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A Saponi by Any Other Name Is Still a Siouan

HERIBERTO DIXON

The names at first are those of animals and of birds, of objects that have one definition in the eye, another in the hand, of forms and features on the rim of the world, or of sounds that carry on the bright wind and in the void. They are old and original in the mind, like the beat of rain on the river, and intrinsic in the native tongue, failing even as those who bear them turn once in the memory, go on, and are gone forever.¹

—N. Scott Momaday

When we were children we used to chant “Sticks and stones may break our bones, but names will never hurt us.” However, as we grew older we learned to put away childish things. Names are very serious undertakings! Names are rarely, if ever, neutral; they tend to point and push us in certain directions. The power to name something or someone, even against one’s will, is an expression of domination.

In some Native American traditions:

to name a being, for example an animal, is actually to conjure up the powers latent in that animal. Added to this is the fact that when we create words we use our breath and for these people and their traditions breath is associated with the principle of life. . . . It is because of this special feeling about words that people avoid using sacred personal names because they contain the power of the beings named, and if you use them too much the power becomes dissipated.²

So, names are very important inasmuch as they have the power to cast people and things in favorable and unfavorable lights. Thus, the ability to name one’s self is an act of liberation from semantic bondage.

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As we all undoubtedly know, the names by which many indigenous peoples are known were thrust upon them by outsiders with a variety of intentions. Some of these names, when translated, offer up less than flattering images with which the people thus designated may strongly take exception. Luckily, we are witnessing a movement among several Native American groups to assert their own names for themselves in place of the label that might have been arbitrarily placed around their necks as though they were less than human, that is, property or objects.

In the spirit of self-assertion, what follows is an attempt, more a work-in-progress than any definitive work, to compile a tentative inventory of the terms by which Saponis, an Eastern Siouan group, were known during their historical migration. We recognize that the origins of the Saponi names across various Native American and European languages are especially complicated and fraught with many dead ends. But, at a minimum, we would like to undertake this journey to see what might be learned by the retelling of this story.

THE SIOUAN CONNECTION

Nadouek, according to Sioui, is “the original Algonkian word for many Iroquois peoples.”³ Tooker reports an even more explicit distinction among Iroquoian peoples, to wit: the Wendats as *ni-ina-na-towe* (Ninawatowé), or our Nadoueks; and the Iroquois as *maci-na-towe* (Matchinatowé), or hostile Nadoueks. Nadouek is here a means of simplifying the crucial Algonkian distinction between friends and foes of the same linguistic stock.⁴

Sioux is transparently a derivation of the same Algonkian root Nadouek. Swanton reports that *Sioux* is an abbreviation of *Nadouessioux*, which appears to be a French corruption of Nadowe-is-iw, which the French picked up from the Chippewa, signifying “Adders” and, by extension, “enemies.”⁵

OHIO VALLEY CONSIDERATIONS

The Saponi, Tutelo, and Occaneechi languages have been classified as Ohio Valley or Southeastern Siouan.⁶ Terrell notes the Mandan language is closely related to both the Winnebago and the Tutelo. This close linguistic relationship tends to suggest that even before they lived in northern Wisconsin, they may have all resided in the Ohio-Kentucky region, for the Tutelo and other Eastern Siouan tribes may have migrated from the Ohio River and its tributaries to the Virginia-Carolinas Piedmont.⁷ Henderson notes that there have been many debates surrounding the possibility of Tutelo (and by extension Ohio Valley Siouan) use and occupation along the Big Sandy River in eastern Kentucky. It appears that the Big Sandy River was originally known as the “Tottery” or “Talleroye” (i.e., Tutelo) River.⁸

MOSOPELEA

The Mosopelea, significance uncertain, was probably from an Algonquian language. *Ofo* was their own name for themselves, perhaps an abbreviation of the

Mobilian term *Ofogoula*, though this name may mean Ofo people. Ofogoula may also be interpreted Ofi Okla, meaning “Dog People.” In fact, the Ofo were known to some of the other tribes as “Dog People.” According to Swanton, *Ouesperie*, *Ossipe*, and *Ushpee* were other names by which the Ofo were known, which may have been abbreviated forms of Mosopelea, the /l/ variant of the /r/ form.

The Mosopelea themselves, notwithstanding bearing an Algonquian-derived tribal name, spoke a Siouan dialect most closely related to Biloxi and Tutelo and secondarily to Dakota. In historic times, when the French first heard of them, they were reported in southwestern Ohio.¹⁰ They were probably stragglers in the Siouan exodus from the Ohio Valley. By attracting notice from the French, their presence adds credence to the Siouan occupation in and use of the Ohio Valley. After leaving the Ohio Valley, their best known historical location was on the lower Yazoo River, near to the Yazoo and Koroa Indians.¹¹ In fact, Geary Hobson has written a novel entitled *The Last of the Ofos*.¹²

VIRGINIA-CAROLINAS PIEDMONT

Monacan

According to Cook:

The name Monacan itself, like many tribal names, is apparently indicative of a specific people, the land they occupy, and their lifestyle. Although Tooker (1895)¹³ argued that the name is derived from Algonquian appellatives for ‘diggers of earth’ or ‘earth people’ (probably in reference to the practice of digging for certain minerals and building earth lodges), Mooney held that many of these names were based on the Siouan prefix ‘ma,’ indicative of ‘earth’ or ‘country.’¹⁴

Miller continues the speculation on the origin and meaning of the name *Monacan* by hypothesizing that it comes from:

“*Mona-ack*’ *añough*. *Mona*, ‘to dig,’ and *ack*, ‘land or earth’ and *añough*, ‘nation or people.’ Meaning: ‘People Who Dig the Earth.’ Freely translated: ‘Miners.’”¹⁵

Miller cites William Wallace Tooker as her source. At any rate, the Eastern Siouans entered the written records under the collective term of the Monacan Confederacy, made up of at least five towns.

