

A Tutelo Inquiry: The Ethnohistory of Chief Samuel Johns's Correspondence with Dr. Frank G. Speck

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Obscured by the invasive expansion of an aggressive Iroquois confederacy, there exists today a remnant population of eastern Siouan peoples known as Tutelos amid the Six Nations Reserve at Grand River, Ontario. While there is a general dearth of source materials for the Tutelo Indians of Virginia, there is an interesting correspondence between a Native elder at Grand River and Dr. Frank G. Speck that took place during the years 1934 and 1935. These letters, composed for Chief Samuel Johns, reveal insight concerning the enduring complexity of American Indian identity. In noting this ethnohistorical puzzle, it is the purpose of this article to explore and examine the Tutelo initiative and voice in asserting a unique ethnic identity amid the Hodenosaunee, or Great League of the Iroquois.

For far too long, the collaborative and self-motivated participation of Native Americans in anthropological fieldwork has been ignored because their role has usually been characterized simply as "informants." In his correspondence with the noted University of Pennsylvania anthropologist Frank Gouldsmith Speck, Chief Johns reveals his Tutelo ancestry and makes an inquiry concerning that ethnic heritage. By this standard, the Johns letters stand out as an inquiry of scholarly interest in Native ethnohistorical criticism and research. Chief Johns initially writes Speck from Middlemass, Ontario on 4 September 1934. In his first letter, Johns reveals his Tutelo ancestry and requests historical information regarding the tribe. On 31 December 1934, Johns again writes Speck informing him of historical findings that report the Tutelo country along the east branch of the Susquehanna River

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near present-day Athens, Pennsylvania. On 8 January 1935, Johns, apparently replying to Speck, informs him of some Tutelo tradition and requests that he visit the reserve during “the balmy month of May.” Finally on 2 June 1935, Johns responds to Speck with arrangements for his visit, including dinner plans. Given his knowledge of the Tutelo heritage at Grand River, there is a curious refusal from Johns to “write up a short history of our people . . . on the reserve.” While he immediately recants this refusal and offers to give it a try, Speck unfortunately seems to have left the burden on the nonliterate informant and made no further effort to interview him regarding the Tutelo question. Surely this reference to “our people on the reserve” implicates the history of the Tutelo among the Six Nations at Grand River.¹

In a nearly forlorn plea, the old chief requested the scholar to assist him in learning of his tribe’s lost history. As he does so, Johns, a chief among the Ontario Cayuga, appears to lament his lost Tutelo identity and reveals an important consideration surrounding postcolonial American Indian ethnicity. It would seem that in Johns’s inquiry race is not an a priori construct as in that of American Indian or Native American, but that there are significant concerns for one’s specific tribal origins. Traditionally, one is a member of a specific people rather than a pan-Indian Native American or megaethnic construct. It is, moreover, not enough for Johns to be simply a citizen of the Six Nations Iroquois, but he must be a tribal descendant of the Tutelo.

Although Speck gave considerable effort to recording Tutelo traditions, there remain, however, questions concerning his collaborative relationship with Native “informants.”² Describing this relationship, Merrell, in his assessment of Speck’s Catawba studies, has explained the anthropologist’s approach.

Determined to rescue what he could of the Indians’ “native” or “original” culture using a “pack-rat technique,” Speck sought to add to the sparse documentary record by talking with the few surviving Indians who remembered the Native language and “were in any degree capable of furnishing information on their cultural past.”³

Within this characterization, cultural questions dominate the objectivity of anthropology. Addressing two of these cultural dimensions, Scott Michaelsen sets forth some characteristics of cultural consideration. First, there is the notion of “*denominated Indianness*,” which may be “understood as oral and/or collective.” As understood by those so denominated, this condition may belong to hierarchical exclusions. “Culture is not a condition but, rather, a relation of power. And it is a political act of exclusion, part of colonial relations . . . to pass judgment on the ‘Indianness’ of texts.”⁴ In the second case, two identity issues are involved. One, the question of parameters establishing difference and sameness, as manifest in race, color, culture, and so forth. Two, the everyday experience of culture, involving the ordinary interactions of one’s life experience within a given community. It is “the constant assertion in the world that one belongs to or partakes of a single (or multiple) culture.”⁵ It is from this perspective that we can assess Speck and his relationships with his “informants.”

Merrell has shown that Speck has been partially responsible for his own disappointment when lamenting “the decadent state of Catawba culture” and the “shattered traditions” that he found in his Catawba studies.⁶ As a point of contrast, in his early days among the Mohegans Speck appears to have been well liked by the elders.⁷ At one point, Speck experienced a Mohegan phantom known as “the old stone cutter” and related his experience to the elders. This auto-ethnographical memorate subsequently became a narrative amid Mohegan oral tradition. In sharing the account, William Simmons concludes, “Speck strengthened his own standing among the people with whom he worked.”⁸ Gladys Tantaquidgeon attributed this respect among the Mohegan elders to the idea that “his theories were in their formative stages.”⁹ Melissa Jayne Fawcett, Tantaquidgeon’s biographer, concludes that in the same experience, “Frank Speck forever misunderstood the true magic of Mohegan Hill.”¹⁰ With this contrasting evidence, it is difficult to evaluate Speck’s relationship to his “informants” within the multicultural limits.

The question of establishing identity within the parameters of difference, however, remains valid. In fact, it is this question as asserted in the letters of Chief Johns that motivates this inquiry. Johns asserted his Tutelo identity through his correspondence with Speck, thereby differentiating his ancestry from that of other groups at Six Nations. In doing so, he raised the enduring complexity of American Indian ethnicity. While this article cannot begin to re-create that ethnic history, there are compelling reasons to investigate the concerns raised by Chief Johns. Particularly significant are the historical ties of the Tutelo to Virginia and their tribal migration to Ontario. It is to these ends that I will attempt to address Chief Johns’s inquiry and supply some short history of the Tutelo while subsequently attending his ethnic status at Six Nations amid the Iroquois and others.

Following is an examination of the Johns letters and an ethnohistorical analysis with specific attention given to Johns’s ethnic considerations (see fig. 1).

LETTERS OF CHIEF SAMUEL JOHNS TO DR. FRANK G. SPECK

I

Chief Samuel Johns
Middlemass
Ontario Sept. 4 / '34

My Dear Sir, Dr. Speck,

It is now some time ago, we met. Perhaps you have thought eh, that Sam Johns has forgotten me. But my dear bro.[ther], I or we have not forgotten you. We are talking about you and your visits to our people when they came to our home. My dear bro.[ther] it is though my rather severe illness, I keep putting off to write to you some nearly two months ago I got badly hurt by falling off my chair. But thanks God, I am now quiet smart again, though I am still lame perhaps its old age

I'll be 77 yrs. old and I don't think I'm an old man yet. Its my legs that give me trouble now for 3 years. I have not been able to do any work during that time. Sometimes I almost worry. My good wife does all the work she is 72 yrs. old and she [is] smart at that age. My only son living stays with us. I lost my youngest son 2 yrs. ago, who was my main support. Oh, I did mourn for him for a long time. But our heavenly Father comforted me by his precious word. Bless His Holy Name for ever and now dear bro.[ther,] I [have] written a long letter [and] I only say further that all our people is well.

