

**ON DELINEATING THE NEUTRAL IROQUOIS
OF THE EASTERN NIAGARA PENINSULA OF ONTARIO**

MARIAN E. WHITE

The Neutral Iroquois of Ontario were a favorite subject of archaeological and historical research early in this century and, except for a brief lull in the 1940-60 period, have continued to hold interest and provide fruitful problems (Ridley 1961; Wright 1963; White 1968). The present consideration will examine the Neutral from two separate but related points of view. The first is the question of the ethnic identity of Iroquois sites adjacent to the Niagara River in both the Ontario Peninsula and Western New York. The second is the interpretation in socio-political terms of whatever ethnic labels can convincingly be applied.

This research had its inception in the 1950's and has continued to preoccupy a corner of the writer's mind ever since. New hypotheses have grown up and have been examined either archaeologically or ethnohistorically or both (White n.d.a.; 1968).

The current interest has arisen from conclusions reached in two recent articles one of which moved from particular archaeological evidence at the Van Son Site to the probable identification of that site on Grand Island in the Niagara River as Neutral of 1635-45 (White 1968). The second identified certain other sites as Erie Iroquois and related some historical events of the early 17th century to the disappearance of the Erie and Wenro Iroquois from Western New York (White n.d.b.). One specific hypothesis was that these aboriginal occupants were forced out by both the Neutral on the west and the Seneca on the east, leaving the latter two in competition for the postulated rich beaver resources of the Niagara Frontier. While considerable support for this hypothesis was found in the documents, any such conclusions are strengthened immeasurably by archaeological evidence. It was in search of such positive or negative evidence for a rapid movement of some Neutral villages toward and across the Niagara River early in the 17th century that a study of archaeological materials in the eastern portion of the Niagara Peninsula of Ontario was undertaken in 1968. First, a survey of Lincoln and Welland Counties was conducted. Then, all existing collections of archaeological material from these counties were studied. The data and conclusions are presented in *Iroquois Archaeology in the Eastern Ontario Peninsula* (White 1969), a manuscript completed in 1969 and placed on file at several institutions concerned with archaeology in Ontario and New York. This paper is a summary of the results of that study for the problems of the Neutral with respect to their site identification and sociopolitical units as viewed from the other side of the River.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

My field survey of Lincoln and Welland Counties disclosed the same results as had a previous much earlier survey (Houghton MS), first, that there was a scarcity of Iroquois materials and sites, and secondly, that those which once existed or were said to exist were long destroyed and hence unverifiable. The latter had on the whole been mentioned in the literature, but their locations and importance had been lost and their materials scattered.

Iroquois sites in Lincoln and Welland Counties can be grouped into four classes. Their distribution (fig. 1) indicates a northern group scattered east-west and a southern group, scattered east-west. The scanty collections or accounts suggest that some of each group are Prehistoric and some are Historic. My conclusions have been reached independently for each group. These conclusions must be and probably will remain speculations. With one or two exceptions there will never be any more data bearing on the conclusions than now exists. The sites are gone and the collections virtually nonexistent. Therefore, the writer feels justified in 1. Wright 1963 has a comprehensive bibliography.

offering speculations far beyond what the data warrant. If these offerings help to formulate hypotheses to examine in other areas of Iroquoia or contribute to overall undertaking of Iroquois problems because of their underlining recurrent patterns, then the speculations are useful. Otherwise, they will find their way to the wastebasket with no damage done.

The northern row of sites which roughly parallels the top of the Niagara Escarpment in Lincoln County includes two Prehistoric components, one at Thorold (White 1969: 10-12) and the second at Deans Mills (Ibid: 9). These two are probably not related to the same village movement represented by the sites with European artifacts. The Thorold Site, a village, is 10 miles east of the second, a Prehistoric ossuary at Deans Mills. No artifacts exist from either site but they are authenticated by reliable earlier archaeologists. The only basis for any comment on the relative age of the two is the fact that the reconstructed settlement situation at Deans Mills suggests lack of any strongly defensible position immediately adjacent to the Escarpment edge in contrast to the location at Thorold. Therefore, due to the lack of natural protection, the Deans Mills Site might be earlier.

The only argument for considering the Deans Mills and Thorold Sites more closely related to each other than to other Iroquois sites in Lincoln and Welland Counties is their arrangement in a broader distribution of Prehistoric locations in the northern row of Iroquois sites. They are part of a string of Prehistoric sites stretching east from Deans Mills, through Thorold, and Kienuka, just east of the Niagara River. While the eastward distribution does not end at Kienuka, the sites to the west can best be understood by comparisons with Kienuka. The Prehistoric occupation at the Kienuka Site (White 1961: 54) has been variously assigned to the Early or Middle Iroquois Periods (White 1961: 54; Wright 1966) depending on the classification employed, but there seems to be general agreement that it falls between 1300 and 1400 A.D. whereas a later Kienuka occupation falls in the Historic Period. An earthing once existed at Kienuka (Schoolcraft 1847: 209) and was presumably a construction of the Prehistoric Iroquois occupation since earthings elsewhere in Western New York appear only in this context. The ring lay immediately adjacent to the edge of the Escarpment. Some form of ossuary burial was practiced here.

The Thorold Site is situated in an almost identical location on top of the Escarpment about 12.5 miles to the west. The general appearance of the two site areas is surprisingly similar, in a high, easily defensible position atop the outcropping Escarpment. No other attributes of the Prehistoric Iroquois Thorold Site are known. The Deans Mills ossuary is 11 miles farther west than Thorold. The manner of burial links it to the Prehistoric Kienuka occupation, the closest known Prehistoric ossuary to Deans Mills, which is in every other respect totally unknown. In summary, the Deans Mills, Thorold, and Kienuka Sites form three nearly equidistant links in an east-west chain of Prehistoric Iroquois sites.

