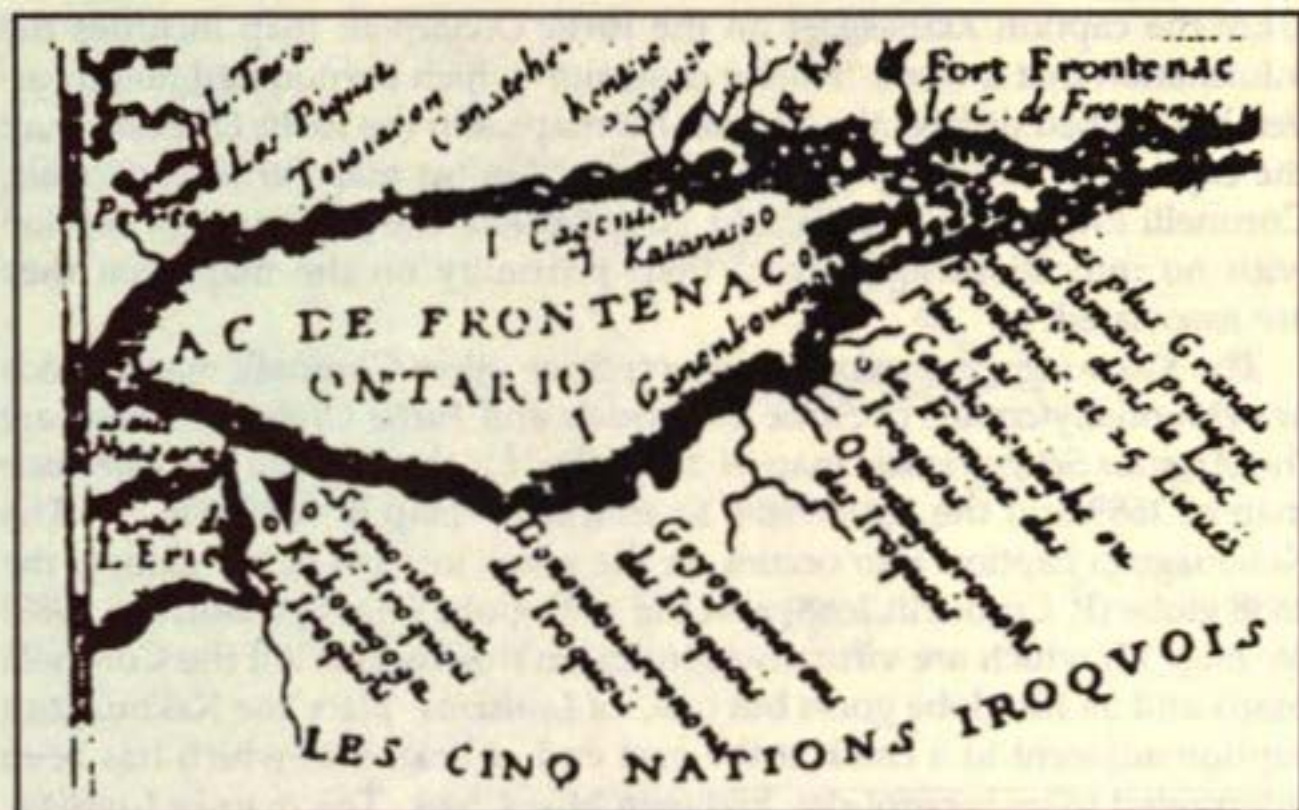


FIGURE 5. Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's map *Partie Orientale du Canada ou de la Nouvelle France*, Paris 1689.



FIGURE 6. Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's map *America Settentrionale* (right half), Venice 1688.

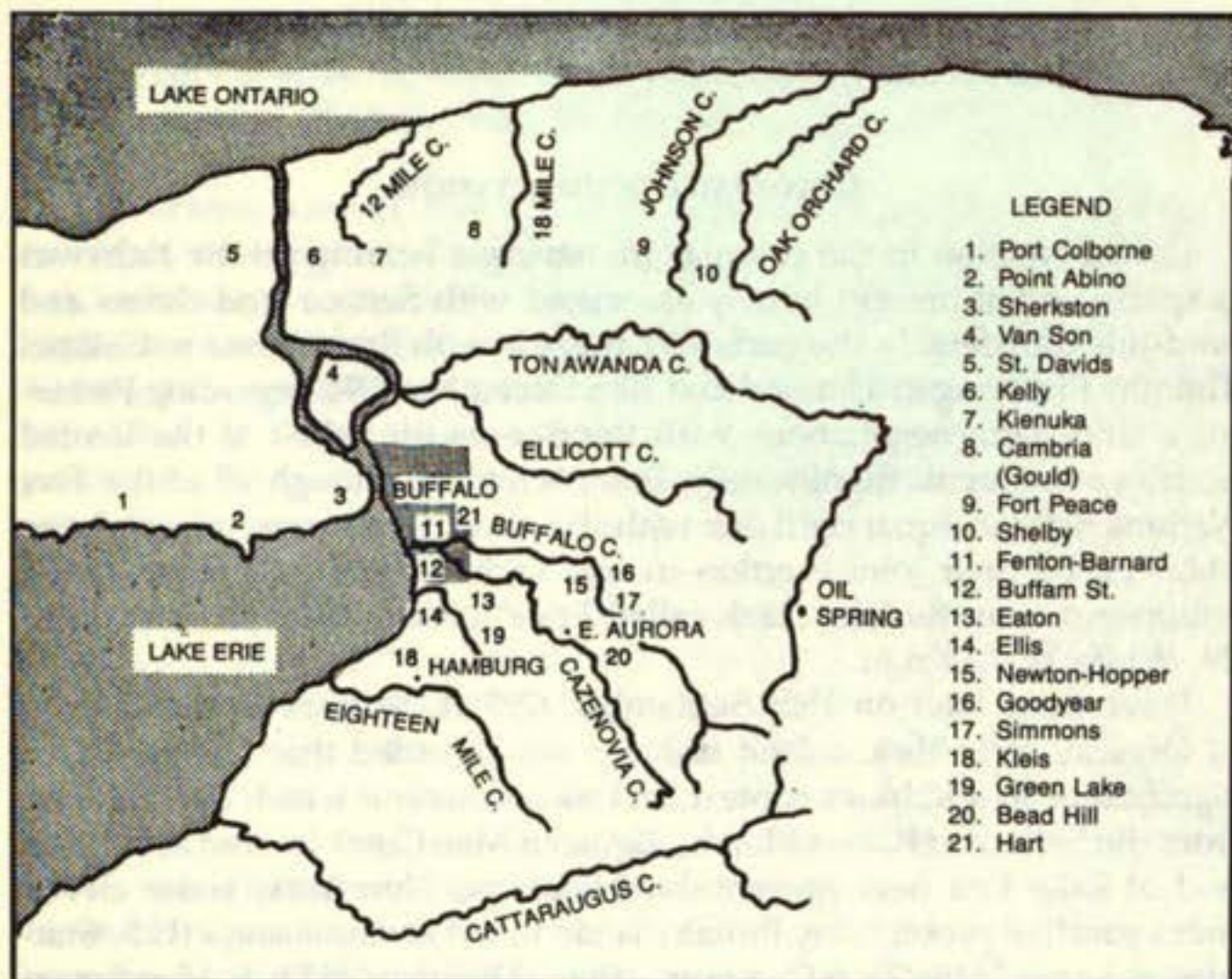


FIGURE 11. Modern map showing archeological sites mentioned (from White 1967 with modifications).

foot of Lake Erie and to the Seneca, whose locations at that time are well-known archaeologically (Wray *et al.* 1987; 1991), is noteworthy. Both the Bernou maps ca. 1680 (Figs. 1 and 2) and three Coronelli maps, *Partie Occidentale* of 1688 (Fig. 4), *Partie Orientale* of 1689 (Fig. 5), and *L'Amerique Septentrionale* also of 1689 (Fig. 7), place the Kakouagoga adjacent to and almost due west of the Seneca near the small creek which may be Eighteen Mile Creek. Three other Coronelli maps; *America Settentrionale* of 1688 (Fig. 6), *America Settentrionale* of 1687 (Fig. 7), and *La Louisiana* of 1695 (Fig. 9); and both his 1688 and 1695 globe gores (Fig. 8) place Kakouagoga on the shore of Lake Erie adjacent to and almost due south of the Seneca. All of these locations place Kakouagoga near a small creek which may be interpreted to be Eighteen Mile Creek. The significance of these locations relative to the Seneca and Eighteen Mile Creek will become apparent later when Seneca traditions regarding the destruction of the Kahkwas and Marian White's archaeological investigations are discussed.

At present this assemblage constitutes a definitive inventory of the instances in which the Kahkwas are mentioned in the seventeenth century.⁶ They do not appear again in the literature until they are men-

⁶ It is noteworthy that François Gendron makes no mention of the Kakouagoga in his letter, which provides a detailed description of the Niagara region and portions of Lake Erie as a result of his visit to the area over the period 1644-45 (Anon. 1868; Nadeau 1966: 328; Kirby 1980: 20).

tioned in colonial documents late in the eighteenth century and early in the nineteenth century.

COLONIAL DOCUMENTATION

Documentation in the colonial era having a bearing on the Kahkwas is sparse and at present wholly associated with Seneca land claims and land-title transfers. In the earliest of these Joseph Brant wrote to Colonel Timothy Pickering in a letter dated 30th December 1794, regarding Pickering's land-claim negotiations with the Seneca on behalf of the United States government. Significantly, Brant wrote: "Although all of the Five Nations have an equal right one with the other, the country having been obtained by their joint exertion in war with a powerful nation⁷ living southward from Buffalo Creek called Eries" (Silver 1923: 5; Clark 1931: 29; White 1971: 37n.6).

Three years later on 15th September 1797 at Genesee in the County of Ontario, New York, a land transfer was recorded that has particular significance in a Kahkwa context. In this instrument which deeded land from the Seneca to Robert Morris, Eighteen Mile Creek located at the east end of Lake Erie near present-day Hamburg, New York, some eleven miles south of present-day Buffalo, is identified as *Koghquauga* (U.S. Statutes at Large 1846a(7): 602; Anon. 1889: 133; Silver 1923: 6; Henderson n.d.). Five years later in a land transaction negotiated at Buffalo Creek on 30th June 1802, between the Seneca and Joseph Ellicott on behalf of the Holland Company, Eighteen Mile Creek is again identified as *Kogh-quaw-gu* (U.S. Statutes at Large 1846a(7): 71; Anon. 1889: 142). Later in 1816 Major John Norton recorded the continued association of the name *Kaghkwague* with both the stream and the village on the stream. He wrote in his journal: "One of their [Erie] villages bore the name *Kaghkwague* and the stream on which it was situated [Eighteen Mile Creek] is about fifteen miles to the Westward (*sic*) of Buffalo Creek and yet bears its name" (Klinck and Talman 1970: 206).

THE SENECA-KAHKWA WAR

In 1827 David Cusick, a Tuscarora, first published his *Ancient History of the Five Nations* (Pechuman 1961: 4) in which he described an attack on the Senecas by the Erians. The Erians, who had crossed the Genesee River into Seneca territory from their homeland to the west between the Niagara and Genesee rivers, were defeated. As will become apparent, it is significant to note that they were not pursued by the Seneca. In retaliation a large force of five thousand Five Nation Iroquois led by Shorihowane (or Sorihowane), a Mohawk chief, attacked the Erie fort (village) *Kauquatkay*, "to extinguish the council fire of the enemy which was

⁷ Dilworth M. Silver indicates that it was a ". . . nation formerly living . . ." (Silver 1923: 15).

becoming dangerous to neighboring nations." When Shorihowane was killed peace ensued in which the Erians were left "in entire possession of the country" (Cusick 1848: 38-39). Once again the Erians were not pursued.

The Seneca have an oral tradition, current to this day, that describes how they destroyed the Kahkwas. Benjamin Barton recounts in his *Journals*, which are estimated to date from the period 1795-1805, how the *Koghquacigians* (Kahkwas) from Kaughquaua Creek had challenged the Seneca to a wrestling match under rules that would have the losers beheaded. At first the Seneca refused, but when goaded they agreed to participate. When the Koghquacigians were vanquished they made war upon the Seneca to retrieve their honor (Barton n.d.; Snyderman 1948: 34, 83 n. 22). In 1881 Elias Johnson related a somewhat similar account in his *Legends, Traditions and Laws of the Iroquois* in which the contest was a ball game (lacrosse?) (Johnson 1881: 180-81; Schoolcraft 1846: 177).

Sometime before 1841 *Ha-yek-dyoh-kunh*, Jacob Blacksnake, an Allegheny Seneca, related this tradition to Henry Schoolcraft in greater detail. He explained how the Seneca had destroyed the Kahkwas in battles that took place at *Deosewa*, present-day Buffalo, New York, and at Eighteen Mile Creek where the principal village of the Kahkwas was located. Blacksnake referred to the Kahkwas as *Gah-Gwah-ge-o-nuh*. Schoolcraft recounted how Blacksnake told him that the war began in 1656 and continued for sixteen or seventeen years (1673) before the Kahkwas were finally defeated, and being expelled from their homeland at the foot of Lake Erie retreated down the Allegheny River. Blacksnake also explained that, "the Seneca called them [the Erie] *Gwagoneh* from which the popular names *Gagwa* and *Kahkwas* were derived." He too mentioned that *Kaquatka* was an Erie stronghold (Schoolcraft 1846: 176-9; 1855(6): 200-2; Kolb 1981: 24).

