

Feasibility Study on a Potential Susquehanna Connector Trail for the John Smith Historic Trail

*Prepared for The Friends of the John Smith Chesapeake
National Historic Trail*

November 16, 2009

Coordinated by

*The Bucknell University Environmental Center's Nature and Human
Communities Initiative*

The Susquehanna Colloquium for Nature and Human Communities

The Susquehanna River Heartland Coalition for Environmental Studies

In partnership with

Bucknell University

The Eastern Delaware Nations

The Haudenosaunee Confederacy

The Susquehanna Greenway Partnership

Pennsylvania Environmental Council

Funded by the Conservation Fund/R.K. Mellon Foundation

Contents

Executive Summary	3
Recommended Susquehanna River Connecting Trail	5
1. Introduction	6
Staff.....	6
Criteria used for Study.....	6
2. Description of Study Area, Team Areas, and Smith Map Analysis	8
a. Master Map of Sites and Trails from Smith Era in Study Area.....	8
b. Study Areas in Current Geographic Descriptions	9
c. Analysis of Major Source: John Smith's Map, Locating the Sites.....	9
3. Analysis of Potential Connector Trail Designation by Susquehanna Teams	17
a. Native Americans in the Susquehanna River Valley: An Overview	17
b. From Smith's Falls (the John Smith Trail) North to Harrisburg	20
c. Middle Susquehanna River, from Harrisburg to Below Sunbury.....	39
d. The Confluence of the North and West Branches of the Susquehanna	53
e. The Upper Susquehanna: The Susquehannocks and Iroquoia.....	64
4. Conclusions from the Research Teams.....	90
a. Lower Susquehanna.....	90
b. Middle Susquehanna River.....	90
c. The Confluence Area of the Susquehanna	91
d. Upper Susquehanna/Headwaters	93
Bibliography	95

Executive Summary

The three research teams working on the Susquehanna River have each produced substantial final reports on the connections between John Smith's voyages around the Chesapeake Bay in 1608 and the Susquehanna River. From these reports, it is the opinion of the principal researchers that the Susquehanna River should be designated as a connector trail to the Historic John Smith trail. Basing its conclusions on detailed investigation of the history of Native American settlement along the River, archaeological evidence, natural history of the River, and the cultural significance of the river to contemporary Native Americans, the team concludes that the Susquehanna meets all three criteria:

- A. The Susquehanna River shows a close association with Smith's actual voyages, in terms of his travel to the mouth of the Susquehanna and direct important exchanges with the Susquehannock Indians who inhabited the river corridor, and his mapping of Indian sites along the Susquehanna; (Criterion A **substantive**)
- B. The river corridor shows a strong connection with 17th-century Native American peoples known to; John Smith (Criterion B **substantive**)
- C. It also remains importantly illustrative of the natural history of the 17th century Chesapeake Bay Watershed, both in terms of existing landscapes and habitats and its integral ongoing connection as the largest source of the Chesapeake, which is in effect geologically an ancient section of the Susquehanna Valley (Criterion C **substantive**)

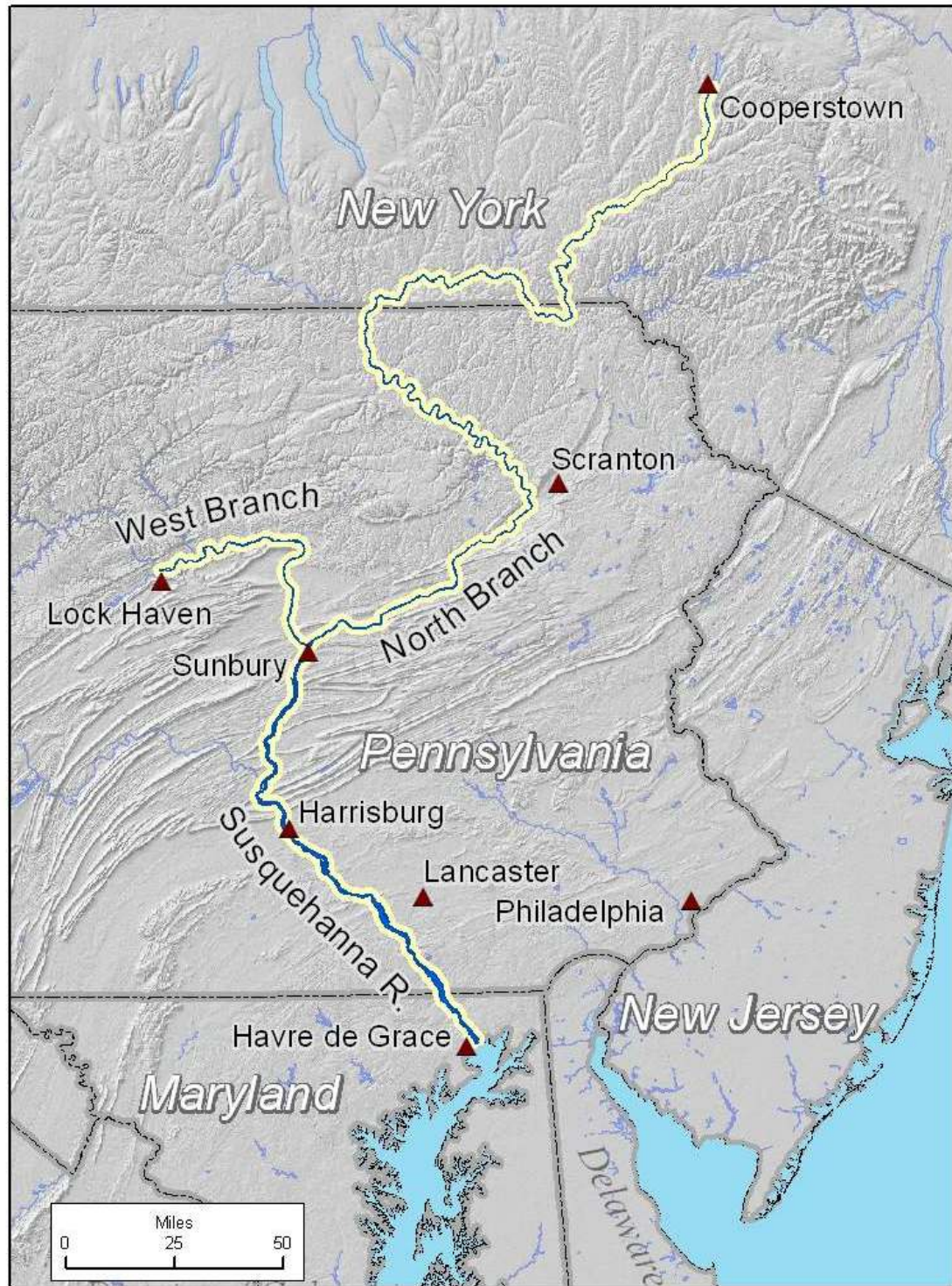
In our view, the above associations also require that the river be treated holistically for designation, as a historical environmental-and-cultural system, focusing on its main corridor from the existing John Smith Trail near the Chesapeake to the Susquehanna headwaters at Lake Otsego. Traveling this system in the context of the John Smith Trail involves dynamically traveling through layers of time and nature, given the river corridor's connections with the peoples directly encountered and mapped by John Smith, in their dynamic interactions with one another before and during his era, and with Euro-American movement into the watershed following Smith. In this sense, designation of the main corridor as a connector trail not only reflects historic and environmental links of northern "Iroquoia" to the realms of the Susquehannocks experienced by Smith, but also provides a needed cultural corrective to potential Eurocentric focus of the Smith Trail. Its name would likely derive from indigenous language and it would link the Smith Trail directly with living Iroquois and Eastern Delaware peoples who

mainly live in and engage with the upper watershed and who historically incorporated remnants of the Susquehannocks. It also would preserve and re-present historic perspectives of native peoples looking out from the heart of the Eastern Woodlands to meet and encounter Smith and his people down river as they in turn came up the Chesapeake.

Finally, in terms of the third criterion, the Susquehanna watershed remains a living system integrally related to the Chesapeake, preserving on large stretches glimpses of scenery experienced by kayak and land sojourners today as evocative of pre-settlement and early settlement landscape and natural history connected with Smith's experience. We find significant segments to be eminently interpretable, preservable and (in part) restorable. Considering the Chesapeake-Susquehanna network as a whole in designation would support integrated recreational, educational and environmental opportunities while avoiding older Eurocentric paradigms. This would provide more authentic engagement with indigenous holistic perspectives on space and natural systems evident from Smith's era and subsequent reports (what one historian described as a fluid "archipelago" of native communities on the Susquehanna), in line also with new scholarly emphases on the continuum of nature and culture in environmental systems (as in models of environmental semiospheres in biosemiotics).

In short, designation of the main Susquehanna corridor would serve as deserved tribute to the larger networks of both Native American cultures and natural environments that engaged in direct exchange with John Smith and Anglo culture in the sixteenth century, in a foundational era and region for America, while providing incredible opportunities for environmental, community and cultural synergy and restoration in the Susquehanna-Chesapeake complex today. Such designation also would enable the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy, probably the largest organization of historic Native American governments in the northeastern U.S., and representing the cultures from which the Susquehannock communities that Smith knew had emerged and to whom their remnants later returned, to join as direct partners with the National Park Service in the John Smith Chesapeake Trail network. As a man with Susquehannock ancestry, living today in the proposed Susquehanna connector trail corridor in Pennsylvania, put it to one of our researchers regarding his cultural connections to the river: "You know, in the native way of thinking, something that has movement is alive, and if it's alive then it is a spiritual being. That includes not just animals and birds and things, but also the river. I grew up along the Susquehanna River. My grandmother, who taught me most of what I know about being native, always used to say to me, 'That river is you. Without that river, our people would not be who they are.' So it is important to care for the river for the Seven Generations to come."

Recommended Susquehanna River Connecting Trail



Proposed trail section of river is highlighted in yellow. Connection with John Smith National Heritage Trail is directly above Havre de Grace

1. Introduction

Staff

Katherine Faull, Professor of German and Humanities, Bucknell University; Moravian-Native American contact studies

Donald Grinde, Professor of American Studies and History, SUNY Buffalo; Iroquois history and New York Indian cultures and history

Ben Marsh, Professor of Geography and Environmental Studies, Bucknell University; Cultural landscapes and GIS/mapping expert

David Minderhout, Professor Emeritus of Anthropology, Bloomsburg University; Pennsylvania and Delaware Indian cultures and history

Alfred Siewers, Associate Professor of English, Coordinator of the Nature and Human Communities Initiative; environmental cultural studies

Native American advisors

Donald Grinde, Sid Jamieson

Undergraduate Interns

Emily Bitely, Bucknell University

Jessica Dowsett, Bloomsburg University

Graduate Interns

Molly Clay, Bucknell University

Jenny Stevens, Bucknell University

Joseph Mc Mullen III, Bucknell University

Mary Kohler, Ph.D. candidate SUNY Buffalo

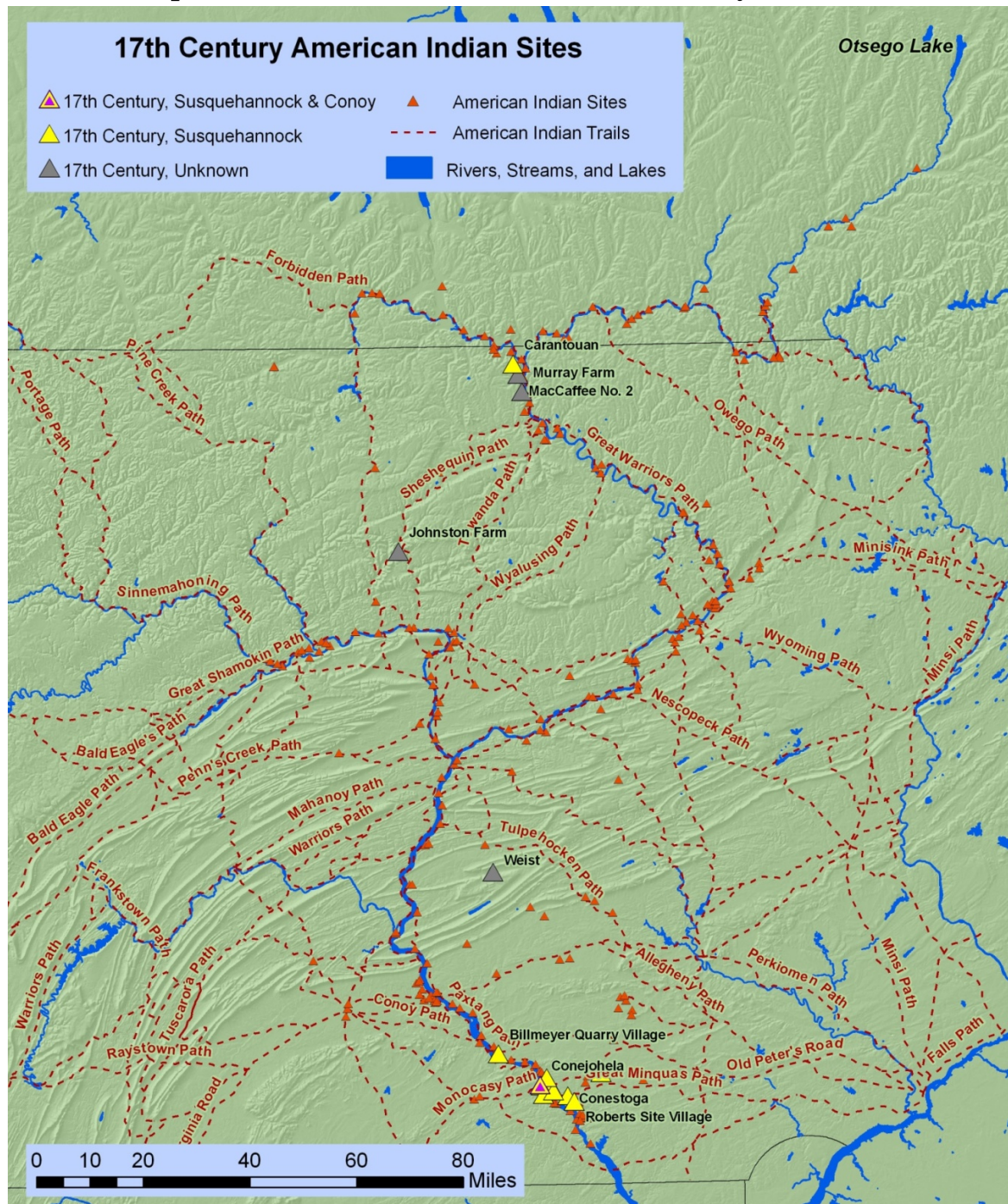
Criteria used for Study

The criteria used to reach the conclusions are:

- a. The area is closely associated with the voyages of exploration of Captain John Smith (1607-9)
- b. The area is closely associated with the 17th century Indians of the Chesapeake
- c. The area is closely illustrative of the natural history of the 17th century Chesapeake Bay Watershed

2. Description of Study Area, Team Areas, and Smith Map Analysis

a. Master Map of Sites and Trails from Smith Era in Study Area



Master Map of Sites and Trails from Smith Era in Study Area

b. Study Areas in Current Geographic Descriptions

Lower Susquehanna River (Havre de Grace-Harrisburg)

Main Branch (Harrisburg-Sunbury)

West Branch (Sunbury-Lock Haven)

North Branch/Upper Susquehanna and Headwaters (Sunbury-Cooperstown)

c. Analysis of Major Source: John Smith's Map, Locating the Sites

Molly Clay and Emily Bitely, Bucknell University

Smith identified at least five Susquehannock villages on his 1612 map of Virginia, which was drawn based on his voyages throughout the Chesapeake in 1608. Smith traveled only as far up the Susquehanna River as Smyth's Fales (shown with an "X" on his map) near the modern day Conowingo Dam in northeastern Maryland, but he obtained the locations of the Susquehannock villages from the Susquehannocks he met near the falls. The villages included Sasquesahanough, Quadroque, ttaock, Utchowig, and Tesinigh. Some scholars also include Cepowig.



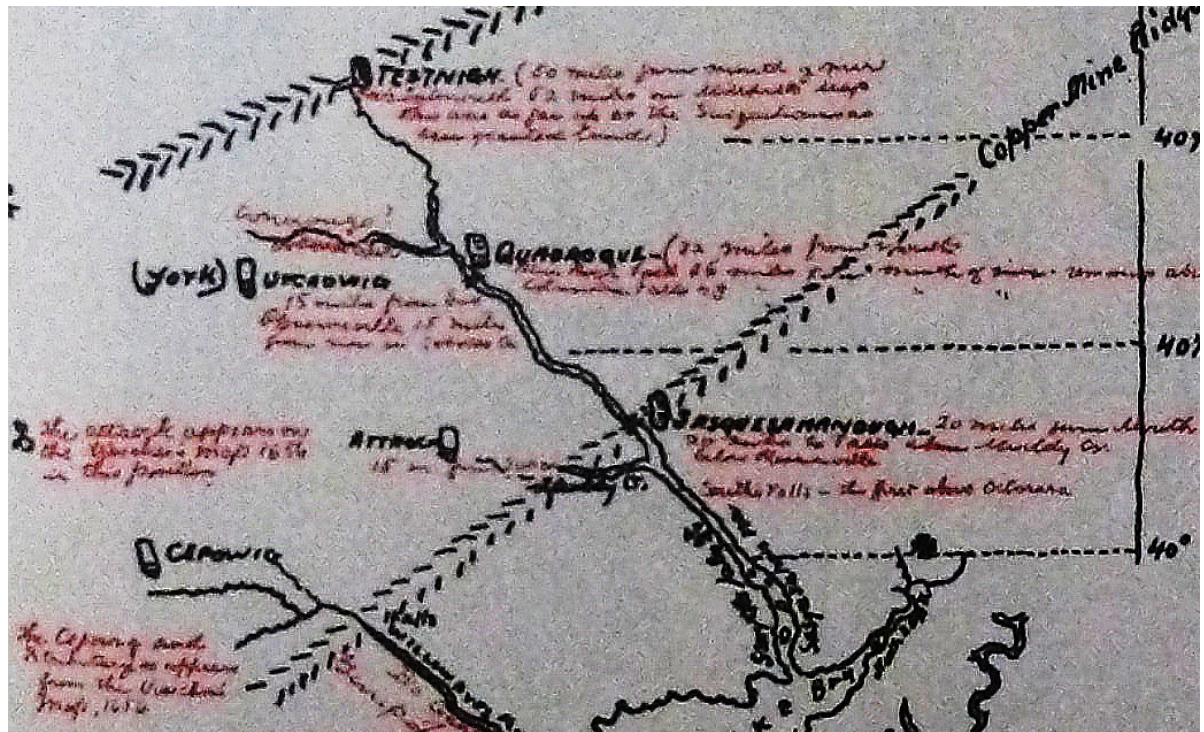


Figure 1. Smith's 1612 map with Clark's notations in red. From Murray, Clark's Manuscripts, 51

So far, only one of these villages, Sasquesahanough, has been officially identified as a Susquehannock site, with major archaeological finds confirming Smith's assertion. Sasquesahanough, located at modern day Washington Boro in Lancaster County, PA, has provided rich archaeological evidence from the contact period between 1600 and 1625. The other villages, however, have proved more difficult to locate. According to Barry Kent, perhaps the foremost archaeological researcher of the Susquehannocks, "the significance of the places other than 'Susquesahanough' must remain a mystery, at least so far as correlations with archaeological locations are concerned."¹ Kent goes on to further obscure the identity of the towns on Smith's map by pointing out that "words which Smith may have assumed to be town names could have been descriptions of natural or other features in the area, or perhaps even names of Susquehannock 'kings' or chiefs."² Nevertheless, Kent does cite two "unsuccessful attempts" to pinpoint locations of the other villages, assuming that they are villages.³ Kent's first reference is to Louise Wells Murray's study of the Clark Manuscripts in 1931. General John S. Clark was, among other things, an accomplished soldier of the Civil War. He spent his later years putting his surveying skills to work studying native history, particularly that of the Iroquois and the northern

¹ Barry Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, 33.

² Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, 33.

³ Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, 33.

Susquehannocks around Athens, PA.⁴ He worked with a number of maps and included in his study a brief analysis of the Smith map.

Clark locates all of the villages on the Lower Susquehanna south of Harrisburg, and he calculates fairly small distances between each village. He calculates Tesinigh to be 50 miles from the mouth of the Susquehanna, near the Conewago Falls by the town of Falmouth, PA. He places Quadroque 32 miles north of the mouth of the Susquehanna, near Wiltner's Run. Clark also claims that this location was the "supposed site of a Susquehanna fort," where rich archaeological remains have been found.⁵ While Wiltner's Run is not locatable as a river or town on a modern map (it might now be known as Witmers Run), Clark locates the "fort" near "Blue Rock Connadago, five miles below Columbia" in Pennsylvania.⁶ According to Kent, evidence of Susquehannock existence has been discovered in this area, at both the Oscar Leibhart site (36Yo9) and the Byrd Leibhart site (36Yo170) confirming Clark's claim to Susquehannock presence there.⁷ The Susquehanna Fort is clearly visible on the Herrmann map of 1670, as shown.

Clark locates Sasquesahanough as 20 miles north of the mouth of the Susquehanna, below the falls and above Muddy Creek, which indeed turns out to be the approximate location of the Washington Boro site(s). Clark is rather vague about the remaining villages of Utchowig, Attaock, and Cepowig. He claims that they are "the Susquehannas of Maryland," but does not discuss their exact location.⁸ Of these three, on his map he locates Utchowig at York, PA.

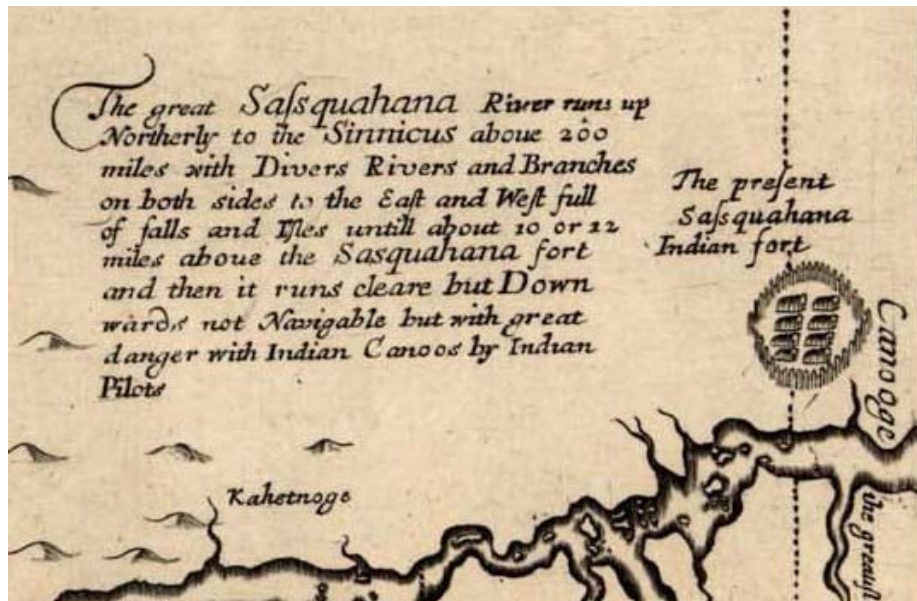
⁴ Clark refers to the Susquehannocks as the Andastes, the French term of reference for the Susquehannocks. Clark was of French ancestry and studied many of the French sources.

⁵ Louise Welles Murry, *Clark Manuscripts: Aboriginal History of the Susquehanna* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Wennawoods Publishing, 2008), 50.

⁶ Excerpt from Clark's journal in Murray, *Clark's Manuscripts*, 79.

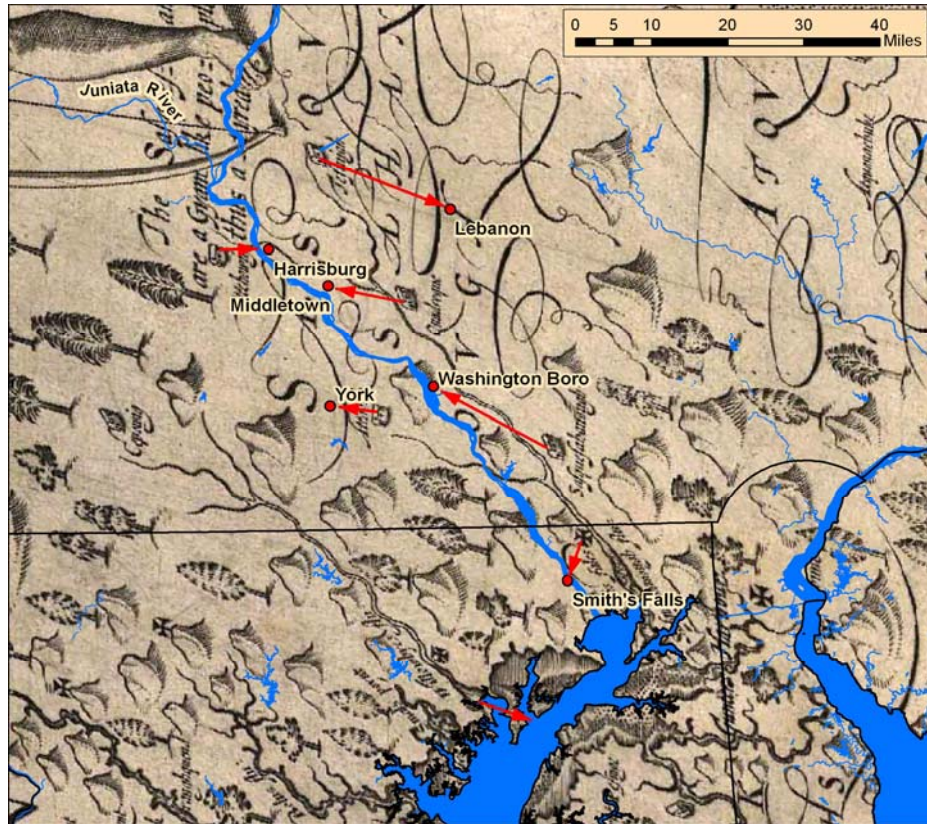
⁷ Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, 16, 48-56. Not enough evidence has been found, however, to claim either of these sites as the Susquehanna Fort. Such a claim is further complicated by the fact that the fort moved during the 1670s as a consequence of political turmoil in Maryland.

⁸ Excerpt from Clark's journal in Murray, *Clark's Manuscript*, 50.



The other scholar Kent cites as having unsuccessfully attempted to identify the exact location of the Susquehannock villages on Smith's map is Henry Frank Eshleman, a Lancaster County historian. In Eshleman's *Lancaster County Indians* he successfully locates Sasquesahanough at Washington Boro, then locates Attaock around York, Quadroque near Middletown, Tesinigh around Lebanon, Utchowig around Harrisburg, and Cepowig "at the head of Willowby's River" (Bush River) in Maryland.⁹

⁹ H. Frank Eshleman, *Lancaster County Indians: Annals of the Susquehannocks and Other Indian Tribes of the Susquehanna Territory from About the Year 1500 to 1763, the Date of their Extinction* (Lititz, Pa.: Express Printing Co., 1909), 12-13.



Georeferencing the modern locations onto the Smith map reveals error as high as 30 miles off for two locations – Sasquesahanough and Tesinigh – but places the other locations within 5-10 miles of Eshleman’s calculations. An error of 30 miles is reasonable considering that Smith drew the map from second-hand information approximately four years after he had visited, and considering that accuracy may not have been Smith’s primary concern in drawing the map (he includes an immensely out-of-proportion Susquehannock in the upper-right-hand corner of the map). Therefore, this interpretation of the Susquehannock village locations might be legitimate. However, Eshleman uses another historian, Professor A.L. Guss, as his primary source for this information; interestingly, in Professor Guss’s *Early Indian History on the Susquehanna*, he claims that the Susquehannock villages “may have been, and in all probability were, much further up the river.”¹⁰

Other scholars not referred to by Kent have followed the wider view and placed the villages further north, as suggested by Guss. According to *The Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, “the other broader and, perhaps, intended view would locate Attaock in the

¹⁰ A.L. Guss, *Early Indian History on the Susquehanna* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Lane S. Hart, Printer, 1883), 5-6.

region of the Juniata river, Quadroque at the forks at Northumberland, Tesinigh on the North Branch in the region of Wyoming, and Utchowig on the West Branch in the vicinity of Lockhaven.”¹¹ This is reiterated by Bushnell in *Native Villages and Village Sites East of the Mississippi* and further explored by Donehoo. In particular, Donehoo argues for the location of Utchowig as along the West Branch, “at the mouth of Pine Creek, upon the broad levels at Jersey Shore.”¹² Donehoo substantiates his claim with references to burial grounds along Pine Creek, but I have not had any success following up this reference. However, he also refers to a burial ground at Wolf Run which has been excavated and does show evidence of late Woodland occupation, opening up at least the possibility for the location of Utchowig as on the West Branch. If we can show that Utchowig is definitely located on the West Branch, then the locations of Quadroque and Tesinigh become apparent, but thus far nothing overwhelmingly convincing has been found. Donehoo asserts that the Susquehannocks at Utchowig communicated with the Susquehannocks of the Wyoming Valley via the Sheshequin Path, but there appears to be little or no archaeological evidence for this.¹³

David Sorg’s study of tribal names in the Susquehanna region also sheds some light on the possible location of Utchowig. He argues that the tribe labeled “Capitannesses” on the Dutch Hendrickson map of 1616 actually comes from the Iroquois “Onontoga” which literally means “big hill” or “great mountain,” but figuratively means “great warrior.”¹⁴ Capitannesses also means “great warrior,” and it is located in the area of Williamsport on the Hendrickson map. Interestingly, according to Sorg, Utchowig has also been translated to mean “mountain, hill, people,” suggesting another bit of evidence, albeit tenuous, that Utchowig could be located on the West Branch.¹⁵ Sorg also makes reference to the site at Wolf Run, claiming that one might think it “would be an early Contact period site, as it was still recognizable as a former town site in 1737 and European goods were found there.”¹⁶ But he goes on to state that the site is known to be a

¹¹ *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, Bulletin 30, Part 2, edited by Frederick Webb Hodge (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910), 655.

¹² George P. Donehoo, *A History of the Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania*, (Lewisburg, Pa.: Wennawoods Publishing, 1999), 142.

¹³ Donehoo, *Place Names*, 142.

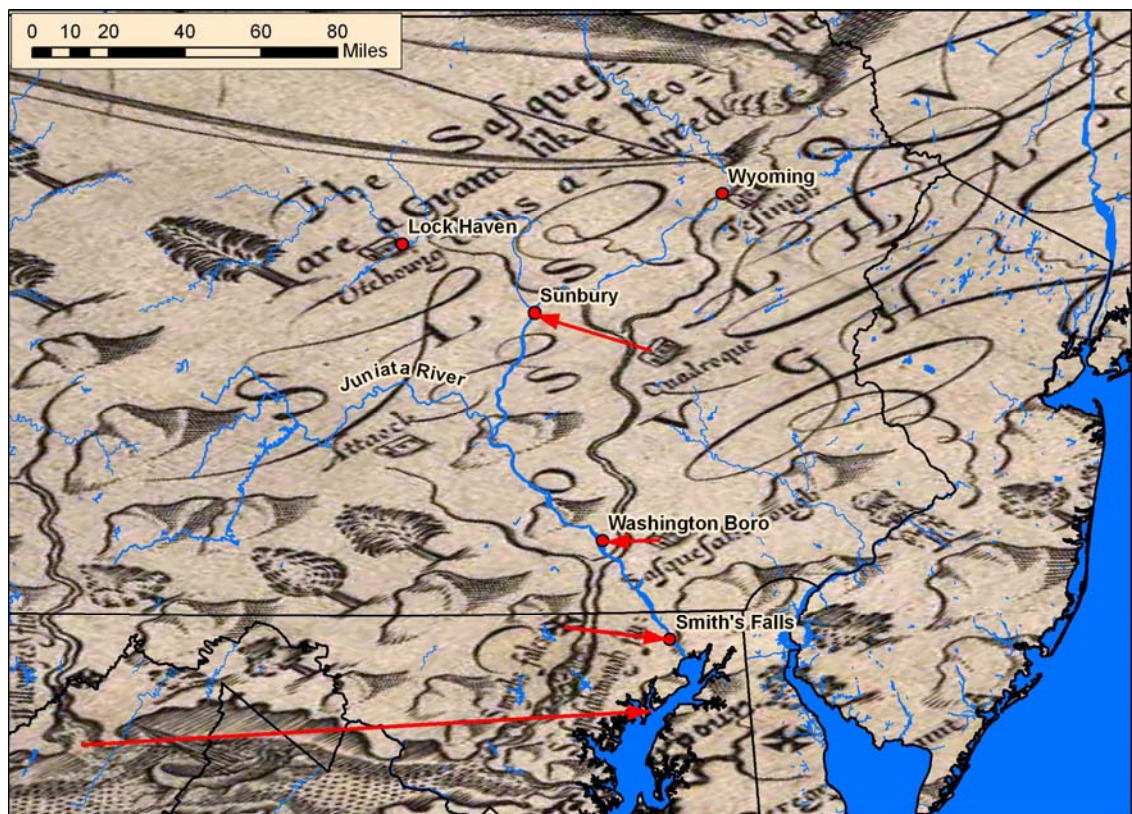
¹⁴ David J. Sorg, “Lost Tribes of the Susquehanna,” *PA Archaeologist* 74, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 67.

¹⁵ Sorg, “Lost Tribes,” 65.

¹⁶ Sorg, “Lost Tribes,” 69.

“Stewart Complex Shenks Ferry site” and that the trade goods discovered there are thought to be intrusive.¹⁷

Georeferencing modern day locations onto the Smith map, as shown, provides some insights as to potential northern locations of the Susquehannock villages as well. When we match Utchowig and Tesinigh up with respective locations at Lock Haven and Wyoming on the West and North Branches, other village sites fall within reasonable distances from their inferred locations. Quadroque’s location at Shamokin at the forks of the river is approximately 30 miles off, but this is within reason. Other village sites on the Lower Susquehanna are within a similar range of error: Attaock is along the Juniata River (which is as specific as the broad view gets), Sasquesahanough is almost exactly at Washington Boro, and Smith’s Falls are near the Maryland border. Cepowig problematically falls about 100 miles west, but considering Cepowig’s uncertain



identity as a Susquehannock village, this might be disregarded.

And if we place Utchowig at Williamsport, the scale is not significantly altered:

¹⁷ Sorg, “Lost Tribes,” 69.

At any rate, the broad view of Smith's map, whether Utchowig is located at Lock Haven or Williamsport, appears to be a reasonable one (within 30 miles or less of every major site) in light of georeferencing technology. But unfortunately with reference to this area of Smith's map, as many scholars have lamented, there seems to be due to subsequent historical reasons a dearth of archaeological evidence with which to pinpoint the exact locations of Smith's sites. The most extensive archaeological sites are on the West Branch, clustered between Sunbury and Williamsport, within the West Branch spur recommended for inclusion in the designated connector trail by this report. These sites include the Wolf Run Earthworks, the Bull Run site (36LY119), the Canfield Island site (36LY251), and the Ault Site (36LY120). While all of these sites are identified as Shenks Ferry (which locates them historically anywhere from roughly 25-200 years before Smith's arrival), a great diversity of objects have been recovered that show "a long and almost continuous occupation through time."¹⁸ There is some evidence to suggest that the Bull Run site might be the location of Otsonwakin, also known as Madame Montour's Village, since trade beads and musket balls were discovered there, but there is not enough evidence to confirm the location. Burial remains were found at the Bull Run and Canfield Island sites, and remnants of stockades were found at all the sites. But while archaeological evidence of Susquehannock existence in the area of the central Susquehanna Valley is lacking, it would be naïve to argue from that dearth of evidence that the Susquehannocks weren't there, especially in light of Smith's map and how their migrations and likely regular travels are interpreted by scholars today. Unfortunately for researchers, a great deal of artifacts likely were moved and/or destroyed by the extensive industrial projects that have occurred in this section, including lumbering, the construction of railroads and canals along the river, coal mining, and heavy farming. In addition, it's impossible to guess what might have been lost in subsequent major hurricane-related flooding on the corridor.

¹⁸ James P. Bressler, "Excavation of the Bull Run Site 36LY119," *PA Archaeologist* 50, no. 4 (December 1980): 32.