Just a word more[,] do you know anything about the Tutelo Indians[?] I am of that breed my Father was a Tutelo Indian or he is a descen[dan]t of that tribe[.] Is there nothing in the Treaties about them [?] And do you know by history or otherwise is the Shawnees and the Munsees or Delawares one [?] [O]ur Head chief ask me to ask you[,] if you could give light on that and so. Now I remain ever your bro[ther].

Samuel Johns

II

Dec. 31st 1934

Delawares, Nanticokes and Tuteloes country lies along the western shores of the east branch of the Susquehanna River as shown on the map of the Province of Penn.[sylvania] contained in a volume "The Western Movement"

By
Justin Winsor
Houghton, Mifflin and Co.
New York 1897
(Public Library)
London, Ont.

III

Samuel Johns
Middlemass Jan. 8 / '35
Ontario

Dr. F. G. Speck

Most esteemed friend and bro[ther]. Greetings and Happy New Year to you and yours and many of them. Pardon my delay to answer your

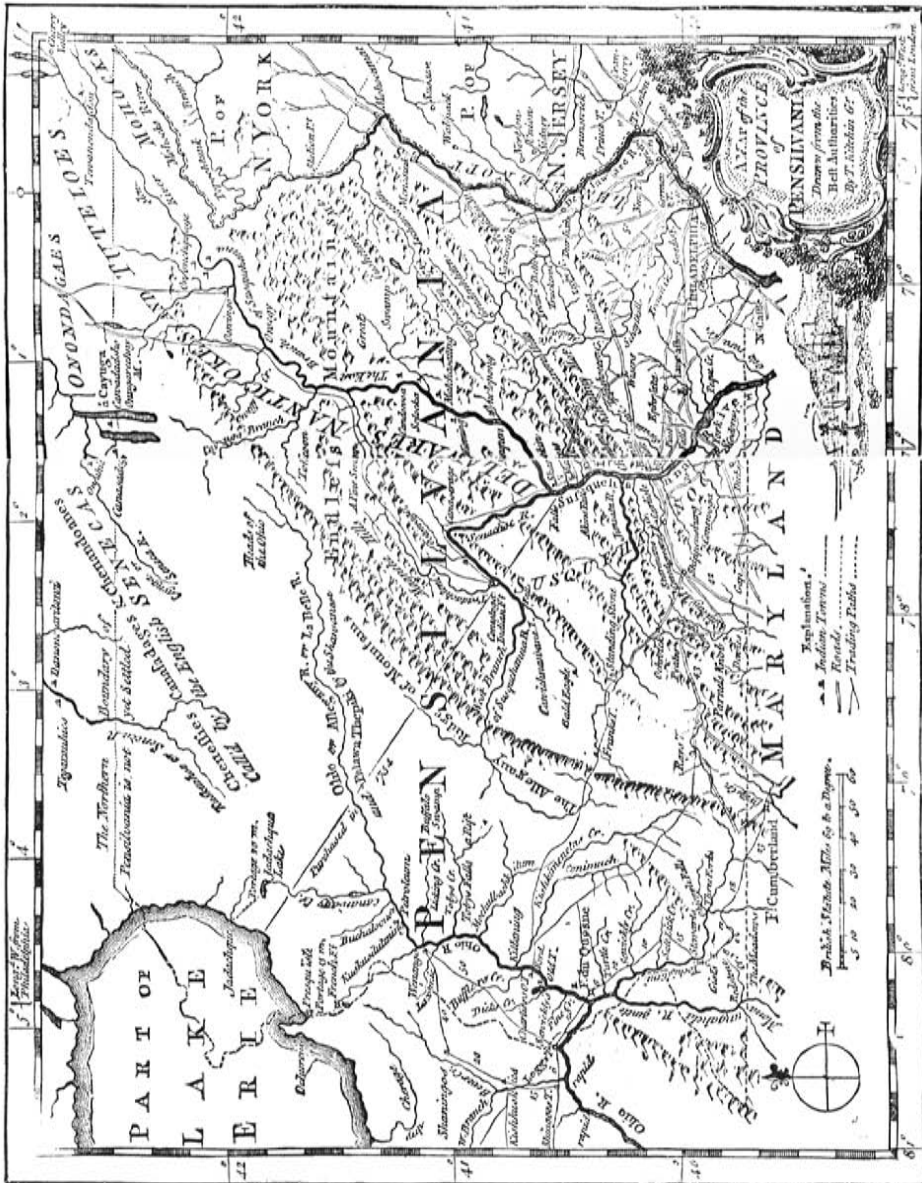


FIGURE 1. This map shows an attempt to define the western boundaries of Pennsylvania by curves corresponding to those in the Delaware River.¹¹ Reprinted from Justin Winsor, *The Western Movement* (New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1897).

very kind letter and many thanks for the token of your love to me. In this letter about the Tutelo Indian by three years ago I do not know anything about land left as I was too young and no [E]nglish language could I speak. [B]ut I do know as I often speak he [father] being a Tutelo Indian by his mother side and a Delaware on his father's side. He had an Indian name (Ka per josh) which means naughty and I go by that name and I do not know of another who claims to be a Tutelo Indian. Well sir dear bro.[ther,] I am glad to say I am quite well and [so is] my dear wife[.]. I am Past 77 years and Mrs. John[s] Past 72 yrs. I am a cripple have been 4 yrs. not able to do any work. [A]s to your propose visit. Could it be possible for you to come in the balmy month of May[.]. I think it would be better. [O]ur winter so far has been very mild not to much snow. I trust my letter will find you & yours in the best of health so farewell for the time and a God Bless you is my Prayer.

Ever yours[.].
Samuel Johns

IV

Samuel Johns
Middlemass
Ontario B412 June 2 / '35

My Dear Dr. Speck at last I found the letter I mislaid. I wrote to say or rather ask you can handle Bead work made by a Munsee lady and as to baskets[.] I'll get you some if you will tell one just the kind you want. We have real nice Summer weather just now. Oh say could you tell me just when you expect to visit us. We will have dinner ready for you[.] will of my place[.] will your dear son be with you. Is to late for me to write up a short history of our people be on this reserve. May be I can[.] I would try[.] Be sure [to] try a[nd] come here on or before 12 noon. [T]hen from my place we would go to our Hall to meet our people.

I remain Sir your humble Bro.[ther,]
Samuel Johns

During the late nineteenth century considerable excitement was generated among anthropologists to discover a Siouan language among the Six Nations Iroquois near Brantford, Ontario. Credit for discovering the Tutelo linguistic relationship with the Dakota Siouan language family was given to the philologist Horatio Hale.¹² While residing at Clinton, Ontario, Hale made

a visit to an old Native man named Nikungha (Nikonha) said to be the last survivor of the Tutelos. Anderson reported the following:

This venerable Indian, who has died since Mr. Hale's visit, at the advanced age of a hundred and six years, or thereabout, resided on the Reserve of the Six Nations, near Brantford. The Tuteloos, of whom he was the last pure blood representative, had been looked upon by ethnologists as an Iroquois tribe, chiefly because it held a place in the Iroquois confederacy. But the list of words obtained by Mr. Hale from Nikungha showed conclusively that the Tutelo language belonged not to the Iroquois but to the Dakotan stock.¹³