Apparently, Pawatah, a Monacan chief, who spoke with Christopher Newport at the falls of the James in 1607, provides the earliest known reference to Monacan Indian communities further south along the upper James River. Two of these towns were alternately identified as Massinack or Massinnacock and Mowhemicke, Mowhemcho, or Mowhemenchouch. On his

1624 map, Captain John Smith added three more Monacan towns, which were identified as Monahassanugh, Rassawek, and Monasukapanough, further upstream beyond the mouth of the Rivanna River.¹⁶

Additionally, Amoroleck, one of the four- or five-hundred warriors who attacked an exploratory party of Virginians at the falls of the Rappahannock River, provides the earliest known information of the related Manahoac towns along the upper reaches of the Rappahannock and Rapidan Rivers. Amoroleck, who had been wounded and captured by Smith's party, spoke through Mosco acting as an interpreter. This Mosco has been variously identified as (1) a hostile Potomac,¹⁷ and (2) a captured Manahoac.¹⁸

Thus, Amoroleck told Smith in 1608 that the Monacans to the south were friends and neighbors living in a similar fashion to themselves, that is, in hilly country by small rivers feeding themselves by gathering roots and fruits but principally by hunting.¹⁹ Amoreleck further identified the Massawomeks as people dwelling "higher up in the mountains."²⁰

Of the five Monacan towns identified above, Rassawek appears to have been the principal town or capital of the Monacan Confederacy.²¹ Rassawek was located at the confluence of the James and Rivanna Rivers.²² Miller speculates that Rassawek, which she identifies as Rassauwek, derives from *wassau* for "it is bright" or "it glistens," which is attached to *wek*, that is, "house or home."²³

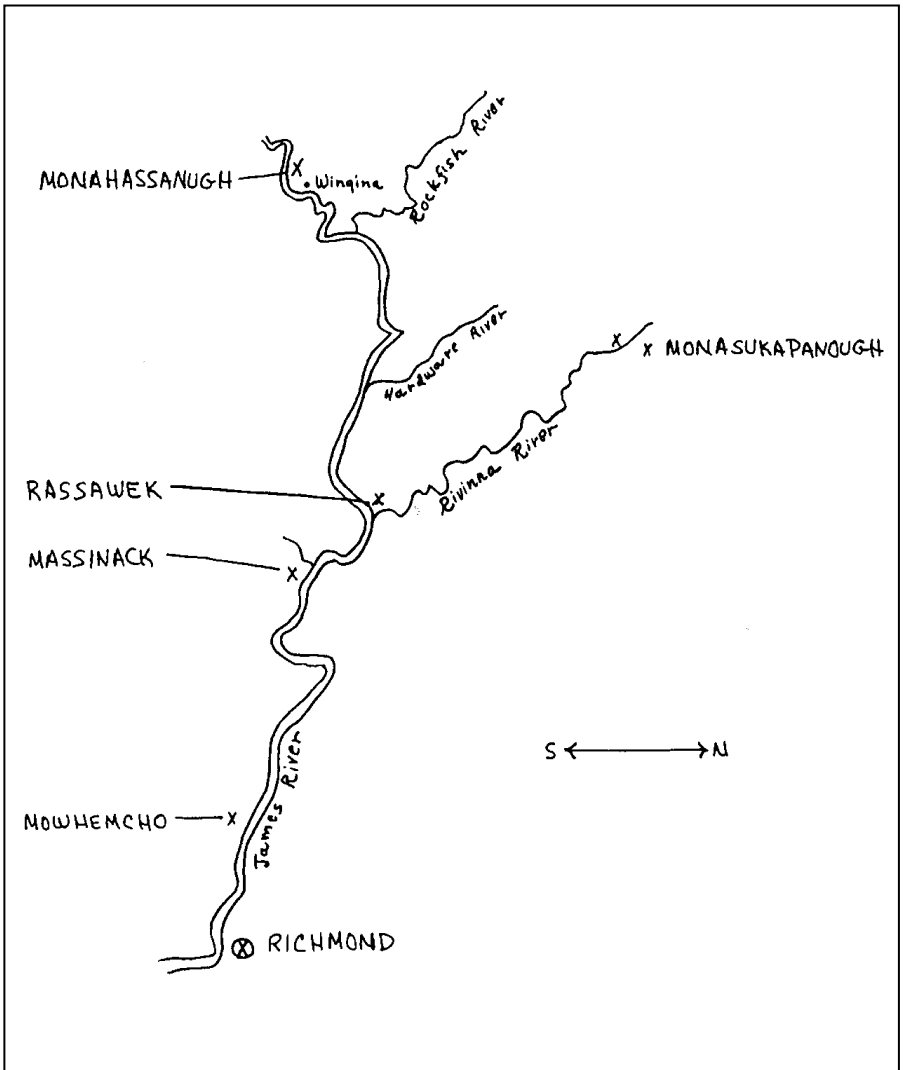
Massinack and Mohememcho were specifically identified as Monacan towns. Massinack was located on the right bank of the James River about the Mouth of the Mohawk [*sic*] Creek and a mile or more south of Goochland. Mohemcho, later known as Monacan Town, was situated on the south bank of the James River, probably covering some of the level area bordering the stream in the extreme eastern part of the present Powhatan County between Bernards Creek on the east and Jones Creek on the west.²⁴ After 1699, Monacan Town was called Manakin Town by the Huguenots who settled there.²⁵ The name "Manakin" is remembered as a place name for a small place on the north bank of the James River in Goochland County, Virginia.²⁶