3. Analysis of Potential Connector Trail Designation by Susquehanna Teams

a. Native Americans in the Susquehanna River Valley: An Overview

David J. Minderhout and Jessica Dowsett, Bloomsburg University

Archaeologists agree that Native Americans have lived in the Susquehanna River Valley for at least 11,000 years (Sorg 2004, 63; Grzybowski 1995, 13; Richter 1990, 237).¹The Native American era in the Valley prior to the arrival of Europeans is divided by archaeologists into three main time periods, namely, the PaleoIndian (11,000 to 10,000 BP); the Archaic (10,000 to 3000 BP) and the Woodland (3000 BP to 1500 AD).²Both the Archaic and the Woodland Eras are divided into Early, Middle and Late periods corresponding to the emergence of various technologies and/or economic adaptations in them. The PaleoIndian period is characterized by a cold climate marking the end of glacial deposits in the Northeast. Native Americans in this era are represented by small camps briefly used by foragers or hunter-gatherers. During the Archaic period, the climate warmed to an environment roughly equivalent to today's, and Native Americans lived in more permanent encampments, using the abundant resources of the riverine environment for subsistence. The many bone fishhooks and stone net sinkers found in Archaic sites testify to the importance of the river as a source of food. The Woodland Period is marked by the emergence of ceramics and by 1000 BP the widespread use of horticulture based on the cultivation of maize, beans and squash. Horticulture became an important food source, but did not entirely supplant hunting and gathering as subsistence. Woodland communities show gradual growth and greater permanence throughout the period. (Minderhout and Frantz 2009). By the time of contact, Europeans encountered some native communities with populations in excess of 1000 persons, supported by both cultivated and naturally occurring food sources. According to the Pennsylvania Archaeological Site Survey, there were 935 recorded archaeological sites for the seven Pennsylvania counties that border the North Branch through 2008.

Both archaeological and historical sources document the abundance of food resources provided by the river. Kent writes that "In aboriginal times the river must have been teeming with both anadromous and local species of fish, as well as freshwater mussels. The predominately oak, chestnut and hickory forests provide abundant nuts and other wild plant foods for man and numerous other animals, including such large species as elk, bear and deer. The fertile limestone and alluvial soils, the seemingly unique weather patterns, and the longer growing season make

this basin one of today's richest agricultural areas in the northeastern United States. And so it must have been for the agriculturally based Shenks Ferry and later the Susquehannock Indians..." (1984, 11). In the 18th century, the missionary John Ettwein, while visiting the Moravian Indian refugee town of Friedenshütten, near modern-day Wyalusing, noted that the native people in one morning caught two thousand shad, "filling eight canoes to capacity." (in Hamilton 1957, 60). This seasonally available food supply was smoked and dried to provide year-long sustenance. Heverly, in his 1926 history of Bradford County says that the Susquehanna floodplain was "covered with a forest of white pine, black walnut, butternut, poplar and elm and the slopes and ridges with hemlock, yellow pine, oak, chestnut, ash, cedar, basswood, cucumber, pepper-ridge, ironwood and other species. Deer roamed the hills and valleys, which were infested with bears, wolves, panthers and wildcats. The region abounded in turkeys and various wildfowl." (1926, 187). Orlandini (1996) notes that another abundant but seasonal food resource was the passenger pigeon that came to the Valley each spring in millions.³

Horticulture, too, thrived in the flood plains of the river. Though no production estimates exist for native horticulture in the lower Susquehanna, Henry Hudson in his voyage of discovery in 1622 reported that a community of 57 adults in the Hudson River Valley produced enough "corne" to fill the holds of three ships. When the French under the Marquis de Denonville invaded Seneca country in 1687 to punish the Senecas for raids on French sailing vessels, the Marquis claimed that he had destroyed 1,200,000 bushels of Seneca corn. This figure is thought to be an exaggeration, but in 1779 when American forces under General John Sullivan attacked native communities in the Wyoming Valley and northern Pennsylvania, he reported that he had burned 160,000 bushels of corn. More recent research shows that native methods of horticulture could generate over 4 million calories of food per acre - corn, beans and squash combined.

Forensic analysis of pre-contact native skeletal material indicates that Susquehanna's Indians were robust and well-fed. John Smith famously claimed that the Susquehannock Indians he met in 1608 were giants, thereby creating a myth that persists to the present day. But Becker in an article in 1991 reports a forensic survey of the long bones of 31 Susquehannocks taken from a washed out cemetery in West Virginia in which the males averaged 171.714 cm, or 5' 7" in height. This may not seem extraordinary, but Becker notes that "this may have been ten centimeters [four inches] taller than Smith and other urban English males of the time." (1991, 85). He credits the Susquehannocks' high protein/maize diet for their size and general good health.

The Susquehannocks

In the 17th century, many different native nations lived along the Susquehanna River, from its origins in New York at Cooperstown down through the Chesapeake Bay, but none appear more prominently in John Smith's writings than the people Smith calls the Sasquesahanocks and for whom he named the river on which they lived. Ironically, we do not know what these people called themselves; the label Smith used was supplied by the other native people with him at the time who were acting as guides and interpreters. The Dutch called them Minquas, after the Lenape label for them; "Minqua" translates as "treacherous" in Lenape, a reflection perhaps of the conflicts over trade that were occurring between them. The French called them Andastes or Gandastogues ("people of the blackened ridge pole"), which would later be transcribed as Conestogas. (Minderhout & Frantz 2008). Only a few accounts exist of the language of the Susquehannocks, but linguists agree that it was Iroquoian and most closely related to the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy of New York (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca) or Haudenosaunee ("People of the Long House"). (Snow 1994, 8).

Though the Iroquois are seen today as indigenous to New York State, archaeologists agree that the origin of the Iroquois cultures is on the Susquehanna River in the Clemson Island archaeological culture. Clemson Island is a large island in the Susquehanna River north of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania near the river town of Liverpool. Archaeological excavations on the island and the surrounding area, which includes the Juniata and the West Branch tributaries of the Susquehanna, throughout the 20th century show a typical Middle to Late Woodland culture dating from approximately 700 AD to 1300 AD. The Clemson Island Culture is characterized by farming hamlets, raising maize during the summer and fall seasons. The link to Iroquoian cultures is seen in similar technologies, especially with regards to ceramics, burial patterns and bone technology. In particular, Clemson Island pottery is very similar to the collar-rimmed pottery in early Iroquoian (Owasco) sites. (see Stewart 1990, Wykoff 1989; and Mithun, 1984).

Somewhere around 900 AD, it is believed that Clemson Island immigrants moved north along the Susquehanna River to become the archaeological culture called Owasco. Owasco sites are found throughout New York State during a time period from 950-1350 AD. Archaeologists believe that it is no coincidence that this northward migration of Clemson Island people was occurring at the same time as the Medieval Warm Period, a significantly warmer time (800-1300 AD) in the northern temperate regions of both northern hemispheres. The increasing warmth spawned long growing seasons; this, when combined with the flood plain soils of the

Susquehanna, produced an ideal environment for maize production. Eventually the Owasco culture spread through much of what is today New York State. Their well-established horticultural traditions seemed to have easily supplanted the cultures already resident in the area, such as the Point Peninsula Culture. Owasco ceramic technology is easily identified by its elongated storage vessels made by paddle-and-anvil construction and their cord impression designs. In later Owasco sites such distinctively Iroquois features as longhouses and palisaded villages emerged.

Around 1300 AD, the Medieval Warm Period was replaced by what many call the Little Ice Age, a four century long period of markedly colder temperatures. In New York State in this era, marginal farming areas were abandoned, and villages grew closer together. With the greater separation of communities, the differentiation of the Owasco Culture into the Iroquois nations gets underway. Those Iroquoians who lived in the Upper Susquehanna River Valley became the Susquehannocks; Jennings (1969, 16) suggests that the Susquehannocks split off from the Mohawks around 1300. Maps in Snow (1994, 61) and Richter (1990, 238) both show the Susquehannocks living on the North Branch of the river on what would become the border of New York and Pennsylvania near the present day town of Athens, Pennsylvania; the maps cover the time period for the 16th century. In these maps, each of the Iroquois nations is clearly delineated as having a defined territory of its own; the Susquehannocks are not indicated as being different in any way from the other nations. The Susquehannock area includes the controversial site that has come to be called Spanish Hill.

b. From Smith's Falls (the John Smith Trail) North to Harrisburg

A. Joseph McMullen III, Bucknell University

Washington Boro

On John Smith's Second Voyage (July 24th to September 7th) in 1608, specifically August 3rd through 6th, Smith navigated through the Chesapeake Bay up into the Susquehanna River. Coming as far as Smith Falls, nearby present day Port Deposit, MD, he persuaded a group of sixty Susquehannock¹⁹ warriors to come down from their lower Susquehanna settlement to meet

19 The name "Susquehannock" was not what this Native American culture called itself (we do not know what they called themselves) but rather "Susquehannock" was the name given to them by the Algonquins and picked up by Captain John Smith. The Dutch, Swedes, and Lenni Lenape called them the "Minqua," the Hurons called them "Andaste," and they would later become known as Conestogas in the early eighteenth century. Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, PA: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1993), 12.

him. One of the only Native American groups which Smith takes time to describe in his journals, he writes,

But to proceed, 60 of those Sasquesahanocks came to us with skins, Bowes, Arrows, Targets, beads, Swords and Tobacco pipes for presents. Such great and well proportioned men are seldome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring us as Gods. Those are the strangest people of all those Countries, both in language & attire; for their language it may well beseeme their proportions, sounding from them, as a voice in a vault.²⁰

Captain Smith goes on to describe that the Susquehannocks wear bear and wolf skins—including the paws, arms, teeth, etc. He also comments on their long tobacco pipes (three quarters of a yard long) and their weapons. Five of the chie warriors came aboard Smith's vessel and in addition to their hair, one side long, the other side cut close, Smith notes, in some exaggeration consistent with the Susquehannock's status as "Giants," that "The calfe of whose leg was three quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld."²¹ Though this description, exemplified by Smith's illustration of a Susquehannock warrior on his map, is inflated, the impact that the Susquehannocks had on Smith cannot be downplayed.

The Susquehannocks, or "Sasquesahanocks" as referred to by Smith, "were an alert, well-organized, military people, and great traders. Driven from the North Branch by their Iroquois neighbors, they established themselves on the lower Susquehanna in a very advantageous situation for trade with European settlers on Delaware and Chesapeake bays."²² Captain John Smith was not the first European that the Susquehannocks interacted with, evidence for this is given in John Smith's own narrative, where he writes that, "Many hatchets, knives, peeces of iron, and brasse, we saw amongst them, which they [the Tockwhoghs] reported to have from the Sasquesahanocks, a mightie people..."²³ The Susquehannocks were not only trading with other

²⁰ Captain John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England & The Summer Isles*, in *The Travels of Captaine John Smith*, Vol. 1 (New York, NY: The Macmillan Co., 1907), 50.

²¹ Ibid., 51.

²² Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania*, 12-13.

²³ Captain John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia*, 126.

Native American communities down the trading routes along the Susquehanna, but also the French among the New York Bay.²⁴ Additionally, Samuel de Champlain and especially Etienne Brule were in close contact with the Susquehannocks, with Brule even living and travelling among them.²⁵ Their military prowess has linked them with the Iroquois rather than the Delawares and Smith tells us that “They can make neare 600 able men, and are pallisadoed in their Townes to defend them from the Massawomekes²⁶ their mortall enemies.”²⁷

When Captain Smith asked an interpreter to bring the group of Susquehannock warriors to meet him, the interpreter journeyed two days up-river to the current Susquehannock settlement, what Smith will later locate on his map as “Susquesahanough.” Barry Kent writes that, “The town of ca. 1600 was located in the present village of Washington Boro, Lancaster County...Almost certainly this was the place occupied by the Susquehannocks when Captain John Smith first met their embassy in 1608 at the head of Chesapeake Bay. Its geographical location coincides rather neatly with the position of the place marked *Susquesahanough* on Smith’s map.”²⁸ Susquesahanough, or the Washington Boro site,²⁹ was occupied from 1600-1625 with two thousand to three thousand inhabitants. Its vast fields have offered speculation that “...the ecology of the Washington Boro area provided a highly favorable environment for its aboriginal inhabitants due to its unique location which made available excellent conditions for agriculture, together with a wide variety of wild flora, fauna, and aquatic resources.”³⁰ Given this environment, the Washington Boro settlement became one of the most successful Susquehannock villages because of its capacity to provide for the people living there. The land around

²⁴ H. Frank Eshleemann, *Annals of the Susquehannocks and Other Indian Tribes of Pennsylvania 1500-1763* (Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 2000), 5.

²⁵ John L. Moore, *Rivers, Raiders & Renegades: True Stories About Indians, Outlaws, Settlers & Soldiers on the Eastern Frontier* (Pennsylvania Frontier Series, 2007), 16-29.

²⁶ It is believed that the “Massawomekes” was a term applied by Southern Indians to the great confederacy in New York state, the five nations or Iroquois.

²⁷ Captain John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia*, 51.

²⁸ Barry C. Kent, *Susquehanna’s Indians* (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 2001), 21.

²⁹ “Many years ago an Indian Town was located on the fertile slope of the eastern shore of the Susquehanna river now occupied by Washington Boro, where they lived and cultivated their gardens in the Indian manner. Their habitation extended approximately from Lancaster Street southward to Penn Street...This was the Northwestern corner of Penn’s Manor of Conestogoe, whose northern boundary was the southern boundary of the tract of land granted to Martin Chartier.” “The Indian Town Site at Washington Boro,” *Historical Papers and Addresses of the Lancaster County Historical Society* Vol. XXIX (Lancaster, PA: 1925), 101-104, at 101.

³⁰ W. Fred Kinsey and Jeffrey Graybill, “The Murry Site and Its Role in Lancaster and Funk Phases of Shenks Ferry Culture,” *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 41 (1971).

Washington Boro, located about thirty-three miles south of Harrisburg, continues to be fertile for farming and is home to many markets today. The riverbank, accessible from the Blue Rock Heritage Center nearby the major Washington Boro archaeological sites, remains filled with trees and verdure.

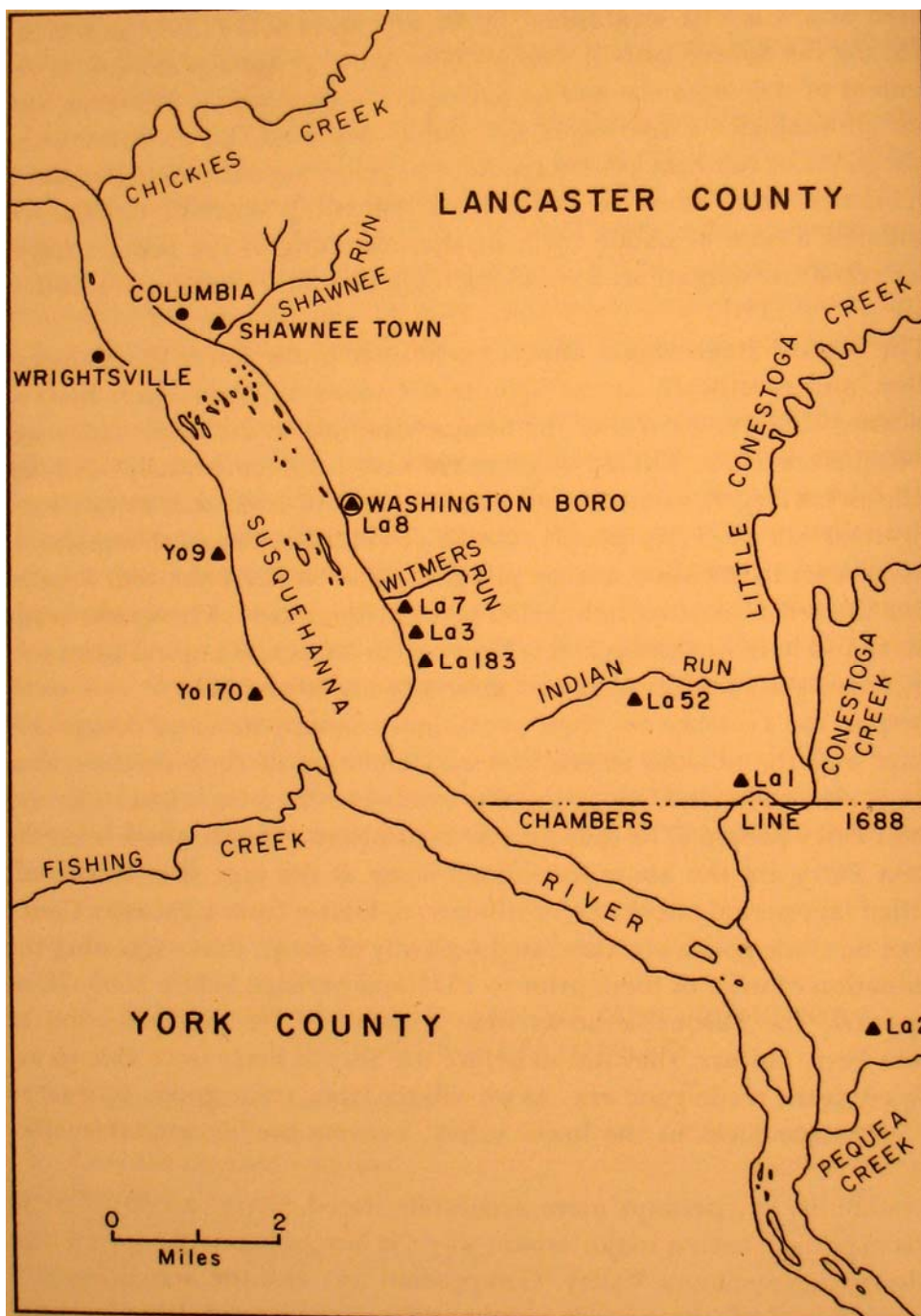
There has been much archaeological work done on the Washington Boro site (many items are currently housed at the State Museum in Harrisburg), further illuminating the Susquehannock settlement which met Captain John Smith. Archaeological evidence has revealed that Washington Boro was a stockaded settlement, typical to the Susquehannocks. Wallace notes, “The Susquehannocks lived in stockaded villages, each headed by a chief. Their typical longhouse, like that of the Iroquois north of them, was from sixty to eighty feet in length, having a door at each end, a corridor down the middle, and bunks lining the sides. Each family (mother, father, and children) lived round a hearth in the corridor, with a smoke hole above it.”³¹ In 1931 Donald Cadzow excavated at the Keller site (36La4) and the Washington Boro village site (36La8), in 1949 John Witthoft dug at the Eschelman site (36La12), in 1955 Albert Ibaugh discovered the famous Ibaugh cemetery site (36La54), and one of the latest excavations uncovered the southern wall of the village stockade.³² These excavations have not only yielded burials, the long pipes noted by Smith, significant “incised” pottery indicative of a certain change in pottery making, and weapons from the Susquehannock settlement, artifacts from nearly every period of human occupation in the Americas (from the Paleo period onwards) has been documented at Washington Boro.