In his 1883 report on the subject, Hale notes that the Tutelo were among several tribes speaking a Dakota language in Virginia and the Carolinas when encountered by European explorers.¹⁴ Said to be of the Monacan Confederacy, the most closely allied tribes with the Tutelo were the Saponi, Keyauwee, Occaneechi, and Eno or Schoicories according to Lawson.¹⁵

Classified amid the Monacan division of eastern Siouan Nations, the Tutelo together with the Saponi were known as Nahyssans, one of three Monacan tribal confederations during the colonial contact era.¹⁶ As aboriginals, these Monacan tribes occupied the Virginia Piedmont, Blue Ridge, and Valley provinces, as well as westward along the New River into present-day West Virginia. Of these, the Nahyssen group, including the Yesang or Tutelo and the Monasukapanough or Saponi, occupied the central Piedmont, Blue Ridge, and Valley region near contemporary Lynchburg in an area of general expanse from present-day Charlottesville to Roanoke.¹⁷

James Mooney informs us that until 1670, these Nahyssen tribes had been "little disturbed by whites," although they were given to much shifting about due to "the wars waged against them by the Iroquois."¹⁸ Initial contacts with colonial explorers and the Nahyssans, Yesang, and Saponi began in the 1670s with the German physician-explorer John Lederer, as well as the trade-oriented Batts and Fallam expedition. It was apparent, however, that independent Indian traders had already made commercial and social inroads among the central Virginia tribes. By the time of Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, the Nahyssen tribes had begun to ally in close association with their Occaneechi confederates on a series of islands in the presently named Roanoke River near contemporary Clarksville, Virginia. Prompted to this defensive strategy by their implacable enemies from the north, the Iroquois, the Nahyssans were forced to seek security in treaty alliance with the Virginia colony.¹⁹ By 1685, Iroquois raids directed at the Tutelos in Virginia triggered the colonial governor of Virginia, Lord Howard of Effingham, to treat with the Hodenosaunee at Albany. The Iroquois had been harassing the Tutelos, who were under the supervision and protection of Virginia, with the intent of driving them "into the Covenant Chain as direct tributaries of the Five Nations rather than through the intermediation of Virginia."²⁰ Lord Howard's treaty concluded with a pledge from the Iroquois to stay behind the mountains and beyond the Virginia settlements.

However, the Hodenosaunee “demanded that the Virginians send one of their allied tribes to become an Iroquois tributary.”²¹ While Lord Howard assumed he had secured the league’s agreement to halt its wars upon the Virginia tribal tributaries, including the Tutelos, it was by no means settled and the Iroquois continued to raid the Nahyssans.

In accordance with the frontier policy of Virginia Governor Alexander Spotswood, these Nahyssan tribes agreed by treaty in 1714 to occupy and possess the Fort Christanna Reservation near present-day Lawrenceville, Virginia. A mutual protection compact, the 1714 treaty provided for a reservation of “six miles squared,” a palisaded fort with cannons and a group of armed rangers for defense, and a school for Indian children, as well as a staff commanding the post and administrating Indian affairs under the authority of the Virginia Indian Company.²² Continuing their depredations against the Nahyssans, in 1777 the Iroquois launched an attack upon a visiting delegation of Catawba leaders who were camped outside the fort as invited guests of the Virginia government.²³ While Iroquois raiding parties continued boldly to march home through the colonial settlements of Virginia in 1719, Spotswood began negotiations with the governors of Pennsylvania and New York seeking a means to secure peace with the Hodenosaunee. As his concerns increased, Spotswood communicated his fears regarding these “Northern Indians” to the Virginia executive council declaring that the Iroquois were “threatening to come in greater Numbers to Fall upon the English of the Colony and so cutt off and destroy the Sapponie Indians.”²⁴ Accordingly, Governor Spotswood petitioned the New York government and the Hodenosaunee for a conference designed to secure a lasting peace.

In September 1722, during the treaty conference at Albany, the Iroquois revealed their bitter hatred toward the Nahyssan tribes.

“Though there is among you,” they replied to the Virginians, “a nation, the Todorichones, against whom we have had so inveterate an enmity that we thought it could only be extinguished by their total extirpation, yet, since you desire it, we are willing to receive them into this peace, and to forget all the past.”²⁵

Even afterward when renewing the covenant of 1685 with Virginia and Maryland, the Iroquois deputies presented a wampum belt to Governor Spotswood “in token of their friendship, and blandly requested permission to exterminate the Totero [Tutelo].”²⁶ Mooney concluded, “The great overmastering fact in the history of the Siouan tribes of the east is that of their destruction by the Iroquois.”²⁷

Apparently a variation of *Todirichrone*, *Totera* was a common term used by the Iroquois to describe the Virginia and Carolina Siouans. The emergence of the term *Tutelo* evidences an Algonquian corruption of *Totera*.²⁸ While *Tutelo* is commonly used in historical records and is a mainstay in ethnographical jargon, the people used the words *Yesang* or *Yesah* (real men) when identifying their nation.²⁹ As noted earlier, the Tutelos who migrated north, first as tributaries of the Iroquois and second as national confederates of the

Hodenoosaunee, were Nahyssans comprising remnants of the Saponi, Yesang, and Occaneechi tribes.³⁰

For the most part, the bitter enmity existing between the Tutelo and the Iroquois was extinguished by virtue of the 1722 Treaty of Albany. During the somewhat indeterminate decade that followed the treaty the Tutelos³¹ placed themselves under the protection of the Six Nations or Hodenoosaunee and moved northward across Virginia to Shamokin, present-day Sunbury, Pennsylvania, at the forks of the Susquehanna River.³² At Shamokin, the Tutelo together with several Algonquian tribes including the Delaware, Munsee-Mahican, Nanticoke, Conoy, and later the Shawnee were collectively brought under the governance of an Oneida Chieftain, Shikellamy, who served as viceroy for the Iroquois-conquered lands and peoples in the Susquehanna region.³³ By September 1753, during the great Council of the Six Nations held at Onondaga, the Cayugas resolved to “strengthening their castle’ by taking in the Tedarighroones.”³⁴

Following this induction into the Hodenoosaunee, the Tutelo joined their Cayuga sponsors at the South end of Cayuga Lake near Ithaca, New York. Opposite the present Buttermilk Falls State Park, the Tutelo town was known as Coreorgonel. In 1779, during the American Revolutionary War, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Dearborn under the command of Lieutenant General John Sullivan attacked and destroyed the town.³⁵ As a result, the Tutelo and their Cayuga sponsors accompanied Mohawk leader Joseph Brant to Ontario, Canada and British sanctuary on the Six Nations Reserve near present-day Brantford. Establishing itself on an elevated bench along the western bank of the Grand River, the Tutelo numbered two hundred when it began life on the reservation. In 1832, an Asiatic cholera epidemic broke out and destroyed the greater part of the tribe. When a second plague arrived in 1848 the Tutelo ceased to exist as a nation and the few survivors fled the Heights to merge among the Cayuga. As a result, the Tutelo legacy is remembered today only in the suburban Brantford name, Tutelo Heights.³⁶

By 1870 only one full-blooded Tutelo was thought to be living; his name was Nikonha (Mosquito), and he was a pensioner from having served in the War of 1812.³⁷ Accompanied by the government interpreter, Chief George Johnson, Hale sought out Nikonha and supplied the following description.