The Draper Manuscripts on file with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in Madison include a paper "The Kah-kwah War" dated 15th February 1850 which was compiled by Lyman C. Draper at Coldspring, Cattaraugus County, New York. This paper records an account by the Seneca *Dah-gah-no-deh*, 'The Single Mountain' (also known as William Patterson), who was Governor Blacksnake's son-in-law and had lived with him. In this paper "The Single Mountain" recited a Seneca tradition that had been related to him by his mother's brother *Jo-ah-e-sa* (Conjockety), an aged Seneca chief, when *Jo-ah-e-sa* was alleged to be over one hundred years old. Patterson is recorded as having related how the Kah-kwas who lived on Eighteen Mile Creek, which was known to the Seneca as *Gah-kwah-gig-a-ah* 'the place where the Gah-kwahs live', challenged the Senecas to a ball game. Having lost this game, the Kahkwas challenged the Seneca to another game. This too they lost. Then they challenged the Seneca to a footrace and then a wrestling match; the Kahkwas were beaten in both. In accordance with the rules of the contest agreed earlier, the Kahkwas wrestler was beheaded. The Kahkwas insisted on a rematch under the same rules and again the Kahkwa loser was beheaded. Although the Kahkwas had promised they would accept

their defeat gracefully and live in peace with the Seneca, later they attacked the Seneca. A see-saw battle ensued but eventually the Seneca prevailed and the Kahkwas were forced to retreat beyond the reach of the Seneca, some by canoe westward on Lake Erie, others on foot down the Allegheny River. Although the chief of the Seneca who participated in these sporting competitions was content to let matters rest, young Seneca reinforcements who had arrived too late for the battle insisted upon pursuing the Kahkwas both by canoe on Lake Erie and on foot. In the ensuing canoe battle on Lake Erie the Kahkwas killed or drowned all the Seneca. The Seneca party on foot were more successful. They caught up with the Kahkwas at the first island below Pittsburgh where they defeated the Kahkwas who had fled down the Ohio River.⁸ Patterson explained that the Kahkwas, who were also known to him as the *E-ka-o-noh* had once lived on Eighteen Mile Creek and in the area south of Lake Erie as far east as Cattaraugus Creek.

In his 1864 *History of Buffalo* William Ketchum suggested that all the Erie, not just the Kahkwas, had challenged the whole of the Iroquoian Confederacy, not just the Seneca, and he attributes the ensuing Erie war with the Seneca to Erie jealousy of the rising power of the Five Nation Confederacy (Ketchum 1864(1): 6-12).

NINETEENTH-CENTURY SCHOLARS

The matter of the Kahkwas' identity was not raised again until 1846. At that time, as a result of Henry Schoolcraft's enumeration of the Iroquois at Buffalo Creek, Cattaraugus and Allegany, Schoolcraft learned that the *Guandostaguer* (Andaste) had at one time, ". . . occupied the area lying immediately west (*sic*) of the residence of the Neutre nation between the Niagara River and Buffalo Creek extending to the heads of the Allegheny [River]. They were, it is believed, called Kahkwas by the Seneca" (Schoolcraft 1853(3): 290-1). Schoolcraft went on to explain that "it is inferable from [David] Cusick [a nineteenth-century Tuscarora chief] and from the French missionary authors, that the Andastes or Kahkwas who were remote kindred blood, sympathized in the destruction of the Eries and Attiondarous (Neutrals) who gave them secret aid in the war" (Schoolcraft 1853(3): 290-91). But Schoolcraft vacillated regarding the identity he

⁸ Blacksnake's and Patterson's accounts of the Seneca war with the Kahkwas are remotely similar to Charles Garnier's description of a Neutral attack on the Seneca as he related it to Joseph François Lafitau (Fenton and Moore 1977 (2): 105). It is entirely possible that the accounts by Garnier, Blacksnake, and Patterson describe a form of Iroquoian warfare still largely overlooked whereby, initially at any rate, combat was confined to champions or small groups of skilled competitors. The Jesuits describe subsequent attacks on the Erie after the Kahkwas were destroyed (Thwaites JR 37: 105, 111). The Onondaga related in June 1654 how they planned to lead an army against the Erie (Thwaites JR 41: 75) and late in August or early in September 1654, some 1,200 Onondagas (probably accompanied by 700 Mohawks) defeated the Erie, burning their villages and driving them from their homeland (Thwaites JR 45: 209). Snyderman would have the Seneca pursuit of the Kahkwas in canoes take place on Buffalo Creek (Snyderman 1948:68).

attributed to the Kahkwas. In his *Notes on the Iroquois* (1846, 1847) he explained that Cusick had told him that they were *Squawkehowes*, a group affiliated with the Eries who were later absorbed by the Seneca⁹ (Schoolcraft 1846: 164, 287). Elsewhere in both the New York and Albany editions of this work he identified them as Eries (ibid.: 176, 214), and yet again in both these works he also identified them as Neutrals (ibid.: 213-14). The *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, a local paper, noted Schoolcraft's work and opined, ". . . it is very probable that the Kah-Kwas and the Neutral Nation were identical" (Anon. 1846b). Later in his major work *The Indian Tribes* (1852-55) Schoolcraft initially identified the Kahkwas as Andaste (1853 (3): 290-91), then as Neutrals (1854 (4): 197). Cogently he suggested that while the Erie may have been, "called Erieons by the Wyandot [Huron/Petun] and Kahkwas by the Iroquois [Seneca], they may have had many other names" (1854 (4): 323).

In 1849 Orsamus Turner published his *History of the Holland Purchase* in which he suggested that an archaeological village site on Buffalo Creek was the location where, according to the Seneca tradition, the Seneca had destroyed the Kah-Kwahs (Turner 1849: 30). He makes no mention of a second battle, the battle on Eighteen Mile Creek described by Blacksnake. Turner does not identify the Kahkwahs, but he does quote the article published by a Buffalo newspaper in 1846 (op. cit.) which claimed the Kahkwas and the Neutral were identical (Turner 1849: 68). Presumably he supported this identification. In his 1851 work *Phelp's and Gorham's Purchase and Morris' Reserve* Turner noted Father Le Moyne's account in August 1653, which related how a great Seneca chief had been killed in a battle with the Kahkwas and he recognized how "antiquarians" had disputed the identification of the Kahkwas as Erie. Like Schoolcraft had earlier, Turner suggested that "tribes were often known by diverse names in their own tongue as well as in different dialects." Turner concluded that the Seneca had struggled for many years against, "the Allegan (*sic*), Erie, or Kah-Kwah" in their attempts "to extend the Long House of the League westward" (Turner 1850: 92-93).

But it remained for Lewis H. Morgan's widely read *League of the Iroquois*, published in 1851, to open the full-scale debate on Kahkwa iden-

⁹ In his *Ancient History of the Six Nations* (1848: 29) David Cusick stated that the "Senecas was (*sic*) at war with the Sqawkihows, a powerful tribe passed the banks [beyond to the west] of the Genesee River . . . a remnant of the Sqawkihows were allowed to remain in the county and became vassals of the five nations." This was alleged to have taken place "1000 years before Columbus discovered America" (ibid.). Beauchamp elaborated upon David Cusick's account, as it has been recounted to Beauchamp by Albert Cusick, to suggest that "the Sqawkihows are supposed to have been the Indians living at Sqawki Hill among the Seneca and were, perhaps, a remnant of the Eries" (Beauchamp 1892: 69). Later he suggested they may have been a remnant of the Kahkwas (Beauchamp 1922: 233). Earlier Marshall had indicated that the Kah-kwas or Squawkihows lived in Genesee (*sic*) County before the Erie (Marshall 1887: 404). In fact there is no evidence to associate the Sqawkey Hill Indians, the Sqawkihows, with the Kahkwas. It has been demonstrated that the name *Sqawkihows* and its variants *Squaghkies* and *Squatchegas* are derived from the Seneca name for the Fox Indians, *haskwáhkiah*, living among the Seneca. This in turn was derived from the Fox name for themselves, *meskwahki.laki* (Hunter 1956: 12-17; Callender 1978: 646).

tity which was to prevail over the remainder of the nineteenth century and to continue somewhat abated into the twentieth century. Morgan gave the Seneca name for Eighteen Mile Creek as *Ta-nu'n-no-ga-o* in his text and as *Ga-gwa-go* on his map, which he translated as, "the creek of the Cat nation."¹⁰ He believed this creek to be the eastern limit of the Erie territory. He translated *Ga-qua-ga-o-no Wa-a-gwen-ne-yeh*, a village in Cattaraugus County, to mean, 'trail of the Eries'; presumably as an indication that it lay on a trail between the Seneca and the Erie (Morgan 1851: 466). He was first to associate the root *Kahkwa* with the Erie *Ga-qua-ga-o-no* (Wright 1974: 65). But later he wavered. Initially in 1868 he suggested that the Kahkwas were a sub-tribe of Seneca (1868: 227) then by 1871 he suggested they were combined bands of the Eries and Neutrals (Morgan 1871: 152).¹¹

Several scholars joined the discussion following the publication of Morgan's *League of the Iroquois*. In 1864 William Ketchum stated that "It is not possible that the Kaw-quawas, an alien tribe residing among the Seneca, were a remnant of the Neutral" (Ketchum 1864(1): 3). Presumably he believed them to be Eries. Commencing in 1865 Orsamus H. Marshall made several suggestions regarding the Kahkwas.¹² He explained: "It has been assumed by many writers that the Kah-kwas and the Eries were identical. This is not so. The latter according to the most reliable authorities lived south of the western (*sic*) extremity of Lake Erie until they were destroyed by the Iroquois in 1655. The Kah-kwas were exterminated by them as early as 1651" (Marshall 1865: 6 n.2; 1887: 278 n.2). He went on to explain that "the Attiwondaronk, or Neutral Nation [were]

¹⁰ Morgan also noted that Caugwaga Creek, another creek in Erie County, is known as *Ga-gwa-ga*, the 'creek of the Cat Nation' (Morgan 1851: 466).

¹¹ Morgan twice notes that Charlevoix assigned the name *Je-gó-sa-sa*, 'Cat Nation', to both the Neutrals and the Erie (Morgan 1851: 41 note 1, 337 note 1). Henderson later remarked in his letter to Thwaites that, ". . . it is certainly a curious coincidence, if nothing more, that the Neutrals too [in addition to the Erie] were known to the Iroquois as *Je-gó-sa-sa*, the Cat Nation" (Henderson n.d.: 315). Roy Wright has explained that actually a literal translation of *Je-gó-sa-sa* would be 'fat face' (pers. comm. Sept. 1990). Gordon Day suggested (pers. comm. Sept. 1985) that while both nations may have been named after a 'cat' (Felidae), they may have been named after different species; for instance, the mountain lion or cougar (*Felix concolor* sp.) or the lynx or bobcat (*Lynx lynx* sp.). Norman Carlson (pers. comm. July 1991) has suggested there may be a connection between *Je-gó-sa-sa* and *Ge-gó-sa-sa*, Seneca for the "Peace Queen" (Parker 1926: 19) also known as *Yagowonea*, who sought to make peace between the Five Nations Iroquois and the Messissaugers (Mississaugas) and later, warned the *Kauquatkay* of the possibility of this war developing (Cusick 1848: 38).

¹² In his introduction to the published collection of his father's works, Charles D. Marshall indicates Orsamus Marshall had used Nathaniel T. Strong, a Seneca; Peter Wilson, a Cayuga; White Seneca, the son of a white Seneca captive; Conjockey, a descendant of the Kahkwas sometimes known as the "Last Kahkwa," Blacksmith (*sic*), Ely Parker, Nichols H. Parker, M. B. Pierce, and Moses Stevenson as his informants (Marshall 1887: vii). Marshall explained in his "Index Rerum" (*sic*) that the information indicating that the Kah-kwas had lived on Eighteen Mile Creek and that the last battle with the Kah-kwas had been fought east of the Genesee River as David Cusick had related, had been explained to him by White Seneca. Information that the Kah-kwas lived in two large towns—one at Whites Corners, the other to the west—had been received from Conjockey in June 1864. Blacksmith (*sic*) had advised Marshall that the Kahkwas were called *Geh-gwah-ge-o-noh* by the Seneca (Marshall 1887: 404).

called Kah-kwas by the Seneca" (Marshall 1887: 278) and he translated *Gah-gwah-gé-ga-aah* and *Gah-gwah-geh* as "the residence of the Kah-kwas" (Marshall 1865: 35; 1881: 35; 1887: 318). He also interpreted *Ga-gwa-ge-go-aah* as "where the Kah-kjwas (*sic*) live" (Marshall 1865: 35; 1881: 35).