The other two towns, Monasakapanough and Mohahassanagh, seem to have been added to Smith's map as an afterthought. They appeared as wholly independent entities. Probably their connections with the three Monacan towns were never very close. It is more than likely that their inclusion as Monacan was based primarily on the strength of Smith's map which seemed to place their locations within Monacan territory. But Smith's topography was somewhat foreshortened toward the mountains and, in effect, these two towns were actually farther away than Smith had estimated.²⁷

The Monasukapanough and the Monahassanagh were genealogically allied.²⁸ Monasukapanough may have been derived from Eastern Siouan "moni-seep" meaning "shallow water." In time, *Monasukapanaough* was corrupted into *Saponi*.²⁹ However, it is time that more linguistic attention be given to those items to avoid the ever-present traps of folk etymologies. *Nahyssan* is suggested as a contraction to *Monahassanogh*, which even further reduced to *Yessan*.³⁰ Houck notes that the two groups—Saponis and Nahyssans—formed an alliance, collectively referring to themselves as Nahyssans.³¹

Simultaneously, Monahassanugh were known outside of their territory as Tutelo. The meaning of *Tutelo* represents a mystery. Best guesses assume that the Iroquois borrowed the name from some southern people. But *Tutelo*, which is represented by the Iroquoian generic title *Todirich-roone* and its many variants (see fig. 1), is used to designate all of the Piedmont Siouan-speaking peoples, including the Catawbas.³²

Figure 1.
The Five Monacan Towns in Virginia, 1608



Source: Peter W. Houck, *Indian Island in Amherst County* (Lynchburg, Va.: Lynchburg Historical Research Co., 1984), 19.

Table 1
Classification of Siouan-Catawba

SIOUAN-CATAWBA

SIOUAN

MISSOURI RIVER

Hidatsa

Crow

Mandan

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

DAKOTAN

Sioux (Santee-Sisseton, Yankton-Yanktonai, and Teton
[Lakhota])

Assiniboine

Stoney

DHEGIHA

Omaha-Ponca

Osage

Kansa

Quapaw

CHIWERE-WINNEBAGO

Chiwere (Otoe, Missouri, and Iowa)

Winnebago

OHIO VALLEY (SOUTHEASTERN)

Ofo

Biloxi

Tutelo (Tutelo, Saponi, and Occaneechi)

CATAWBAN

Catawba

Woccon

Abstracted from "Table 3. Consensus Classification of the Native Languages of North America," In Ives Goddard, Languages, vol. 17 in William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed., Handbook of North American Indians (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 8.

The Catawba Connection

The Catawbans were a major Siouan-speaking tribe in the Carolinas. Vary warlike, they were irreconcilable enemies of the Iroquois. The name appears to derive from a Muskogean language, either Creek³³ or Choctaw,³⁴ in the form of *Kutapv*, pronounced <katá:pa> and meaning either "separated" or "divided."³⁵ Brown further speculates that *Catawba* could mean "separated from other Sioux."³⁶

At various times and places, the Saponis and Tutelos were considered branches of the Catawbans.³⁷ However, Hale warns us of the confusion and

uncertainty that arise when consulting the colonial records due to the fact that the name *Todirchroon* was applied by the Iroquois to two distinct tribes—or rather confederacies—of southern Indians belonging to different stocks and speaking dissimilar languages. These were, on the one hand, the ethnic groups that were incorporated as the Saponi Nation (see below), and, on the other, the powerful Catawba Nation.³⁸ Perhaps Hale overstressed the differences between the Saponi and Catawba nations. As referenced in Table 1, both the Saponi and the Catawba belong to the greater Siouan-Catawba linguistic family. The Catawba is generally considered to be the most remote of all Siouan languages, being closer to Woccon than any other language for which a vocabulary has been recorded.^{39, 40} The general connection between the Catawbans and generic Tutelos seems to have arisen as a result of being neighbors and at times allied against the Iroquois who lumped them both into the *Todirchroon* category.⁴¹ Interestingly, in addition to the generic “*Todirchroon*,” the Iroquois had another name for the Catawbans—*Oyadagahroenes*.⁴²