East of Kienuka in a nearly direct line several Prehistoric Iroquois sites have been reported on the recognition of either earthings or ossuaries. These vary greatly in the amount of information and reliability of the report. Closest to Kienuka on the east and 13.0 miles away was a reputed earthwork on the west side of Lockport and said to be on top of the Niagara Escarpment (Houghton 1909: 337). This site could not be located by Houghton at the time of his survey and its existence must remain questionable. East of here 7.5 miles were the two Orangeport ossuaries. These were on top of the Escarpment and the village site is not known. Continuing east and slightly north for 2.5 miles, an earthing once existed and was referred to locally as Fort Peace. The artifact recovery from a few test squares here put in by the writer in 1961 suggests an occupation of the Intermediate Iroquois Period, probably later than Kienuka.

Southeast of Fort Peace 8.0 miles is the well known Shelby Earthworks (White 1961: 56). This Prehistoric double-walled site contained 3.7 acres. Many characteristics of this site have been described, but the date remains the subject of debate. The Shelby Site was placed chronologically by the writer between the earlier Kienuka and the later Buffam Street Site in the Intermediate Period of Iroquois development (White 1961: 106). Subsequent work has shown that certain of the sites in this series, Buffam Street, Eaton, Goodyear, and Green Lake, are

part of a successive movement of two contemporary and closely related villages. Results obtained from seriating more distant sites with this group are not necessarily valid. This may be the case for the Shelby Site. While it is clearly later than Kienuka, it may or may not be later than Buffam Street.

Two pieces of European trade goods have now been recovered from the Shelby Site. The archaeological context of these must be questionable because the site has been so thoroughly dug over that little is found in an undisturbed position. They too raise the possibility that the Shelby Site belongs in the late Prehistoric-Early Historic transition when a few trade items were reaching inland groups from ships trading along the coast. This would be about 1550 A.D. rather than the hundred years earlier originally suggested. No decision can be made from the present evidence. In either case, the Shelby Site is clearly the latest site and the last one geographically on the east. On the basis of distribution and temporal position of Kienuka and Shelby, it seems likely that these, along with the intervening sites, are part of a village movement from west to east. The Prehistoric sites in Ontario west of Kienuka at Deans Mills and Thorold are probably also part of this movement. Their ages relative to each other and to the Kienuka Site are uncertain.

The southern Prehistoric Iroquois sites show no discernible pattern which can be related to village movement. One of these is the site reported by Houghton as Prehistoric Neutral located on Route 3, Old Garrison Road, near Fort Erie. The second, similarly reported and identified, was the Thompson Site, near the Fort Erie Racetrack. The ossuary at Sherkston must be mentioned here also. Absence of data precludes its classification as either Prehistoric or Historic. It will be described with the latter. Both sites near Fort Erie are inland, near tributary streams and away from defensible positions. Such a location suggests that they were not fishing stations. An ossuary on the Orchid Site is not considered to be Iroquois for reasons set forth elsewhere (White 1966), although Noble (1968: 291) disagrees. Nor do surface collections which the writer has seen show any signs of material from an Iroquois village.

The closest Prehistoric Iroquois site geographically to these two is the Buffam Street Site in South Buffalo. As previously mentioned this Prehistoric village is the earliest settlement of the western member of a pair of contemporary Erie Iroquois villages. The north to south movement of the pair has been traced from about 1535 to 1625 A.D. Sites ancestral to the eastern member stretch off to the northeast. No sites ancestral to the western village, first represented at Buffam Street, have been located. Presumably such sites would be west or north since fairly complete information eliminates the area to the south and east. If this surmise is correct, the evidence has largely been destroyed by the City of Buffalo. With this temporal and spatial gap, the relationship between the Prehistoric Iroquois sites in the southeastern Ontario Peninsula and those in Buffalo will probably never be ascertained.

The northern row of Historic settlements is represented in Lincoln County, Ontario, by the Campden and St. Davids Sites. The latter will be discussed first since it is related both distributionally and culturally to the Van Son Site on Grand Island which is part of a string continuing on east. The St. Davids Site (White 1969: 5-7, 39-56) consisted of at least 100 burials removed on several occasions at the end of the 19th and beginning of the present century when gravel operations disclosed them. Information on the burial customs and artifacts recovered from the burials is very limited. My study of all that I could locate led to the conclusion that this Early Historic site produced artifacts similar to Van Son and possibly slightly earlier. The Van Son Site (White 1968) is dated 1635-45. The comparison is based on the fact that the Van Son Site has the largest collection of any of these northern Historic sites and the St. Davids Site the second largest. Therefore, it is not valid to conclude that St. Davids is more similar to Van Son than to any of the other northern Historic sites.

The survey located no Historic Iroquois site west of St. Davids closer than the one at Campden (AgGu-1) reported by the National Museum 16 miles away (Correspondence, J.V. Wright). This site is said to yield European trade goods, and a small collection indicates native material consistent with an Early Historic date. It is certainly a candidate for a village ancestral

to the Early Historic sites in the northern row to the east. West of the Campden Site no Historic Sites were located in the survey area of Lincoln County. A number of Iroquois sites, both Prehistoric and Historic, are reported from Wentworth County (Bell n.d.; Houghton MS; Ridley 1961; Wright 1966). The distribution of these (on which the writer's information is probably incomplete) places the farthest east in Binbrook Township. It is interesting to note that the distance between this last site and the one at Campden (17 miles) is nearly identical to that between Campden and St. Davids (16 miles).