Over the remainder of the nineteenth century several scholars contributed to Kahkwas literature, but in this context most of their works were derivative, adding little new to the discussion. George Gale believed Kahkwa was a synonym for the Erie (Gale 1867: 37). On the other hand Francis Parkman listed several Neutral synonyms with the explanation that, "They, and not the Eries, were the Kahkwas of Seneca tradition" (Parkman 1867: xliv n.3). F. M. Ruttenber noted that the Iroquois had destroyed both the Gahkwas and the Eries. In a footnote he credited to Schoolcraft, he identified the Gahkwas and Kahkwas as Iroquois "who were supposed to be the same as the Eries, [but] by others they were subsequently known as the Huron" (Ruttenber 1872: 52). Abbé E. Schmitz presented a paper at the Second International Congress of Americanists held in Luxemburg in 1877 in which he discussed the destruction of the Kahkwas by the Seneca and identified them as Eries (Schmitz 1878: 360-61). In their *History of Warren County, Pennsylvania*, J. S. Schenck and W. S. Rann identified the Kahquahs as Neutrals, crediting to them what is known of Neutral contacts with the French. They also attributed the destruction of the Kahkwas to the Seneca, recounting the Seneca tradition related by Blacksnake some five years before Beauchamp noted in 1892 that he had heard the tradition then common to the Seneca, Onondaga, and Tuscarora from Albert Cusick, David Cusick's grand nephew and a lay religious leader with the Episcopal Mission at Onondaga. Schenck and Rann's account of the Seneca tradition also locates two battles; one in which the Senecas defeated the Kahkwas "near Honeoye Lake, about half way between Canandaigua and the Genesee [River] in New York" and a second "near the old Indian Church on the Buffalo Creek Reservation where the Kahkwas were utterly routed and destroyed to a man" (Schenck and Rann 1887: 23-28). It will be recalled that a battle location near Buffalo Creek had been suggested by Turner earlier (1894: 30) but this is the first reference to a battle near Honeoye Lake. William Bryant also identified the Kahkwas as Neutrals (Bryant 1890: 10-11). J. G. Henderson provided Reuben Thwaites with a digest of the documentation regarding the Kahkwas that he included in his *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites JR 21: 314 n.11). Henderson's references are included in this paper.

William M. Beauchamp's Kahkwa writings over the thirty-three year period from 1889 to 1922 made a major contribution. By 1892 he had heard Seneca, Onondaga, and Tuscarora accounts of the Kahkwa's war with the Seneca from Albert Cusick, which, as was explained earlier, had been derived from David Cusick's earlier account.¹³ Beauchamp con-

¹³ In his *Ancient History* (1848) David Cusick had mentioned a great lake *Kau-ha-gwa-rah-ka*, Lake Erie, which he explained was the Erie word for 'cap' (Cusick 1848: 27). Beauchamp (1892: 58) and Deardorff (n.d. General Box; Erie card 3) have interpreted this to indicate a Kahkwa connection with the Erie.

trasted the Cusicks' relation with Blacksnake's Seneca account, noting that "[Cusick's] account of the Erie war resembles yet differs from Blacksnake's story. Cusick mentions two wars, Blacksnake only one. He [Cusick] said the Kah-kwas had their principal residence at Eighteen Mile Creek south of Buffalo. This is called by the Seneca *Gah-gwah-geh*, Residence of the Kah-kwas" (Beauchamp 1892: 89-90). Beauchamp erred when he characterized Blacksnake's relation of the Seneca tradition as describing only one battle with the Kahkwas, as is evident from Schoolcraft's original account (Schoolcraft 1846: 176-79; 1854(6): 200-202) and, in part, from the derivative account given by Schenck and Rann (1887: 23-28). Subsequently, Beauchamp followed Cusick's two-battle account closely when he related how the Kahkwas had challenged the Seneca to games and, having lost all of the competitions, had attacked the Seneca only to be defeated and forced to flee down to the Ohio River. Beauchamp notes how Cusick's account differs significantly from the account that would have the Kahkwas defeated by a combined force of Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk, and Seneca who pursued them down the Allegheny River. Neither is this elaboration included in the 1850 account set out in the Draper Manuscripts.

Initially in 1889 Beauchamp identified the Kakouagoga as Eries, reasoning that because the Neutral were indicated on Bernou's 1680 maps, only the Erie were left to be accounted for in this region. Beauchamp repeated this argument later in 1892 stating that "on the [Bernou] map of 1680 the Kakouagoga 'a nation destroyed', is placed near Buffalo, but no mention is made of the Erie; for this reason I think Marshall [op. cit.] mistaken in identifying the Kah-kwas with the Neutrals. . . . The general evidence seems to favor the latter [the Eries] as Cusick certainly does" (Beauchamp 1892: 90). As a result, in part, it is surprising to find in his *History of the New York Iroquois* (1905) that Beauchamp located the Kakouagoga on the south shore of Lake Ontario west of Rochester in Niagara or Orleans county. This region is usually reserved for the Wenro, who are not shown on Beauchamp's 1905 map. This location may be in connection with the battle near Honeoye Lake mentioned by Schenck and Rann (1887: 23-28). Beauchamp also remarks on how the Seneca had told Schoolcraft that the Kahkwas were destroyed at Eighteen Mile Creek in 1755 (*sic*) and that Schoolcraft had "thought 100 years should be deducted from this time" (Beauchamp 1905: 181). Seventeen years later in 1922 Beauchamp cited an account of the Kahkwas he attributed to a work by Elias Johnson, a Tuscarora (Johnson 1881) which in reality repeated David Cusick. In this account, "The Kahkwas and the Eries were included in the *Sqawkihows* (*sic*) being of one language and offshoots of the Seneca.⁹ . . . Those a little south of Buffalo were called *Kah-Kwah-Ka*, those further west [on the south shore of Lake Erie were called] Erie or Cats." Beauchamp noted that apart from this information, Johnson's Tuscarora account did not differ greatly from that of Cusick's, who was also a Tuscarora (Beauchamp 1922: 141-42). Cusick's explanation that *Kah-kwas* meant 'an eye swelled like a cat', a description that to this day is

usually reserved for the Erie, led Beauchamp to suggest cogently that "The Eries thus may have had both names" (Beauchamp 1889; 1893: 19-20).

Dean William Harris also carried the debate over into the twentieth century with his two almost identical works *A Forgotten People: The Flint People*, published in 1896 and his *Flint Workers: A Forgotten People*, published in 1901. Harris proffered the following account, attributing it to Daillon's letter of 1627 (Thwaites JR 4: 260; 8: 304-305): "Daillon states in his valuable letter that a deputation of ten men of the eastern branch of the Neutrals, known as Ongiaharas, or Kaw-Kwahs, waited upon him bearing a request to visit their village, Onaroronon, a days march or about thirty miles from the land of the Iroquois" (Harris 1896: 233-34; 1901: 29).¹⁴ This information contrasts sharply with that set out in the copy of Daillon's letter quoted by Sagard (1634: 798-811, 880-94) and in the translation provided by Shea (1881 (1): 268), and by Harris himself in an earlier work (1893: 53). Sagard states: "At least ten men of the last village [farthest distant, or last visited?] called Ouaroronon one days journey from the Iroquois, their relatives and friends coming to trade at our village [Ouonontisaston], came to visit me and invited me to come and see them in their village" (Sagard 1634: 789-811).¹⁵ It is significant to note that the references to the Kahkwas in Harris's 1896 and 1901 texts do not appear in Sagard's account¹⁶ nor do the Harris texts agree on the spelling of the visitor's village. Harris appears to identify the Kahkwas as Neutrals, although he does not state this unequivocally in either of his works.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY SCHOLARS

Twentieth-century scholars remain divided regarding the identity of the Kahkwas. In his *Indian Village, Camp and Burial Sites on the Niagara Frontier*, Frederick Houghton (1909) noted the presence of the *Rakouagega* caption on the Franquelin map of 1684 and speculated that he "must have received this name from the Seneca, for it is a Seneca word."¹⁷ He identified the *Rakouagega* and *Kakouagoga* captions on the seventeenth-century maps as an Erie village on Cattaraugus Creek, which he noted was never in Neutral territory, although in one instance he had extended Neutral territory as far south as Tonawanda Creek and perhaps as far as Eighteen Mile Creek (1909: 268). Nevertheless, Houghton agreed with Marshall (op. cit.) accepting Eighteen Mile Creek, which he knew as *Ga-gwa-ge-*

¹⁴ This text is identical in both editions of Harris's work, with the exception of the spelling *Kah-kwas* which is spelled *Kah-Khas* in the 1901 edition.

¹⁵ White notes that Daillon's *Ouaroronon* is spelled *Ahouenrochrhonon* in Le Jeune's *Relation* for 1635 (Thwaites JR 8: 116), and *Aouenrohronon* in the *Relation* for 1639, and explains they are both synonyms for the Wenro (White 1978a: 411).

¹⁶ Harris also quoted Pierre Margry (1879 (1): 4) regarding Daillon's trip in 1626 but the Margry text does not mention the Kahkwas (Harris 1893: 56 note).

¹⁷ Roy Wright (pers. comm. Sept. 1990) has pointed out that there is no 'R' sound in Seneca.

go-aah, 'where the Kahkwas live', as the eastern limit of Erie territory. Houghton repeated Beauchamp's twice-argued logic that because the Neutrals are indicated on the early maps and the Erie are not, Kakouagoga must indicate the Eries. Houghton referred to the Franquelin and Coronelli maps in this context while Beauchamp had used the Bernou maps. Significantly Houghton noted how early in the twentieth century, and they are still, the archaeological assemblages from the historic sites in the Niagara region were largely undiagnostic. He explained how, on the basis of the archaeological data alone, these sites, and their protohistoric ancestors, could be attributed to the Seneca, Neutral, Wenros, or Erie with equal credibility (Houghton 1909: 303-304). Nevertheless, Houghton suggested later that because the most easterly village of the Erie was located at Ripley, New York, on the south shore of Lake Erie (Parker 1907: 525-31) some fifty five miles west of Eighteen Mile Creek, the people on Eighteen Mile Creek must be Neutrals. Earlier Houghton had identified Eighteen Mile Creek as being the place where the Kahkwas lived, and the archaeological site near Hamburg on Eighteen Mile Creek, presumably the Kleis site (White 1968: 39), as a Neutral site (Houghton 1920: 41).

Intermittently over the next twenty-odd years several scholars made passing references to the Kahkwas but these works are largely derivative. Principal among these were Henry Howland (1903: 98) who identified the Kahkwas as Neutrals living in the area between the Genesee and Niagara rivers, where several Iroquoianists now place the Wenro. It will be recalled that this is the area in which Schenck and Rann (op. cit.) located a Seneca battle with the Kahkwas. John Miller (1901 (1): 15) identified the Kahkwas as Neutrals. Arthur Parker (1919: 12, 42) suggested that Neutral territory may have extended to Eighteen Mile Creek but left the Kah-Kwas unidentified with the explanation that Elizabeth Johnson, daughter of James Johnson, had identified the Neutrals as *Kah-gwa-onoh*. In 1887 Orsamus Marshall identified one of his informants, Conjockey, as a descendant of the Kahkwas who was known as "The Last Kahkwas" (Marshall 1887: vii). However, it will be recalled how in the Draper Manuscript account of the Kahkwas war related to Draper at Coldspring in 1850 by William Patterson, Conjockey (Jo-ah-e-sa) was identified as a Seneca chief. To confuse matters further, in 1926 Parker stated that Phillip Kenjockey, was a descendant of the Neutral nation (Parker 1926: 146), which is consistent with Parker's 1919 identification of the Kahkwas as Neutrals. Hodge identified the Kahkwas as Eries (Hodge 1912: 1068). Cogently, J.N.B. Hewitt noted the possibility that the territory between the Eries and the Neutrals may have been occupied by groups allied to the Erie who were not themselves Eries. (Hewitt 1913: 146). In 1923 Dilworth Silver published privately a pamphlet, *The Location of the Nations of Indians Known as the Wenroes and the Eries*, in which he stated that, "The Neutral Nation of the Indians were not the Kah-Kwas, as it has been supposed." He went on to identify the Kahkwas as an Erie group located on Eighteen Mile Creek, which is known to the Seneca as *Gah-Gwah-ge-ge-*

on, 'the creek where the Kahkwas dwelt' (Silver 1923: 6). Dorothy P. Skinner (1932: 30, 45) also identified the Kahkwas as Neutrals.

In his *Problems Arising from the Historic Northeastern Position of the Iroquois* (1940), William Fenton identified the caption *Rakougega* (sic) on the Franquelin map of 1684 as one of the two towns destroyed during the conquest of the Erie. He suggests that the *Rakouagega* may be cognate with modern Seneca *kahgwa' ge'ya'* and he located the Franquelin caption at the mouth of Cattaraugus Creek. Fenton also drew attention to a contemporary Seneca practice, explaining that "the Seneca continually speak of a people formerly living west of them called the *Kahgwa' ge' o' no'*, which refers first to the Wenro and later to the Erie." Fenton conducted this discussion under the 'Erie' rubric, leaving the impression that he favored an Erie identity for the Kahkwas (Fenton 1940: 194-95). Fenton also raised the possibility that the *Gachooos* on Visscher's *Carte Figurative* ca. 1614 may be part of the Erie he designated *Kahgwa'* (ibid.: 325). The late Schuyler Miller, a dedicated Iroquoian scholar, discussed this possibility in his correspondence with Vernon Leslie and Ives Goddard during the 1950s, without reaching a conclusion. John Swanton does not mention the Kahkwas in his *Indian Tribes of North America* (Swanton 1952). In 1948 George Snyderman again raised the possibility that the Kahkwas were not Eries but allies who were not themselves Eries (Snyderman 1948: 47). This had been suggested earlier by Schoolcraft (1846: 164, 176-79, 287) as a result of Cusick's relation and later by Ketchum (1864 (1): 7-15), by Hewitt (1913: 146) and by Beauchamp (1922: 141-42) as a result of Elias Johnson's relation in 1881. Both Cusick and Johnson were Tuscaroras.