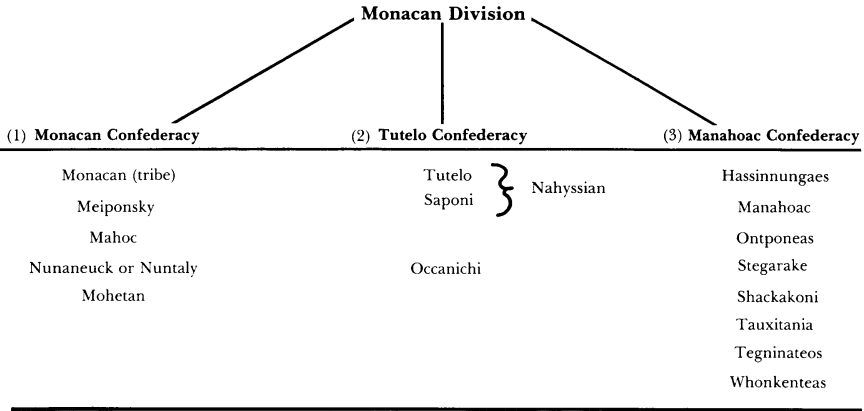
Fort Christanna

The number of Monacans was estimated by Mooney (1928) at 1,200 in 1600, including part of the Saponi and Tutelo, but they can hardly have comprised over half as many. In 1669 there were still about one-hundred “true” Monacans as they were credited with thirty bowmen.⁴³

Sometime after 1671, the Saponis and Tutelos (the *Nahyssan*) were driven south by the Iroquois to join their Monacan kin, the *Occaneechis*, who camped on an island, now covered by Bug’s Island Lake, at the confluence of the Dan and Staunton Rivers near Clarksville⁴⁴ in Mecklenburg County, Virginia. The Commonwealth of Virginia has dedicated a park to the memory of the *Occaneechis* and hosts an annual powwow and festival on Mother’s Day.

In the aftermath of Francis Bacon’s massacre of his Siouan allies in 1676,⁴⁵ the combined Saponi, Tutelo, and *Occaneechi* remnants dispersed south into North Carolina where they had a tenuous relationship with the *Tuscarora*. After a period of constant agitation, the Saponis, now the collective name for all the component groups, returned north to seek protection outside the walls of Fort Christanna in Brunswick County, Virginia.⁴⁶ By this it is presumed that the remnants of the *Manahoacs* and *Monacans* were ultimately absorbed by the *Nahyssan* (i.e. the Saponi and Tutelo), as well as the *Occaneechi*.⁴⁷ Around 1714, the Saponi, Tutelo, *Occaneechi*, *Stenkenock*, and *Meipontsky* (see fig. 2) began to settle around Fort Christanna at Governor Alexander Spotswood’s invitation to serve as a buffer against continued Iroquois raids. Due to their Fort Christanna residence, the Saponi Nation was often referred to as the *Christanna Indians* in the colonial records of the time. To the Iroquois, these peoples were still *Todirchroones*.⁴⁸ In 1715, Governor Spotswood reported that the Indians at Fort Christanna, including Saponi, Tutelo, *Occaneechi*, and *Manahoac*, numbered 300.⁴⁹

Figure 2.
Organization of the Monacan Division into the Three Confederacies
and Their Inclusive Tribes



Source: Peter W. Houck, *Indian Island in Amherst County* (Lynchburg, Va.: Lynchburg Historical Research Co., 1984), 17.

In 1716, John Fontaine visited Fort Christanna and recorded a Saponi vocabulary, which was the collective name for the individual Siouans residing there.⁵⁰ Edward P. Alexander⁵¹ was the first to suggest that Fontaine’s vocabulary was the famous Occaneechi trade jargon described by Robert Beverly in his *The History and Present State of Virginia*.⁵² Goddard observed that the Fontaine vocabulary either represented the Occaneechi trade jargon, or the words were obtained from various individuals at the fort who spoke different languages.⁵³ Notwithstanding Goddard’s observation that the Fontaine vocabulary may have been the product of individuals speaking different languages, Byrd held that the representatives of various ethnic entities did speak a common language, mutually intelligible with Saponi or Tutelo.⁵⁴

Vest recalls a 1724 visit to the Saponi-Monacan around Fort Christanna during which the Reverend Hugh Jones had made an interesting reference to a creator figure called “*Mahomny* who lives beyond the sun.”⁵⁵ Furthermore, in Winnebago (now Ho Chunk), a language that Vest claims is mutually understandable with Tutelo, *Ma-un-na*, or Earthmaker, which appears cognate with Jones’ *Mahomny*.⁵⁶ At a minimum, the prefix *ma* is suggestive of the root for earth as in *ama* (Tutelo); *á:ma* (Ofo); and *amá* (Biloxi).⁵⁷ This *ma* root for earth is observable in the Western Siouan languages (Dakota, Nakota, Lakota) for earth in *maka*⁵⁸ and *makoce*.⁵⁹ In 1716, Fontaine estimated that 200 Saponi, Manahoac, and Tutelo were living at Fort Christanna.⁶⁰

The Saponi’s stay at Fort Christanna was far from tranquil. In their appointed role as buffers for the English colonists, they were often battered by continuing Iroquois raids from the north, with support from their local fellow Iroquoians, Tuscarora, Meherrin, and Nottoways (also a derivative of

Nadauek). The fort itself offered little real protection to the Saponis residing in its shadow. Yet the Iroquois and local allies were not the only ones raiding the exposed Saponis. In the 1720s, the Susquehannock and the Conoys launched war parties against the Fort Christanna “Chaponicks” (Saponis) from Pennsylvania.⁶¹ After the Treaty of Albany of 1722, peace was established between the Iroquois and the Virginia Indians, and so the Saponis had, in effect, overlived their usefulness as a buffer. Therefore, they were subject to all manner of pressure to vacate their lands and remove themselves elsewhere. By the 1740s, their dispersal had begun in earnest. They scattered in all directions in Virginia, Carolinas, and eventually beyond to Ohio, Mississippi Territory, Florida, and so forth. The best documented exodus was following the Tuscaroras north to Pennsylvania and eventually to New York State, Ontario, Ohio, and finally Indian Territory in Oklahoma.