East of the St. Davids Site and east of the Niagara River are the Early Historic sites of Van Son, Kelly, Kienuka, and Gould. No Early Historic sites existed east of the last until Seneca County is reached. The Van Son (White 1968) and Kelly Sites, the westernmost of the group, (Wright 1963: 70) are burial sites with no known village locations. While the former can be dated quite securely at 1635-45, the latter can only be designated "Historic." The Van Son Site has been assigned to the Neutral on the basis of artifact similarities to material from the heart of the Neutral County and from ethnohistorical considerations. Among this group of sites east of the River, Kienuka (Early Historic) and the Gould Site at Cambria stand together as villages on top of the Niagara Escarpment in highly similar situations 7.0 miles apart, each with an ossuary containing Early Historic trade goods. In these respects they are each like St. Davids, 8.0 miles to the west of Kienuka. The lack of comparable evidence from Kienuka and Gould which are almost without existing useful collections makes conclusions on their relationship to each other out of the question. It should be noted, however, that the entire cluster of St. Davids, Van Son, Kienuka, Kelly, and Gould, could hardly be contemporary on the basis of our knowledge of settlement pattern elsewhere in Iroquoia. This has been stated to be the case in particular for St. Davids and Van Son where St. Davids may be slightly earlier. Nor is there reason to think that all members of the group are successive unilineally. This last argument might have been made from settlement pattern studies elsewhere which have placed main con-temporary villages upwards of 7-10 miles apart. But main villages often had hamlets close by and, therefore, this identification must be taken into account as a possibility also. The best conclusion which can be reached is that these sites are part of a village movement of one or more nearby villages between 1600 A.D. and 1645 A.D. Since there are no connecting sites to the east, their connection is postulated to be to the west through the Campden Site and then west to sites in Binbrook Township, Wentworth County. These sites should be studied in the future under the following hypothesis. In Early Historic times a movement of one or more Neutral villages was taking place in the Brantford-Binbrook area. After living at sites in Binbrook, probably one community continued its eastern movement, but increased the distance of the moves. A trek of 17 miles would take them to Campden and an additional 16 miles to St. Davids. Thus the Niagara River would have been reached in two moves, 30-50 years. These two distant moves contrast with the local movement of an unknown number of descendant villages shifting short distances successively once the Niagara River was reached. The latter distribution resembles the statement of Lalemant in 1641, concerning the Neutral villages of 1640 "There are three or four beyond [the Niagara River]" (Thwaites Vol. 21: 187-91). The contrast also highlights the unusual circumstances which must have led to two long moves to reach St. Davids, provided this part of the hypothesis holds up after work around Campden and Binbrook has been done. Present evidence supports the hypothesis of a rapid move by some Neutral villages toward the Niagara River where they remained for a brief time before withdrawing again toward the west, presumably because of the Seneca. The Van Son Site, dated from archaeological materials to 1645 A.D., represents the final Neutral push toward the east.

The southern row of Historic sites all in Welland County is composed of Port Colborne, and Point Abino, west to east and possibly the Sherkston Site between. All three consisted of burials only. The Port Colborne Site is the best known of the trio (White 1969: 14-17, 57-68). It consisted of one ossuary with accompanying Early Historic Period artifacts. These were carefully examined with the conclusion that they were highly similar to the Van Son material. Therefore, the Port Colborne Site was contemporary, perhaps even continuing a little later in time, up to 1650 A.D.

The Port Colborne and Point Abino Sites seem to have been on sand dunes close to the Lake Erie shore. The Sherkston area is similar in terrain. Due to the unique settlement location of the three and their separation by seven miles and three miles respectively from west to east, these three sites seem to stand together separated from others to the west and east. It seems likely that these three sites were part of a movement of a single Historic village along the Lake Erie shore. The source of this movement is unknown. The nearest Historic site reported to the west is 20 miles away at Cayuga, Ontario. Our survey could locate nothing along the shore to the west. It should be noted that this is an area of cottages and shifting dunes. Therefore, any conclusions are tentative. The shoreline from Port Colborne east has been extensively modified by quarrying operations long before this century and the dunes were largely removed. Other sites could have existed at one time along the shore east of Point Abino.

The Sherkston Site, an ossuary probably once located in the Empire Stone Quarry, has no information available. Its Iroquois identification (White 1969: 21) and temporal position are speculative.

The Point Abino Site was destroyed at an early date and the small number of artifacts remaining indicate only that it was Iroquois. Its approximate location is known and it was said to contain trade goods (Bryant 1912: 469).

East of the Niagara River in an approximate line with the Port Colborne, Sherkston, and Point Abino Sites, there were two Historic sites within the City of Buffalo. One of these was on Fenton and Barnard Streets on the north side of Buffalo Creek. The village was located on the first terrace on Fenton Street and the burials were a block away.

The burials were estimated at 75 by Houghton (1909: 311) who was not present at their excavation. He claims that they contained among other trade items, glass, mirrors, and nails. Material from the nearby village was apparently more familiar to Houghton and he mentioned abundant native artifacts which were Historic Iroquois.

Both the village and burial materials have largely disappeared. Clearly the site was Historic. If the fragments of mirrors represent mirror boxes, then the burials would date after 1630 at least (Wray and Schoff 1953: 62).

The second site was on the Hart farm two miles directly south on the south terrace of Cazenovia Creek. The Hart farm was the scene of occupation by many different groups and their materials have not yet been typologically isolated. One local area is said (Houghton 1909: 318) to have produced burials while plowing. These were quickly looted and the artifacts lost. The shallow burials supposedly contained kettles and axes. Iroquois pottery and stone artifacts have been found on the farm (A.L. Benedict Collection) but this relationship to the burials is unclear.