³¹ Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania*, 12.

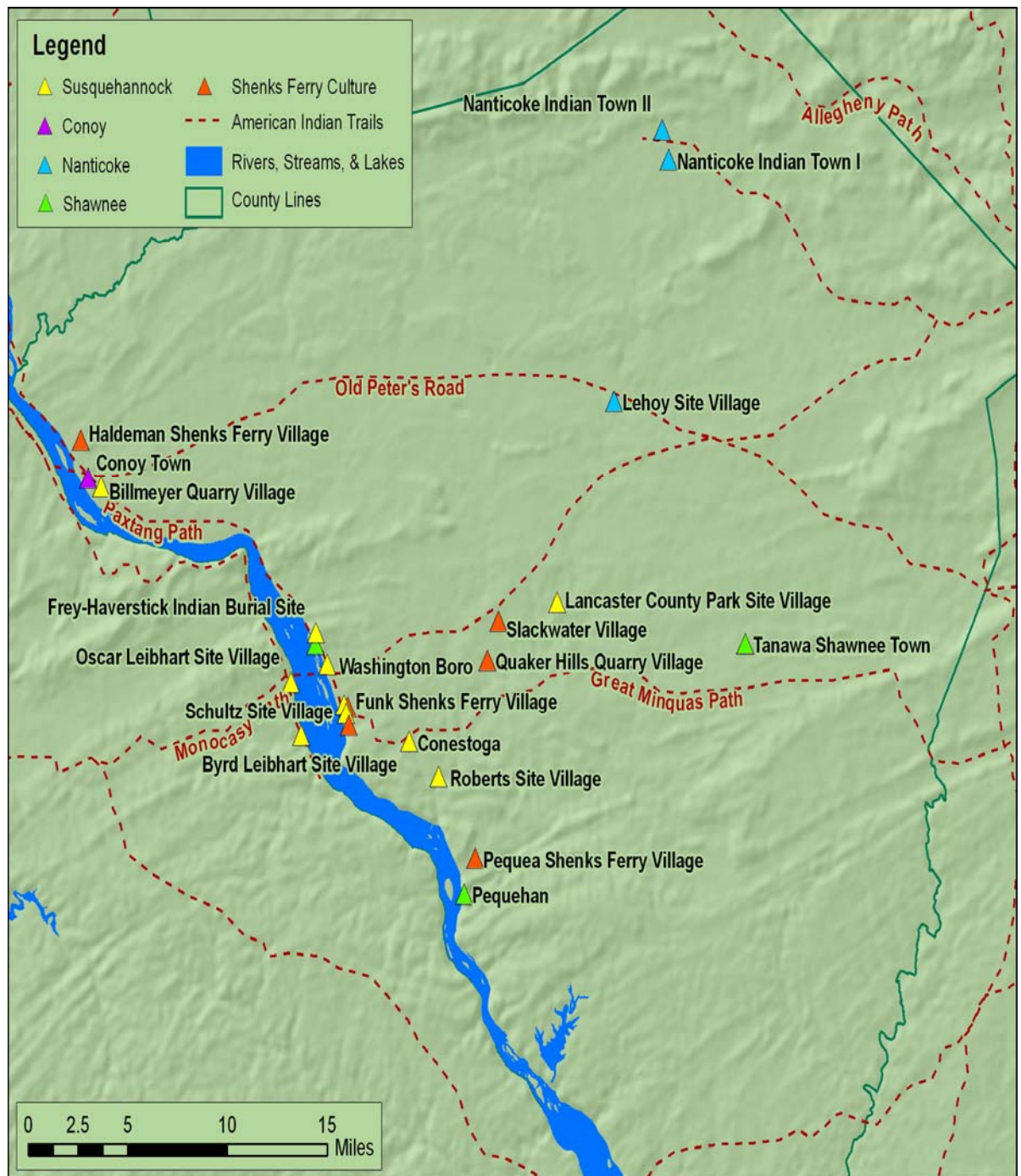
³² Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, 335-337.



View of the Susquehanna River from Washington Boro



Pequea Shenks Ferry Village (1500s)	#36La2
Murray Shenks Ferry Village (1500s)	#36La183
Schultz Site Village (~1575-1600)	#36La7
Roberts Site Village (~1625-1645)	#36La1
Strickler Site Village (~1645-1665)	#36La3
Oscar Leibhart Site Village (~1665-1674)	#36Yo9
Byrd Leibhart Site Village (~1674-1680)	#36Yo170



Conestoga

After residing in the contemporary county of Washington Boro (36La8) for around twenty-five years (the usual Susquehannock occupation period before relocating to fresher resources), the Susquehannocks split, settling in two separate villages, one eleven miles Northwest from Washington Boro near Bainbridge in Conoy Township (later excavated at the Billmyer Quarry site³³ 36La10) and the other six miles Southeast of Washington Boro at the Roberts site³⁴ (36La1). The next most significant move was around 1645 to what is known as the Strickler site³⁵ (36La3), just south of Witmer Run. This settlement marks the emergence of a new period of Susquehannock culture, where both groups return together. Kent writes, “Politically speaking, it is marked by vacillating relationships with England’s new Maryland colony, and by massive warfare with the Iroquois in competition for the fur trade.”³⁶ The Strickler site, the largest known Susquehannock settlement, was abandoned around 1665. In the next period of years, the Susquehannocks moved from settlements more quickly, occupying the Oscar Leibhart site³⁷

³³ Although Billmyer is probably the most poorly known of the Susquehannock settlements, in the late nineteenth century, J. I. Mombert cites various accounts of discoveries in the Bainbridge area of Susquehannock artifacts, especially at the quarry. Kent adds, “The predominance of Washington Boro Incised pottery and heavy iron axes clearly suggests a Washington Boro time period for the occupation here. References to gun parts, straw beads, brass arrowheads, brass kettles, and animal-figure, clay smoking pipes are suggestive of material items more commonly found at the Strickler site. Obviously, the Washington Boro incised pottery and the glass straw beads are the key dating factors, and they suggest something between the Washington Boro village and the Strickler site.” Kent, *Susquehanna’s Indians*, 22. 344-345, at 345.

³⁴ This site was excavated by Donald Cadzow in 1930 and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in 1971. Both excavations yielded evidence of a Susquehannock establishment in a transitional period between Washington Boro and Strickler stages. Pottery remains reflect both the Washington Boro Incised and also the Strickler Cord-marked variations. Additionally, guns (conventional flintlocks) lead Kent to date this site’s occupation at around 1630. *Ibid.*, 340-341.

³⁵ The Pennsylvania Historical Commission began excavations here in 1931, predominantly by Donald Cadzow. Amateur archaeologists also spent some time on the site however, with the impending destruction of the site by the Pennsylvania Power and Light Company, excavations occurred in 1968, 1969, and 1974 on a large scale. These archaeologists uncovered over 350 storage pits, a number of longhouse patterns via postmold, and stockade posts—just in 1968 (much more was uncovered in the following years including an overall 550 pits). Kent estimates the population of this site at around 2,900, which, according to his calculations, is over 1,000 more people than Washington Boro (the Strickler site was also double the size of Washington Boro). The archaeologists also uncovered a new type of pottery, the Strickler Cord-marked. *Ibid.*, 348-371.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

³⁷ The Leibhart family was involved with many digs on the sites on land that once belonged to them. In 1956 Fred Kinsey and the Lower Susquehanna Chapter for the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology were given permission to dig with the Leibharts. Kinsey uncovered a longhouse in addition to materials like pipestems, gunflints, beads, and potshards. Although the artifacts reveal a Susquehannock presence, much also show an early Woodland time period occupation. *Ibid.*, 367-371.

(36Yo9) from around 1665-1674 and the Byrd Leibhart site³⁸ (36La170) from about 1674-1680. Both of these sites are now a part of a Susquehanna Heritage Park centered around the John & Katheryn Zimmerman Center for Heritage and the future Susquehanna Gateway River Heritage Center. After the Leibhart sites, there is very little evidence for where the Susquehannocks went. Most generally accepted is that they left Pennsylvania, either going into Maryland or residing on the border between the two colonies, fighting both other Native American tribes and colonial militias. Eventually returning to Pennsylvania, the remaining Susquehannocks settled at what would come to be known as Conestoga Indian Town (36La1)—a center for not only trading and peace treaties between both Native Americans and white settlers, but also, for many years, a place of peace among all who lived there.³⁹

Coming up from Maryland after fighting with the Maryland and Virginia militia, Paul Wallace recounts that, “The survivors scattered; eventually most of them were adopted by the Iroquois; others returned to the lower Susquehanna, where they were joined at Conestoga by a group of their former enemies, the Senecas. At Albany in 1679 the Oneidas thanked Maryland and Virginia [for the defeat of the Susquehannocks].”⁴⁰ Conestoga, and the Indian Manor later, consisted of a tract of land east of Turkey Hill, one thousand feet south of Indian Run in Manor Township, Lancaster County.⁴¹ The Susquehannocks began to settle here as late as the mid-1690s, but likely around 1690 and then joined later by Seneca, Shawnee, and other Native Americans “refugees.” Although still a “river town,” Conestoga is situated closer to Conestoga Creek than the Susquehanna, but only by a few miles. What makes Conestoga Indian Town stand out as a settlement however, is its location as a meeting point of two important land trade routes (the Great Minquas Path and the Paxtang Path). In the years following Washington Boro, the Susquehannocks became less secluded and visited by more white settlers and traders. The Conestogas were “becoming increasingly Europeanized or acculturated. Their demand for and dependence upon the trade is evidence of this. Many of the treaties, for example, include lists of the items given to the Indians to consummate the agreements.”⁴² This is reflected even in the

³⁸ Other than personal collections, including those of D. H. Landis and George Keller’s considerable digging prior to 1970, the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission excavated here in 1970. Storage pits, outlines of longhouses and the stockade, and at least four cemeteries outside of the stockade. The site interestingly yielded European ceramics, kaolin pipes, iron tools, gun parts, and foreign Indian-made ceramics in addition to similar items from the Strickler site. Ibid., 372-379.

³⁹ Ibid., 22-24.

⁴⁰ Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania*, 104.

⁴¹ Kent, *Susquehanna’s Indians*, 24, 382.

⁴² Ibid., 63.

Conestogas' choice of house: it has been proposed that they lived in cabins, possibly even in the colonial-style log cabin.⁴³ With time, the Native Americans became more reliant on European goods and trade, pronouncing the need for settlements like Conestoga Indian Town.

Given the location of Conestoga Indian Town along several trade routes and the Susquehanna River, as well as the confluence of multiple cultural entities within one place, Conestoga drew attention from many significant figures of the time, including William Penn. By September 1700, William Penn had very likely visited Conestoga. *The Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland* reveal that: "...in the year 1700 when Mr. Penn was travelling from Below Annapolis to visit the Indians at Conestogoe being out of respect to his Character waited upon by divers Gentlemen Magistrates..."⁴⁴ Penn, surveying the lands around the Susquehanna River from as early as 1683,⁴⁵ began planning a town he intended to build along the Susquehanna.⁴⁶ Frank Eshleman proposes, based on a description of the physical landscape in which Penn wanted to place his new settlement, that "he [Penn] actually saw it up to the place where this settlement was to be located, viz.: from the mouth of the Conestoga Creek 15 miles northward."⁴⁷ Although his project for a sister city to Philadelphia had to be postponed due to a trip to England,⁴⁸ Penn began to purchase much of the Native American land in the area upon his

⁴³ Ibid., 63.

⁴⁴ "The Proceedings of the Council on March 2, 1722," *Maryland Archives XXV: Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland*, ed. William Hand Browne, (Baltimore, MD: Maryland Historical Society, 1899), 404.

⁴⁵ Eshleman, *Annals of the Susquehannocks*, 130.

⁴⁶ M. Luther Heisey quotes William Penn, writing in 1690, "'It is now my purpose to make another settlement upon the river of Susquehanna that runs into the Bay of Chesapeake, and bears about some fifty miles west from the river Delaware, as appears by the common maps of the English Dominion in America. There I design to lay out a *Plan for the Building of another City*, in the most convenient place for communication with the former plantations on the East: which by land, is as good as done already, a way being laid out between the two rivers very exactly and conveniently, at least three years ago; and which will not be hard to do by water, by the benefit of the river Scoukill; for a branch of that river lies near a branch that runs into Susquehannagh River, and is the Common Course of the Indians... That which Particularly recommends this Settlement, is the known goodness of the Soyll and scituation of the Land, which is high and not mountainous; also the Pleasantness, and Largeness of the River being clear and not rapid, and broader than the Thames at London bridge, many miles above the Place intended for this Settlement.'" M. Luther Heisey, "William Penn in the Conestoga Valley," *Historical Papers and Addresses of the Lancaster County Historical Society* Vol. XLVIII, ed. M. Luther Heisey (Lancaster, PA: 1944), 140-144, at 143.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 130.

⁴⁸ Heisey writes "What a wonderful 'Tale of Two Cities' could have been written had Penn's vision materialize; a sister city on the Susquehanna as a friendly rival to the 'City of Brotherly love!' It is no far-fetched fancy to imagine this city becoming the Capital of the United States, for it had grown by the time Congress was looking for a site favorably situated inland on a river (for our town of Columbia was so considered), there is little doubt that its choice would have been assured. This city

return, including a deed from the Conestogas (in 1700) for “lands, which are or formerly were the Right of the People or Nation called the Susquehannagh Indians.”⁴⁹In April of 1701 Conestoga Indians traveled to Philadelphia to confirm the sale made by Penn in 1700 and “sign the famous treaty permitting them to use the land they were living upon in peace, so long as they obeyed all the English conditions set forth therein.”⁵⁰

With the connection to Philadelphia because of both trading routes and William Penn, “Conestoga rapidly became an important town. First of all it was a major trading center for the Seneca, Susquehannocks and other local Indians...Secondly, Conestoga was also a convenient place for negotiations between the Pennsylvania Proprietaries and the various Indians of the lower Susquehanna. Numerous peace treaties and land purchases were concluded there.”⁵¹In terms of Susquehanna River trade, Conestoga was the end of the “Paxtang Path,” a trading route which stretched from Shamokin (present day Sunbury) to Conestoga, passing through Paxtang (present day Harrisburg) in the middle.⁵²The Great Minqua Path (first used for trading with Dutch and Swedes) connected Conestoga eastward to the mouth of the Schuylkill River and Philadelphia. The Great Minqua Path would later become Conestoga Road, made famous for its Conestoga Wagons and path to the Western frontier.⁵³As a junction of these two important trading routes, Conestoga became a center for trade and, with time, various treaties. Beginning

would have been located south of the present Washington Boro.” Heisey, “William Penn in the Conestoga Valley,” 143.

⁴⁹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, first series, ed. Samuel Hazard (Philadelphia, PA: Joseph Severns & Co., 1852), 133.

⁵⁰ Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, 60.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁵² Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1998), 122-123.

⁵³ “The first great road leading from Philadelphia to the West, having the Susquehanna Valley and River as the objective, occupied the same ground as, or a strip of ground closely parallel with, that occupied by the Pennsylvania Railroad, at least to the Octoraro Creek. This early road, leaving the little town of Philadaelphia, passed through Merion, Haverford and Radnor; also what is now Downingtown, Coatesville and Christiana, which was then known as John Minshall's. This is practically the course of the Philadelphia road to-day. West of Christiana, however, it continued its trend south of the Pennsylvania Railroad, after going through the turn in the ‘Gap Hills,’ passing in its course Strasburg, Henry Haines’ on Pequea, the Big Springs, what is now the Running Pump (a little north of West Willow), the Long Lane, Rock Hill Ferry over the Conestoga (near Postlethwaite’s, now Fehl’s residence), and other points on the Susquehanna. It seems that it made a considerable detour southward near West Chester, practically going through the neighborhood of that place which in the early days was called Goshen.” Cf. H. Frank Eshleman, “The Great Conestoga Road,” *Historical Papers and Addresses of the Lancaster county Historical Society* Vol. XII (Lancaster, PA: 1908), 215-233, at 215.

with the Great Treaty of 1701 allowing the Conestogas to occupy the settlement, the treaties taking place at Conestoga include those with Governor Evans in 1706,⁵⁴ with Governor Gookin in 1711,⁵⁵ with Colonel French in 1719,⁵⁶ and the “Great Treaty” with Governor Gordon in 1728.⁵⁷ These treaties most often were to renew old promises and engagements, maintain peace, etc. with the various groups of Native American refugee tribes located within or nearby Conestoga.

Although great things were meant for Conestoga Indian Town and, indeed, had already occurred there, its importance and focus as an “Indian Town” began to diminish with time. Kent writes that already “In 1717 the Pennsylvania Land Commissioners ordered the Surveyor General to lay out, for the Proprietors, a manor⁵⁸ in the area of Conestoga Town.”⁵⁹ Similar to two cases (Brandywine Creek and Ridley Creek) where “Penn set aside tracts of land for groups unprepared to move westward,”⁶⁰ Proprietors had several land tracts surveyed as Proprietary manors, including Conestoga Manor. With white settlers moving into Lancaster and owning the land on which the Conestogas were living, the Indian Town was mapped out and boundaries were set. Adopting to this further “Europeanization,” the Conestogas did not move to new settlements over nearly seventy years of occupation, but stayed on this land appropriated by Penn (other than when they would trade or go to war of course). The Native American population also decreased over time—from first-hand accounts of the number of warriors at Conestoga, Kent calculates that, in 1697, forty warriors would yield a population of 130.⁶¹ By the period of 1728-1730, he indicates that there would only be about twenty warriors and, therefore, sixty people in the community.⁶² With decreasing numbers and a focus away from the Susquehanna River by the mid-1700s, Conestoga Indian Town gradually lost its significance. Although living peaceably and inoffensively, the two massacres of the Conestogas by the Paxton Boys in 1763 (at the Indian Town on December 14th and many of the rest in police protection at a workhouse on December 27th) all but decimated the inhabitants of Conestoga Indian Town. However, despite notions that

⁵⁴ Eshleman, *Annals of the Susquehannocks*, 184-186

⁵⁵ Ibid., 208-210.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 235-238.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 302-307

⁵⁸ The manor was a reservation of about 500 acres.

⁵⁹ Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, 379-380.

⁶⁰ Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania*, 130-131.

⁶¹ Kent, *Susquehanna's Indians*, 383-384.

⁶² Ibid., 385.

these massacres “exterminated” the Susquehannocks or the Conestogas, this is not entirely true. Conestoga Indian Town was no more surely, but the descendents of those Native Americans who were not present or able to escape remained and live on today.