In 1958 Marian White published a paper, *Dating the Niagara Frontier Iroquois*, which was the first of a series of reports on her archaeological investigations of the Niagara Region, which lasted for nearly twenty years. Frequently these papers incorporated data which, directly or indirectly, had a bearing on the Kahkwas. White's works will be examined in detail later. In 1963 Gordon Wright encapsulated the problem succinctly, stating that, "there is some question as to whether the term 'Kahkwas' applied to the Eries, to the Neutrals, or to both." Having examined Schoolcraft's account of Blacksnake's relation of the Seneca-Kahkwas war, Wright concluded, "The location of the 'Kakouagoga' on Coronelli's map of 1688 [*Nouvelle France*] would seem to place it in Erie territory as a 'nation destroyed'" thereby, presumably, opting to make the Kahkwas Eries (Wright 1963: 4, n.22). Bruce Trigger has suggested that the Kahkwas were Eries (Trigger 1976: 443). William Noble has suggested that the *Kakouagoga* were one of ten tribes that comprised the Neutral chiefdom ruled by Souharissen ca. 1626. He explains that it is "noteworthy, [that] the Akhrakuaeronon (*Kakouagoga*) in the vicinity of Buffalo Creek, New York, are here considered to be an allied group to the Neutrals (and probably the Eries), but not one of the constituent tribes of the Neutral Iroquois as previously believed (Noble 1978: 17; White 1972: 71). They are known as a separate entity from both the Neutrals and the Eries as early as 1639 (*JR* 18: 233 and Ragueneau's 1639

map)" (Noble 1984: 23). Noble's maps locate the Kakoua (*sic*) in 1638 and the Akhrakuaeronon in 1640 in much the same location at the east end of Lake Erie where they are west of the Seneca and south of a Neutral intrusion a short distance east of the Niagara River (Noble 1984: 3, 22).

Several non-technical topical books have been published in this century, which include references to the Kahkwas using this or another spelling. Among these are James Braden's *Little Brother of the Hudson: A Tale of the Last Eries* (1928); Imogene Robertson's *Once an Indian Village in Buffalo* (1925); William Kubiak's *Great Lakes Indian: A Pictorial Guide* (1970); and Henry Forrest Lupold's *The Forgotten People: The Woodland Erie* (1975). Interesting though these books may be, they are largely derivative, drawing heavily on the sources examined above. As a result, they need not be examined further in the context at hand.

LINGUISTICS

The linguistic works of Roy Wright and John Steckley are particularly significant in the context of this paper. Wright's paper, *The People of the Panther: A Long Erie Tale* (1974), draws heavily upon the linguistic implications of the Iroquois words used in connection with the Erie. Facets of Wright's discussion include a linguistic analysis of the *Kakouagoga* and *Rakouagega* captions on the Bernou, Franquelin, and Coronelli maps. He provides linguistic reasons to demonstrate why the *Kahgwa?géya/kakhwa?kaka?* Fenton heard in modern Seneca (Fenton 1940: 195), and the *Kahkwa?keka* derived from captions on the Bernou, Franquelin, and Coronelli maps, are different. Wright suggests that because *Kahgwa?geya*, the town named by Fenton, was sacked in 1654 before the Erie were destroyed, it cannot be the *Kakouagoga* derived from information obtained from La Salle ca. 1679 to be indicated on seventeenth-century maps dated post-1680 (Wright 1974: 54-55). For comparison it might be noted that Marshall believed the *Kakouagoga* had been destroyed ca. 1651 (Marshall 1865:4) and White concluded that the Kahkwas were destroyed ca. 1640 (White 1971: 26). Here Roy Wright's argument bears heavily on White's explanation that "the Seneca used a similar word [to *Kakouagoga*] to refer to the people who formerly lived west of them (Fenton 1940: 194): *Kakwa?Ké-onq?*, 'people at the *ká.hawa?*, place' (Wallace L. Chaffe personal communications 1976)" (White 1978a: 411). Wright continues: "The original name data being often inextricably tangled in the recorder's discussion and analysis thereof, it is often hard to be sure whether *Kahkwa?keka?* was originally the Seneca name applied to the 'whole' people [confederation??] called Erie by the Huron and later by the whites, or whether it simply denoted the closest [nearest] constituent group" (Wright 1974: 65). Wright's (1974: 65) suggestion that the earliest application of the root *Kahkwa?* to explain the Erie, dates from the mid-nineteenth century (he mentions Morgan 1851: 41) overlooks the land deeds dated 1797 and 1802 which included *Koghquauga* and *Kogh-quaw-gu* in their texts (op. cit.).

In 1985 John Steckley published a paper, *A Tale of Two Peoples*, in which

he examined two Iroquoian groups, "The Large Field People" and "The Easterners." From the outset Steckley conceded that "working with the names of early Amerindian places and tribes is difficult and fraught with traps for the uninitiated and the experienced alike." Having aptly warned us that "the researcher is well advised to exercise caution," Steckley proceeds with his study in which "... much of this caution has been waived in order to try and develop a particular hypothesis" (Steckley 1985: 9). Steckley's discussion of the group he has named "The Easterners" is particularly germane in the context of this paper. He suggests that Atrakwaeronnon¹⁸ and its Huron synonym Atrakwa,e, together with the Akhrakovaetonon who are located in the ill-defined Niagara region on the Bourdon map (?), *Novvelle France*, ca. 1646 (Heidenreich 1988), are the equivalents of the Seneca or Cayuga for *Kakouagoga* which first appeared on the Bernou maps ca. 1680 (Steckley 1985: 13). His synonymy includes:

Akhrakuaeronon, 1640 (Thwaites, JR 18: 233-35).

Akhrakovaeronon, 1646 Bourdon map [on the map attributed to Jean Bourdon ca. 1641-1646 it is spelled *Akhrakovaetonon*].

Atrakwa,e, 1651 (Thwaites, JR 36: 141).

Atrakwaeronnons, 1652 (Thwaites, JR 37: 97, 105; 38: 191).

Atrakwa,e, 1652 (Thwaites JR 37: 111).

Steckley suggests that the Huron *Atrakwa,e* (sic) and the Cayuga *kahkwa:?* are derived from their words for 'the sun' which is also an element of their terms for 'east'. This eastern connotation contrasts sharply with Beauchamp's advice that Gallatin had given *Kahquahgoh* as the Seneca word for 'south' (Beauchamp 1905: 181). Steckley notes that this may be *kah'kwa?*, a 'place', as was suggested by Wallace Chafe to Marian White (White 1978a: 411). Steckley explains that the synonymy he cites is supported by the *Kakouagoga* being located by Bernou in virtually the same location in which Bourdon places the *Akhrakovaetonon*. Steckley then uses a *Kakouagoga/Akhrakovaetonon/Atrakwa,eronnon/Atrakwa,e* synonymy and certain lists compiled by the Jesuits¹⁹ which indicate sequentially the relative geographical locations of the tribes (?) in the Great Lakes region, together with his identification of these tribes, to locate the *Kakouagoga* homeland.²⁰

In this connection Steckley notes how in the 1640 Jesuit list of tribes

¹⁸ Steckley (1985: 13) notes that the Jesuits (Thwaites JR 37: 105) first reported that either the Atrakwaeronons (Bourdon's *Akhrakovaetonon* located in the Niagara region) and the *Akhrakuaeronon* derived from Rageneau's lost map (Thwaites JR 18: 235) or the *Andastaronons* (Susquehannock ?) were attacked by the Iroquois in 1652. Later this was revised (Thwaites JR 37: 111) to indicate that it was the Atrakwa,e (a synonym for the *Kakouagoga*) who had been attacked. This account suggests there was a *Akhrakovaetonon / Atrakwa,e / Kakouagoga / Kahkwa* equivalence (vide note 37).

¹⁹ There are three of these lists of tribes (?); there is the list that is contained in the *Jesuit Relation* for 1640 (Thwaites JR 18:233-35), which was believed to have been taken, in part at least, from the lost Huron map compiled by Rageneau; the list that is in the *Jesuit Relation* for 1656 (Thwaites JR 42: 197); and the list compiled in the 1740s by Pierre Potier (Potier 1920).

²⁰ Marian White had earlier used this technique with some success (White 1978a: 411).

the *Atrakwa,eronnons* appear immediately after the *Aondironon* and the *Ongmarahonons* (two Neutral names), and immediately before the *One-ronon* (the Wenro), the *Ehressononon*; and *Attiouendaronk* (a general term for the Neutral) and the Erie. In the 1656 list the *Atrakwa,eronnons* appear after the *Atraguenrek* and *Atiaonrek* (the Neutrals), and before the *Gentue-tehronnons* (an Erie group). In the 1740 list the *Atrakwa,eronnons* appear after the *era,enrek* (the Neutral), and before *Rie* (the Erie) (Steckley 1985: 12). In two of these lists, 1656 and 1740, the *Atrakwa,eronnon* synonymy group, which includes the *Kakouagoga*, is located between the Neutral and the Erie. In the 1640 list the *Atrakwa,eronnons* are located in much the same area. It should be noted that in this sequence the location of the *Atrakwa,eronnons* could vary depending upon the location attributed to the Wenro.²¹ Nevertheless, the location for these tribes (?) derived

²¹ Contemporary information regarding the Wenro or Awenrohonons is sparse. Under any one of several names (White 1961: 88), they were said to be associated with the Neutrals and lived east of them about one day's journey west of the Iroquois, presumably the Seneca (Thwaites JR 17: 25-27). White suggested that it was the Seneca (White 1961: 29-50), or the Seneca and the Neutral (White 1972: 62; Thwaites JR 8: 302) who drove the Wenro from their homeland. Brébeuf and Chaumont related how during their visit to the Neutrals in 1640-41 they learned that "some years ago through fear of their enemies, there took refuge in this village [Khioetoe] a certain strange nation who had dwelt beyond ["au dela de," my emphasis] the Erie or Cat Nation" (Thwaites JR 12: 231-33). Their location beyond the Erie is reiterated in Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1635 which lists the *Ahouenrochrhonons* (Wenro) after the *Rhierrhonons* (Erie); if indeed this listing is scrupulously sequentially relative to the geographical locations of these tribes (?) (Thwaites JR 8: 115). On the other hand, the *Relation* for 1640, which is believed to be derived from Rageneau's lost map, lists the *Oniouenhrhonon* (Wenro) before the Andaste (vide note 37) and separated from the Erie by several unidentified Indian groups (Thwaites JR 18: 233-35); one of which may be the Kahkwas. In his note to Le Jeune's *Relation*, Thwaites explains that the Wenro were located "at the eastern end of Lake Erie lying between the Eries and the Neutrals" (Thwaites JR 8: 302).

Twentieth-century scholars' opinions regarding the location of the Wenro vary. Beauchamp (1905: 177) suggested they were an "allied tribe of the Neutral group." Arthur Jones (1909: 423) identified three or four of the eastern Neutral villages, including *Onquiaahra*, as Wenro villages. Fenton (1940: 178, 186) also identified the Wenro as eastern members of the Neutrals whose four eastern villages before 1638 extended east of the Niagara River in an arc to Erie territory at the foot of Lake Erie. Hewitt (1910: 932) suggested the Wenro had lived as far as Oil Spring in Allegany County, New York. Houghton identified the Buffam Street, Eaton, and Newton-Hopper archaeological sites in present-day Buffalo as Wenro (Houghton 1920: 39-41; 1922: 250-53). MacNeish placed the Wenro east of the Erie (MacNeish 1952: 22). White located the Wenro homeland until 1638 in the area between the Niagara and Genesee rivers with the reservation that there was little archaeological evidence to support this suggestion (White 1961: 25-27, 50). Subsequently she identified three sites on the south shore of Lake Ontario between Oak Orchard Creek and the Niagara River—the Shelby site in Orleans County, and the Kienuka and Fort Peace sites in Niagara County—as Wenro village sites (White 1976: 131; 1977: 85; 1979: 409). Engelbrecht and Sullivan (n.d.: 34) support these identifications. White also suggested that it was the Seneca (White 1961: 49-50), or the Seneca and the Neutral (White 1972: 62), who drove the Wenro from their homeland in Orleans and Niagara counties, New York, southwestward to the area south of Cattaraugus Creek which, before 1644, had been Erie territory. Cogently, Paul Lennox has noted that "White does not consider the possibility that [Brébeuf's and Chaumont's Wenro location, Thwaites JR 12: 231-33] 'beyond the Erie' might refer to a location southwest of the Erie, along the Lake Erie shore" (Lennox 1981: 357). In 1983 Stothers and Graves supported Lennox's interpretation of the Jesuit's *Relation* which located the Wenro "beyond the Erie" (Thwaites JR 12: 231-33), placing them on the south shore of Lake Erie in the area of present-day Erie, Pennsylvania, and the Erie at the southeast corner at the foot of Lake Erie (Stothers and Graves 1983: 121, 140, 141; Stothers 1991: 27).

from the Jesuit listings accords well with the location of the *Akhrakovaetonon* on the map, *Novvelle France* (ca. 1646), attributed to Bourdon and the *Kakouagoga* on the Bernou maps (ca. 1680).