Close similarities between the two sites were recognized by Houghton (1909: 311, 318) who noted the multiple occupations, including the Historic ones and who postulated a Wenro identification. Later he (1920: 44) changed the identification of these Historic components to Seneca. He claimed that the Hart Site was the earlier of the two and dated between 1660 and 1690 A.D. while Fenton-Barnard dated later but still preceded 1700 A.D. My speculation is that the Fenton-Barnard Street and Hart Sites are not as late as Houghton suggests, mainly because of the amount of native material noted, and the lack of reference to Jesuit material and guns. No case can be made for or against this argument because of the lack of material. Nevertheless, if the date and identification of these sites are open to question, then the distribution plus the general contemporaneity suggests a relationship in terms of village movement to the sites of Point Abino, Sherkston, and Port Colborne. At least, these are the closest sites which seem to show any relationship because sites which might relate to them to the east, north, or south do not occur at the appropriate time and location. Above all, my conclusions are influenced by the ethnohistorical picture next to be discussed. In the light of all these considerations, I suggest that the Fenton-Barnard Street Site represents the latest village of a movement represented also by Hart, Point Abino, Sherkston, and Port Colborne.

Certain of the sites under discussion have already been identified with the Neutral Iroquois

(White 1968: 40). This identification was made on the basis of a single definite statement (Thwaites: Vol. 21, 191) in the contemporary literature to the effect that some Neutral villages were located east of the Niagara in 1640, a time which agrees approximately with the dates of these sites.

Under the hypothesis that these and other sites considered here are Neutral villages, an attempt will be made to demonstrate this possibility from the pertinent texts and maps of the 17th century. These have recently been summarized by Wright (1963) and I will rely on his summary as well as the original sources.

ETHNOHISTORIC DATA

The Jesuits used "Neutral" in the 17th century to refer to separate groups of people who were located between the Huron and the Iroquois. The Neutral were referred to as "Nation" as were the Huron, the Iroquois (League), and the component tribes of the League such as the Seneca, Mohawk, etc. It appears likely that the term "Nation" had no precise meaning for the French. Tooker (1964) has discussed the evidence for considering the Huron and Neutral to be confederacies like the League of the Iroquois. The case for a confederacy is convincing, but this identification does not completely clarify the ambiguity of the Jesuit usage. As the French themselves recognized, different French writers used the name Neutral to refer to different groups through time. The usage varied with increased knowledge as well as with defeats and shifting alliances. The delineation is clear in 1640. Then the name Neutral meant to the French a certain 40 villages, 18 of which they had visited and named. It did not then include the Wenro, "a nation formerly associated with them" (Thwaites Vol. 21: 25) and one whose history is quite distinct. The Wenro certainly constituted an ethnic unit comparable to that of the Seneca, Cayuga, etc., commonly referred to as tribes who had one to three contemporary major villages and sometimes smaller ones. The Neutral, on the other hand, constituted at this time a unit equivalent to the Huron and to the League since all three were composed of tribes living in tribal territories, each with one or more villages. At one time the Neutral were allied with the Wenro as the Huron were with the Tobacco. In each case the composition of the confederacy was that of a group of a large number of villages (Huron, 20; Neutral, 40) and of a smaller number of villages (Tobacco, 9; Wenro, 1 or 2 (?)). These alliances were shifting arrangements as evidenced by the Jesuit comment on the "recent" linking of the Huron and Tobacco, said to have once been enemies, and the breach between the Neutral and Wenro, once "associates." Therefore, the tribal composition of any given confederacy was probably frequently changing. In the following discussion Neutral will refer to that confederacy of 40 villages which excluded the Wenro.

Numerous scholarly studies of the ethnohistorical documents and maps have failed to identify positively any Neutral village or to delineate clearly the area of the Early Historic Neutral for any given time. The most informative account concerns the location of the 40 villages in 1640 at the time of the visit by Fathers Brebeuf and Chaumonot. The western edge of the Neutral country was said to lie south of Huronia and the eastern edge on the Niagara River, with three or four villages beyond (Thwaites Vol. 21: 187-91). (This is an extent of about 65 miles east-west and 25 miles north-south.) The account does not record the location of any village within this expanse and only 18 of the 40 were visited. Neither the Recollect nor the Jesuit priests seem to have reached the eastern villages on or beyond the Niagara River.

The textual information on the extent of the Neutral country is confirmed by one map while several others assign a much vaster area. The map prepared by Father Chaumonot after his 1640 visit, probably containing original information on village locations, has not survived. The sole map which limits the location of the Neutral to the eastern portion of the Ontario Peninsula is the "Novae Franciae Accurate Delineatio, 1657," probably the work of Father Francesco Bressani. Heidenreich (1966) has recently directed attention to this map and has considered the problems of authorship and sources of information. He concluded that the 1657

map was more detailed and more accurate than the Sanson maps. He stated (Ibid. 108) "these differences show that the author of the 1657 map, while he had at least one of Sanson's maps, had also personal knowledge of the geography of the Great Lakes area or at least had access to some of the Jesuit sketch maps." The difference in the location of the Neutral on the 1657 map and the Sanson maps is especially important since the Sanson location was continued on later maps while the Bressani one has been largely overlooked.

The Sanson 1656 map, "Le Canada" is the first to show the mission-named Neutral Villages stretching westward across the Ontario Peninsula to the St. Clair River and Lake Huron. The Du Creux map of 1660 repeats their locations in the same approximate positions. Wright (1963: 76) concluded that the locations on these two later maps must have been taken from the above mentioned lost map of Chaumonot or another lost map drawn by Father Ragueneau. This is not the only possible explanation. I suggest that Sanson took the names from the Jesuit texts. The names of seven Neutral mission sites have survived from the 18 which Breubeuf and Chaumonot originally named. All seven are shown on the Sanson and Du Creux maps. Five of the seven appear also in earlier Jesuit texts. It was a common practice of cartographers at that time to add information from texts to their maps. Furthermore, it seems likely that if the lost maps of Chaumonot were the source for the village locations on the later maps of Sanson and Du Creux, the latter would have shown all 18 villages which presumably Father Chaumonot depicted instead of only seven. My conclusion is that the location of the villages and the west-ward extent of the Neutral shown on the Sanson and Du Creux maps may not be reliable enough to give concern due to their disagreement with the textual information and the 1657 map. Since the discrepancy between the locations cannot be resolved from contemporary information, I favor the Jesuit location because it was a first-hand observation.