The first major excavation at the site labeled Conestoga (36La52) was undertaken by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in 1972. Prior to this excavation, only a few bodies and artifacts had been dug up by amateur archaeologists. Here, “with the aid of a bulldozer and a crew of four, an area of approximately thirty-two thousand square feet was cleared of topsoil, flatshoveled, and mapped. The resulting discoveries were about a half-dozen storage pits, three houses, as defined by postmold patterns, and five separate small cemeteries.”⁶³ The archaeological findings indicated strong trade, especially beads, pendants, and pipes made with catlinite from the Great Lakes area and a predominance of European goods. Indeed, “The balance of the material found at Conestoga, and by far the majority, was of European or colonial manufacture.”⁶⁴ Unlike other Susquehannock towns, various primary documents recording sales and transactions have been saved, also illuminating the way in which these people lived up until the massacre. Although the Conestoga Indian Massacre marks a convenient “ending point” for the history of the Susquehannocks, with the appropriate preservation and appreciation of their rich past along the Susquehanna, these Native American cultures can still “remain” and, perhaps to some extent, return.

The Petroglyphs

Among the Native American rock-art sites of North America, one of the most impressive collections can be found along the lower Susquehanna River, in the twenty-two and a half miles between the Maryland border and Columbia, Pennsylvania, correlating with the major historical sites of the Susquehannocks just described. Found on large rocks in the river, the lower Susquehanna contains approximately one thousand petroglyphs (a type of rock art consisting in designs carved into the surface of rocks). Indeed, the petroglyphs found at Safe Harbor are noted by researcher Paul Nevin as “the most significant concentration of rock-art still in existence in the northeastern United States.”⁶⁵ These petroglyphs, although created almost one thousand years ago, have relevance both to the Native American cultures of the Susquehanna in the 17th century as

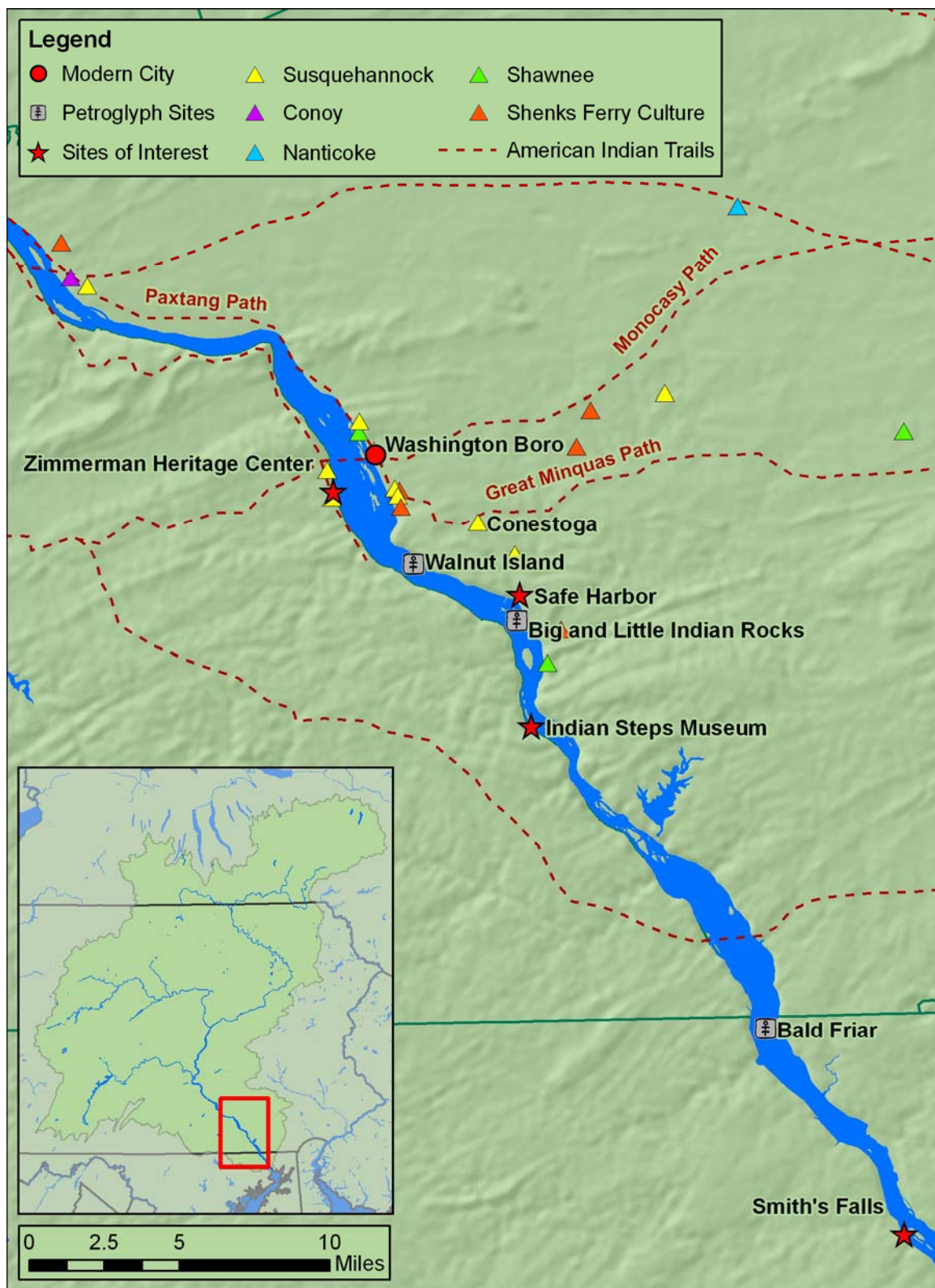
⁶³ Ibid., 382.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 389.

⁶⁵ Paul Nevin, “Rock-Art Sites on the Susquehanna River,” *The Rock-Art of Eastern North America: Capturing Images and Insight*, ed. Carol Diaz-Granados and James R. Duncan (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 241-242.

well as to preservation and research interests of the present-day. As fundamental and perhaps foundational to the natural history of the Susquehanna River, the petroglyphs give us a glimpse at Native American cultures and the landscape before the coming of John Smith while also pointing us toward the spiritual significance of these sites to Native American tribes that met John Smith as important cosmic monuments in the cultural landscape of the key lower Susquehanna corridor.

Along the Susquehanna, the most significantly researched petroglyph sites begin right below the Maryland border with the Bald Friar site, sixteen miles north in Safe Harbor is a collection of the best known petroglyphs—Big and Little Indian Rock, and about five miles north of Safe Harbor can be found the Walnut Island site.



In the early 1930s Donald Cadzow led the first investigation of the area, focusing mainly on Safe Harbor, Walnut Island and Cresswell Rock (about two miles downstream from present day Washington Boro), and the Bald Friar petroglyphs.

In Paul Nevin's research of the last twenty years, he has uncovered four more sites: Circle Rock, Eagle Rock, Turkey Track Rock, and Conestoga Rock. The petroglyphs can be classified into three styles which further correspond to their location: the Bald Friar group, the Walnut Island petroglyph, and the Safe Harbor group. The Bald Friar group consists of "concentric circles, 'sunbursts,' groups of cupules, converging and parallel lines, 'stick-figure trees,' and peculiar 'mask' or 'stylized fish' designs."⁶⁶ The Walnut Island petroglyphs are distinct from any others in Pennsylvania; these petroglyphs are symbols that closely resemble written Chinese characters. The Safe Harbor Group, the largest and which will now be our focus, consist of more than three hundred petroglyphs including animals, humans, tracks, circles, etc.

The petroglyphs at Safe Harbor, the most extensive collection on the Susquehanna, are not just rock "graffiti" but can instead tell us much about the Native American culture that produced them. While the petroglyphs at Walnut Island and the Bald Friar site are now submerged due to the Safe Harbor and the Conowingo Hydroelectric dams respectively, the petroglyphs at the seven Safe Harbor rock sites are still accessible. The two most important sites, Big Indian Rock and Little Indian Rock, have a large concentration of significant images. Nevin has observed that, "The motifs depicted occur in decreasing order: cups (cupules), bird tracks, animal tracks, animals' (zoomorphs), abstract shapes, 'humans' (anthropomorphs, 'thunderbirds,' human footprints, serpentine lines, circles, and birds."⁶⁷ These images, distinct from the other two styles, reveal much about the Native American culture which created them. Dated at around one thousand years old, researchers like Cadzow and Nevin believe the petroglyphs to be of Algonquin origin, most likely produced by the Shenks Ferry people (a prehistoric Native American community eventually defeated by the Susquehannocks). The petroglyphs were culturally significant to these people and Cadzow relates: "Their drawings are as perfect as possible for them to make them, and their representations of various animals and human forms are sincere attempts to record and graphically transmit the thoughts selected for pictorial

⁶⁶ Ibid., 240.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 255. On Big Indian Rock there are 15 zoomorphs, 13 cupules, 8 Thunderbirds, and 7 anthropomorphs. On Little Indian Rock there are 58 bird tracks, 32 animal tracks, 26 cupules, 22 zoomorphs, 9 human footprints, 8 anthropomorphs, 7 thunderbirds, and 7 serpentine shapes. Ibid., 250.

delineation. They were made to fix in the memory the object or idea by visualizing certain analogies between symbol and the idea attached to it which the mind sees.”⁶⁸ These cultural memories, preserved by the Shenks Ferry people at Safe Harbor, reveal a space of spirituality uninfluenced by European sensibilities, imbuing the landscape with meaning.

In surveying a sample of petroglyphs from Safe Harbor—the thunderbirds, Manitous, and a kind of circle of life—we can find revealed the spirituality, astronomical significance, and sense of community with nature which made these sites so important. The thunderbird would have symbolized the birds which produce thunder and lightening—a phenomenon which is followed by rain.⁶⁹



Copyright Paul Nevin

For the Algonquin cultures which most likely produced these petroglyphs, the figure of the Manitou represents, basically, the spirits of all beings which connect us to all else.

⁶⁸ Donald A. Cadzow, *Petroglyphs in the Susquehanna River near Safe Harbor, Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 2001), 34.

⁶⁹ “Thunder and lightning were supposed to be produced by birds of enormous size. These beings produced thunder by flapping their wings and lightning by opening and closing their eyes. The downpour which generally accompanies thunder was accounted for by a lake of fresh water the bird carried upon its back and shook out when it flapped its wings. Some Algonkian tribes had only one thunderbird, among others there was a family of them represented in various sizes and colors.” Cadzow, *Petroglyphs*, 88.

I would also like to take the time to mention a very intriguing petroglyph which displays a type of circle of life. In this petroglyph, found on Little Indian Rock, animal tracks, bird tracks, human footprints, and a serpentine line are inscribed within a circle. These separate motifs come together to form a complete design, revealing a pre-European and much more spiritual worldview. Each of these tracks represents the four different types of animal tracks found on the earth—from snake to human—revealing, like the Manitou, the interconnection of this Native American culture and the surrounding world

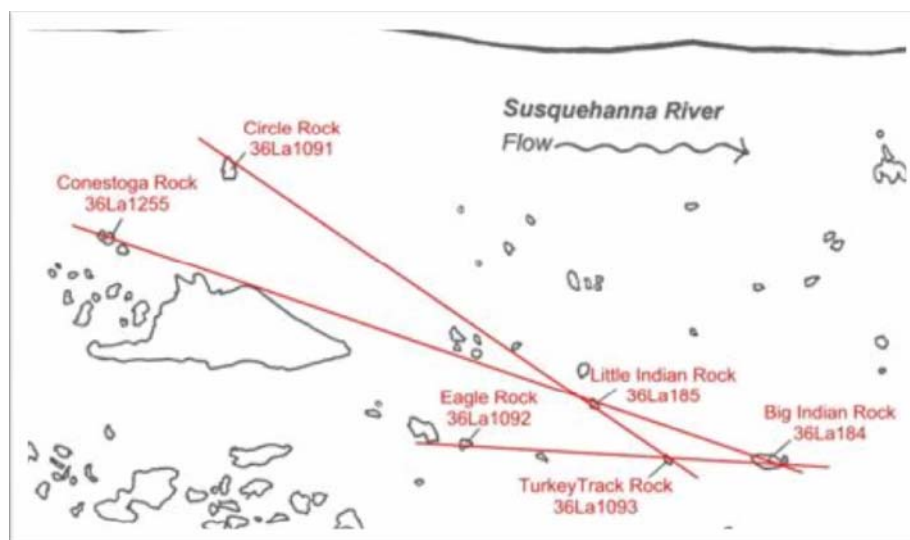


Copyright Paul Nevin



Copyright Paul Nevin

Not only can the petroglyphs allow us to infer the underlying cultural relevance of these images, we can observe here an astronomical significance similar to Stonehenge in England or Newgrange in Ireland. Paul Nevin and Kurt Carr observe that, “At Safe Harbor, some petroglyphs appear to have astronomical significance. Six snake symbols point to the sunrise or sunset positions for the annual equinox and solstices. These events are important in determining when to plant and harvest crops...”⁷⁰ The alignment of these petroglyphs with the solstice or equinox reveal a further significance to the preservation of these sites. Not only do the petroglyphs have meaning as symbols, they disclose highly advanced astronomical observations worthy of recognition. Indeed, even the rocks chosen for petroglyph drawings in the Safe Harbor area are geometrically aligned. The petroglyphs then reveal a much greater Native American understanding of the world beyond simple rock-art, the petroglyphs both symbolically and circumstantially provide a glimpse at prehistoric Native American spirituality.



copyright Paul Nevin

Although created approximately one thousand years ago, the petroglyphs of the lower Susquehanna were an important cultural marker for both the Algonkian people who created them and later Native Americans, becoming a part of the natural history of the Susquehanna River. Consequently, the twenty-two and a half mile stretch of the Susquehanna on which the petroglyphs can be found is also home to the majority of the Susquehannock Indian settlements of

⁷⁰ Paul Nevin and Kurt Carr, *Petroglyphs of Pennsylvania* brochure, Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, accessible online at http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/gateway/PTARGS_0_77423_16940_2058_285529_43/http%3B/pubcontent.state.pa.us/publishedcontent/publish/cop_environment/phmc/communities/extranet/archaeology/archpubextucontent/petroglyphs.pdf

the 17th Century. Washington Boro is two miles upstream from Walnut Island and Conestoga Indian Town is located near Safe Harbor; the two Leibhart sites are also found in this area. Even though there are no records of whether the Susquehannocks used these sites, we do know that they were aware of the petroglyphs and perhaps also conscious of the spiritual significance of the rock-art so close to their settlements. In addition to a probably meaningful coincidence with the locations of major historical sites of the Susquehannocks, the petroglyphs remain a testament to the ingenuity and overarching spirituality of the early Native American cultures of the lower Susquehanna and sites desperately needing the protection of preservation.

c. Middle Susquehanna River, from Harrisburg to Below Sunbury

Katherine Faull and Jenny Stevens, Bucknell University

Many historians have regarded the stretch of Susquehanna River extending through Pennsylvania's Cumberland, Dauphin, Perry, and Juniata counties to have little or no significance in the early history of Native Americans. Unlike its neighbors to the south, Lancaster and York Counties, who housed the well known Conestoga, Washington Borough, Schultz, and Strickler sites along the river, the middle counties contained few clearly defined native settlements; furthermore much of the commerce and formal interaction that took place between the Iroquois, the Chesapeake Bay Indians, and the Susquehannocks, happened slightly north of these counties at Shamokin, where the confluence of the river attracted confluences of people, particularly the great 18th century ambassadors, Shikellamy, Conrad Weiser, and Sassounan. However, this stretch of forest and stream has served as a migratory pathway for natives from every century, including Smith's era. At that time, it provided hunting and fishing grounds for the Susquehannock centers in Lancaster County, and Susquehannock furs that were traded on Kent Island in Maryland in the 17th century often traveled with the natives from what are now called Dauphin and Cumberland Counties along this segment of the Susquehanna. During the late 17th century, the pathway provided a means of travel for the Iroquois or Haudenosaunee venturing to and from Maryland in an effort to seize power and barter with southern Natives, and also supplied an important buffer ground between them and the ever-impeding white population. This segment then provided an escape route for the many Chesapeake Bay tribes being displaced and eliminated by British and French settlers, including peoples known to Smith from the Chesapeake who became incorporated into what became the Six Nations of the Haudenosaunee. Thus, between the Iroquois and the Europeans, this stretch of Pennsylvania water both united its southern and northern inhabitants amid the flexible movements of early Indian peoples, and

expanded the gap between Native American culture and emerging white supremacy. It remains an area of river landscapes evocative for modern visitors of the Smith era.

One early native settlement that has been uncovered is Paxtang⁷¹, believed to have been founded in the late 18th century as a Shawnee town, where the Paxton Creek enters the Susquehanna River just south of Harrisburg. A center of native trails and subsequent early settler routes in the Lower Susquehanna Valley, it later formed a colonial center of what became the Harrisburg metropolitan area and played a role in the attempted extermination of the Susquehannocks known to Smith. According to Dr. George P. Donehoo the name is derived from the Tup-peek word, Peekstank, which translates to “where the waters stand” or from Peeksting, meaning “the place of springs”.⁷² Since the Delawares began settling along the Susquehanna River after the Delaware River became overrun with natives and whites, it is believed that Paxtang was settled just before the turn of the 18th century. The earliest written reference to Paxtang is in the narrative of Governor Evans’ trip in 1707 to arrest the French trader, Nicole Godin, who was residing in Paxtang at the time of his arrest.⁷³

Through 1730 Paxtang served primarily as a trading hub. Peter Bezalio, James LeTort, Edmund Cartlidge, Peter Chartier, Nicole Godin, Joseph Jessop, Hugh Crawford, and John Harris have all been attributed with having trading posts at Paxtang. Since so many white traders frequented Paxtang and so little is known about the Native culture there, it is most likely that Paxtang was a melting pot of many Native tribes. Presumably, natives came and went as they brought furs and goods to the white men for trade and as they migrated north or south along the river. The Delaware “King” Sassounan lived at Paxtang prior to 1709 and stayed through 1718 when he removed to Shamokin; and the Shawnee (who are attributed with the name and the founding) spent a number of years there between the years 1700, when they moved west from the Delaware River valley, and somewhere between 1724 and 1727, when the great Delaware migration pushed them into Ohio. Otherwise, very little tribal affiliation is given to the natives at Paxtang. It is believed that before 1700 Paxtang was the site of an earlier Indian town of Peixton, but no archeological evidence confirms this historical assumption.⁷⁴ Later in the 18th century, the

⁷¹ We will use Dr. George P. Donehoo’s spelling of the word Paxtang. The village has also been recorded as Peshtang, Peixtan, Pexton,, Peixton, and countless other interpretations.