NORTHEAST

Pennsylvania

Upon arriving at the Southern Door of Iroquoia, the Saponis/Christanna became better known as Tutelos collectively. By 1744, Conrad Weiser was writing about the Tutelos living at Shamokin (near the present Sunbury, Pennsylvania)⁶² on the Susquehanna River. Over time, the Saponi/Tutelo continued to move north to places like Skogari and Tioga Point. The Tutelo presence is remembered by the placename Tuterow Creek.

New York State

Around the middle of the eighteenth century, on the eve of the French and Indian War, the Iroquois sought to draw their Susquehanna allied nations (such as the Tutelos, Nanticokes, Conoys, Delawares, etc.) closer to the heart of Iroquoia in an attempt to bolster their military strength. Thus, the Tutelos, like the other allied peoples, continued their migration and by 1750 had established two towns in Cayuga Territory. The main towns were Coreorgonel (Corcargonel) in the present town of Ithaca and another one across the river from the present site of Chemung.⁶³ The placename of Toodletown still resonates in the general area.

In 1753 the Cayuga sponsored the Tutelo for adoption into the Iroquois Confederacy. After the adoption of the Tuscaroras, Nanticokes, and Tutelos, the Grand Council reflected the two sides consisting of the Elder Brothers, which included the Mohawks, Onondagas, and Senecas, and the Younger Brothers encompassing the Oneidas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Tutelos, and Nanticokes. Other nations were referred to as nephews or children of the Brothers.⁶⁴

Coreorgonel

By all indications, Coreorgonel was the principal Tutelo town. The name has been glossed as “Where They Keep the Pipe of Peace.”⁶⁵ This may be another

er case of folk etymology requiring serious linguistic analysis to clarify the actual meaning.

Apparently, Coreorgonel was settled circa 1753. By 1779 (villages customarily were moved from time to time when the soil became exhausted and firewood and game scarce), it was located on the west side of the Cayuga Lake inlet and on the border of the Great Swamp, three miles from the south end of Cayuga Lake. When the village was destroyed in 1779, it was described as containing twenty-five “elegantly built” houses.⁶⁶ Coreorgonel was also known by other names as well: *De Ho Riss Kandia*, supposedly a corruption of the Mohawk *Tchoterigh-kanada*, or Tutelo Town. Other variants include *To-tie-ronno* as the name of a village near the head of the lake occupied by the *Tedarighroones*; *Ka-yegh-ta-la-ge-a-lat*, Oneida for “Valley Between Mountains,” the valley of Ithaca from the head of the lake southward.⁶⁷ On Guy Johnson’s 1779 map, the village appears as *Todevigh-rono*.

Between Coreorgonel and Chemung there may have been a string of small villages, hamlets, and camps. The valley now called Pony Hollow in Tompkins County, New York, seems to take its name from the Saponi, who once lived there. It would be interesting to see if today’s Pony Hollow is the successor name to the *Ka-yegh-ta-la-ge-a-lat* above. Tutelos were also reported living in Tioga, Oquaga,⁶⁸ and Brotherton, New Jersey,⁶⁹ at different times.

By 1779, Tutelos were living in Chughguagy (also known as Catherine’s Town) at the south end of Seneca Lake, which was also destroyed by Sullivan’s army. By 1781, a total of ninety-seven Chughguagy Tutelos were living on the Buffalo Creek Reservation under Chief Teharaghka.⁷⁰

Kasoongktas

East of Jamesville in Onondaga County, New York, is a place named Morehouse Flats. Before that it was called Kasoongkta Flats. According to Clark, the Kasoongktas were: “a tribe or band conquered by the Iroquois and settled among the Onondaga. The Kasoonghtas, who were subdued by and settled among the Onondagas and also a small tribe, who were conquered and settled in the Cayugas’ county. These were supposed to be of Winnebago lineage—they spoke a harsh, rough-sounding dialect.”⁷¹

This is especially interesting in that it suggests still another Tutelo settlement, this time among the Onondagas. The Tutelo-Cayuga has been addressed above. The Winnebago-Tutelo linguistic connection has also been suggested by Vest; at least they spoke related Siouan languages, but unfortunately there are no good samples of how Tutelo might have sounded to English ears. Some of the oral history that we have on the Saponi-Tutelo adoption stems, interestingly, in Onondaga as transmitted to Hewitt by John Buck Jr. in 1918. Fenton, with the assistance of the Cayuga Chief Deskáheh (a.k.a. Alexander General), made a literal translation in 1945 concerning the Saponi-Tutelo status in the Iroquois Confederacy.⁷² This may be a clue to the Onondaga-Tutelo connections that are found in the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, Canada. There was a John Buck, reputed to have been the Tutelo

chief at the Six Nations Grand Council until the chiefs were removed by the Canadian government in 1924.⁷³

Dombrowski notes that “the translation of the name *Kasoonghta* as some form of the Tutelo word for “younger brother” may make sense because the Tutelos were accepted, in a rhetorical sense, into the Iroquois Confederacy in 1753 as “Younger Brothers.” The use of the word among Eastern Siouan tribes to describe themselves as such might have been used in a sense to indicate their acceptance of a subservient position among the Six Nations.⁷⁴ Perhaps the word *subservient* is too strong in a kinship system where *junior* (adopted on the cradle board or taken under the wing) might be more appropriate.