His appearance, as we first saw him, basking in the sunshine on the slope before his cabin, confirmed the reports, which I had heard, both of his great age and of his marked intelligence. “A wrinkled, smiling countenance, a high forehead, half-shut eyes, white hair, a scanty, stubby beard, fingers bent with age like a bird’s claws,” is the description recorded in my note-book. Not only in physiognomy, but also in demeanor and character, he differed strikingly from the grave and composed Iroquois among whom he dwelt. The lively, mirthful disposition of his race survived in full force in its latest member. His replies to our inquiries were intermingled with many jacose remarks, and much good-humored laughter.³⁸

Despite going by the Cayuga name Nikonha he gave a Tutelo name, Waskiteng, which may have been another reference to the mosquito or its effect. Waskiteng/Nikonha informed Hale that his father Onusowa was a chief among the Tutelos and that his mother had died when he was young. As a result, Waskiteng/Nikonha was raised by his uncle for whom there is no record.

Married to a Cayuga wife, the “Old Mosquito” had for many years spoken only the language of her people until Hale prevailed upon him to render nearly one hundred Tutelo words in their first meeting. Despite Waskiteng’s/Nikonha’s status as the presumed last full-blooded Tutelo, Hale reported that there were nonetheless:

several half-castes, children of Tutelo mothers by Iroquois fathers, who know the language, and by the native law (which traces descent through the female) are held to be Tutelos. One of them, who sat in the council as the representative of the tribe, and who, with a conservatism worthy of the days of old Sarum, was allowed to retain his seat after his constituency had disappeared, was accustomed to amuse his grave fellow-senators occasionally by asserting the right which each councilor possesses of addressing the council in the language of his people,—his speech, if necessity requires, being translated by an interpreter. In the case of the Tutelo chief the jest, which was duly appreciated, lay in the fact that the interpreters were dumbfounded, and that the eloquence uttered in an unknown tongue had to go without reply.³⁹

Although Hale supplies no reference to the identity of this Tutelo chief, an apparent contemporary of Old Mosquito was known as Göhe. He died 6 March 1888 at one hundred years old. Despite surviving Waskiteng/Nikonha by some seventeen years, he too had fought in the War of 1812, and shortly before his death he bequeathed a hickory stick, the symbol of chieftainship, which he had cut in 1812 at Queenston Heights, to a Canadian Inspector Dingham.⁴⁰ Another Tutelo descendant, John Key or Nastobon (One Step), likewise survived Old Mosquito. It was said that Nastobon lived without kith or kin and with no other living person with whom he could speak his own language. He died 23 March 1898 at seventy-eight years old.⁴¹ Either of these two individuals could have been the old chief whom Hale referenced among the Six Nations Council meetings. Certainly Göhe’s hickory staff reflects the symbolism of a chief while Nastobon’s sole knowledge of the language gives him credibility for the post.

In 1885, knowledge of the Tutelos was also given to J. N. B. Hewitt by Cayuga Chief James Monture and confirmed by Chief John Buck, the Firekeeper at the Oshweken Council House of the Six Nations Reserve.⁴² Buck was the Tutelo tribal chief and representative in the Six Nations Council until his death in 1935. He held the name Dikáhku, which he understood to denote *chief* in the Tutelo language.⁴³ The Hewitt record describes the Five Confederated Nations—Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and

Senecas—each with “an ‘Imperial Council Fire’ by themselves at their localities to transact their peoples affairs.” It further details the circumstances under which the Tuscaroras, Delawares, Tutelos, and Nanticokes were enjoined into the Hodenosaunee. According to this account, the “Tutelos were entertained in the bosom of the Oneidas, and [have] two chiefs, and they are not permitted to speak or to take part in the Confederate Council. And were clothed [in] Women’s Clothes, and the duty assigned to them is the same as the Tuscaroras.” This duty assigned them “is, when the Confederate Lords [are] abroad, on their mission in behalf of the . . . [Tutelos’] localities, they shall entertain the Confederate Lords in their Wigwam and give them corn bread and corn-soup with Bear’s meat in it.” Monture and Buck concluded “all of the Four [Tuscarora, Delaware, Tutelo, and Nanticoke] above mentioned Nations were in a destitute condition when they were sheltered under the spreading branches of the ‘Tree of the Great Peace.’”⁴⁴ The figurative reference “clothed [in] Women’s Clothes” refers to the inability of the Tutelo pursuant to Iroquois decree to conduct sovereign warfare and thus symbolizes their dependent relationship to the Hodenosaunee.⁴⁵

When responding to Speck’s interest in Johns’s family history and the status of the Tutelo tribe, Johns reveals, in the third letter, that his father was a Tutelo by his mother and a Delaware by his father. Following traditional matrilineal custom, Johns’s father is Tutelo. It is clear that Johns constructs his mixed-blood identity within the confines of his father’s Tutelo heritage. In fact, Chief Johns reveals that his father’s Tutelo name was Ka per josh, which means *naughty*, and that he now uses this name. His sense of tribal identity is, consequently, Tutelo. Speck, however, reports “Sam John[s], a Munsee at Middlemas, Ontario.”⁴⁶ Given Johns’s claim on Tutelo identity as well as his chieftainship within the Cayuga who sponsored the Tutelo adoption into the Hodenosaunee, it is possible that he held a Tutelo chieftainship within the Six Nations Council. This deduction is supported by Johns’s assertion to know of no others who claim to be Tutelo. Notwithstanding this supposition, we learned from Speck that Buck held a Tutelo chieftainship within the Six Nations Council. However, Hewitt’s explanation states that there were two Tutelo chiefs accorded the tribe. The Grand River census records two bands, a “Lower Tutelo band” and an “Upper Tutelo band,” thereby mimicking the Cayuga band divisions.⁴⁷ It would appear that both Gôhe and Nastobon were Tutelo council chiefs in the Hodenosaunee and that their office passed to Johns, perhaps through his father, and Buck, thereby continuing the Tutelo tribal sovereignty within the Iroquois League.

The letters of Samuel Johns invite historical research and discovery involving the Tutelo sovereignty within the Hodenosaunee. A review of Tutelo sovereign history begins with the Oneida viceroy Shickellamy whose second wife, whom he married before October 1748, was Tutelo.⁴⁸ While a husband gains no matrilineal authority through marriage, he does have social and familial responsibilities to his wife’s people. As a result, after October 1748 the Oneida viceroy Shickellamy was in a position to be a powerful advocate of the Tutelo and their tribal sovereignty within the Hodenosaunee. However, he died before the Tutelo were admitted to the Iroquois League. Reported in Lieutenant

Colonel Dearborn's account of the destruction of Coreorgonel, we find a possibly obscure reference to Tutelo sovereignty when he records taking Chief Tegutlelawana captive. Referenced as a near relation of the Cayuga "Sachem," Chief Tegutlelawana was made prisoner on 26 August 1779.⁴⁹ Given the chief's residence at Coreorgonel, a Tutelo village, and the intriguing appearance of his name, which suggests a corruption of Tutelo in hybrid with Cayuga Iroquois, we may herein have a reference to the Tutelo sovereign of that time.