In 1990 Steckley published a detailed linguistic analysis of the map, *Novvelle France*, attributed to Bourdon in which he "attempted to translate the names of, and to identify, the groups and locations on the map." His comments regarding the *Akhrakovaetonon* are as follows:

The name "Akhrakovaetonon" (11), located between "lac Des Gens Dv Chats" and "Lacs De Saint LOVYS," refers to a group of Iroquoian speakers who were dispersed by the Iroquois in the early 1650s. This name appears elsewhere as "Akhrakuaeronon" and "Trakwaerronnons" (JR 45: 207), and as the name for their village "Atra^ckwae" (JR 36: 141), "Atra^ckwae" (JR 37: 111) (the significance of -c- signifies an -h- like sound), and "Trakwae" (Potier 1920: 662). The name can be translated literally as "people of where the sun is," with the probable meaning "people of the east" (Potier 1920: 169, 325 and 452; Steckley 1985: 12-13 and Lagarde 1987: 423). This possibly refers to their living east of the Niagara River, or even to the fact that their earlier homes had been located further east. Most writers identify these people with the Neutral, but the possibilities that they were linked to the Susquehannock, or that they were independent, cannot yet be ruled out (Steckley 1990: 21).

The bracketed figure (11) in Steckley's text above refers to an item in his tabular presentation of the captions found on the Bourdon map which indicates that 'Akhrakovaetonon' is mentioned by other sources as follows:

<i>Nouvelle France</i> c. 1641	<i>Le Jeune-1640</i> JR 18: 227-239	<i>Sanson: Le Canada</i> 1656/1657	<i>Identification</i>
<i>Akhrakovaetonon</i>	<i>Akhrakvaeronon</i>	—	?

If indeed Steckley has correctly identified *Atrak^cwa,e*; and presumably its equivalents including *Atrakwa,eronnon* and *Akhrakovaetonon*, as *Kahkwas* (Steckley 1985: 15), the name *Kahkwa* (*Kakouagoga*) is unlikely to be a synonym for *Antouhonoron* as well. Nevertheless, the *Antouhonoron*, *Atrakovaetonon* and *Kakouagoga* are all collocated in the area immediately east of the Niagara River on Champlain's maps of 1616 and 1632, on Bourdon's (?) map *Novvelle France*, of ca. 1646, on Bernou's 1680 maps, on the Franquelin map of 1684, and on the several Coronelli maps and globes. Pendergast has suggested that the *Antouhonorons*, who by 1615 had been described to Champlain as living adjacent to the Lake of Entouhonorons (Lake Ontario), were equivalent to the Massawomeck, who in 1608 had been described to John Smith by Chesapeake Bay Algonquians as being raiders from that same interior lacustrine region (Pendergast 1991). First hand accounts by Henry Fleet and Leonard Calvert, English fur traders on Chesapeake Bay, over the period 1632-34, reliably indicate that the Massawomecks (*Antouhonorons*) had moved from the Lake of the Entouhonorons (Lake Ontario) to the Atlantic hinterland not far west of Chesapeake Bay by that time. On the other hand, White's archaeological data (to be discussed next) indicates that the *Kahkwas* (*Akhrakovaetonon*, etc.) re-

mained in the area at the foot of Lake Erie until they were destroyed there by the Seneca ca. 1640. This too would suggest that the Antouhonoron (Massawomeck) and the Kahkwas (Aktrakovaetonon) are not synonymous. Nevertheless, White's archaeological evidence (to be discussed next) which dates the terminal presence of the Kahkwas at the Kleis site on Eighteen Mile Creek over the period ca. 1625–40, incorporates the period ca. 1625 when the Massawomeck may have still been present in the Niagara region before they moved to the Chesapeake Bay hinterland. Possibly, in this context the Kleis Kahkwas site, an Erie or Erie-allied group, were the Antouhonoron who, when raiding Algonquians or trading with the English on Chesapeake Bay, were known as the Massawomecks.

ARCHAEOLOGY

The long, extensive and detailed investigations conducted by Marian E. White on the Niagara Frontier in New York State, from the late 1950s until her untimely death in 1975, continue to dominate our understanding of the archaeology of this region. Commencing with her work *Dating the Niagara Frontier Iroquois* (1958), White identified the *Kakouagoga* as Neutrals, with the reminder that prior to 1650 the Seneca had inhabited the lands from where the city of Buffalo now stands southward to what may be Cattaraugus Creek (White 1958: 5, 46–48). In her doctoral dissertation *Iroquois Culture History in the Niagara Frontier Area of New York State* (1961) her references to the Kahkwas were largely confined to her assessment of the location of the Erie homeland as reflected by some seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French maps of the Niagara region, particularly the Sanson maps of 1650 and 1656. White noted how the identity of the Kahkwas had been debated “since the days of Schoolcraft” but at that time she was content to let the matter rest with a reference to Houghton's work (1909: 302–304) remarking that he “has summarized the leading opinions and there seems nothing further to add.” Having earlier identified the Kahkwas as Neutral (1958: 5, 46–48), she conjectured how “if the Kahkwas were in fact the Erie,²² we know no more than we did previously, namely, that they were located at the east end of Lake Erie. If they were not, then we have the name of a new group about which we know nothing” (White 1961:48).

White's 1967 paper *An Early Historic Niagara Frontier Iroquois Cemetery in Erie County, New York* reporting her excavations on the Kleis site is particularly significant in a Kahkwa context. The Kleis site at the foot of Lake Erie near present-day Hamburg, New York, south of Buffalo and close to Eighteen Mile Creek, is located where the relevant seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French maps mentioned earlier place *Kakouagoga* and Eighteen Mile Creek is where the Seneca tradition mentioned earlier as

²² White did not here acknowledge how some time after Houghton had identified the Kahkwas as Eries in 1909, he changed his mind and in 1920 identified them as Neutrals (Houghton 1920: 41).

being recounted by both Seneca and Tuscarora sources claim the Kahkwas were destroyed.²³ White explained:

The eleven burials excavated at the Kleis site represent a small portion of one cemetery belonging to a village of the period 1620–1640 A.D. The village was occupied by a Niagara Frontier Iroquois group which may have been Neutral, Wenro or Erie²⁴ . . . The date of the Kleis burials and the village falls between A.D. 1625–1640 on the basis of bead dates from the Seneca and Oneida sequences. The absence of guns, Jesuit material, and brass kettles places it early in this span, prior to 1630 A.D. Evidence is strongest for this Niagara Frontier Iroquois Site having been occupied around 1625 with the temporal limits left open until further evidence is available (White 1967: 26–27).

The date ca. 1625 proposed by White raises again the possibility that Kleis site people may have been present at a time when both the Massawomecks (Antouhonorons) and Kahkwas (Aktrakovaetonons) were present in this region.

In her paper *A Reexamination of the Historic Iroquois Van Son Cemetery in Grand Island* (1968), White discussed her conclusions arising from the excavation of the Van Son burial site, which she believed to be the location of the Neutral village *Onguiahra* (*Niagarega*).

In this paper White first identified the Kleis site as an Erie village and on this basis summed up her understanding of the Erie villages at the foot of Lake Erie as follows:

The Kleis site is one of a group of Niagara Frontier villages south of Buffalo in the area where the Erie were located. I have concluded previously (White 1961: 90) that some Erie villages were located near the east end of Lake Erie, south of Buffalo. . . . Several Niagara Frontier Iroquois archaeological sites have been identified with these Erie villages. A group of Late prehistoric and Early Historic sites south of Buffalo represent the locations of a pair of contemporary [Erie] communities moving systematically from north to south on a parallel course, between c. 1535 and 1625 A.D. This group includes the following Niagara Frontier villages: Buffam Street, Eaton, Newton-Hopper, Goodyear, Green Lake, Simmons, and Kleis²⁵ [see map White 1978b: 413]. The Kleis site, dating around 1625, is the latest known village in the western community. While the search has not been exhaustive, there are no candidates for a systematic move following Kleis.²⁶ . . .

²³ Silver had earlier identified several sites in this area as Erie. One of these was near Hamburg, another in Boston Valley, another at or near Eighteen Mile Creek, and another within the south-easterly part of present-day Buffalo (Silver 1923: 6). Apparently one of these is the Kleis site, which White identifies as an Erie site located near Eighteen Mile Creek (White 1978b: 413).

²⁴ It is noteworthy, in connection with her excavations of the Kleis site near Eighteen Mile Creek, that White did not introduce the accounts of the Seneca tradition regarding their war with the Kahkwas at Eighteen Mile Creek, as had been related by Blacksnake, Cusick, Johnson, and Patterson years earlier.

²⁵ In 1920 Houghton identified the Kleis site at East Hamburg as a Neutral village site (Houghton 1920: 41), although earlier in 1909 he had identified the area around Eighteen Mile Creek as Erie territory (Houghton 1909: 303–304) (vide note 22).

²⁶ Once again it is significant to note how well White's suggestion that there are no candidates for the perpetuation of this pair of Erie villages after the destruction of the Kleis site, matches the Seneca tradition, which states that it was here on Eighteen Mile Creek ca. 1640 that the Kahkwas were destroyed by the Seneca.

Certainly there are other Erie villages besides these sites which are the most easterly. [Other] Erie village sites extended an unknown distance west along the southern shore of Lake Erie (White 1968: 39).

Significantly she did not collocate Kakouagoga with any of these Erie sites, thereby excluding the possibility of the Kahkwas being Eries.

White summed up the archaeological conclusions that arose from her *Reexamination* stating: "In Late Prehistoric and Early Historic times there were two Erie villages moving in a general southern direction. Within the Niagara Frontier their villages have been identified from South Buffalo to near East Aurora and Hamburg within a span of about 8 miles north-south and 10 miles east-west. The latest settlement which belonged to the west villages, the Kleis site, was occupied about 1625 A.D." (White 1968: 42). Once again White's identification of the Kleis site near Eighteen Mile Creek as the last archaeological evidence of the Erie in this region, coupled with the Kahkwa connection with Eighteen Mile Creek in colonial documents, and the several Seneca and Tuscarora accounts of the Seneca tradition regarding the destruction of the Kahkwas on Eighteen Mile Creek as the last archaeological evidence of the Erie in this region, coupled with the Kahkwa connection with Eighteen Mile Creek in colonial documents, and the several Seneca and Tuscarora accounts of the Seneca tradition regarding the destruction of the Kahkwas on Eighteen Mile Creek, makes the Kleis site a prime candidate for identification as a Kahkwa village, possibly their principal village. This possibility had been suggested by Silver in 1923 (Silver 1923: 6) but not raised again. It is noteworthy that White did not consider this clustering of evidence indicative of a Kahkwas identification for the Kleis Erie site on this occasion or in any of her later works.

White returned to these Erie archaeological sites again in an unpublished paper *Iroquois Archaeology or Archaeology of the Iroquois*, which she presented at the Conference of Iroquois Research at Rensselaerville, New York. At that time she explained:

Two contemporary villages were present in the Niagara Frontier south of Buffalo from late Prehistoric times into the Early Historic Period. They have been traced from about 1540 to 1640 when they disappeared from the area. These villages are in my opinion those of some unnamed tribe of the easternmost Erie Nation or Confederacy. . . . The distances between contemporary sites is about the same [8-10 miles] as that between members of the pair of Seneca villages. I interpret this parallel situation as indicating that the two Niagara Frontier villages belong to a single tribe, probably the easternmost Erie. . . . One community, the eastern one at Newton-Hopper may have formed from several small [ancestral Erie sites]. The western village, according to my *speculations* [my italics] may have been west of Niagara [River] prior to the location at Buffam Street (White n.d.: 8-15).

She made no mention of the possibility of their being Kahkwa sites.

In 1971 White discussed the Erie sites south of Buffalo again in her paper *Ethnic Identification and Iroquois Groups in Western New York and Ontario*. At that time she wrote:

There is considerable archaeological evidence to bear out the early historic location of the Erie recorded as just south of Buffalo during the time referred to by the Sanson maps [1650 and 1656, neither of which include the *Kakouagoga* cap-

tion]. Here a group of villages of the late prehistoric and early historic periods have been referred to as Niagara Frontier Iroquois along with others scattered throughout the Region. . . . Briefly they represent the orderly movement of two contemporary communities spatially separated by eight to ten miles, proceeding in a southerly direction from about 1535–1640 A.D. The villages of each community stand in an ancestor–descendant relationship. They covered in their movement a lineal distance of approximately eight miles from the vicinity of South Buffalo to near East Aurora and Hamburg.²⁷ The dates of the contact sites in this movement extend from those with the first trade material, about 1550–1575 A.D. to the latest one, about 1625 A.D. This last, the Kleis site, near Hamburg, is the most southerly site of the movement and its occupation may have lasted until 1640 A.D. (White 1967). No later site has been found in the area where the next village location would be expected to be. The Kleis site appears to represent the last location of the village before the pattern of movement was broken . . . (White 1971: 26).