Oliverio provides us with the following usages of the Tutelo word for “younger brother”:

-sótka ‘younger brother’
 wi-sótk
 lsgP-younger brother
 ‘my younger brother’
 hi-sótk
 2P-younger.brother
 ‘your (sq) younger brother’
 e-sótka -i
 ?-younger.brother-indef
 ‘his younger brother’
 wai-sótka -i
 lplP-younger.brother-indef
 ‘our younger brother’
 yi-sótka -pu -i
 2P-younger.brother-2pl-indef
 ‘your (pl) younger brother’
 e-sótka -i
 ?-younger.brother-indef
 ‘their younger brother’⁷⁵

What remains to be determined is the meaning of the *ka* prefix; one possibility might be something like the common Iroquois personal prefix.

Dombrowski confesses:

One problem with trying to explain *Kasoonghta Flats* as a Tutelo settlement lies in the fact that the Tutelos and Saponies are believed to have had their major settlement in the village of Coreorgonel near the south end of Cayuga Lake between 1763 [sic] and its destruction by the Sullivan Expedition in 1779. Following this, most of the remainder of the Tutelos are thought to have removed to the English fort at Niagara and then to the Grand River Preserve [sic] in Ontario, Canada. As for the Saponies, they soon parted with the Tutelos after fleeing to Niagara and little is known of them after this period other than a brief mention of the tribe in an Albany Treaty dated 1780

[should be 1789] stating that some of the Saponies were living with a band of the Cayugas on the Seneca River in Seneca County, New York.⁷⁶

Rather than presenting a problem, the Kasoongkta Flats information offers an opportunity to explore more Tutelo-Iroquois connections beyond those well documented with the Cayugas. Yes, as has already been stated, undoubtedly Coreorgonel was the major Tutelo settlement, but not the only one. We, perhaps, are only beginning to glimpse the dispersal of the Saponi-Tutelo peoples throughout Iroquoia. From Catherine's Town, a Seneca village; through Coreorgonel, Cayuga territory; Seneca Chemung; Munsee Tioga; to Tuscarora Oquaga,⁷⁷ along the New York State southern tier we find Tutelo occupation. Kasoongkta Flats opens the possibility of still another Saponi-Tutelo location in central New York State. Time is ripe to consult the Onondaga traditions in both New York State and Grand River to see what might be learned about a possible Onondaga-Tutelo connection.

Six Nations on the Grand River

As previously mentioned, probably the bulk of the Tutelos after the destruction of Coreorgonel eventually followed Joseph Brant's Mohawks and Cayugas to settle on the Grand River in Ontario, Canada. The Tutelos settled in a place still known as Tutela Heights near the village of Brantford. Two cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1848 reportedly wiped them out. But the oral traditions at Six Nations insist that the Canadian farmers who coveted their land may have encouraged the weakened Tutelos to leave at the points of their pitchforks. At any rate, the Tutelos regrouped with their Cayuga brothers at the Sour Springs Longhouse.⁷⁸

The Tutelo contributions to the Iroquois language, songs, dances, rituals, and ceremonies have been well documented.⁷⁹ According to the *Cayuga Thematic Dictionary*, the Tutelos are known as *deyodi:hó:nl'* or *honlhwija:dó:gv*.⁸⁰ With respect to *deyodi:hó:nl'*, the meaning is unclear except for the populative suffix *-honl'* meaning "people of." The other term for Tutelo—*honlhwija:dó:gv*—is an interesting case of a Cayuga word that is perfectly transparent in terms of its morphological structure but somewhat baffling in terms of its actual meaning. This is because words in Iroquoian languages, like words everywhere, are often more than the sum of their parts; they have some idiomatic meaning that cannot be entirely derived by simply putting the constituent morphemes together in a string. Anyway, the name is morphologically transparent (which Tutelo isn't). It consists of the objective masculine plural pronominal prefix *hon-* followed by the incorporated noun root *-lhwij(a)-*, that is, "earth," followed by stative verb root *-dogv-* which has a range of meanings: "be straight, exact, the same, keep upright," and so forth. Although not indicated in this spelling, the word probably ends with length and an *h*. The final syllable would thus be *gv:h*. The final *-h* is the stative aspect suffix, appropriate to a verb of this type. But what does the name actually mean idiomatically, other than the fact that it designates the Tutelo? You can-

not say this simply means something like “they of the straight, exact, the same, etc. earth.”⁸¹

Cayuga Lake

After the Revolutionary War, a band of Tutelos remained at Buffalo Creek under the leadership of the Cayuga chief Fish Carrier. As tradition has it, the Saponis under Cayuga chief Steel Trap returned to the Cayuga homeland. Chiefs Fish Carrier at Buffalo Creek and Steel Trap were at odds as to whether to lease and/or sell Cayuga lands in the post-Revolutionary period until the final disposition of Cayuga lands in the 1800s which has left the Cayugas landless at the present time.