Although he appears to confuse several individuals, improperly merging them into one another, Speck supplies us with several examples that will further account for Tutelo sovereignty. He noted that *Teká ku* or *Dikáku* denotes a chief's name and is "said to belong to the Deer sib." Buck understood *Dikáku* to denote *chief* in the Tutelo tongue.⁵⁰ Informed by Chief Buck, Speck reports a Tutelo chief, Ohyogéwan, who died about 1830. Ohyogéwan was Buck's paternal grandfather. His son, Buck's father, died about 1897 at the age of seventy-four. Given the longevity of many of the Tutelo, the life span of Ohyogéwan may well have included the period at Coreorgonel and date to 1753 and the Tutelo adoption within the Hodenosaunee. The Buck lineage is, therefore, significantly identified with Tutelo sovereignty.⁵¹

As noted earlier, Old Mosquito died about 1870, within a year of Hale's visit. Speck records a Nuyágö, old John Hoskins, who died about 1870 at an advanced age.⁵² While the Cayuga Nikonha has an apparent cognate on the list of "Lower & Upper Tuteleys [Tutelos]" reported in Johnston for 1810–12, there is no similarly apparent cognate for Nuyágö, the name attributed to Hoskins.⁵³ Hoskins may well have been the Anglican name accorded the venerable Old Mosquito, who was, nonetheless, reported as the last surviving full-blood Tutelo.

As previously noted, an apparent contemporary of Old Mosquito was Göhe. His role as a possible Tutelo sovereign has previously been addressed and his act of bequeathing a hickory staff, the Tutelo symbol of chieftainship, to Canadian Inspector Dingham certainly suggests that he held a sovereign position for the Tutelo in the Hodenosaunee. Nastobon, as reported earlier, was another probable Tutelo sovereign, according to the Hodenosaunee acknowledgment of two Tutelo chiefs. Given Nastobon's death in 1898 and Johns's age of seventy-seven years when corresponding with Speck in 1934–35, Johns (b. ca. 1857) would certainly have been a younger contemporary of these elders. Johns, furthermore, appears to have outlived Tutelo Chief Buck, who died in 1935 at age seventy-seven, thereby accounting for his knowledge of no other Tutelo leader. Accordingly, while Johns's position among the Cayuga may not have accounted wholly for the Tutelo authority among the Hodenosaunee, given his ethnic identification as Tutelo and his standing as a chief at the time of Buck's passing, he was a likely candidate for one of the two Tutelo council chiefs among the Iroquois. In fact, he may have been the last of the Tutelo sovereigns at Six Nations.

Despite the service of the two prominent Tutelo leaders, Waskiteng/Nikonha and Göhe, in the War of 1812, there was some objection to military service by at least one other Tutelo. In this controversy, the Six Nations Chiefs acted to sanction the protesters by petition.

The undersigned Chiefs of the Six Nations, observe with great Concern that Several Families who reside at the Grand River have acted in an Unbecoming manner towards their Great Father the King by endeavoring to discourage the Warriors and refusing themselves to fight the King's enemies. Do therefore humbly recommend the Dr Supr Intendt General of Indian Affairs or the Person by him appointed for the distribution of presents; that the above-mentioned Families are in their opinion Undeserving of His Majesty's bounty. And the Undersigned Chiefs hope that those People *may not* receive presents of any description at the next distribution.⁵⁴

In all, 105 persons were sanctioned by the Six Nations Chiefs for leading dissension against military service in the War of 1812. Among those sanctioned, a Kayonaghahnorow of the Tutaleys [Tutelos] was singled out.⁵⁵ While we have no indication of Kayonaghahnorow's motive in this protest against Iroquois involvement with the war, it is a significant event suggesting that many Six Nations tribal members including some Tutelos were no longer interested in serving the Crown in its political suzerainty.

Other sources indicate that there were several surviving families of mixed-blood Tutelo origin, although they were largely subsumed among the Cayuga and other affiliated tribes at Six Nations. To appreciate the position of the surviving Tutelo families, we might well digress to examine the available census figures associated with the Tutelo at the Six Nations Reserve for the years 1785, 1810, 1811, 1813, 1815, and 1843. The 1785 census at Six Nations reports seventy-four Tutelos, comprising two apparent bands: the "Upper Tootalies" with fifty-five persons and the "Lower Tootalies," with nineteen members.⁵⁶ Given the total reserve population of 1,843 persons, the Tutelos constituted 4 percent of the tribal residents at Grand River in 1785. Comparatively, the Mohawks and Cayugas, in two bands, constituted 24 and 21 percent of the total, respectively.

During this period, the Teddeoghronis [Tutelos] numbered seventy-five. Schaeffer supplies an archival table (see table 1) giving names and family census accounts. These are organized in two distinct moieties, the "Snipe tribe" and the "Wolf tribe," thereby suggesting an affirmation of the two-band thesis of upper and lower Tutelos at Grand River.

Table 1
Tutelos at Grand River, Ontario ca. 1785⁵⁷

Snipe Tribe		Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Children
Onoyegeoneon	murdering	2	5	1	1	1
Ontehoghkau	old town	1	1	-	-	-
Haykawyenin	treading on a mountain	1	2	1	-	1
Mahlonguti	-----	1	5	1	-	1
Yenyahkeya	no heart his mark	-	-	-	-	-
Subtotal		6	14	3	1	3
Wolf Tribe						
Kansoreakt	-----	3	2	-	-	-
Washomene	witchcraft	3	3	-	-	-
Konokauney	no wish	1	1	-	-	-
Porarah	Lookg v a person	2	2	2	-	1
Nehqueksati	a ball	3	2	-	-	-
Keest	a ladle his mark	1	2	-	-	1
Subtotal		13	12	2	-	1
Total		27	34	6	-	7
Number of Teddeoghronis [Tutelos]						75
Total number of (Indians) at Grand River						1,200

By the 1810 “Indian Census” at Grand River, the combined Tutelo population is given at eighty-two with fifty-three “Upper Tootelies” and twenty-nine “Lower Tootelies.”⁵⁸ Again the Tutelo population among the Six Nations is manifest at 4 percent, while by comparison the Mohawk and combined Cayuga percentages are 24 and 22, respectively. By the next year, 1811, the Tutelos numbered a combined 105 persons comprising sixty-four “Upper Tootelies” and forty-one “Lower Tootelies.”⁵⁹ In this one year, the Tutelo population at Six Nations climbed to nearly 5.5 percent of the reserve’s residents while Mohawk and combined Cayuga numbers declined slightly to 23 and 21 percent, respectively.

In a revealingly sharp decline among all tribes at Six Nations, the 1813 census reports sixteen total Tutelos, both Upper and Lower bands, while the Mohawks have eighty-one persons and the combined Cayugas have seventy-one individuals.⁶⁰ Although greatly reduced, the Tutelo are at this time 10 percent of the reserve population compared with the Mohawk and combined Cayuga,

48 and 42 percent, respectively. On 8 December 1815, a Captain Kerr reports only four Tutelos surviving at Grand River with the total reserve population falling to 203 “souls.”⁶¹ The reserve population is down by an astonishing 89 percent and the Tutelos, now nearly extinct, are down by a devastating 95 percent. Surely this must reflect the aftereffect of the Asiatic cholera outbreak reported by Hale.⁶² The Tutelos are now at their lowest point with less than 2 percent of the Six Nations population while the Mohawks and Cayugas at this time evidence 35 and 19 percent, respectively, of the total.