The location for the western extent of the Historic Neutral villages to a point south of Huronia rather than west to Lake Huron receives support from the limited archaeological evidence available. Surveys of the western part of the Ontario Peninsula have so far located no sites of the Early Historic Period in the area west of the Grand River (Lee 1960: 24). Unless the archaeological picture changes with additional work, I favor disregarding the information on the Sanson and Du Creux maps and accepting the Jesuit descriptions of the location.

There are other maps which provide special information about the Neutral. One is that of Galinee, "Map of Canada and the lands discovered towards Lake Erie." This map was prepared as a result of his 1669-70 expedition with the careful statement that it showed only what he himself observed. The version of the Galinee map presented by Coyne (1903) shows on the Grand River the locations of four Neutral villages whereas other versions of the same map indicate the area of Neutral villages but omit the four village markers. In either case, it is possible to locate these quite precisely as follows.

Galinee's description of distances and directions which he traversed in arriving at Tinawatawa, the League of the Iroquois village at the west end of Lake Ontario, would place Tinawatawa northwest of Burlington Bay 10 or 15 miles. Thence a course was taken southwest to the Grand River, between 18 and 30 miles away. Using the shorter distance and west instead of southwest to coincide with the further notation that he reached the River 40 leagues from its mouth, the best adjustment of these distances would locate the place of encounter and embarkment on the river just below Galt. The configuration of Galinee's map at the place of embarkment corresponds quite well to that of a modern map of the River at Galt if the two islands which Galinee shows in a loop of the River farther downstream are those at Brantford. The village markers are shown, then, between Galt and Brantford. They were, of course, no longer inhabited when Galinee passed by. No Historic Neutral sites are reported from this area. Nevertheless, it is well within the area where Historic Neutral sites occur.

Further information on villages and possibly tribes is found on an unnamed anonymous map of Lake Erie, one of a series of sketches of the Great Lakes including an overall map. These maps are considered to have been the work of Abbe Claude Bernou about 1680-81. Before discussing the information on the Bernou maps it is necessary to examine the circumstances of the maps more closely.

The anonymous maps were convincingly identified as the work of Bernou by Delanglez (1941: 115) who places them at 1680 or even late 1670's. The Bernou map of 1680 (?) must be assessed as part of the cartographic tradition of the second half of the 17th century. Prior to 1660, the Sanson and Sanson-derived maps depict geographical and nearly contemporary ethnic information of the 1640's and 1650's. The Franquelin maps of 1674-84 show some new geographical and contemporary ethnic information on the League of the Iroquois and Seneca locations. Beginning with the Franquelin 1684 and continuing through the later Coronelli maps, there is a return to showing the pre-League position of the Iroquois groups in western New York and Ontario. In these trends the Bernou map of 1680 or even late 1670's (Delanglez 1941: 115) is a forerunner of the last trend to return to ethnic information of the 1640's and 1650's.

The Lake Erie sketch of Bernou has some unique information on the Niagara Region and the eastern Ontario Peninsula. The Neutral *per se* are not shown. Four names are given in Neutral territory. (This map is reproduced in White 1961: 33). Just south of the western tip of Lake Ontario is "Attiragenrega, Nation detruite," with two village markers. Just west of the Niagara River, midway between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, is "Niagagarega, Nation detruite," and one village. On the west side of the Grand River and not far inland from the north shore of Lake Erie, above Long Point, is "Antouaronons, Nation detruite," with two village markers. On the southeast end of Lake Erie is "Kakouagoga, Nation detruite," with one village marker. Some of these are terms which were used to refer to the Neutral.

Attiragenrega, according to Hodge (1907, Part II: 62), is the Iroquois name for Neutral, and its late appearance (1655 on) and lack of use by the French Jesuits in Huronia during the first half of the 17th century supports this. In no reference is Attiragenrega used simultaneously with Attiouandarok. The latter was preferred by the Jesuits in Huronia and the sources derived therefrom such as the Sanson maps. It appears in the Lejeune lists of 1635 and 1640 where Attiragenrega is absent. Attiragenrega may have referred variously to the Neutral or to some part of the Neutral with that specific designation. In any case, it seems to be a substitute for Attiouandarok. Its relationship to the names "Neutral" and Ahondihronons remain to be clarified.

Attiragenrega occurs as Atiraguenrek in one reference of 1655 in a parallel construction with Ahondihronons (Aondirronons, Ondieronii) (Thwaites Vol. 42: 197). Therefore, these two seem to have been names for distinct groups, both already destroyed by 1655. This is substantiated by the separate listings of Ahondihronons and Attiouandarok in the Lejeune list of 1640.

The Ahondihronons are described in 1647 as a tribe of the Neutral Nation. In this reference (Thwaites Vol. 33: 81) the "entire Neutral Nation" is said to be not yet (1647) at war with the Seneca although the Ahondihronons had already been defeated. Subsequent references to the battles and defeat of the Neutral (Wright 1963: 52 foll.) do not mention specific group designations. Perhaps the clue to the identity of the Neutral referred to after 1647 is to be found in Lalemant's (Thwaites Vol. 45: 207) statement in 1659-60 that the Attiwendarok (Attiouandarok) were "called the Neutrals when they were still independent." This would support the distinction between Attiragenrega (Attiouandarok) as one group or tribe and the Ahondihronons as a second. Furthermore, it would suggest that the Attiragenrega or Attiouandarok were the major Neutral group from 1647 on until the final defeat in 1651. After their defeat, it seems to be the major referant for the remnants of the Neutral.