At this point in their migration history, the Saponis received a new name. In the fifth article of the New York State 1789 treaty with the Cayugas, it specifically mentioned “the Cayugas and their adopted brethren the *Pawneeese*.”⁸² Swanton gives “Paanese” as a variant and warns against mistaking it with the word *Pawnee*.⁸³ There is still another word, *pani*, as a term for Indian slave on the New York State pre-Revolutionary frontier.⁸⁴ Elaborating on this point further, Hyde calls our attention to the tradition that:

In the middle of the 17th century the Pawnees were being savagely raided by eastern tribes that had obtained metal weapons from the French, which gave them a terrible advantage over Indians who had only weapons of wood, flint, and bone. The raiders carried off such great numbers of Pawnees into slavery that in the country on and east of the upper Mississippi the name *Pani* developed a new meaning: “slave.” The French adopted this meaning, and Indian slaves, no matter from which tribe they had been taken, were presently being termed “*panis*.”⁸⁵

Paniouassa’ was a French form of the name as it was used by several Siouan tribes, from the Omahas to the Osages. It was also written *Pan-nye Wacòn*, *Pácin Wasábe*, and *Pani wasábe*. Riggs’s Sioux dictionary defines *Was-sa-pe-dan* as “black bear.” Because of the association with “black bear,” the name was simplified to *Pani-wasabe*, which Du Tisé and other Frenchmen wrote as *Paniouassa*, *Paniassa*, and *Panioussa*. However, as a result of deflecting the word *bear*, the name was shortened to *Pani Noir* in French, meaning “Black Pawnee.” The Black Pawnee name was used broadly and included the Wichitas, although it was also applied to a band which was only associated with the Wichitas.⁸⁶

One needs also to mention that the southern Indians were also enslaved. During the 1520s, over 150 eastern Siouan Indians were taken as slaves from the Cape Fear River by Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón.⁸⁷ Furthermore, according to Vest:

There are several accounts of Indian enslavement in Virginia. For instance, as Old Dominion began asserting its colonial institutions in the early 1660s, the practice of educating Indian children at the

College of William and Mary became a ruse for officials to sell the children as slaves.⁸⁸ Following a Powhatan uprising and the Treaty of October 1646, Indian prisoners were kept by the English and made servants.⁸⁹ Despite an act of 1660 in Virginia that ‘Indians [were] not to be sold as slaves,’ it later became legal during Bacon’s Rebellion to enslave tributary Indians who had committed acts such as fighting or who were deemed hostile by the English.⁹⁰ In fact, following a May, 1676 attack upon the Occaneechi (Siouan), the Virginia General Assembly passed laws ‘declaring all Indians who deserted their towns or harbored hostile Indians to be enemies, and any Indians captured in war were to be slaves.’⁹¹ By 1682, the Assembly declared all servants who were not Christians at time of purchase, as well as all Indians sold by neighboring Indians or any other people, to be slaves.⁹²

Therefore, the Saponi, unlike other southern Indians, were at risk for enslavement, legislation to the contrary notwithstanding.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

What difference does a name make? The names may change, but the people move on. From Ohio Valley Siouan to Monacan to Monasakaponough to Saponi to Nahyssan to Catawban to Christanna Indian to Todirichroon (Tutelo) to Deyodihono/Honowejadoge to Pawneeese: A Saponi by any other name is just as Siouan. And their self-designation is *Yesan* which, very freely translated, might mean “we, the people.”

NOTES

This article is adapted from a conference paper prepared for the 2001 annual meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory.

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3. Georges E. Sioui, Jane Brierley, trans., *Huron Wendat: The Heritage of the Circle* (Vancouver and Toronto: UBC Press / East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999), xix.

4. Elizabeth Tooker, “The League of the Iroquois: Its History, Politics, and Ritual,” in Bruce Trigger, ed., *Northeast*, vol. 15 of *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 418–441, cited in Georges F. Sioui, *Huron Wendat*, 217, n. 22.

5. John R. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968), 280–281.

6. See Ives Goddard’s table 3, “Consensus Classification of the Native Languages of North America,” in *Languages*, vol. 17 of William C. Sturtevant, gen. ed., *Handbook*

of *North American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 569. See Table 1.

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8. A. Gwynn Henderson et al., *Indian Occupation and Use in Northern and Eastern Kentucky during the Contact Period (1540–1705): An Initial Investigation* (Frankfort, Ky.: Kentucky Heritage Council, March 1986).

9. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America*, 231–232.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Geary Hobson, *The Last of the Ofos* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2000).

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15. Lee Miller, *Roanoke: Solving the Mystery of the Lost Colony* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2000), 251.

16. Robert S. Grumet, *Historic Contact: Indian People and Colonists in Today’s Northeastern United States in the Sixteenth Through Eighteenth Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 291.

17. Ibid., 289.

18. Peter W. Houck, M.D., *Indian Island in Amherst County* (Lynchburg, Va.: Lynchburg Historical Research Co., 1984), 26.

19. Ibid.

20. Grumet, *Historic Contact*, 289.

21. Houck, *Indian Island in Amherst County*, 21.

22. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America*, 63.

23. Miller, *Roanoke*, 251.

24. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America*, 63.

25. Houck, *Indian Island in Amherst County*, 20.

26. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America*, 64.

27. Ibid., 63.

28. Houck, *Indian Island in Amherst County*, 21.

29. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America*, 71.

30. Ibid., 64.

31. Houck, *Indian Island in Amherst County*, 21.

32. Mooney, *Siouan Tribes of the East*, 37.

33. Jack B. Martin and Margaret Mauldin, *A Dictionary of Creek/Muskogee* (2000), cited in a personal communication from Prof. William Bright, University of Colorado, 25 Oct. 2000.