⁷² Dr. George P. Donehoo, *A History of the Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania* (Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 1999), 146.

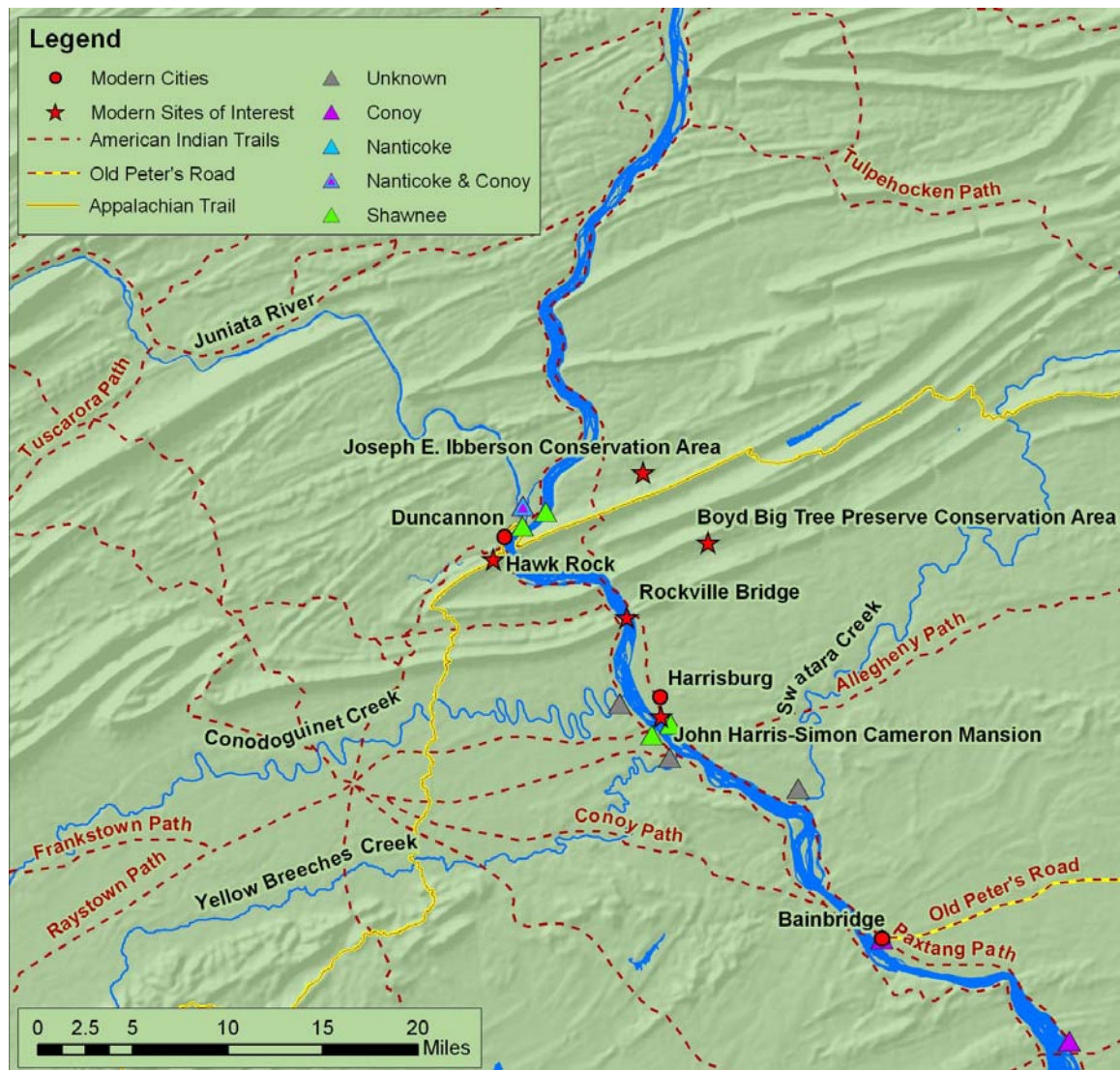
⁷³ Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail* (Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 1995), 172-173.

⁷⁴ Donehoo, 146-148, and Barry C. Kent, *Susquehanna’s Indians*. (Harrisburg, PA: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 2001), 87-89.

colonial center became notorious in a prototypical incident of Anglo-American attempted Indian genocide. It was where Scots-Irish Presbyterian settlers organized the “Paxton Boys” gang to massacre a group of Susquehannocks whom some historians subsequently (and incorrectly) assumed to be the last remnant of the culture known to Smith. Other remnants survived, mainly melding into the Haudenosaunee along the northward trail of which this segment was a part.

Other native sites which were recorded on Taylors Map of the vicinity of Shamokin in 1727 and suggested by Charles A. Hanna include Shawnee communities on Haldemans Island (located in the Susquehanna River above the mouth of the Juniata), on the west shore of the river just across from Haldemans Island, on Duncan’s Island at the mouth of the Juniata River, and at the site of New Cumberland, just across the river from Paxtang. However little else is known about these four sites and, as is the case with Paxtang, no archeological evidence has been uncovered. Similarly, in a warrant survey dated 1737, Conrad Weiser identifies an Indian village at the mouth of the Conodoguinet Creek, opposite present day Harrisburg, just north of New Cumberland, but no further information is known.⁷⁵ More is known about the history of the Nanticoke and Conoy tribes who were pushed upward from Maryland, migrating against the flow of the Susquehanna into New York State.

⁷⁵ Donehoo, 147; Hanna, 196; and Kent, 89.



The Nanticoke

“Two dayes we were inforced to inhabite these uninhabited Isles which for the extremitie of gusts, thunder, raine, stormes, and ill wether we called Limbo. Repairing our saile with our shirts, we set sayle for the maine and fell with a pretty convenient river on the East called Cuskarawaok (Nanticoke), the people ran as amazed in troupes from place to place, and divers got into the tops of trees, they were not sparing of their arrowes, nor the greatest passion they could expresse of their anger. Long they shot, we still ryding at an Anchor without there reach making all the signes of friendship we could. The next day they came unarmed, with every one a basket, dancing in a ring, to draw us on shore: but seeing there was nothing in them but villany, we discharged a volly of muskets charged with pistoll shot, whereat they all lay tumbling on the grownd, creeping some one way, some another into a great cluster of reedes hard by; where there companies lay in Ambuscado.

Towards the evening we wayed, & approaching the shoare, discharging five or six shot among the reedes, we landed where there lay a many of baskets and much bloud, but saw not a Salvage. A smoake appearing on the other side the river, we rowed thither, where we found two or three little houses, in each a fire, there we left some peeces of copper, beads, bells, and looking glasses, and then went into the bay, but when it was darke we came backe againe. Early in the morning foure Salvages came to us in their Canow, whom we used with such courtesie, not knowing what we were, nor had done, having beene in the bay a fishing, bade us stay and ere long they would returne, which they did and some twentie more with them; with whom after a little conference, two or three thousand men women & children came clustring about us, every one presenting us with something, which a little bead would so well requite, that we became such friends they would contend who should fetch us water, stay with us for hostage, conduct our men any whither, and give us the best content.

Here doth inhabite the people of Sarapinagh, Nause, Arseek, and Nantaquak the best Marchants of all other Salvages."⁷⁶

Apart from this short excerpt of Captain John Smith's diary, little is known about the earliest lives of the Nanticokes, whom Smith called Cuskarawaok. What speculation we do have comes from Moravian missionary John Heckewelder, who spoke to Nanticoke ancestors nearly one hundred and fifty years after their encounter with Smith, once they had been displaced to Wyoming, Pennsylvania. Oral tradition told Heckewelder that the Nanticokes of the Eastern Shore were members of the Lenni Lenape family who preferred fishing and trapping in the southern tidewater environment over hunting game in the northeastern forests. According to Heckewelder, the Nanticoke, like many other Algonkian tribes along the eastern shore, regarded the Lenni Lenape as "grandfathers"⁷⁷, a claim that the Lenni Lenape enjoyed as a distinction of seniority. This Lenape origin is purportedly confirmed in the controversial *Walam Olum* (5:9-10), a semi-mythical account of the Lenape migrations told in glyphs painted on bark or sticks, which have been interpreted to mean that the Nanticokes separated from the Lenni Lenape in order to move south.⁷⁸ Furthermore, David Zeisberger, another Moravian missionary, later wrote that the language of the Nanticokes resembles that of the Delaware (Lenape), and since Smith did not list any Nanticoke dialect in his vocabulary of the Powhatan, but did state that the Nanticoke's language differed from that of the Powhatan, Zeisberger's claim is accepted as true.⁷⁹

However, the two-day emergence of Captain Smith and his crew was only the beginning of a long and difficult relationship between the Nanticokes of the Eastern shore and the white men of Europe. The Virginia Company of London had little regard for the Indians, whom they termed "infidels and salvages". According to the Crown, any land not yet in possession "of any Christian prince or people" was theirs to claim and if the Indians living on that land made any effort to oppose their new neighbors, they were to be treated as enemies. However, in 1634, when Leonard Calvert brought 200 men, women, and servants up the Potomac River on the eastern side of a tributary, known today as St. Mary's River, he presented the chief of the Yoacomacoes with

⁷⁶ John Smith, "What happened the first voyage to discover the bay." In *Captain John Smith of Willoughby by Alford Lincolnshire; President of Virginia and Admiral of New England: Works, 1608-1631*, edited by Edward Arber. (Westminster: Archibald Constale and Co., 1895).

⁷⁷ C. A. Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians – Past and Present* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1983), 37.

⁷⁸ The *Walam Olam* has been termed a hoax by some recent scholars, although others maintain its reflection at least of earlier traditions.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 37-38.

English cloth, metal axes, hoes, and knives, because he knew that despite his lack of respect for the natives, the well being of his party relied on peaceful relations with them. Much to Calvert's surprise, the natives, in return, allowed the English to occupy a few of their wigwams.⁸⁰ To the natives, sharing was a way of life.

Calvert's English settlement grew into a Maryland colony in less than a year and served as the capital of the Province of Maryland until 1694, when Annapolis was laid out on the Severn River. Houses, a storehouse, a grist mill, a chapel, and a fort were all built and the abandoned Indian fields were planted with seeds that had been brought over from England. Meanwhile, the Natives continued trading with the white man. Metal tools replaced those made from wood, clay, bone, stone, or shell. White cloth, color taffeta ribbons, iron pots, scissors, needles, and glass beads were more appealing than the long worn deerskin. Guns outfought handmade weapons. Before they knew what had happened, the Indians were reliant on whites in order to survive. They didn't know how to make the tools or guns they obtained, and they couldn't make ammunition themselves either. Trade was the only means of obtaining the more advanced weapons and utensils they'd grown accustomed to.⁸¹

So it was for the Nanticokes, who at that time lived southeast of St. Mary's on the opposite shore of the Chesapeake Bay, about fifty water miles away. Though they knew little concerning the politics or customs of the Maryland colonizers, they appreciated, and depended on their trade.⁸²

One of the thriving trading posts was located on Kent Island. Here Algonkian tribes from the Eastern shore traded with English, Dutch, Swedes and other natives. Particularly during later years, when the furs on the Chesapeake Bay area had been nearly extinguished, the Susquehannock tribe from Pennsylvania brought new fur supplies down the Susquehanna River into the Chesapeake Bay, often frequenting Kent Island.⁸³

With all of the trade, differences in language, alternative motives on the part of the English, misunderstanding between what the white man considered sale and what the natives considered sharing, as well as the sudden appearance of cattle, which the natives had never before

⁸⁰ Ibid., 50-51.

⁸¹ Ibid., 58-59.

⁸² Ibid., 52.

⁸³ Ibid., 58.

had to keep off of their crops; it was inevitable that conflict would occur. Furthermore, the hunting, fishing, and traveling land of the Nanticokes was rapidly disappearing and natives were beginning to get angry. In 1642, the English, seeking retribution for the burning of homes, robbery, and murder on “Kent Island and elsewhere”, declared the Nanticokes, the Wiccomiss, and the Susquehannocks enemies of Maryland.⁸⁴

A series of battles, peace treaties and deliberations ensued. Finally, on October 20, 1698, over fifty years later, the Maryland assembly passed a law setting aside 5, 166 acres for the Nanticoke tribe at Chicacoan. The Englishmen setting aside land for the Nanticoke, however, did not take into consideration the lifestyle of this ancient tribe.⁸⁵ A testimony of conflict in the Maryland archives (XXXV, 369) indicates that prior to the establishment of white colonies, the Nanticoke had lived in semi-permanent villages during the spring and summer, raising corn and other agricultural products, but in the fall moved their entire village, men, women, and children, into and around the woods to hunt.⁸⁶ This conclusion is confirmed by Smith’s account, which describes the Nanticoke’s homes as “small huts”, likely wigwams or one room rectangular huts, with fires inside to cook game and a hole in the roof to let out the smoke. Furthermore, the men who approached Smith in the canoe during the month of June had been fishing. Thus, confining them to 5,166 acres may have been sufficient for planting corn, beans, squash, pumpkin, and other vegetables, but it didn’t give them the flexibility and space they were used to for hunting and fishing. In addition, white settlers often did not know the boundary lines and continued to encroach on Nanticoke land; and so in 1711, after many complaints, the Maryland government authorized a second reservation of 3,000 acres along Broad Creek, in present-day Delaware.

Three-thousand acres, however, was still not enough. By this time the Nanticokes had become restless. They weren’t used to staying in one spot. It became common for members of the tribe to migrate between the reservations and to also move up the Susquehanna River to visit with the Susquehannocks or with the newly displaced Conoys in Conoy Town. In fact, in 1722 they were accused of abandoning their land, which of course was greedily overtaken by two Englishmen, Captain John Rider and Isaac Nicholls.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Ibid., 71.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 114.

⁸⁶ C.A. Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians: A Refugee Tribal Group of Pennsylvania*. (Harrisburg, PA: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1948), 51.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 50.

During this time of Nanticoke unrest, the make-up of Pennsylvanian land and the governing power of the Maryland tribes changed dramatically. The Iroquois, in an effort to maintain their supremacy and power over Pennsylvania and New York worked through military defeat, threat, coercion, and negotiation to make the Susquehannocks, Delaware, Choptanks, Piscataways, Shawnees, and Nanticokes their tributaries and began encouraging expatriated tribes to settle along the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania.⁸⁸

Historians are not certain when the first Nanticokes moved to Pennsylvania. They did not keep written records and since English prohibited the constant movement of the Chesapeake tribes, for fear that they might make friends and bring reinforcements back with them, they often moved silently and in small groups. The Maryland archives (XXVIII, 338-339) do relate that in 1682, Nanticoke prisoners of the Iroquois, when released “liking that country better than their own resolved to stay.” In 1713 Nanticoke Emperor Asquash, after many years of open conflict with the whites, deserted his people and fled North to live with the Indians on the Susquehanna.⁸⁹

In 1743, at the Great Council in Onondaga, both Conrad Weiser and John Bartram speak of Nanticoke presence in their respective journals. Weiser, who served as the interpreter for the Nanticoke’s, who according to him spoke some English, but “not one word of the united Nations Language”, wrote a brief note recording that August 1st was dedicated to the “Nanticoke’s request”.⁹⁰ Bartram’s account is more detailed and makes it clear that the Nanticoke were asking permission to settle on a branch of the Susquehanna River and that their request was granted. He wrote:

...They gave broad belts of Wampum, 3 arm belts and 5 frings; one was to wipe clean all the blood they had fpilt of the five nations, another to raife a tumulus over their graves, and to pick out the fticks, roots, or ftones, and make it fsmooth on the top, a third, to cleanfe the ftomach of the living from gall or any thing elfe that made them fick; a fourth was a cordial to chear up their fpirits, a fifth, to cloath their bodies and keep then warm, a fixth, to join them in mutual friendfhip, a feventh, to requeft them to let them fettle on a branch of the Sufquehanah, another to intreat the 5 nations that they would take a little

⁸⁸ Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians: Past and Present*, 124.

⁸⁹ Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians: A Refugee Tribal Group of Pennsylvania*, 55, 94.

⁹⁰ Paul A.W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser: Friend of Colonist and Mohawk*. (Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 2002), 167.

*care to protect their women from insults while out a hunting, and the rest for such like purposes. This business lasted 4 hours, then we dined on Indian corn and squash soup, and boiled bread....(2 days later) after dinner the Anticoques (Nanticokes) delivered a belt and a string of Wampum, with a complaint that the Marylanders had deposed their king, and desired leave to choose one for themselves; to this: as well as all the articles opened yesterday, the chiefs returned plausible but subtle answers...*⁹¹

Confirmation of their move is recorded by Weiser in his journals from the spring of 1744 when, employed by the Pennsylvania government, he led a group of Iroquois chiefs, men, women, and children, to an important meeting at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. On June 19, he and his party banked their canoes and lodged that night with the Nanticokes on the Juniata.⁹² Some historians have speculated that the settlement was actually located on the island where the Juniata River meets the Susquehanna, perhaps on or near the site of earlier indigenous settlements at that important juncture, but no definitive conclusions have been made.⁹³

What is recorded is that when the Iroquois approached the commissioners from Maryland at the Lancaster treaty during the final week of June, 1744, at a time when France had already declared war on the English and the English therefore needed to preserve their “peaceful” relationship with the natives, and requested that Maryland permit the Nanticoke Indians to leave Maryland and either live among the Six Nations or on locations along the Susquehanna, where the Six Nations placed them, the commissioners had no choice but to agree. So on September 13, 1744, Simon Alsechqueck, one of the Nanticoke chiefs living on the Broad Creek Reservation and three other unnamed Nanticokes met with Governor Thomas Bladen and the Maryland Council at Annapolis to formally request themselves that the Nanticoke tribe be given permission to “leave Maryland and reside amongst the Six Nations of Indians”. Neither Alsechqueck nor the Iroquois made any mention of the band that had already left Maryland and settled at the mouth of the Juniata in Pennsylvania. Clearly, they both understood that the Maryland officials would have

⁹¹ John Bartram, *Observations on the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Rivers, Productions, Animals, and other matters worthy of Notice*. (Geneva, NY: W. F. Humphrey, 1895), 61-63.

⁹² Wallace, 187.