White went on as follows in her paper, *Ethnic Identification*, attributing the Kleis site to the Eries with conviction without raising the Kahkwa option:

The location of these two contemporary communities south of Buffalo coincides with the position of the Erie shown on the Sanson map of 1650 [Amerique Septentrionale] which of course is too general to establish great confidence in this connection. The identification is strengthened considerably by the date of the last site [Kleis] and by the interruption of the movement at the approximate time when such a move is mentioned in the records. It is confirmed by Seneca accounts of the 19th century which state that the Erie formerly lived in this location.²⁸ The evidence indicates that these are the Erie villages rather than the Wenro or Neutral.²⁹ It must be emphasized that the name Erie seems to refer to a confederacy or group of tribes³⁰ and included other settlements as well as these villages of the Niagara Frontier Iroquois, which probably were a single tribe (White 1971: 26–27).

White raised the possibility that the southward movement of these paired Erie villages from South Buffalo to the East Aurora area was a

²⁷ This description of Erie territory closely parallels the one Hewitt (1913: 146) attributes to the *Jesuit Relation* for 1640–41, “. . . the territory of the Eries and their allies joined that of the Neutral Nation at the end of Lake Erie . . .” Significantly this territory includes the territories of “their allies,” which may include the Antouhonorons/Massawomecks, the Kahkwas/Akhrakvaetons, possibly the Wenros (depending on where they are located), and the appropriate unidentified Indians mentioned in the Jesuit lists of 1635 and 1640 by whatever of the several names they are known by.

²⁸ White does not go on to explain that the Seneca accounts to which she refers—the Blacksnake, Cusick, Johnson, and Patterson accounts—all indicate that it was the Kahkwas who were located in this area.

²⁹ In her papers in the *Handbook* White rejected an Erie identification for the people who lived on Eighteen Mile Creek, opting instead in favor of the Kahkwas being Neutral largely on the basis of the location of *Kakouagoga* on the Bernou and Coronelli maps (White 1978a: 411; 1978b: 412).

³⁰ Cogently, White has remarked that while several seventeenth-century French sources had indicated that the *Kakouagoga* had been a *nation* destroyed, in fact it is not certain whether this caption is intended to make reference to a village, a clan, a tribe, or a confederacy element. These clusterings of people were not usually differentiated as Marian White (1971: 22–23; 1978a: 410), Elisabeth Tooker (1970: 90), and Roy Wright (1974: 83) have noted. Neither should these options be overlooked in the context of this paper.

reflection of hostilities endemic in this region at that time. She explains: "The southerly movement of their [Erie] villages since late prehistoric times had been taking them away from a position geographically between the League of the Iroquois and the Neutral . . . prior to 1644, the eastern Erie were forced to move because of 'enemies to the west' (*sic*)" (White 1971: 31). It is noteworthy that White did not challenge the source of her unsubstantiated information which would have Erie enemies to the *west* disperse the eastern Eries (Gendron 1868: 8) on Eighteen Mile Creek when the Seneca tradition holds that it was Seneca to the *east* who had driven the eastern Erie from their homeland. An enemy to the *west* of the Erie at the foot of Lake Erie between modern Buffalo and Eighteen Mile Creek seems likely to involve the Neutrals in some manner. Once again, as was the case with the confusion which attended the Neutral account of where they had obtained marine shell (Thwaites JR 1898 (21): 201), errors copying the French *est* (east) and *ouest* (west), may be responsible for this anomaly.

White concluded her 1971 paper *Ethnic Identification* stating:

In summary, villages belonging to one group or tribe of Erie have been identified south of Buffalo where two communities were moving slowly and systematically southward during late prehistoric and early historic times. By the time of the latest site, about 1625-40, they were in the southern part of the Niagara Frontier, having shifted over an eight mile long range. This movement was interrupted some time before 1644-45, at which time they moved farther, probably to the south (White 1971: 29).

In 1972 White published *On Delineating the Neutral Iroquois of the Eastern Niagara Peninsula of Ontario*,³¹ in which she examined the Port Colborne, Sherkston and Point Albino Neutral archaeological sites west of the Niagara River in Welland County, Ontario, north of Lake Erie. Earlier she had speculated that these were ancestral to the Neutral Buffam Street site in present-day Buffalo (White n.d.: 15). Preliminary to this discussion White explained erroneously that the Bernou and Franquelin maps alone in the seventeenth-century documentation record the presence of the Kakouagoga.³² White also noted the vicissitudes of Kahkwa identity, drawing particular attention to "Morgan, Schoolcraft, Cusick. Governor Blacksmith (*sic*), Marshall [all op. cit.] and others [who] had wavered between the Neutral and Erie."³³

³¹ White's 1972 paper *On Delineating the Neutral Iroquois of the Eastern Niagara Peninsula of Ontario* reflects in part an unpublished paper, *Iroquois Archaeology in the Eastern Ontario Peninsula* dated 1969, which is on file with the Department of Anthropology, State University of New York at Buffalo.

³² White partially corrected this error later by mentioning "Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's globe of 1688." In fact the Kakouagoga caption appears on six Coronelli maps and two globes.

³³ Schoolcraft, Marshall, and Morgan vacillated regarding the identity of the Kahkwas. Both David and Albert Cusick consistently identified them as Erie. Blacksnake did not make a tribal identification. The table at Appendix A lists chronologically the several identities that have been attributed to the Kahkwas over the past 150-odd years.

White suggested that the Port Colborne, Sherkston and Point Abino sites west of the Niagara River were Neutral burial sites ancestral to the Buffam Street site in present-day Buffalo east of the Niagara River. White dated the Port Colborne site at 1650 and noted particularly its similarity to the Neutral Van Son site not far distant to the east on Grand Island in the Niagara River (White 1968). The similarity of the archaeological assemblages from these three sites in Welland County west of the Niagara River and the Van Son site to the east in the Niagara River led White to suggest that they represented the eastward movement of a single historic Neutral village along the north shore of Lake Erie. White also suggested that the Fenton-Barnard Street and Hart sites³⁴ east of the Niagara River in the present-day city of Buffalo, and approximately in a straight line east of the three sites mentioned in Welland County, west of the Niagara River, are the latest Neutral sites east of the Niagara River, although they are not as late as Houghton had suggested (White 1972: 66). White went on to postulate a northern tier of Neutral sites in the Niagara region as follows:

The [archaeological] evidence is insufficient to indicate whether the other Historic sites in that group [the three Neutral sites on the north shore of Lake Erie in Welland County, Ontario] should be considered part of a single movement culminating at Van Son, or whether contemporary villages are involved. I suspect the latter to be the case with the possible fission at St. Davids [a Neutral site west of the Niagara River in Welland County] leading to Van Son [Niagarega] on one hand and Kienuka, Kelly, Gould [Ahondihronons] [all east of the Niagara River] on the other (White 1972: 71-72, fig. 1).

³⁴ The Fenton-Barnard Street and Hart sites have been assessed by Orsamus Turner (1849), Frederick Houghton (1909), Dilworth Silver (1923), Dorothy Skinner (1932), and Marian White (1972). Silver attributed the artifacts from the Fenton-Barnard Street site to the Erie and claimed that the Buffam Street site was Erie, "not Neutral as it has been supported by some people" (Silver 1923: 5). Houghton believed the Fenton-Barnard site was probably the Wenro village that had relocated from Buffam Street (Houghton 1909: 311-12, 318). Subsequently Houghton revised his Wenro identity for the Buffam Street site, suggesting that it was a Seneca village that dated from 1660-90, but prior to 1700, somewhat later than the Hart site (Houghton 1920: 44). Turner speculated that the Buffam Street site was a burial ground where the Kahkwas had buried their dead after the battle with the Seneca on nearby Buffalo Creek (Turner 1849: 26-28, 30). This accords well with one of the two battles described by David Cusick and Blacksnake in their accounts of the Seneca tradition, but it appears to overlook the battle at Eighteen Mile Creek also described by Blacksnake and Cusick. White suggested that the Fenton-Barnard Street and Hart sites are not as late as Houghton suggested (White 1972: 66). The identity of the Kahkwas as Neutrals claimed in the *Handbook of North American Indians* (White 1978a: 408-409; 1978b: 412) is derived from White's identification of the Fenton-Barnard Street Neutral site within the city limits of present-day Buffalo as Bernou's *Kakouagoga*. Essentially this identification stems from White's judgmental conclusion that the *Kakouagoga* caption on the Bernou maps and the Fenton-Barnard Street site are collocated. Significantly there is in the same area, within the city limits of South Buffalo and not far distant from the Fenton-Barnard Street site an Erie site, the Eaton site, (Engelbrecht pers. comm.) which on the scale of the Bernou/Franquelin/Coronelli maps, and the distorted configuration of the Lake Erie shoreline they depict, can also be claimed with reasonable credibility to be collocated with *Kakouagoga*. White does not explain why she discarded the Eaton site as the location of *Kakouagoga* in favor of the Fenton-Barnard Street Neutral site, although she does indicate this selection is "likely but undemonstrable" (White 1972: 71).

White then proposed a location and identity for the Kakouagoga: "The southern row of Historic sites in Welland County, Ontario and Erie County, New York, [op. cit.] agrees well with the location of Kakouagoga if the Fenton-Barnard site is the latest in the group. Again it is not clear whether the group from Port Colborne through Fenton-Barnard Street is a single or a multiple village movement. But the Fenton-Barnard site may be Kakouagoga" (White 1972: 72, map). Elsewhere in her paper *On Delineating*, White enlarged upon this eastward movement of Neutral villages stating: "The site distribution would tend to suggest that this village [Fenton Barnard Street / Kakouagoga] moved from the west [on the north shore of Lake Erie in Welland County, Ontario] which would have been the territory of the Neutral League" (White 1972: 70-71).

White's identification of *Kakouagoga* as the Fenton-Barnard Street site, which she concedes is "likely but undemonstrable," led her to conclude, "I favor the identification [of Kakouagoga and the Fenton-Barnard Street site] in present-day Buffalo as that of a tribe of the Neutral" (White 1972: 71).³⁵ White's collocation of the Fenton-Barnard Street site and Bernou's *Kakouagoga* caption resurrects, in part, Orsamus Turner's explanation that the Seneca had destroyed the Kahkwas on Buffalo Creek in present-day Buffalo (Turner 1840: 30), and the Schenck and Rann (1887: 23-28) account of a Seneca/Kahkwa battle in the Buffalo Creek area as related by David Cusick.

David Brose, in his introduction to the volume *The Late Prehistory of the Lake Erie Drainage Basin* (Brose 1976), summarized White's work in the Niagara Frontier, drawing particular attention to the fact that "she concluded after much ethnohistorical research, that in the Cattaraugus Creek area and Central Niagara Frontier region these villages [the Kleis site series] can be traced to two distinct groups of Erie in the 17th century" (Brose 1976: 9). In her paper "Late Woodland Archaeology on the Niagara Frontier of New York and Ontario" in Brose's volume, *The Late Prehistory of the Lake Erie Drainage Basin*, White reiterated her hypothesis regarding the southward movement of two contemporary Erie villages on parallel routes from present-day Buffalo to the vicinity of Hamburg near Eighteen Mile Creek (White 1976: 121, 127, 129). She noted that both her northern tier of Neutral sites (St. Davids, Van Son, Kienuka and Cam-

³⁵ White suggests that "Attiragenrega (Attiauandaronk), Ahondironons, Niagarega, Antouaronons and Kakouagoga are the names for distinct subdivisions of the Neutral Confederacy. The ethnohistorical evidence suggests they were coexistent" (White 1972: 71). The presence of Neutral villages east of the Niagara River is noted in the *Jesuit Relation* for 1640-41, which relates how the three or four villages "beyond the River range from east to west toward the Nation of the Cat or Erieehronons" (Thwaites JR 21: 117), which suggests a southward orientation. Nevertheless, it would be prudent to note how in that *Relation* the author describes the less than precise manner in which the Neutral Nation had been defined by the French: "After all I believe that those who formerly ascribed such an extent to this [Neutral] Nation and consigned to it so many tribes, understood by the term Neutral Nation all the other Nations which are South and Southwest of our Hurons which indeed are very numerous, but in the beginning having been only confusedly known, were comprised almost under one and the same name" (Thwaites JR 21: 191).

bria) and her southern tier of Neutral sites (Point Abino, Sherkston, Port Colborne, Hart and Fenton-Barnard Street) ". . . show obvious differences between the Neutral group and the Eastern Erie south of Buffalo [the Kleis site series] from whom they were also geographically separate" (White 1976: 132). As a result White concluded: "The evidence is limited and the sites have been destroyed. Nevertheless, these *speculations* [italics mine] gain support from the parallel situation to the north [the movement of paired Seneca villages] and from historic events at that time. These Neutral sites may belong to three Neutral tribes, from north to south, the Ahondironons, Niagara Neutral and Kahkwas (White 1971)" (White 1976: 134). White has clearly identified the Kahkwas as Neutrals as a result of having collocated Bernou's Kakouagoga caption and the Fenton-Barnard Street site, and as a result of having aligned the Fenton-Barnard Street site in Buffalo with three Neutral sites to the west in Ontario.