Despite their appalling decline in the years 1813 and 1815, the Tutelo population shows recovery in reporting a rise to forty persons in 1843 that were said to be living among the Cayuga.⁶³ In the matrilineality of the Tutelo and the Iroquois tribes, the cultural cost of this recovery must surely manifest itself in the exogamous marriages that resulted in near total extinction of the tribe. Perhaps in awareness of this condition, Chiefs Johns and Buck, now mixed bloods with the Munsee and Onondaga respectively, assert and foster their Tutelo identity claims in spite of the traditional matrilineality practiced by the tribes. To maintain Tutelo sovereignty, tribal members must constitute a fostering population based upon adoption of those with Tutelo bloodlines. It is this condition that appears to motivate Chief Johns to claim his Tutelo identity and foster a resurgent interest in the tribal ethnogenesis.

In consequence, nearly a century before Speck’s visit to Grand River, the Tutelos were reduced to approximately one-half of their 1785 population. In maintaining their lineal Tutelo heritage, they were now forced to follow a culturally transformed system that fostered lines of ancestry where members skipped a generation to their paternal grandmother, such as suggested in the first and third Johns letters. They were Tutelo and would continue, provided they adapted to overcome the population breach and accepted the fostered, culturally transformed matrilineal descent. Their population was viable and culturally active when Speck arrived during the 1930s. It is from this demographic perspective that we can now *access* Chief Johns’s claim upon his Tutelo heritage and his forlorn concern for the tribe’s history.

In reference to the sixteen “Lower & Upper Tutaleys [Tutelos]” of 1813, Johnston’s sources report their names: (1) At renta, (2) Degh agh ne toron, (3) Gwa nenik, (4) Ni aks tea se ra agh, (5) Awea ha gea rat, (6) Igon ha, (7) Ka na gwi yo háron, (8) Shogh she gwaro wane, (9) Ojonta, (10) Yoha ho waneagh, (11) Yo wison tyon, (12) Agongh sa tsi, (13) Yagh de ha we ryah sat, (14) De ha enghra ton gwaghs, (15) Ka seagh, and (16) Tika sea.⁶⁴ On inspection most of these terms appear to be Iroquoian. However, there is need for further study to determine the parent language and meanings involved.

By the 1930s, Speck reports Tutelo descendants comprising eight families and numbering about sixty individuals.⁶⁵ These families include Peter Williams (four children), John Buck (thirteen children), Mrs. Sanders (one child), Elizabeth Fish (four children), Joe Cranbette (a large family of children), Elisha Williams (four children), and Mrs. Lucy (Williams) Fish Carrier (eight children). It was further thought that other Tutelo descendants of mixed lineage were listed as living among the Six Nations. Among them, Speck reports, were a Mrs. James Hess who died 21 June 1938 at eighty-three years of

age, and a “Mrs. Crawford, a Cayuga of the Turtle moiety, and herself of Tutelo descent.”⁶⁶ According to Speck, Skagwê, another member of the Crawford family, died during the summer of 1934 in Missouri.⁶⁷ Nekatcit, Speck’s Munsee-Mahican-Delaware informant, reported an additional man of Tutelo and Delaware ancestry named Wí ctil, who was a favorite leader of the round dance during the Delaware Big House ceremonies.⁶⁸ Subsequently reporting “Sam John[s],” as “a Munsee of Middlemiss, Ontario,” Speck neglected to add his correspondent, a self-identified Tutelo, and his two sons, one of whom was deceased, to the report of Tutelo descendants.⁶⁹ Documenting the Tutelo cultural persistence among the Six Nations in 1951, Marcel Rioux witnessed the tribe’s Spirit Adoption ceremony upon “the death of George Williams, a member of the Onondaga tribe who had previously been adopted to replace a person of Tutelo descent.”⁷⁰ Accordingly, Tutelo traditions remained vibrant as late as the 1950s, nearly twenty years after Speck’s correspondence with Chief Johns. It is furthermore apparent that Tutelo culture was still alive and vibrant when Speck and associates subsequently recorded their rituals.⁷¹ Johns’s status as Tutelo chief suggests that the tribe’s constitutional relationship within the Hodenosaunee remained in effect and that their political clout was still observable at council meetings.

When Chief Johns reveals his Tutelo tribal heritage to Speck in the first letter he is most empathic imploring the scholar: “Is there nothing in the Treaties about them?” This inquiry implies that Johns had a political interest in his Tutelo heritage, which would benefit his status as Tutelo chief. The fact that he reports his research findings concerning the Tutelo tribal homelands in the second letter further suggests his interest in Tutelo sovereignty. While Johns, in the fourth letter, declares that “it is too late for me to write up a short history of our people on this reserve,” he immediately recants, suggesting that “maybe I can, I would try” to write this Grand River–based Tutelo history. These remarks reveal a hint of a deep-seated interest in securing the Tutelo heritage that Johns seemed to hold as the responsible representative authority for the tribe at Grand River. A similar interest in post-tributary tribes within the Hodenosaunee may have been evident when Johns requests, at the behest of the head chief, ethnological information regarding the Shawnees, Munsees, and Delawares. Similar to the Tutelo, these Algonquian tribes were alien to the Iroquois and were all, as a result of conquest, historical tributaries of the Six Nations. In consequence, we may conclude that Chief Johns identified himself as Tutelo and that this identification was culturally relevant; held the Tutelo chieftainship among the Hodenosaunee; and sought to fulfill his responsibilities by securing Tutelo heritage, history, and sovereignty at Grand River.

Evidencing a cultural heritage and a sovereign history, the Johns letters are therefore significant to surviving Tutelo people who might seek to restore their voice within the Hodenosaunee and world affairs. Several important points regarding a Tutelo heritage are evident. First, identity is not an a priori claim, as in Native, American Indian or Native American, or even Iroquoian. It is not enough for Johns to simply be a citizen of the Six Nations of the Grand River Reserve; he identifies himself tribally as born from his father’s heritage. In the third letter, Johns’s father held the Tutelo name Ka per josh, which

Speck rendered as Kapedjac.⁷² Speck further reports that Johns informed him of the “Tutelo nickname *Papacik*, said to mean ‘Devil.’”⁷³ As a descendant of the Indian people from the central Blue Ridge Mountains of Rockbridge and Amherst counties, Virginia, I can recall the apparently similar term *Piskey* being used for the weak and sickly, as well as an appellation for evil.⁷⁴

Although identity among the Iroquois is derived from traditional matrilineal origins, Johns makes no such lineage claim when assuming his father’s role. This fact is significant because for the Tutelo to survive they must modify their rules of matrilineal inheritance and adapt a traditional cultural encoding such as Johns does when he takes his beloved father’s name and place as Tutelo leader. Ethnic survival must be rooted in the genes as well as in cultural tradition. However, when the traditions restrict and limit the genetic descendants’ places in the tribes, then these customs must be questioned and reevaluated if there are to be future tribal generations. By claiming his Tutelo heritage, Chief Johns helps us to see the way for securing the “seventh generation” that grounds the Hodenosaunee vision of the future.⁷⁵

In conclusion, despite population decline during the nineteenth century, the Tutelos remained viable and culturally active when Frank Speck arrived at Grand River. Chief Johns’s correspondence with the anthropologist was a special opportunity to assert Tutelo sovereignty and survival. These letters, therefore, serve as a rare expression of identity, wherein a small group nearly invisible within the Iroquois-dominated population tried to use interaction with a prominent ethnologist to represent its own history and culture. Speck seems to have partly and ambivalently understood the message, but the letters sent to him by Johns nonetheless document an important ethnic voice, a Tutelo voice.