The 1647 reference to the Ahondihronons uses an ambiguous phrase "who are closest to our Hurons." Jones (1907: 323) interpreted this as referring to the Ahondihronons rather than to the Neutral nation and later writers have continued this identification. Such a location for the Ahondihronons presents difficulties. The Attiragenrega (Attiouandarok) and not the Ahondihronons are shown closest to the Huron on the Bernou map of Lake Erie. This would agree with the fact that the former was the earlier name known to the French who were located in Huronia. Furthermore, it seems likely that the Neutral groups closest to the League of the Iroquois would be attacked by the Seneca first and would be defeated first. The Ahondihronons

are the first Neutral group mentioned as "defeated" and this preceded 1647. The only map location given for the Ahondihronons is on the Du Creux map which shows them as Ondieronii living in "p. (pagus) Ondiaraius" and "Ondieronius pagus" which extends from the Niagara east to the Genesee River. The crowding and Latinizing of names on this map makes it difficult to assess. "P. Ondiaraius" is in Lake Ontario right at the mouth of the Niagara River. I interpret it as referring to the northern portion of the Ondieronii territory. "Ondieronius pagus" is south across from the end of Lake Erie, stretching east to the Genesee River. Two village markers are shown in the latter. Previously, I have rejected this location for the Ahondironons for the following reasons. First, inaccuracies of geography in contrast to the early Sanson maps cause lack of confidence. Second, the 1660 date is after the defeat of the Neutral and the source and date of De Creux's information are unknown.

Now it appears to me that Du Creux might have had some basis for the locations of Ahondironon villages but exaggerated the extent of their territory to the east. This location, however, would have been approximate only up to their defeat, prior to 1647. The absence of their name on the Bernou map could be accounted for by its late date by which time the Ahondironons had long been gone. Therefore, I would suggest that in the 1647 reference to the Ahondironons, the descriptive phrase, "nearest to our Hurons" is meant to refer to the Neutral in general rather than to the Ahondironons in particular. Nothing more can be said concerning the Ahondironons, except that they are a second named Neutral group which was destroyed very early and which may have had its villages east of the Niagara River toward the north. These could have been in the vicinity of Kienuka, Kelly, and Gould.

Niagagarega (Onguiahronon, Ongmiarhronon) was identified as early as 1641 (Thwaites Vol. 21: 209) as Neutral and Onguiaahra specifically as the last village on the east, the same name and form as the river itself. The Bernou map shows only one village marker, and it seems quite likely that a single village located on the Niagara River constituted the Niagara Neutral.

The Antouaronons is a group concerning which there is almost no information. The Bernou map is the only known record of their location in Ontario. The identical form appears on the Franquelin map of 1684 as "detroit" in a location south of Lake Erie in Ohio. In no place is the group given any further identification. One possible clue is provided by the Sanson map of 1657, "Le Canada." On this map, "N. Neutre ou Attiouandarons" is located in the Ontario Peninsula. On the same map the Attiouandarons also occur south of Lake Erie near the Allegheny River. The latter location, while differing somewhat in position from the location of Antouaronons on the later Franquelin map of 1684 may have been the source for the Franquelin location which he identified with the name "Antouaronons." It is likely that the placement in two positions on the 1656 map indicates that some Neutral had left their home-land while others were still in Ontario. The Bernou map would appear to be the earliest record of the name Antouaronons if the date of 1680 is correct. The Franquelin map then continues the name in a new location. Before considering the possible sources of information for these maps, the remaining name on the Bernou map, Kakouagoga, must be considered.

Kakouagoga is a name which appears nowhere in the literature of the 17th century. But the fact that it is shown on several well known maps of that time accounts for the prominence which the name has received with little accompanying elucidation. The first occurrence of the name is on the Bernou map of 1680 (?) which, if dated correctly, follows closest on the heels of defeat of the original Prehistoric settlers of this area, the Erie. Iroquois archaeological evidence (White 1967: 26) suggests that the Erie left the immediate Buffalo area after their settlement at the Kleis Site, dated about 1635, and their defeat came by 1655. A variant of Kakouagoga appears on the Franquelin 1684 as "Rakouagega" but the destroyed notation is absent.

Since the extant literature is not the source for Kakouagoga or Rakouagega, an origin for these names and location is difficult to identify. Some information on the Bernou map concerning Western New York, such as the configurations of the south shore of Lake Ontario and the north shore of Lake Erie and a notation about the Andaste come from Galinée's map and account. These features are not retained on the Franquelin map which has exclusive in-

formation on the location of certain new groups south of Lake Erie in the head waters of the Allegheny. This last information may well have come from LaSalle himself with whom Franquelin was working in the preparation of the 1684 map. At least the groups shown, the Gentaientonga and the Antouaronons, are mentioned in the LaSalle letters and were familiar to him. The information on Rakouagega might have come from LaSalle also, directly, rather than *via* the earlier Bernou map. The original source for the name Kakouagoga might have been LaSalle also, through the LaSalle letters (White 1961: 48). Since the letter in question and the appropriate date and place are missing, this point can never be established. It is my opinion that Kakouagoga, first shown by Bernou about 1680, had its source in LaSalle who may have gotten it from Seneca guides. Further information on the later maps where Kakouagoga appears is summarized by Houghton (1909: 302-4) and I find no original data there. Opinions of later ' scholars including Morgan, Schoolcraft, Cusick, Governor Blacksnake, Marshall, and others wavered between the Neutral and Erie. I favor the identification as that of a tribe of the Neutral. Secondly, the site distribution would tend to suggest that this village moved from the west which would have been the territory of the tribes of the Neutral League.