Regrettably White's research ended prematurely with the posthumous (Fenton 1976) publication of her two papers "Neutral and Wenro" and "Erie," in the Smithsonian Institution *Handbook of North American Indians*, Volume 15. In both these papers her references to the Kahkwas and her handling of the problems regarding their identity are uncharacteristically brief in the light of her earlier research. Undoubtedly this can not but be a reflection of her terminal ill-health at that time. In her discussion of the Neutral and Wenro White confirmed her still undemonstrated conclusion that the Kakouagoga caption on the Bernou maps "is located in such a position that the Fenton-Barnard site in Buffalo is a likely, but undemonstrable, candidate," and she reiterated a list of the several "subdivisions" of the Neutrals in the Niagara region, which included the Kakouagoga (White 1978a: 408-409). She took cognizance of Fenton's explanation that contemporary Seneca continued to speak of a people living to the west whom they called *Kakgwa'ge'o-no'*³⁶ and she introduced personal correspondence with Wallace L. Chaffe in which he interpreted *Kahkwa?ké-ons?* as 'people at the Kahkwa place' (White 1978a: 411).

In her "Erie" paper in the *Handbook* White explained that "the designations Kakouagoga and Kahkwas have been identified as names of a village and a group of Erie by some nineteenth-century writers (see JR 21: 313 for a summary)" thereby making reference to J. G. Henderson's letter to Reuben Thwaites. But she put any association between the Kahkwas and the Erie to rest with her conclusion, "These terms [Kakouagoga and Kahkwas] have been discussed in the chapter on the Neutral [above] with whom these terms may be associated" (White 1978b: 412). White went on to note the variations of the Erie captions on the Sanson maps of 1650 and 1656 interpreting them to suggest that there was an Erie movement southward from the Buffalo area to an unnamed creek on the eastern boundary of Erie territory, which she suggested could be either

³⁶ William Fenton's full statement is: "The Seneca continually speak of a people formerly living west of them called the *Kahgwa'ge'o-no'*, which refers to the Wenro and later the Erie" (Fenton 1940: 194).

Rush Creek or Eighteen Mile Creek. She explained how in her opinion the Bead Hill and Kleis sites, located near Eighteen Mile Creek, "probably represent a single tribe," and the latest Erie in this region had "moved out of the area by 1640" (White 1978b: 414). She does not raise the possibility that they might have been destroyed on Eighteen Mile Creek, as the Seneca tradition suggests. White rejected the identification of the Neutrals as the 'Cat Nation', stating: "Schoolcraft's (1847) information from the Seneca Ely Parker, repeated by Morgan (1851) [: 41 n. 337], that the Cats were Neutral has no support in seventeenth century historical sources" (White 1978b: 416).

In 1984 William E. Engelbrecht published the results of his analysis of pottery samples from eight sites attributed to the Kleis series of Erie archaeological sites which White (1968: 39; 1971: 26) had identified. Arranged in an early-to-late sequence, the western sites of these paired villages are the Buffam Street, Eaton, Green Lake, Ellis, and Kleis sites with the Goodyear, Newton-Hopper, and Simmons sites representing the eastern members of these paired villages. Engelbrecht, used the Brainerd-Robinson "Coefficient of Agreement" technique to establish a site sequence from his ceramic samples, which confirmed White's conclusion that the Kleis site (ca. 1640) was the latest village in this area. Engelbrecht also noted the presence of Seneca and Cayuga pottery in the Kleis site archaeological assemblage, suggesting that: "The two most likely explanations [for this pottery] are that Seneca (and perhaps Cayuga) lineages moved into the Niagara Frontier, or alternatively, that the Seneca and Cayuga women individually married Niagara Frontier men and moved to the Niagara Frontier" (Engelbrecht 1984: 338). Engelbrecht did not suggest a tribal affiliation for the Kleis site people who hosted this influx of Seneca and Cayuga women, nor did he raise the connection between the Kleis site on Eighteen Mile Creek ca. 1640 and the Seneca tradition regarding the destruction of the Kahkwas at Eighteen Mile Creek at that time, approximately.

Eleazer Hunt's summary of White's contribution to the archaeology of the Niagara Frontier mentions her work regarding the movement of paired Erie villages southward from present-day Buffalo to Eighteen Mile Creek without raising the question of a Kahkwas involvement (Hunt 1986: 139). Engelbrecht's forthcoming paper *The Cultural Context of the Ripley Site* returns to the Iroquoian sites on the Niagara Frontier and at the foot of Lake Erie. Succinctly he summarizes White's identification of the paired Erie archaeological village sites that moved southward from present-day Buffalo to the Eighteen Mile Creek area and goes on to identify the Buffam and Eaton sites within the city limits of present-day Buffalo as the northernmost sites in the western component of this pair and the Green Lake, Ellis, and Kleis sites as the southernmost. The Goodyear, Newton-Hopper, Simmons, and Bead Hill sites are confirmed as the eastern villages of this pair. Engelbrecht couples Gendron's account, which relates how the Erie were forced to move inland in 1644-45 (Kirby 1980), with White's conclusion that the southward movement of paired

Erie villages from Buffalo to Eighteen Mile Creek ended abruptly with the Kleis and Bead Hill sites, as evidence on which to premise his conclusion that "it is possible that it [this evidence] reflects the defeat and dispersal of the Erie between A.D. 1654 and 1656" (Engelbrecht n.d.: 25, 32). In a forthcoming New York State Museum Bulletin William Engelbrecht and Lynne Sullivan re-examine and re-confirm White's hypothesis regarding the phased movement of two Erie villages southward from the present-day Buffalo area to Eighteen Mile Creek. They also re-affirm White's conclusion that the Kleis and Bead Hill sites in the area of Eighteen Mile Creek are the latest sites in these sequence (Engelbrecht and Sullivan n.d.). Neither of these works addresses the problem of Kahkwa identifications in this area.

DISCUSSION

There can be little doubt that the information that enabled Bernou to place the Kakouagoga caption on the east shore of Lake Erie originated with La Salle, probably as a result of his, or members of his expeditions', having been in contact with the Seneca or Cayuga. But it remains uncertain whether this information was obtained during his visit to the Seneca in the summer of 1669 or later when his second expedition spent months in the Niagara region in 1679-80. It is also possible that La Salle had learned of the Kakouagoga from the Iroquois before he set out from his seigneurie on Montreal Island in 1679 to find a route to China. Possibly Galinée learned of them when he wintered on the Grand River in 1669-70, although neither Galinée's account of this voyage nor his map *Carte du Lac Ontario* (Gentilcore and Head 1984: 18) mention the Kakwas. A comparison of the circumstances that prevailed in 1669, when Galinée remarked upon the poor communications between the French and the Senecas, with those of 1679-80, when La Salle was able to negotiate comprehensively with the Seneca, would suggest that the latter encounter was the more likely source. There also remains the possibility that *Nika*, La Salle's Shawnee friend who would have been familiar with the region south of Lake Erie, may have informed him of the Natives in that region, including the Kahkwas.

Apart from a brief reference their destruction by the Iroquois in the *Jesuit Relations* (op. cit.), there are no primary sources of information regarding the Kahkwas. Nevertheless, later colonial-era documents that refer to the Kahkwas at arm's-length in this context provide valuable corroborative evidence regarding the location of the Kahkwas homeland on Eighteen Mile Creek. Nineteenth-century evidence is dominated by accounts of the Seneca tradition, recounted by several Seneca and Tuscarora sources, that describes a war in which the Seneca destroyed the Kahkwas on Eighteen Mile Creek. The works of earlier scholars—Morgan (1851), Marshall (1865), and Beauchamp (1889, 1892) in the nineteenth century and Houghton (1909, 1920), Beauchamp (1922), Silver (1923), and Fenton (1940) in the twentieth century—are useful but inconclusive

in this context. More recently linguists Roy Wright and John Steckley, working with synonyms derived from the Jesuit lists of tribes and Conrad Heidenreich's recently discovered map *Novvelle France* (ca. 1646) have rekindled interest in the Native groups in the Niagara region in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, current scholars still remain divided regarding the identification of the Kahkwas.

Marian White's investigations continue to dominate our perceptions of the archaeology of the Niagara Frontier; particularly her demonstration how over the period 1540-1640 a pair of Erie villages moved southward from present-day Buffalo to their destruction on Eighteen Mile Creek as the Seneca tradition relates. It is interesting to contemplate what White's conclusions might have been had she introduced this Seneca tradition into her research in this context.

At the outset the possibility was mentioned that at least some of the several groups (tribes?) attributed to the Niagara region by seventeenth-century chroniclers and cartographers may reflect a synonymy or an equivalency, rather than an unusual concentration of discrete Iroquoian people in this small area. The evidence presented here has not by itself reconciled this problem. However, in conjunction with recent suggestions regarding a Massawomeck / Antouhonoron synonymy (Pendergast 1991) working hypotheses can be proffered to serve until additional evidence becomes available to demonstrate better explanations. Premised, in part, on the veracity of Champlain's account of the Antohonorons having moved their villages fifty leagues from the Lake of the Entouhonorons (Lake Ontario) prior to 1632; and Edward Fleet's visit to the Massawomecks' villages at the headwaters of the Potomac or Monongahela rivers in 1632 (Pendergast 1991: 59-68); one option would be to suggest that these were not the Kahkwas who had remained in the Niagara Frontier region on White's paired sites south of modern Buffalo until they were destroyed at the Kleis site on Eighteen Mile Creek ca. 1640. If on the other hand, the destruction of the Kleis site people took place as little as eight years earlier than White suggests; i.e., ca. 1632; the movement of the Antouhonorons / Massawomecks from the east of the Niagara region may reflect the defeat of the Kahkwa Erie at the Kleis site and their subsequent flight into the hinterland regions south of Lake Erie.

Alternatively, *Kahkwas* may be a synonym for *Akhrakvaetonon*. They have been associated linguistically (Steckley 1985: 13) and both groups have been located in the same region at the same time; the Akhrakvaetonon by the Bourdon (?) map of ca. 1646 and the Kahkwas, as has been recounted above in the context of several disciplines. On the other hand the Akhrakvaetonon, who were located in the Niagara region by Bourdon (?) approximately when the Kahkwas village at the Kleis site was destroyed, has been equated with the Kahkwas both linguistically (Steckley 1985: 13) and by the Seneca tradition. As a result the Akhrakvaetonon / Kahkwas synonymy, by whatever spelling, continues to be a credible option.

The location of the Andaste in the Niagara region at the foot of Lake

Erie raised by Bernou on his maps (Fig. 2), does not accord well with current orthodoxy. It also puts into question again the veracity of a Schhentoarronon / Akhrakvaetonon / Carantouan / Conestoga / Andaste synonymy (Pendergast 1991: 61).³⁷ Schenck and Rann alone appear to have taken cognizance of these notes regarding the Andaste on the Bernou maps,³⁸ observing that "two strong tribes or nations known as the Errieronons or the Erie or Cat Nation and the Andestiquerons or Kahquah" were located on the south shore of Lake Erie (Schenck and Rann 1887: 17). Bernou's note also raises again the significance of the Seneca's having informed Schoolcraft ca. 1846 that there were, or had been, Andastes known as Kahkwas in the Buffalo Creek area (Schoolcraft 1853(3): 290-91). Possibly archaeological investigations that can, for this purpose, put aside current perceptions regarding an Andaste / Susquehannock synonymy to test the significance of Bernou's and Schoolcraft's information.

Apart from the location of the legend "Nation du Loup" adjacent to the Kakouagoga caption on the Coronelli 1688 map, *Partie Occidentale*

³⁷ J.N.B. Hewitt noted how in the *Jesuit Relation* for 1640 Akhrakvaeronon appeared in this text in the place of Scahentoarrhonons, an Iroquoian people who lived on the North branch of the Susquehanna River near present-day Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Presumably he believed them to be synonymous (Hewitt 1907: 658). Bruce Trigger quoted the *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites JR 18: 233-35; 37: 105, 111) to propose the same synonymy and went on to suggest that Scahentoarrhonons and Andaste may have been subsumed under the general name Susquehannock (Trigger 1976: 97, 792). Charles Hanna identified Atrakvaeronon as a synonym for the Carantouan (Hanna 1911 1: 34), possibly as a result of Francis Parkman's having equated the Carantouan and Erie with the Atrakvaeronon (Parkman 1867: lxvi n.2). Francis Jennings noted Hanna's synonymy and explained that Akhrakvaeronon (sic) was a rare name of uncertain significance, which had variously been identified as: "1. an alternative for the Susquehannock, 2. a constituent of the Susquehannock, and, 3. a separate and distinct nation." Jennings noted that the Akhrakvaeronon were mentioned in the *Jesuit Relation* for 1640 (Thwaites JR 18: 283-84) and later remarked upon in the *Relation* for 1652 (Thwaites JR 17: 105). Cogently Jennings concluded that these accounts were ambiguous, leaving the impression that the author was uncertain whether it was the Atrakvaeronons or the Andastogeronons who had been attacked by the Iroquois. Jennings suggested that in reality the text was intended to indicate "that they were the same people" (Jennings 1978: 367). We will return to Jennings's option later. Jennings also suggested that the Kaiquariegehaga mentioned in a Maryland treaty in 1661 were members of the Susquehannock, and he speculated that possibly they were the Akhrakvaeronon.