⁹³ Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians: Past and Present*, 150.

considered this exodus illegal and therefore, had it not been for Weiser's memorandum, historians would never have known of the early departure.⁹⁴

No records exist that indicate how many of the Nanticokes left the Eastern Shore with Alsechqueck, how many had already settled at the mouth of the Juniata, or how many stayed behind on the reservations. But Maryland records indicate that enough stayed behind to constitute a continuation of the reservations and that the settlement at the mouth of the Juniata must have existed through 1748 when, in discussions between the Six Nations and the Delaware regarding the death of Delaware's head chief, Sasoonan, it is recorded that "the Speaker of the Ohio Indians (Delwares) had staid all Winter (of 1748) with the Nanticoke Indians at their town, situate at the mouth of the Juniata".⁹⁵ Also on July 1st, 1748, Governor James Hamilton, members of his Council, and a number of Indians, including the Seneca, met to settle land disputes. During the gathering the Seneca's reported that the Conoys, also from the Chesapeake Bay area, had left the Conoy Town to "live among other Nations at Juniata", most probably the Nanticokes.

Life in Pennsylvania was surely different for the Nanticokes, who, based on the extensive shell heaps found in Maryland, were accustomed to dining on oysters and clams from the bays and inlets of the Chesapeake and, according to Smith's journals, manufactured large quantities of roanoke or shell beads. In fact, Smith's name for the Nanticoke, Kuskarawaock, can be broken down into Algonkian elements, to mean, "place of making white beads".⁹⁶ However, one tradition did not leave them when they migrated to Pennsylvania. According to Moravian missionaries in Pennsylvania, the Nanticokes had a special affinity to bones. Many accounts demonstrate that they carried bones with them as they traveled from Maryland to Pennsylvania, as well as from one Pennsylvania town to the next. How they handled the bones, differs in each account. John Heckewelder wrote,

These Nanticokes had the singular custom of removing the bones of their deceased friends from the burial place to the place of deposit in the country they dwell in. In earlier times they were known to go from Wyoming to Chemenk to fetch the bones of their dead from the eastern shore of Maryland,

⁹⁴ Ibid., 151-152.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 152. Gathered from *Penn. Colonial Records*, 5:222.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 29.

*even when the bodies were in a putrid state so that they had to scrape off the flesh and scrape the bones clean before they could carry them along.*⁹⁷

David Zeisberger shared that,

*The Nantikoks...have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned,*⁹⁸

According to the Pennsylvania Colonial Records (V. 7, p. 707) at an Indian conference in Easton in 1757, three Nanticoke messengers requested that the government send somebody to accompany them to Lancaster, “as they were come to take the Bones of their friends which died at Lancaster to their own town to be buried with the Relations”.⁹⁹

To Weslager, who studied this custom in more depth, it appears that the Nanticoke placed the bones of many of their dead in a Chiacason House, which was a simple log structure, considered by the Nanticoke as very sacred. After a certain amount of time the bones were collected and during an attendant ceremony reburied in an ossuary. Therefore it seems likely that the Nanticoke believed in a spiritual existence within the bones and that the bones carried northward from Maryland were taken from a Chiacason House as opposed to having been taken from the ground.¹⁰⁰ Missionary David Brainerd confirms this conclusion when he speaks directly about the Conoy and Nanticoke town living at the mouth of the Juniata River in 1745. He says,

They do not bury their dead in a common form, but let the flesh consume above the ground in close cribs made for that purpose. At the end of a year or sometimes a longer space of time they take the bones when the flesh is all

⁹⁷ Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians: A Refugee Tribal Group of Pennsylvania*, 104.

⁹⁸ David Zeisberger, *David Zeisberger's History of the Northern American Indians in 18th Century Ohio, New York, & Pennsylvania*. (Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 1999), 90.

⁹⁹ Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians: A Refugee Tribal Group of Pennsylvania*, 104.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 105.

*consumed and wash and scrape them and afterwards bury them with some ceremony.*¹⁰¹

The other reputation they earned as they migrated up the Susquehanna River was that they possessed sorcery. This most likely stemmed from the hunting and fishing lifestyle they followed in Maryland. In the southeast it was common to contaminate streams with poisonous barks and roots, such as walnut bark, in an effort to fish. It was equally common to place poisons from both vegetal and animal sources on the points of arrows to kill game. Whatever the case, Moravian missionaries again recounted and likely exaggerated such tales. Zeisberger wrote,

*By the Nantikokes the Indians have been instructed in the use of a peculiar kind of poison called Mattapassigan, meaning poison. The Nantikoks dwelt formerly in Maryland, along the sea, some of them still living there, and later moved to Wajomick (Wyoming) along the Susquehannah, finally proceeding further northward. In the late war they were driven out with the Six Nations. They brought knowledge of this poison, which carries many evils with it, to the nations and also to the Delawares. What it is and whereof it is made I am unable to say, as I have never seen it, and the descriptions vary. Possibly it is prepared in different ways. It is said not to be baneful in itself and to receive its power for working injury through witchcraft. It is declared to be capable of infecting whole townships and tribes with disorders as pernicious as the plague. With its use the sorcerers are said to be able to remove a person through he may be several hundred miles away...The Nantikoks who were the wretched inventors of this poison and its arts, have nearly destroyed their own nation by it.*¹⁰²

Brainerd heightens this description with a depiction of a “zealous reformer” at the Juniata settlement who, in an attempt to restore the ancient religion of his people was “so near akin to what is usually imagined of infernal powers, (that) none ever excited such images of terror in my mind”. He writes,

He made his appearance in his pontifical garb, which was a coat of bearskins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear-skin

¹⁰¹ Kent, 76 and 397.

¹⁰² Zeisberger, 126.

*stockings, with a great wooden face painted, the one-half black, the other half tawny, about the color of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear-skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand which he used for music in his idolatrous worship; which was a dry tortoise-shell with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle...*¹⁰³

So, a major distinction of the Nanticoke tribe, which they likely did not dispose of, being that it would ignite awe and obedience in those surrounding them, was that they possessed magical or witchlike abilities.

After uniting with the Conoy at the mouth of the Juniata, the Nanticoke were again pushed northward, along the banks of the Susquehanna, in order to appease the greedy, and soon violent white population. Sometime between 1748 and 1751 they relocated to Wyoming (as mentioned in the excerpt from Zeisberger's journal), in present day Wilkes-Barre. It is recorded that on August 16, 1751, four Nanticokes met with Governor Hamilton in Philadelphia to let him know that though they had formerly lived at the mouth of the Juniata, they had recently moved upstream to the Indian town of Wyoming.¹⁰⁴ They, like many Pennsylvania Indians at that time, were trying to avoid the bloody French and Indian War. As it turned out, nearly every expatriate tribe from Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware found their way to Wyoming during that time. White settlement had confined the natives to one, small block of land along the northern end of the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania. It only took until 1755 for them to move further up the Susquehanna to Oteningo, New York, a village very near the Iroquois homeland. Eventually the Nanticoke, along with the Oneidoes, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras, became part of the sixth nation of Iroquois, the Tuteloes.

Environmental/Landscape Factors

The Susquehanna corridor between Harrisburg and the Sunbury area includes some striking river landscapes, small parks and islands, amid larger state forest areas, offering strong recreational and interpretive possibilities.

¹⁰³ Kent, 77.

¹⁰⁴ Weslager, *The Nanticoke Indians: Past and Present*, 156.

d. The Confluence of the North and West Branches of the Susquehanna

Molly Clay, Bucknell University

Sunbury (Shamokin)

Shamokin was located at the forks of the Susquehanna River, where the main branch separates into the North and West Branches in central Pennsylvania. The town spanned across the junction of the river, including what is today Sunbury, Northumberland, and Packer Island. Its location gave residents access to trade routes north, south, and west, while its position along the route from Philadelphia to Onondaga – the Pennsylvania and Iroquois headquarters – also made it a regular stop for political negotiators like Conrad Weiser. Another famous mediator, Chief Shikellamy, came to the Shamokin area in 1728 as an Iroquois representative and overseer. But the river was not the only thing that brought people to Shamokin. In conjunction with waterways, hundreds of walking paths existed in Pennsylvania, as many as 11 of which went through Shamokin at one time.¹⁰⁵ This network of water and footpaths was used extensively, and in many cases established the framework for future railroads and highways.

While much is known about Shamokin's 18th century history, its occupation in the 17th century is something of a mystery. On the 1612 map of Virginia, Smith locates at least five Susquehannock villages, one of which ("Quadroque") looks like it could be located at Shamokin at the forks of the Susquehanna River. However, there is little archaeological evidence to suggest that the Susquehannocks lived there during that time period. Major Susquehannock settlements have been found on the Lower Susquehanna around Lancaster County, as well as on the North Branch in the Wyoming Valley and Bradford County. Geographically and in light of flexible Indian spatial paradigms of migration, it would have been logical for the Susquehannocks to have traveled through Shamokin in getting between settlements, engaging in trade, and gathering food and other goods, but they may not have stayed long enough for a "town" to develop.

¹⁰⁵ Paul A. Wallace, *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Museum and Historical Commission, 1998).

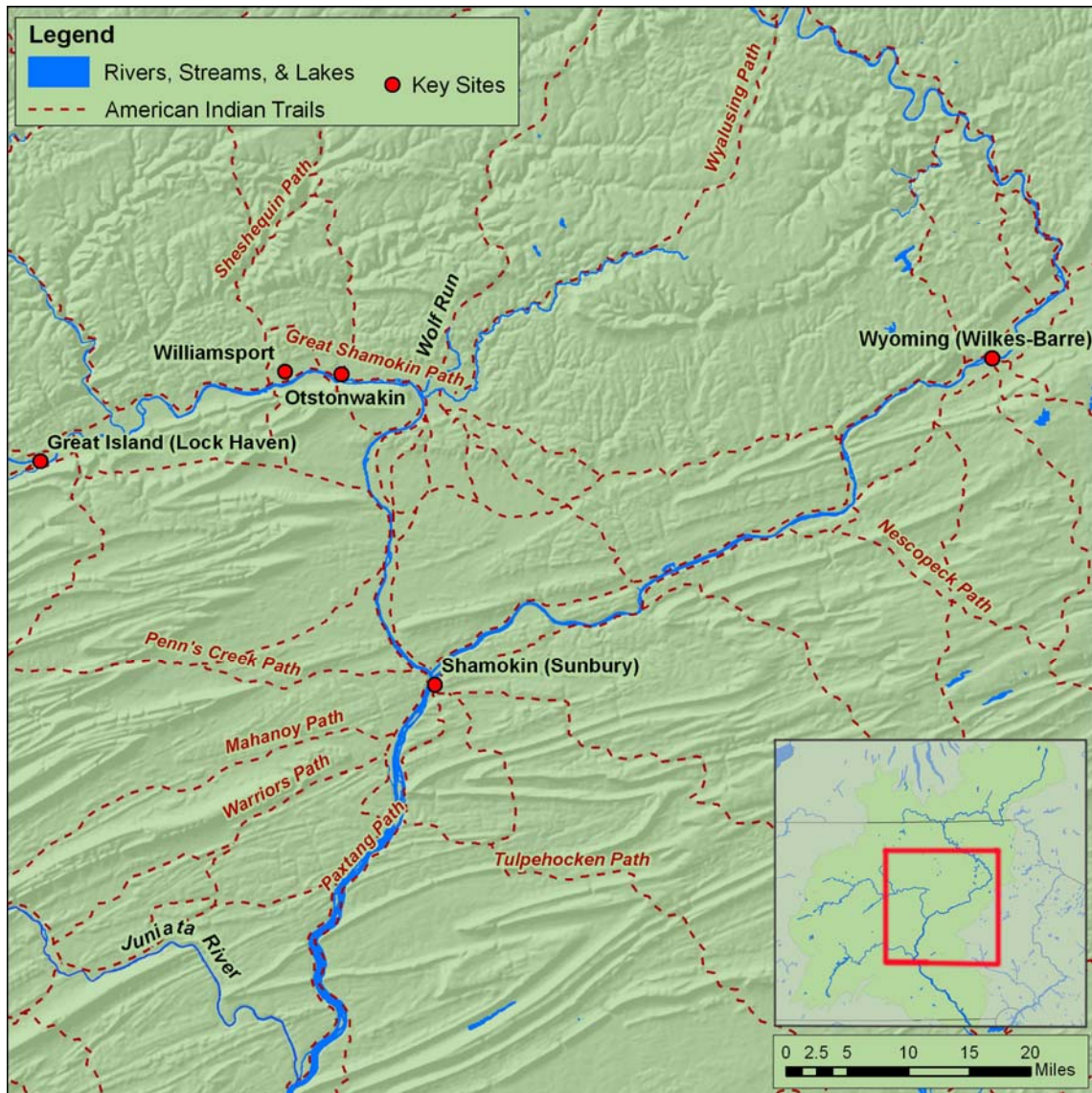


Figure 2. A topographical map of the central Susquehanna Valley, including the confluence at Shamokin. All Indian path names are from Wallace's Indian Paths of Pennsylvania.

Shamokin's emergence in the 18th century was largely the consequence of European settlers pushing a number of tribes in southern Pennsylvania and northern Maryland, including the Susquehannocks, north and west. As white settlements moved further inland, the Iroquois in modern-day New York simultaneously strategized a way to claim ownership of the Susquehanna Valley (precisely the place settlers were pushing native tribes). The Iroquois "encouraged other Indian nations to settle in 'their' Susquehanna Valley. Many of these people were former enemies of the Iroquois; but now they were refugees, fleeing the encroachment of the whites in their old homelands. The only price for lands to settle upon in the Susquehanna Valley was political

homage to the Iroquois.”¹⁰⁶ This is precisely what happened to the Susquehannocks. For various reasons, the Susquehannocks started to decline near the end of the 17th century, and, after briefly leaving the valley in 1675, they returned to become “minions of the Iroquois.”¹ But the Susquehannocks were not alone in finding themselves new Iroquois members; the emptiness of the Susquehanna Valley, along with its highway-like composition,

*combined with the Five Nations’ habit of encouraging other peoples to live on the borders of Iroquoia, made the Susquehanna country attractive to Indian settlers. Various bands from the Delaware River, Shawnees from remote lands to the south and west, Conoys and Nanticokes from Maryland, Tutelos and Tuscaroras from Carolina, Senecas, Cayugas, and Oneidas from Iroquoia – people from these and other groups founded an archipelago of towns stretching from Conestoga and Paxtang in the south to Wyoming and Tioga, Ostonwakin and Great Island in the upper reaches of the river’s two great branches.*¹⁰⁷

Consequently, Shamokin emerged as an Indian town in the early 1700s, and “for a period of some 15 years, until its abandonment in 1756, Shamokin was the veritable Indian capital of Pennsylvania.”¹⁰⁸

The Environment

For Indians in the eastern woodlands hundreds of years ago, “Pennsylvania and all of New York were linked into one great system of intercourse by canoe and by trails through the valleys.”¹⁰⁹ This type of travel was recorded by a number of people including Conrad Weiser, Count Nicholas Zinzendorf – one of the Moravian missionaries who first expressed interest in establishing a post at Shamokin – and John Bartram, the famous American botanist and friend of Benjamin Franklin. All three traveled from the Tulpehocken Valley to Shamokin, and from

¹⁰⁶ Barry Kent, *Susquehanna’s Indians* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 2001), 105.

¹⁰⁷ James Merrell, “Shamokin, ‘the very seat of the Prince of darkness’: Unsettling the Early American Frontier,” in *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830*, edited by Andrew R.L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 20-21.

¹⁰⁸ Kent, *Susquehanna’s Indians*, 100.

¹⁰⁹ Jennings, “Pennsylvania Indians,” 76.

Shamokin to Onondaga. Bartram is often cheerful in his journal, probably because the weather was cooperative for most of his summer journey, which he took with Conrad Weiser. Bartram did a great deal of exploring, remarking on the flora and fauna along the river, including, “spruce and white pine, oak, beach and plane trees, ginseng,” “oak, hickory, walnut, locust and pitch pine,” and in the area where Lewisburg exists today, “peach trees, plums, and excellent grapes.”¹¹⁰ When Bartram visited the Shamokin area he went swimming near Blue Hill and claimed the water was “chin deep most of the breadth, and so clear one might have seen a pin at the bottom.”¹¹¹ In other entries he describes being woken by “the musical howling of a wolf,” a number of encounters with rattlesnakes, and Indian practices like “drying huckleberries,” and building a shelter from tree bark.¹¹²

While Zinzendorf had better fortune with snakes on his journey (also with Conrad Weiser), he gives us a poetic description of the forest near Otzinachson around modern day Williamsport:

*The country through which we were now riding, although a wilderness, showed indications of extreme fertility. As soon as we left the path we trod on swampy ground, over which traveling on horseback was altogether impracticable. We halted half an hour while Conrad rode along the river bank in search of a ford. The foliage of the forest at this season of the year, blending all conceivable shades of green, red, and yellow, was truly gorgeous, and lent a richness to the landscape that would have charmed an artist. At times we wound through a continuous grove of diminutive oaks, reaching no higher than our horses' girths, in a perfect sea of scarlet, purple, and gold, bounded along the horizon by the gigantic evergreens of the forest.*¹¹³

One can still find oaks in central Pennsylvania forests today on hiking trails in Bald Eagle State Forest. There you can find Red Oak, Red Maple, and Hemlocks. The Linn Conservancy

¹¹⁰ John Bartram, “Journals,” In *Journals: Shamokin, The Indian Capital, 1737-1755* (Sunbury, Pa.: The Northumberland County Historical Society Archives), vol. 11.

¹¹¹ Bartram, *Northumberland County Historical Society Archives*.

¹¹² Bartram, *Northumberland County Historical Society Archives*.

¹¹³ Count Nicholas Zinzendorf, “Journey to Shamokin,” In *Journals: Shamokin, The Indian Capital, 1737-1755* (Sunbury, Pa.: The Northumberland County Historical Society Archives), vol. 11.

maintains a number of trails in the region and provides detailed trail guides to plant and animal identification. Despite heavy industrial activity in the region – including lumbering, canal construction, railroads, and coal mining – the mountains remain heavily forested, while the valleys are often mixed with farms and towns. The river itself has unfortunately suffered as a consequence of so much industrial activity, with toxic levels of nutrients and sediment channeling into the bay and creating “dead zones.” The Shad that once heavily populated the Susquehanna River have suffered greatly from water pollution and dam construction which prevents migration up and down the river.