Attiragenrega (Attiouandaronk), Ahondironons, Niagagarega, Antouaronons, and Kakouagoga are names for distinct subdivisions of the Neutral Confederacy. The ethnohistorical evidence suggests that they were coexistent. They are undoubtedly units equivalent to the tribes which composed the Iroquois League and the Huron Confederacy and should be so designated. Five tribes may not be the total into which the 40 villages and 18 hamlets were grouped but these are the ones acceptable to me from the literature. The recognition of a minimum of five tribes receives support from the archaeological evidence.

EVALUATION

An examination of the site distribution and village movements compared to the location of the postulated Neutral tribes shows considerable coincidence. There is a well-known group of Historic sites between Brantford and Hamilton (Wintemberg, 1931; Ridley, 1961). Although the sequence has not been worked out, the distribution suggests at least a movement eastward and a movement southeast along the Grand River. Some of these could have been the ones observed by Galinée, although none is reported on the Grand between Galt and Brantford. The group around Brantford is in a very close position to that of the Attiragenrega of the Bernou map, shown with two village markers. Other Historic sites are a short distance north of Hamilton at Westover and at Milton and probably at other neighboring locations unknown to the author. These may or may not relate closely to the Brantford-Hamilton distribution.¹

South of Hamilton, as previously mentioned, Historic sites are found along the Grand River above and below Caledonia and at Cayuga. Again this is undoubtedly incomplete because no attempt was made to seek out information other than that already recorded. Site locations ' around Caledonia where a guess-date would be comparatively late in the first half of the 17th century are approximately 25 miles from the position on the Bernou map where the Antouaronons are located, just inland on the north side of Long Point Bay. Was it chance that the Antouaronons appear on the later Franquelin map on the south shore of Lake Erie in Ohio directly across and only about 50 miles from their location in Ontario shown by Bernou? I suggest that they may have moved across the Lake into Erie territory to escape the Iroquois. Some of the northern row of Historic sites across Lincoln County eastward into New York may relate to the single village of Niagarega while others may be Ahondihronons. I have previously suggested that the Van Son Site on Grand Island in the Niagara River seems to be a likely candidate for Onguiaahra or Niagarega. The evidence is insufficient to indicate whether the other

1. Information kindly provided by W. C. Noble of McMaster University indicates that the sites northwest and northeast of Hamilton are closely related to those in the vicinity of Brantford.

Historic sites in that group should be considered part of a single movement culminating at Van Son or whether contemporary villages are involved. I suspect the latter to be the case with a possible fission after St. Davids leading to Van Son (Niagarega) on the one hand and Kienuka, Kelly, Gould (Ahondihronons?) on the other.

The southern row of Historic sites in Welland County, Ontario, and Erie County, New York, agrees well with the location of Kakouagoga if the Fenton-Barnard Site is the latest of the group. Again, it is not clear whether the group from Port Colborne through Fenton-Barnard Street is a single or multiple village movement. But the Fenton-Barnard Street Site may be Kakouagoga.

The above postulated identification of sites with village movements and tribes would point to five tribes, at least, composing the Neutral Confederacy. The village markers on the Bernou map indicate six villages, exclusive of the Ondieronii who are not shown. There is a great discrepancy between this number and the 40 villages reported in 1640. I am at a loss to explain this disagreement. In the case of the Seneca on the same Bernou map, the two village markers agree with the number of villages reported by Galinee as main villages, but two smaller villages which he notes are not shown. Perhaps this accounts for some of the disagreement. Perhaps there were other Neutral tribes also. The Lejeune list in the Relation of 1640 (233) contains names of a number of Iroquoian speaking groups which are otherwise unaccounted for. It is unlikely, however, that we shall ever know the affiliation and location of these tribes.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This survey was made possible by a Faculty Research Fellowship from the State University of New York Research Foundation. It was carried out in cooperation with the National Museum

Canada where complete data are on deposit. I would like to thank James V. Wright of that institution for his encouragement, help, and cooperation. William Hurley of the Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, made information available to me concerning Toronto's work in the area. The following Museums and their staff have been most helpful: Buffalo Museum of Science, Virginia Cummings; Buffalo and Erie County Historical Museum, Ray Hughes; Royal Ontario Museum, Walter Kenyon. Gordon Schmahl of our own staff prepared the map.