NOTES

1. The letters of Chief Samuel Johns to Dr. Frank G. Speck are available in the Frank G. Speck Papers, archived at the Library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

2. Frank G. Speck, “Tutelo Rituals,” *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina* 1, no. 2 (1935): 17 and Frank G. Speck, *The Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony: Reclotting the Living in the Name of the Dead* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1942).

3. James H. Merrell, “Reading ‘An Almost Erased Page’: A Reassessment of Frank G. Speck’s Catawba Studies,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 127, no. 4 (1983): 248–62; citing Frank G. Speck, *Catawba Hunting, Trapping, and Fishing*, Joint Publications, Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the Philadelphia Anthropological Society, no. 2 (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1946), 1. Brief biographies of Speck may be found in the obituaries by John Witthoft, *Southern Indian Studies* 2 (1950): 2, 39–44 and A. Irving Hallowell, *American Anthropologist* n.s., no. 53 (1951): 67–75. For a bibliography of his work, see *American Anthropologist*, n.s., no. 53 (1951): 75–87.

4. Scott Michaelsen, *The Limits of Multiculturalism: Interrogating the Origins of American Anthropology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), xxi–xxii. In this and subsequent points of theory Michaelsen is indebted to Arnold Krupat, *Ethnocriticism: Ethnography, History, Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).

5. Ibid., xxii.

6. Merrell, "Frank G. Speck's Catawba Studies," 248–49.

7. Melissa Jayne Fawcett, *Medicine Trail: The Life and Lessons of Gladys Tantaquidgeon* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2000), 63.

8. William S. Simmons, *Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore, 1620–1984* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986), 144 and 267.

9. Fawcett, *Medicine Trail*, 63.

10. Ibid., 69.

11. Justin Winsor, *The Westward Movement . . . The Colonies and the Republic West of the Alleghanies, 1763–1798* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1897), 54–55.

12. Rev. Joseph Anderson, "The Newly Discovered Relationship of the Tuteloes to the Dakota Stock," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 2 (1872): 15–16.

13. Ibid.

14. Horatio Hale, "The Tutelo Tribe and Language," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 21, no. 114 (1883): 1.

15. For further discussion, see James Mooney, "Siouan Tribes of the East," *Bulletin no. 22*, Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, US Government Printing Office, 1894), and Peter W. Houck, MD, *Indian Island in Amherst County* (Lynchburg, VA: Lynchburg Historical Research Co., 1984), 16–28.

16. John Lawson, *The History of Carolina* [1714 ed.] (Raleigh: O. H. Perry and Co., 1860), 384; Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, 23–55; and Houck, *Indian Island*, 17. These three eastern Siouan confederacies, the Monacan Nation, included (1) the Monacan Confederacy including the Monacan, Meiponsky, Mahoc, Nunaneuck or Nuntily, and Mohetan or Moneton; (2) the Tutelo or Nahyssan confederacy including the Yesang or Tutelo, Saponi, and Occanichi or Occaneechi; and (3) the Manahoac confederacy including the Hassinnungas, Manahoac, Outponeas, Stegarake, Shakakoni, Tauxitonia, Tegninateos, and Whonkenteads.

17. Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, 37–52 and Houck, *Indian Island*, 21.

18. Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, 26.

19. "Treaty between Virginia and the Indians, 1677," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 14, no. 3 (January 1907): 289–97. Three Saponi-Monacan chiefs signed this treaty, thereby securing their status as treaty Indians and tributaries of colonial Virginia. These three chiefs were "Shuirenough, King of the Manakins," "Mastegonoe, young King of the Saponies," and "Tachapoake, Chiefe man of the Saponies," *ibid.*, 296.

20. Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 180. The "Covenant Chain" is a figurative metaphor used by Iroquois statesmen to convey a bond of friendship and agreement between parties. It was reported to have originated with the arrival of the Dutch in Iroquoia. At that time, it was said that the Iroquois took hold of the anchor chains of the Dutch ships and fixed them in the landscape, thereby creating a bond of friendship and agreement. Afterward, the expression became widely used to reference agreements and friendship bonds secured by treaty and other formal negotiation.

21. Jennings, *Ambiguous Iroquois*, 182. A full manuscript account of the minutes of Lord Howard's treaty of 1684 is archived at the Virginia State Library, Richmond: Colonial Papers, folder 4, item 22.

22. "Treaty of Peace between Virginia and the Saponies, Stuckanoes, Occoneechees, and Totteros, Feb. 27, 1713 [14]," (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, CO5/1316), 619–27. "Treaty with the Saponie Indians, concluded at Williamsburgh, the 27th of February, 1713," as referenced in the Public Record Office, *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations from February 1708–9 to March 1714–5* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1925), 528. See also Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, 26 who concludes: "Thenceforth, accounts were heard of Nahyssan, Saponi, Toter, Occaneechi, and others, consolidated afterward in a single body at the frontier, Fort Christanna, and thereafter known collectively as Saponi or Tutelo."

23. H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Executive Journal of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, vol. 3 (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1928), 450–52. This references the August 1717 attack upon the Catawba Indians outside Fort Christanna perpetrated by the Iroquois who declared that they did not know the Catawba were friends with the English.

24. McIlwaine, ed., *Executive Journals*, vol. 2, 507–9.

25. O'Callaghan, *New York Historical Collections [NYHC]* 5, no. 660 in Hale, "Tutelo Tribe," 5.

26. Leonidas Dodson, *Alexander Spotswood: Governor of Colonial Virginia 1710–1722* (1932; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1969), 105.

27. Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, 14.

28. Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* vol. 1 (1911; repr. Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishers, 1995), 313. Hanna explains that in Algonquian languages, such as Delaware and Shawnee, the "r" sound is very rare and seldom used and, conversely, the Seneca language has no sound for the letter "l." Siouan tribes of Virginia and the Carolinas were accordingly known as "Toter" among the Iroquoians and "Tutelo" among the Algonquians.

29. Hale, "Tutelo Tribe," 11.

30. For a further discussion concerning the Tutelos among the Hodenosaunee, see Vest, "An Odyssey among the Iroquois: A History of Tutelo Relations in New York," *American Indian Quarterly* 29, nos. 1 and 2 (Winter and Spring 2005), 124–55. In deference to the long-standing error of tribal nomenclature, I will continue to use the confederate Tutelo reference for this Nahyssan alliance.

31. Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, 50. Mooney cites a casual French reference that puts the Saponi and the Tutelo in the south in 1736. He concludes that the removal of the Nahyssans northward cannot have been before 1740. Claude E. Schaeffer, "Introduction: The Tutelo Indians in Pennsylvania History," in Frank G. Speck, *The Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony: Reclathing the Living in the Name of the Dead* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1942), xi, reports that the ". . . Tutelo-Saponi migration into Pennsylvania apparently did not take place until around 1740." That they were still located in the south in 1733 is indicated by the fact that the Conoys took Tutelo scalps in that year (PA. Col. Rec., III, 511). A subsequent French reference shows their presence there as late as 1736 (Mooney, *Siouan Tribes*, 50). The Monacan in Rockbridge and Amherst Counties, Virginia, the Occaneechis near Hillsboro, North Carolina, and the Halawa Saponi also in North Carolina represent the removal from Virginia and North Carolina today.