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37. William M. Beauchamp, *A History of the New York Iroquois* (Albany: New York State Museum Bulletin No. 78, 1905), 139.
38. Horatio Hale, "The Tutelo Tribe and Language," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 21:3 (Philadelphia, Pa., 1883), 5.
39. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America*, 71, 90.
40. See figure 3.
41. Hale, "The Tutelo Tribe and Language," 5.
42. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America*, 90.
43. *Ibid.*, 64.
44. Houck, *Indian Island in Amherst County*, 27–28.
45. Cook, *Monacans and Miners*, 40.
46. Houck, *Indian Island in Amherst County*, 27–28.
47. Terrell, *American Indian Almanac*, 130.
48. William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 395.
49. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America*, 74.
50. Miller, *Roanoke*, 326.
51. Edward P. Alexander, "An Indian Vocabulary from Fort Christanna, 1716," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 79 (1971): 303–313, cited in Miller, *Roanoke*, 346.
52. Robert Beverly, *The History and Present State of Virginia, 1705* (reprinted, C. Campbell, ed., (Richmond.: J. W. Randolph, 1855), cited in Miller, *Roanoke*, 346.
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55. Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia* (New York: Joseph Sabin, original 1724, reprinted 1865), 16, cited in Jay Honsford C. Vest, "From Bobtail to Brer Rabbit: Native American Influences on Uncle Remus," *American Indian Quarterly* 24, number 1 (Winter 2000): 34.
56. Vest, "From Bobtail to Brer Rabbit," 35.
57. Oliverio, "A Grammar and Dictionary of Tutelo," 181–182.
58. John P. Williamson, *An English-Dakota Dictionary* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Press, 1992), 56.
59. Paul War Cloud, *Dakotah Sioux Indian Dictionary* (Sisseton: Tekakwitha Fine Arts Center, 1989), 58.
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63. Harry B. Kelsey, "Sioux on the Chemung," *The Chemung Historical Journal* 5, number 3, (March 1960): 687.

64. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse*, 477.
65. W. Glenn Norris, *Old Indian Trails in Tompkins County* (Ithaca: DeWitt Historical Society of Tompkins County, Inc., 1969), 42.
66. Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Government Printing Office, 4th impression, 1912).
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68. Rev. William M. Beauchamp, STD., *Moravian Journals Relating to Central New York, 1745—1766*. Reprint. (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc., 1990): 107–109; 58; Originally published for the Onondaga Historical Association (Syracuse: the Dehler Press, 1916).
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75. Oliverio, “A Grammar and Dictionary of Tutelo,” 134.
76. Kelsey, “Sioux on the Chemung,” 688, cited by Dombrowski, “The Kasoongktas,” 2. Helen M. Upton, *The Everett Report in Historical Perspective: The Indians of New York*. (Albany: New York State American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1980. Page 206-209).
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83. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of North America*, 71.

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92. *Ibid.*, 139.

Table 2
Partial Synonymy of Occaneechi, Saponi, and Tutelo: Work-in-Progress

Acconeechy	Sapponces	Toderichroone
Achomechos	Sapponees	Todericks
Achonechy	Sapponeys	Todevighrono
Aconeche	Sapponi	Todirichrones
Aconechos	Sapponie	Manahoac
Acconeechy	Sappony	Monacan
Aconichi	Saps	Moneton
Acoonedy	Sapsony	Monahassanugh
Akenatzie	Shatteros	Monasuchapanagh
Akenatzy	Chaponick	Nahyssan
Akonichi	Kattera	Hunohakhic
Botshenins	Nahyssan	Yesang
Ocameches	Shateras	Tetes-Plates [Flat Heads]
Occaanechy	Taderighrones	Meiponsky
Occaneeches	Tadirighrone	Mahoc
Occaneeches	Tateras	Nunaneuck or Nuntaly
Occoneachey	Tedarighroones	Mohetan
Ochineeches	Tedarrighroones	Hassinnungaes
Ockinagees	Tedderighroones	Ontponeas
Okenechee	Tedirighroonas	Stegarake
Oscameches	Tehötirigh	Shackakoni
Patshenins	Tehütüli	Tauxitania
Christanna Indians	Tentilves	Tegninateos
Christianna Indians	Tetarighroones	Whonkenteas
Paanese	Tetero	Totteroy
Sapan	Teuteloe	Talleroye
Sapenys	The dirighroonas	Monassicapano
Sapiny	Thoderighroonas	Catawba
Sapon	Tiederighroenes	Cheraw
Sapona	Tiederighroonas	Congaree
Saponas	Tiederighroones	Eno
Saponees	Tiederigoene	Keyauwee
Sapones	Tiederigroenes	Shakori
Saponeys	Tiütei	Sissipahaw
Sapongs	Tiüterih	Sugaree
Saponi	Toalaghreghroones	Cape Fear
Saponie	Toalaghreghroonees	Peedee
Sapony	Toalaghreghsoonees	Waccamaw
Sapõonies	Toataghreghroones	Winyan
Sappona	Toderechrones	

Partial source: Occaneechi Band of the Saponi Nation, http://www.occaneechi-saponi.org/tutelo-saponi/LRDP/Tribal_Syn.shtml.