Since the time when this survey was completed (1968), W.C. Noble of McMaster University has begun a major study of Neutral villages. This work which was not included in the present study has already begun to clarify Neutral sequences in the vicinity of Brantford and Hamilton.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bell, W.D. (n.d.). University of Toronto Site Records.
- Bryant, W.L. (1912). Report on an Ossuary (Number One) at Orangeport, Niagara County, N.Y. *Bulletin of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences*, Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 468-70. Buffalo.
- Heindenreich, C.E. (1966). Maps Relating to the First Half of the 17th Century and their Use in Determining the Location of Jesuit Missions in Huronia. *The Cartographer*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 103-26.
- Hodge, F.W. (1912). Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 30, Part 2. Washington.
- Houghton, F. (1909). Indian Village, Camp and Burial on the Niagara Frontier, *Bulletin of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences*, Vol. IX, No. 3, Buffalo.
- Houghton, F. (1920). The History of the Buffalo Creek Reservation. *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 3-181. Buffalo.
- Houghton, F. (Mrs.). Unpublished Notes. Buffalo Museum of Science. Buffalo.
- Lee, T.E. (1960). Some Archeological Investigations in Ontario. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, Vol. XXX, No. 1, pp. 22-4. Gettysburg.
- Noble, W.C. (1968). Iroquois Archaeology and the Development of Iroquois Social Organization (1000-1650 A.D.) Ph.D. Dissertation, Dept. of Archaeology, The University of Calgary, Calgary.
- Ridley, F.(1961). Archaeology of the Neutral Indian. *Etoibicoke Historical Society*. Port Credit.
- Schoolcraft, H.R. (1847). Notes on the Iroquois. Albany.
- Thwaites, R.G. (ed.) (1896-1901). *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*. 73 Volumes. Cleveland.
- White, M.E. (1961). Iroquois Culture History in the Niagara Frontier Area of New York State. *Anthropological Papers, No. 16, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan*. Ann Arbor.
- White, M.E. (1966). The Orchid Site Ossuary, Fort Erie, Ontario. *New York State Archeological Association Bulletin*, No. 38, November, pp. 1-35. Ann Arbor.
- White, M.E. (1968). A Reexamination of the Historic Iroquois Van Son Cemetery on Grand Island. *Bulletin of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences*. Vol. 24, pp. 7-48. Buffalo. White, M.E. (1969). *Iroquois Archaeology in the Eastern Ontario Peninsula*. Mimeographed. Department of Anthropology, SUNY at Buffalo, pp. 1-82. Buffalo.
- White, M.E. (n.d.a.). *Iroquois Archaeology or Archaeology of the Iroquois*. Prepared for distribution at the Iroquois Conference, 1968, pp. 1-20. Buffalo.
- White, M.E. (n.d.b.). Ethnic Identification and Iroquois Groups in Western New York and Ontario. Accepted for Publication in *Ethnohistory*.
- Wray, C.F. and H.L. Schoff (1953). A Preliminary Report on the Seneca Sequence in Western New York 1550-1687. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, pp. 53-63. Milton.
- Wright, G.K. (1963). The Neutral Indians — A Source Book. *New York State Archeological Occasional Papers*, No. 4, Rochester.
- Wright, J.V. (1966). The Ontario Iroquois Tradition. *National Museum of Canada Bulletin*, No. 210, Ottawa.

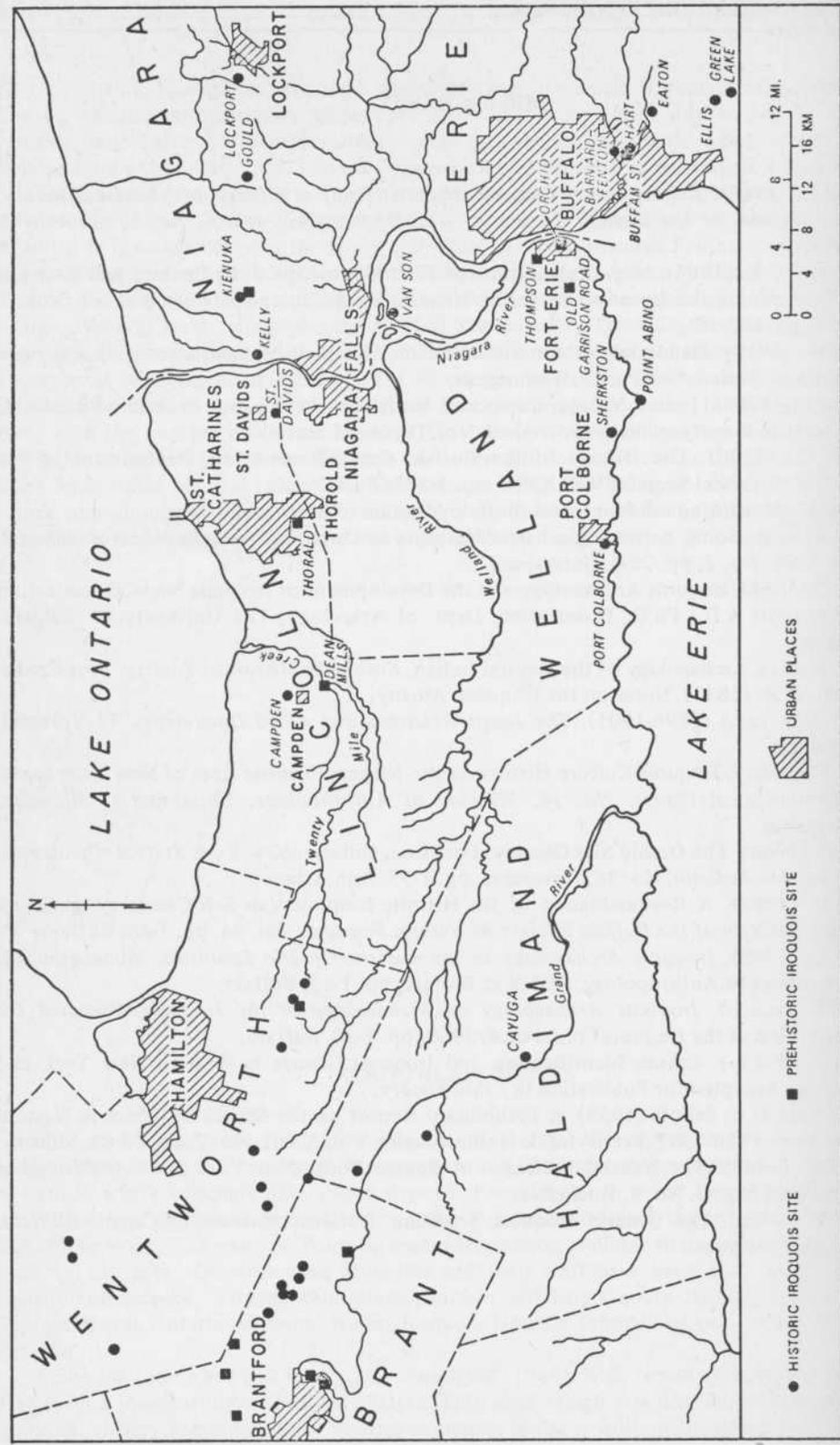


Figure 1 Locations of Neutral Iroquois Sites in Lincoln and Welland Counties, Ontario, including Selected Iroquois sites in adjacent areas.