32. Hale, "Tutelo Tribe," 5–7.

33. James H. Merrill, "Shickellamy, 'A Person of Consequence,'" in *Northeastern Indian Lives, 1632–1816*, ed. Robert S. Grumet (Amherst: University of Massachusetts

Press, 1996), 227–87. Merrill offers a discussion of Shikellamy and the Hudenosaunee reGENCY located at Shamokin for governing the Susquehanna region. For further discussion of this important leader, see Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, vols. 1 and 2; and Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser* (1945; repr. Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishers, 1996).

34. O'Callaghan, *NYHC* 6, no. 611 in Hale, "Tutelo Tribe," 7.

35. Hale, "Tutelo Tribe," 7–8; and on the Sullivan campaign, see Albert Hazen Wright, *The Sullivan Expedition of 1779*, pt. 3 (Ithaca, NY: A. H. Wright, 1943), 19 and Joseph R. Fischer, *A Well-Executed Failure: The Sullivan Campaign against the Iroquois, July–September 1779* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 265.

36. Hale, "Tutelo Tribe," 8–9.

37. Charles M. Johnston, ed., *The Valley of the Six Nations: A Collection of Documents on the Indian Lands of the Grand River* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 205. Johnston gives a listing of sixteen "Lower and Upper Tutaleys [Tutelos]" contemporary with this period, at number six, "Igon ha," a variant perhaps of Nikonha or Mosquito.

38. Hale, "Tutelo Tribe," 9–11.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Brantford Weekly Expositor*, 28 March 1888, 6; referencing Hale, "Tutelo Tribe," 9–10, Speck, *Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony*, 121, seems to have confused the Tutelo elders, Waskiteng/Nikonha and Göhe. He mistakenly labels "John Tuteli" as "'Old Mosquito' who died about 1870 at about 105 years of age" and merges the two men under the Tutelo name Waskiteng. Speck further notes that Göhe may be compared with the Cayuga name Gae.

41. F. Douglas Reiville, *History of the County of Brant* (Brantford, Ontario: Hurley Printing Company, 1920), 349–50.

42. Speck, *Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony*, 121.

43. Giulia R. M. Oliverio, *A Grammar and Dictionary of Tutelo*, PhD diss. (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1996), 314. Oliverio reports *ekouwe* or *tikáhku* for *chief*, which would tend to affirm Buck's claim for *Dikáhku* denoting *chief*. In the closely affiliated Saponi language, however, *Hoonskey* denotes *chief*.

44. Collected by J. N. B. Hewitt and recorded by Seth Newhouse, "Statement concerning of Tuscaroras, Delawares, Tuteloes and Nanticokes" made by James Monture, Cayuga Chief, and confirmed by John Buck, the Firekeeper at Oshweken Council House, Brant County, Ontario, 17 July 1885. Manuscript No. 3908, Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, DC).

45. This "clothed [in] Women's Clothes" figuration was characteristic of tribes conquered by the Iroquois. See, for example, C. A. Weslager, "The Delaware Indians as Women," *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 34, no. 12 (December 1944), 381–88; Frank G. Speck, "The Delaware Indians as Women: Were the Original Pennsylvanians Politically Emasculated?," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 70 (1946): 377–89; C. A. Weslager, "Further Light on the Delaware Indians as Women," *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 37, no. 9 (September 1947): 298–304; and Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung 1700–1763*, (1949; repr. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 99–100.

46. Speck, *Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony*, 121.

47. Johnston, ed., *Valley of the Six Nations*, 52 and 281; and Schaeffer in Speck, *Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony*, xv–xvii notes two bands of Tutelo referencing the apparent clan moieties of the "Snipe tribe" and the "Wolf tribe."

48. Merrill, "Shickellamy," 257.
49. Hazen, *Sullivan Expedition*, pt. 3, 19.
50. Speck, *Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony*, 121.
51. In the fall of 1999, Six Nations Chief Stanley Buck presided over the Oneida rededication of Chief Skennandoah's grave at Hamilton College, Clinton, New York. In a brief afterlude, we discussed some of these Tutelo considerations of his family. Author's personal experience.
52. Speck, *Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony*, 121.
53. Johnston, ed., *Valley of the Six Nations*, 205.
54. *Ibid.*, 29 (original emphasis).
55. *Ibid.*, 219.
56. *Ibid.*, 52.
57. Schaeffer in Speck, *Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony*, xv–xvii.
58. Johnston, ed., *Valley of the Six Nations*, 281.
59. *Ibid.*
60. Johnston, ed., *Valley of the Six Nations*, 203.
61. *Ibid.*, fn. 16.
62. While Hale, "Tutelo Tribe," 8–9 reports two outbreaks of Asiatic cholera in the years 1832 and 1848, it is apparent by these census figures that the plague arrived much sooner and it was devastating in one outbreak alone.
63. Johnston, ed., *Valley of the Six Nations*, 307.
64. *Ibid.*, 205.
65. Speck, "Siouan Tribes of the Carolinas," 209–10, 211.
66. Speck, *Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony*, 35–36.
67. *Ibid.*, 12–13.
68. Frank G. Speck with Jesse Moses, *The Celestial Bear Comes Down to Earth: The Bear Sacrifice Ceremony of the Munsee-Mahican in Canada as Related by Nekatcit*, Scientific Publication no. 7 (Reading, PA: Reading Public Museum and Art Gallery, 1945), 76.
69. Speck, *Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony*, 121.
70. Marcel Rioux, "Persistence of a Tutelo Cultural Trait among the Contemporary Cayuga," *Bulletin*, National Museum of Canada 123 (1951): 72–73.
71. Frank G. Speck, "Tutelo Rituals," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina* 1, no. 2 (1935): 1–7; Speck, *Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony*, 125; Rioux, "Persistence of a Tutelo Cultural Trait," 72–74; G. P. Kurath, "The Tutelo Harvest Rites," *Scientific Monthly* 76 (1953): 153–62; G. P. Kurath, "The Tutelo Fourth Night Spirit Release Singing," *Midwest Folklore* 4 (1955): 87–105; and Gertrude Prokosch Kurath, *Tutelo Rituals on the Six Nations Reserve, Ontario*, Special Series no. 5 (Ann Arbor, MI: The Society for Ethnomusicology, 1981), 119.
72. Speck, *Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony*, 121; see also Oliverio, *A Grammar and Dictionary of Tutelo*, 212.
73. Quoting Hale, "Tutelo Tribe," 38, Speck notes the term *mampa isi* was given as "devil, evil spirit." See Speck, *Tutelo Spirit Adoption Ceremony*, 121.
74. *Piskey* was widely in use by my grandparents and my father who wrote it down before his death in 1998. The author is an enrolled member of the ancient Tutelo confederates, the Monacan Indian Nation of Amherst, Virginia. Derived from the author's personal experience.

75. Expressed by the Onondaga Chief, Oren Lyons, the Hadenosaunee practice a conservation doctrine to insure the future by envisioning the seventh generation ahead. See Oren Lyons, "An Iroquois Perspective," in *American Indian Environments: Ecological Issues in Native American History*, ed. Christopher Vecsey and Robert W. Venables (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1980), 171–74.