³⁸ The Bernou map (ca. 1680) numbered "14,80" (Trigger 1976: 798; White 1978a: 408) and the *Carte D'Une Grande Partie Du Canada*, a nineteenth-century composite of the Bernou maps made by Pierre Margry, copies of which are in the Quebec Seminary and the National Archives of Canada (Heidenreich 1980: 48), include the following legend adjacent to the east shore of Lake Erie south of the caption Kakouagoga near present-day Buffalo: "The land around this lake and the western end of Lake Frontenac [Ontario] are infested with Gandastogeronons [Andaste] which keeps the Iroquois away." White erroneously translated this text in part to indicate that the Andaste "are different from the Iroquois" (White 1961: 47). On the same maps at the headwaters of a stream that parallels the south and east shores of Lake Erie, probably the Allegheny River, there appears the note: "The Gandastogeronons [Andaste] enemies of the Iroquois hunt here." This information was expanded upon by Coronelli on his 1688 map *Partie Occidentale du Canada ou de la Nouvelle France* where the following legend covers a large area south of Lake Erie: "La Nation d'Anclastogheronons, qui estoit aux environs du Lac Erie, a este destruite depuis quelques annees par les Anglois, a la Solicitation des Iroquois." White erroneously attributes this information to Coronelli's "Marly Globe" (1693) (White 1961: 47) whereas in fact Coronelli's globe gores of 1688, 1693, 1695, and 1699 do not have a legend regarding the Andaste (Coronelli 1698; Nolan 1699; Kaufman 1989: map 13).

(Fig. 4), there is no evidence to support the suggestion that the Kahkwes were the wolf clan of the Erie. Indeed, on four of Coronelli's maps (Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8) the caption *Kakouagoga* is encompassed by a legend that would suggest they were a component of the Five Nation Iroquois. On the other hand the Del'Isle manuscript map (Fig. 10) locates *Kakouagoga* well south of the Iroquois.

CONCLUSIONS

Sparse and uneven as this accumulation of evidence from several disciplines may be, it can assist us better to understand what took place during the relatively unknown period that preceded the destruction of this still obscure Iroquoian people. The theme of this reconstruction, which perforce will be brief, is premised on the fact that individually and in concert the evidence in several categories—the seventeenth-century cartographic evidence, the eighteenth-century colonial documentation,

This location for the Andaste near Lake Erie contrasts sharply with the location explained in the *Jesuit Relation* for 1647–48: "Beyond the Neutral Nation a little toward the east we go to New Sweden where the Andastoeronons dwell who are allies of the Hurons" (Thwaites JR 33: 63). Possibly each correctly describes the limits of the Andaste territory, one being the location of their hunting territory near Lake Erie, the other farther east and closer to New Sweden being the location of their principal villages. As with the location of the *Kakouagoga*, La Salle is the most likely source of the information which placed the Andaste at the foot of Lake Erie (vide note 4). Gallinée makes no reference to the Andaste in his text (Coyne 1903: 21–39) nor are they shown on his map of 1670 (Cummings et al. 1974: pl. 23).

In summary several pieces of evidence—the notes on the Bernou map, the *Atrakwaeronon*/*Akhrakvaeronon* equivalence (Steckley 1985: 12), and the *Akhrakvaeronon*/*Schentoarrhonon* equivalence (Hewitt 1907: 658; Trigger 1976: 97, 792); coupled with Schoolcraft's recitation of a Seneca account related to him ca. 1840 that placed the Andaste between Buffalo Creek and the headwaters of the Allegheny River (Schoolcraft 1853 (3): 290–91)—collectively support a conclusion that the Andaste were located at the east end of Lake Erie.

This interpretation casts the *Relation* for 1652 in a wholly different light. It states: "the Iroquois, having gone during the winter in full force against the *Atrakwaeronon* or *Andastoeronons* had the worst of it" (Thwaites JR 37: 105). Heretofore this text has been interpreted to indicate how in April 1652 the Jesuits were uncertain as to which of these tribes (?) had been attacked over the winter of 1651–52 (Steckley 1985: 15). Current orthodoxy would have this uncertainty dispelled by the Jesuit account in May 1652, which stated as follows that it was the *Atrakwae* who were involved: "The capture of *Atrakwae* by the Iroquois Nations, to the number of a thousand. They carried off 5 or 6 hundred, chiefly men" (Thwaites JR 37: 111). It is suggested that the Jesuit account which related how the "*Atrakwaeronon* or *Andastoeronon*" had been attacked by the Iroquois, should be interpreted as Jennings has suggested (1978: 367), and seen to be a statement intended to equate these two names, not to indicate uncertainty as to which had been attacked. This interpretation would not prejudice the integrity of the Jesuit statement made later in May 1652 which states that it was *Atrakwae*, the place where the *Atrakwaeronon* lived, that had been attacked.

An archaeological assessment can expand upon this hypothesis. If the Andaste were a component of the Susquehannock—or in other words, if *Akhrakwaeronon* (Kahkwes) was a synonym for *Schentoarrhonon*—diagnostic archaeological assemblages might be expected to be present in the Niagara region which would confirm this relationship. However, at present there is no archaeological evidence extant in the Niagara region that approximates the quite distinct archaeological assemblages that characterize the Susquehannock (MacNeish 1952: 55; Kent 1984). As a result there is, at present, no archaeological evidence that would place the Andaste or the Susquehannock in the Niagara region. This does not negate the suggestion that *Atrakwaeronon* and *Kahkwa* may be synonymous.

the Seneca tradition related in the nineteenth century by the Seneca, Onondaga, and the Tuscarora, and current scholarship in linguistics and archaeology—consistently indicate that the Kahkwas were a component of the Erie confederacy located on Eighteen Mile Creek, where they were destroyed by the Seneca ca. 1640.

White's archaeological data place eastern elements of the Erie confederacy immediately south of present-day Buffalo, New York ca. 1550, with some certainty. There they were located on the southern flank and adjacent to eastern elements of the Neutral confederacy, which had extended its territory east of the Niagara River as is evidenced, for example, by the Hart and Fenton-Barnard Neutral sites located where Buffalo now stands. The northernmost of the Eries adjacent to these Neutral villages were the paired Kahkwas villages commencing with Buffam Street ca. 1540–60 and Newton-Hopper ca. 1550–70. White's archaeological data demonstrate how this pair of villages subsequently moved southward on parallel axes until ca. 1640, when the terminal site in the sequence, the Kleis site, was located near Eighteen Mile Creek. Both colonial land-title documentation and the Seneca tradition recounted by Senecas and Tuscaroras locate the principal village of the Kahkwas on Eighteen Mile Creek at the time of their destruction by the Seneca.

The reasons for this Kahkwas southward withdrawal remain uncertain. It could reflect a need to move away from an aggressively expansionist Neutral element who were, or could be, hostile to the Kahkwas. Alternatively, as White has suggested (White 1971: 31), this movement southward may have been intended to extricate the Kahkwas from a vulnerable location between Neutral and Seneca elements engaged in a war that ultimately would force the Neutrals to withdraw westward from their locations east of the Niagara River and their eastern neighbors the Wenro to abandon their homeland. The credibility of the latter option would be enhanced if it could be demonstrated that during this period when Seneca hostility with the Neutrals and Wenro prevailed, Seneca relations with the Kahkwas remained sufficiently harmonious to permit the Kahkwas to move southward from the area of modern Buffalo without intervention by the Seneca. This is in fact the relationship described by the Seneca tradition in which the Kahkwas were twice able to press negotiations with impunity to convince the reluctant Seneca to accept the Kahkwas challenge to a ball game and two wrestling matches, albeit under rules that were fatal to the Kahkwas. As the Seneca tradition explains somewhat self-servingly, it was the Kahkwas, who, having lost all the competitions, treacherously attacked the Seneca, and started the war that destroyed the Kahkwas and eventually led to the destruction of the Erie confederacy. It is significant that it was White's use of her archaeological data to identify the Kleis site on Eighteen Mile Creek as the last in a series of Erie villages in this area, that provided the independent corroboration necessary to confirm the Seneca tradition on three counts: the destruction of the Kahkwas; the site where this took place; and the approximate date (ca. 1640.)

Regrettably, the evidence available at present is not sufficient to demonstrate the nature of the relationship that prevailed between the Kahkwas and the Erie. Several scholars, including Schoolcraft (1846: 287), Ketchum (1864 (1): 3), Morgan (1870: 152), Beauchamp (1892: 69) and Noble (1984: 3, 22), have suggested that the eastern territory of the Eries *and their still unidentified allies* [my emphasis] was adjacent to the element of the Neutrals in the area immediately east of the Niagara River. We are left to ponder whether the Massawomeck, Antouhonoron, and Akhrakvaeton are in fact synonyms for the Kahkwas, or whether they were at one time other components of the Erie confederacy. Possibly they were distinct non-Erie groups somehow allied with the Eries.

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APPENDIX A

A CHRONOLOGICAL LISTING OF IDENTITIES ACCORDED THE KAHK WAS

1. NEUTRALS

Schoolcraft 1846: 213-14;
 1853(3): 29; 1854 (4): 197, 207
Buffalo Commercial Advertiser,
 March 1846
 Morgan 1851: 466, map
 Marshall 1865: 6 n.2, 35, 44;
 1881: 6 n. 41, 35, 44; 1887:
 278, 318
 Schenck and Rann 1887: 17
 Bryant 1890: 10-11
 Harris 1896: 223-34; 1901: 29
 (Daillons "Ongiaharas")
 Howland 1903: 98
 Hewitt 1907: 430-32
 Miller 1909: 15
 Parker 1919: 42; 1926: 146
 Houghton 1920: 41
 Skinner 1932: 30, 45
 White 1958: 5, 46-48; 1972:
 70-71; 1976: 134; 1978a:
 408-409, 411; 1978b: 412
 Steckley 1990: 21
 Henderson n.d.

2. ERIES

Schoolcraft 1846: 164; 1847: 176;
 1852 (2): 344; 1853 (3): 290;
 1854(4): 200-202, 232
 Cusick 1848: 27
 Turner 1849: 92-93
 Morgan 1851: 41-42, 466; 1868:
 227
 Ketchum 1864(1): 3
 Gale 1867: 37, 52
 Ruttenber 1872: 52
 Schmitz 1878: 360
 Beauchamp 1889; 1892: 89-90
 Parkman 1867: xlv n.3
 Houghton 1909: 304
 Hodge 1912: 1068
 Hewitt 1913: 147
 Silver 1923: 6
 Wright, G. K. 1963: 4
 Wright, R. 1974: 65
 Deardorff n.d.

3. NEUTRAL/ERIE

Morgan 1870: 152 (bands of the
 same nation)
 Beauchamp 1893: 19-20
 Noble 1984: 3, 22
 Henderson n.d.

4. ANDASTE (CARANTOUAN? SUSQUE-
HANNOCK?)

Schoolcraft 1853(3): 290-91
 Schenck and Rann 1887: 17
 Hanna 1911
 Trigger 1976: 97, 792
 Jennings 1978: 362, 367
 Steckley 1990: 21

5. ERIE/WENRO

Fenton 1940: 194

6. NEUTRAL/ERIE/WENRO

White 1967: 26-27

7. NEUTRAL/ERIE/WENRO/SENECA

Houghton 1909: 303-304
 White 1978a: 409

8. SENECA COMPONENT

Morgan 1868: 227

9. HURON

Ruttenber 1872: 52

10. ALLIED TO THE NEUTRAL, POSSIBLY
TO THE ERIE, BUT NOT A COMPO-
NENT OF THE NEUTRAL

Noble 1984: 3, 22

11. ALLIED TO THE ERIE, BUT NOT A
COMPONENT OF THE ERIE

Schoolcraft 1846: 164, 176-79,
 287
 Ketchum 1864 (1): 7-15
 Hewitt 1913: 146
 Beauchamp 1922: 141-42
 Snyderman 1948: 47

12. SQUAWKEHOWS, "AN ALIEN TRIBE
AFFILIATED WITH THE ERIE/NEUTRAL
AND LATER INCORPORATED INTO THE
SENECA"; IN REALITY REMNANTS OF
THE FOX LIVING AMONG THE
SENECA

Cusick 1848
 Schoolcraft 1846: 287; 1847:
 287
 Beauchamp 1892: 69 (Derived
 from Cusick)
 Ketchum 1864 (1): 3

13. SQAUKIHOWS, A REMNANT OF THE
KAHK WAS

Cusick 1848
 Marshall 1887: 404
 Beauchamp 1922: 233 (Derived
 from Cusick)

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