After Smith

While we are unable to say who exactly was living around the confluence when Smith arrived in 1608, even given its possible association with Quadroque on the Smith Map, within another 120 years Shamokin would definitively emerge as a settlement which, while “clearly an Indian town,” lacked a stable identity, such as might be found at other Indian settlements.¹¹⁴ This was the case because Shamokin was a town settled not only by one Native American tribe, but a number of displaced native groups wedged between the political domain of the Iroquois to the north, and encroaching white settlement to the south. Its location at the forks of the Susquehanna River made it an ideal location for natives because there were various North/South trade routes between Onondaga, the Iroquois capital, and Philadelphia, the emerging capital of Pennsylvania, as well as trade routes west. But its strategic location also attracted traders like James Le Torte, and Moravian Missionaries traveling from Bethlehem. With this variety of European settlers and native tribes, the town was constantly changing, resisting any fixed identity. Its unique status offers a view of colonial co-existence that is rarely exemplified, and therefore will be described in some detail.

Daily Life

Shamokin might be understood as having something of a protean sensibility. The diversity of people visiting, and the length of time they visited (often not too long) made it an exceptionally dynamic place. David Brainerd, a Presbyterian missionary, remarked in his journal that Shamokin “contains upwards of fifty houses and near three hundred persons but of three different tribes of indians, speaking three languages wholly *unintelligible* to each other.”¹¹⁵ This

¹¹⁴ Merrell, “Shamokin,” 23.

¹¹⁵ Quoted in Kent, *Susquehanna’s Indians*, 100.

“Babel’s resort,” provided many wandering groups with a temporary home, largely because it was a non-territorial territory.¹¹⁶ While “the settlement was probably founded by Delawares around 1720, a colonial map drawn a few years later denoted it an Iroquois town. By 1745, the identity of the town was more confusing still, with half its inhabitants Delawares, the rest Tutelos and Iroquois.”¹¹⁷ A town in constant flux was a town open to anyone who needed a place to come to. When Sassoonan, a Delaware chief, moved to Shamokin in 1732, opening “the way for white settlement in the Upper Schuylkill Valley...and the Tulpehocken Valley,” it was a town with divided Delaware and Iroquois allegiances (among many others).¹¹⁸ When the Moravian missionaries arrived in the 1740s, an additional culture was added to the diversity. At that time, a visit to Shamokin might be described like this:

While picking your way through the river’s rocks or up the mountain trails, you would begin to come upon Shamokin’s people well before reaching the village itself. Here on the path are Indian women bound for some colonial settlement to buy liquor and Moravians heading the opposite way with beef from Bethlehem; there are other Moravians, and other Indians, en route from Weiser’s farm or Harris’s store with sacks of grain. Still other natives would be hauling, not grain, but the blacksmith’s tools upriver to Shamokin. Farther along you might see a party of Tutelos and Cayugas heading out to trade or hunt and another band – Delawares and Iroquois, perhaps, or an Oneida war captain at the head of Shawnees and Tutelos – out to snatch scalps or prisoners from some remote Indian tribe.

As you approached Shamokin itself from the south, you would first see the fences enclosing fields planted by Moravians and Shikellamy’s family. One reason for the enclosures would also be obvious: Horses were by now common in Shamokin. Indeed, two of Shikellamy’s had helped haul rocks from the river and logs from the woods to build the Moravian house. That house, too, would now be in sight: eighteen feet by thirty feet, one and one-half stories high, the shingled structure stood a mere twelve paces from Shikellamy’s, another log

¹¹⁶ Merrell, “Shamokin,” 25.

¹¹⁷ Merrell, “Shamokin,” 23.

¹¹⁸ Kent, *Susquehanna’s Indians*, 99.

dwelling seventeen feet by forty-nine feet, built for him by colonists several years ago.

While you took in these sights, perhaps your ears would pick up the sound of Moravians at a 'bless'd singing Hour in English, Dutch [German] and Indian' or Delawares at a feast who 'Sing Hee 3 Times, w'ch they drill'd out very long.' Audible, too, would be the clang and clatter of the blacksmith at work along with the murmurs of Indian hunters and colonial traders waiting to have a horse shod, a hatchet made, or a gun fixed.¹¹⁹

The Moravians built a smithy at Shamokin in 1747, further establishing its importance, while adding to its diversity. Shamokin has been variously interpreted to mean “the place of eels,” “the place where gun barrels are straightened” (in reference to the smithy), the place “where antlers are plenty,” and “the place of chiefs or rulers.”¹²⁰ Indeed, with such a variety of people and cultures, a visit to Shamokin could hardly be boring, although it could be dangerous. Former rival tribe members now living in the same town could easily get in fights, especially when rum was brought into the situation. The town could also be alienating, with people constantly coming and going there was little opportunity for long-term friendships. Shamokin was, in many ways, like the border towns that would exist in the western United States after another century of expansion. There was no clear law there, no real order, but rather a mixed group of individuals who ended up at the same location.

Shikellamy and Allummapees (Sassoonan)

Two significant native figures resided at Shamokin. The first, Allummapees (also known as Sassoonan) was a Delaware chief who moved to Shamokin after conveying lands in the Schuylkill and Tulpehocken Valleys to the Penn proprietors in 1732. The Delawares, like many other tribes, had long been moving north and west into the Susquehanna Valley (what would become Iroquois country), some moving as far west as the Ohio country, but many coming to stay at Shamokin. Despite Allummapees prestigious position as a Delaware chief, he wielded little political influence in his lifetime. When he became chief, the Delawares were declining, moving from their ancestral lands in southeastern Pennsylvania, scattering west. When Allummapees arrived at Shamokin, he was moving into newly-claimed Iroquois territory, and was thus “bereft

¹¹⁹ Merrell, “Shamokin,” 38-39.

¹²⁰ Donehoo, *Place Names*, 186-187.

of influence, land, and people.”¹²¹ Instead of working to “restore his tribe to its former standing, he became addicted to drinking and was scarcely sober long enough to attend to his official duties, which consisted chiefly of attending conferences at Philadelphia with the provincial authorities, and holding councils at Shamokin with the chiefs of his own tribe.”¹²² While Allummapees often professed love and peace towards the English at the meetings he did attend, he never found a way out of his position as “representative of a *tributary* tribe,” ultimately failing to improve his tribe’s once sovereign place.¹²³

Sent from Onondaga as an Iroquois emissary and overseer, Oneida chief Shikellamy was Allummapees’ opposite in nearly every way. His arrival in Shamokin in 1728 clearly transformed the town into an Iroquois outpost, marking the expanding Iroquois empire. Unlike the declining Delawares, the Iroquois were still influential, allowing Shikellamy to be a person in the political “know.” Furthermore, he had a steady temperament and was “not prone to indulge in alcoholic binges, those native drinking bouts that frustrated and frightened colonists.”¹²⁴ While it’s unclear how Allummapees might have felt about Shikellamy, Shikellamy made little attempt to hide his dislike of Allummapees and the Delawares in general: “Determined to inflate his own authority, the Oneida go-between generally belittled them.”¹²⁵ Shikellamy even managed “to prevent Pisquitomen, Sassoonan’s heirsee #from becoming a headman when Sassoonan died in an epidemic in September 1747.”¹²⁶ Shikellamy spent much of his career alienating the Delawares, essentially “helping” them move further west into the Ohio country. Nevertheless, Shikellamy is often depicted as a flawless figure, praised as a bright light in a dark place.

One thing that helped boost Shikellamy up the ladder was his ability to befriend the right people. He sustained a long friendship with Conrad Weiser, the German emigrant and political negotiator. Weiser even credits Shikellamy with saving his life during one particularly difficult journey to Onondaga. In the midst of a snowstorm Weiser had sat down by a tree, ready to give

¹²¹ Jennings, “Pennsylvania Indians,” 88.

¹²² John H. Carter, *Allummapees, King of the Delawares at Shamokin* (Sunbury, Pa.: The Northumberland County Historical Society, 1998), 131.

¹²³ Carter, *Allummapees*, 132, emphasis added.

¹²⁴ James Merrell, “Shikellamy, ‘A Person of Consequence,’” In *Northeastern Indian Lives, 1632-1816*, edited by Robert S. Grumet (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 232.

¹²⁵ Merrell, “Shikellamy,” 246.

¹²⁶ Merrell, “Shikellamy,” 246.

up and die, when Shikellamy came to find him, saying, “Ah! Brother, you told us we were prone to forget God in bright days, and to remember him in dark days. These are dark days. Let us then not forget God; and who knows but that he is even now near, and about to come to our succor? Rise, brother, and we will journey on.”¹²⁷ At that point Weiser was “ashamed” and he got up, and completed the journey to Onondaga.¹²⁸ As a negotiator, Shikellamy was often traveling, making as many as “seven trips to Onondaga, and twice that many to Philadelphia” after 1737 (he died in 1748).¹²⁹ Given that these were not easy trips, done either by foot, canoe, horse, or some combination thereof, traveling was arduous work. And added to that was the responsibility of playing host to any number of visitors passing through Shamokin when Shikellamy actually happened to be at home.

While Shikellamy enjoyed political importance for most of his life, near the end, politics changed. When the Ohio Delawares requested help from the province in fending off attacks from the French, and the province complied, a new east-west route was created that essentially cut Shamokin (and Shikellamy) out of the loop. This was the case especially since the Ohio Delawares (some of which may have ended up in Ohio as a result of Shikellamy’s negotiating) were not eager to keep Shikellamy involved: “Ironically...the Oneida was a victim of his own success.”¹³⁰ The old north-south route between Onondaga and Philadelphia would be realigned with new interests and enterprises in the west. Consequently, in the later part of his life, Shikellamy traveled to Bethlehem with the Moravians. Shikellamy barely survived the journey back to Shamokin, where he died in December 1748. Visitors to Sunbury today can find the plaque commemorating Shikellamy, as well as be invited to see his profile, legendarily, in the river cliffs of the Blue Hill.

Lower West Branch from the Confluence to Lock Haven

Donehoo argues for the location of Utchowig on Smith’s Map as along the West Branch, “at the mouth of Pine Creek, upon the broad levels at Jersey Shore” and substantiates his claim with references to burial grounds along Pine Creek. He also refers to a burial ground at Wolf Run which has been excavated and does show evidence of late Woodland occupation, opening up at

¹²⁷ Zinzendorf, Northumberland County Historical Society Archives

¹²⁸ Zinzendorf, Northumberland County Historical Society Archives

¹²⁹ Merrell, “Shikellamy,” 233.

¹³⁰ Merrell, “Shikellamy,” 250

least the possibility for the location of Utchowig as on the West Branch.¹³¹ David Sorg's study of tribal names in the Susquehanna region also sheds some light on the possible location of Utchowig. He argues that the tribe labeled "Capitannesses" on the Dutch Hendrickson map of 1616 actually comes from the Iroquois "Onontioaga" which literally means "big hill" or "great mountain," but figuratively means "great warrior." Capitannesses also means "great warrior," and it is located in the area of Williamsport on the Hendrickson map. Interestingly, according to Sorg, Utchowig has also been translated to mean "mountain, hill, people," suggesting another bit of evidence, albeit tenuous, that Utchowig could be located on the West Branch. Sorg also makes reference to the site at Wolf Run, claiming that one might think it "would be an early Contact period site, as it was still recognizable as a former town site in 1737 and European goods were found there." But he goes on to state that the site is known to be a "Stewart Complex Shenks Ferry site" and that the trade goods discovered there are thought to be intrusive.¹³²

Wyoming Valley

To the east of the confluence area, but integrally connected with it in early history as well as environmentally, is the Wyoming Valley area of the Susquehanna Valley, perhaps best known in modern times as a major American coal-mining region and home of the Wilkes-Barre/Scranton metropolitan area. Known in early settlement times as a fertile breadbasket for native peoples, and by the mid-18th century recorded as a corridor for movements by major peoples from the Chesapeake region known to Smith, the valley has since been badly scarred by industrialization, although also hosting rich subsequent Euroamerican cultural histories. Geidel et.al. say in their archaeological overview of the Wyoming Valley that "Systematic regional surveys, such as those reported from the West Branch of the Susquehanna River and its tributaries, have not been conducted along the North Branch. Early researchers reported a large number of sites in the Wyoming Valley area. Some of these sites were already severely disturbed when they were reported. Many of them have been obliterated by subsequent development of the valley." (1988, 45). In this area, an identified 17th-century Indian archaeological site possibly correlates with one of the Indian centers noted on the Smith Map, Tesinigh. The Wyoming Valley area provides an object lesson along the river corridor in terms of the post-Indian destruction of ecosystems, as well as opportunities for environmental restoration and reaching a significant contemporary

¹³¹ George P. Donehoo, *A History of the Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania*, (Lewisburg, Pa.: Wennawoods Publishing, 1999), 142.

¹³² David J. Sorg, "Lost Tribes of the Susquehanna," *PA Archaeologist* 74, no. 2 (Fall 2004): 67.

population with historical education and interpretive programs about the river and its connection to the Chesapeake and the John Smith story.



Conclusion

The confluence region around modern day Sunbury shows a rich cultural history pertaining to a number of different native tribes and colonists. This history is unique because it offers a relatively peaceful view of relationships between natives and settlers that is rarely found. While archaeology does not show us who exactly was living at Shamokin before 1728, we might safely assume that the confluence was an important intermediate point between various Susquehannock settlements throughout the entire Susquehanna Valley before becoming the later home of numerous other tribes forced to move north and west in response to white settlement. Visits to the Northumberland County Historical Society and the Lycoming County Historical Society offer a wealth of information and displays about this regional native history. The confluence region also offers scenic river travel opportunities, with parts of the river navigating through undeveloped hills, and fertile farming valleys. New forest has grown and now covers almost entirely the areas that were bare after extensive lumbering in the early 1900s. The Linn Conservancy maintains a number of local hiking trails open to the public; other parks include Shikellamy State Park, R.B. Winter State Park, and the Montour Preserve. The central Susquehanna River Valley has been a cultural and physical highway for centuries, such that a modern-day Susquehanna River expedition would not be complete without a stop here and indeed it is a prime stop for contemporary kayak sojourners.

e. **The Upper Susquehanna: The Susquehannocks and Iroquoia**

Mary Kohler and Donald Grinde, University of Buffalo SUNY

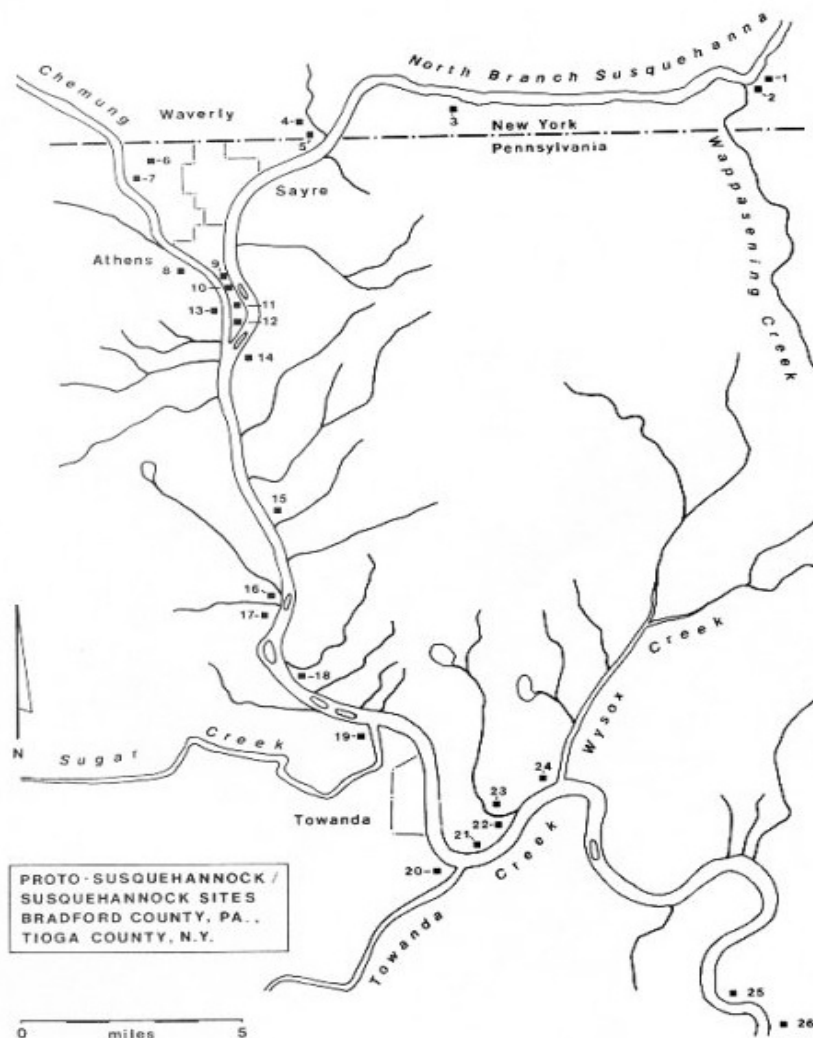
Connections to the Confluence and 17th-Century Indian History¹³³

Linked to the confluence area by significant native trails crossing from the lower West Branch to the Wyalusing area, the section of the river corridor straddling the Pennsylvania-New York corridor hosted important Susquehannock-related archaeological sites, and still today significant scenic and natural interpretive opportunities. Bradford County, Pa., and Tioga County, NY, along the Upper Susquehanna show a significant complex of sites associated with the Susquehannock Indians and with 16th-century accounts of the area as a center of native habitation along the Susquehanna River. Perhaps most significantly, the landform known as Spanish Hill overlooks the Chemung River before it reaches the Susquehanna River about five miles downstream from the hill. In 1878, General John S. Clark described the site as follows: “[Spanish Hill] rises abruptly from the surrounding plain about 200 feet with a nearly level platform top of about ten acres...” (In Twigg 2005, 27). Clark was of the opinion that Spanish Hill was the location of the native town described as Carantouan by Etienne Brule, who had been sent into the area in 1615 by Samuel de Champlain to meet with possible allies against the Iroquois. In 1632 de Champlain produced a map based on information provided him by Brule which shows Carantouan marked with a star, surrounded by drawings of several communities or hamlets represented by clusters of houses. In recent years the Susquehanna River Archaeological Center has advanced strongly a connection between Spanish Hill and Carantouan, pointing out also suspicious circumstances involving the disappearance of significant collections of Indian artifacts from the area in the first half of the 20th century.

The area today is also significant for its association with contemporary Native Americans. In addition to work by the Archaeological Center and its fairly new interpretive center, the Eastern Delaware Nations have bought land along the river in this area to establish a community center. Landscape along the river in this segment is strongly evocative for paddlers and hikers of pre-settlement scenery and provides important opportunities for environmental preservation and restoration.

Some additional information on this area is also included in the concluding assessment of the Upper Susquehanna region at the end of this section.

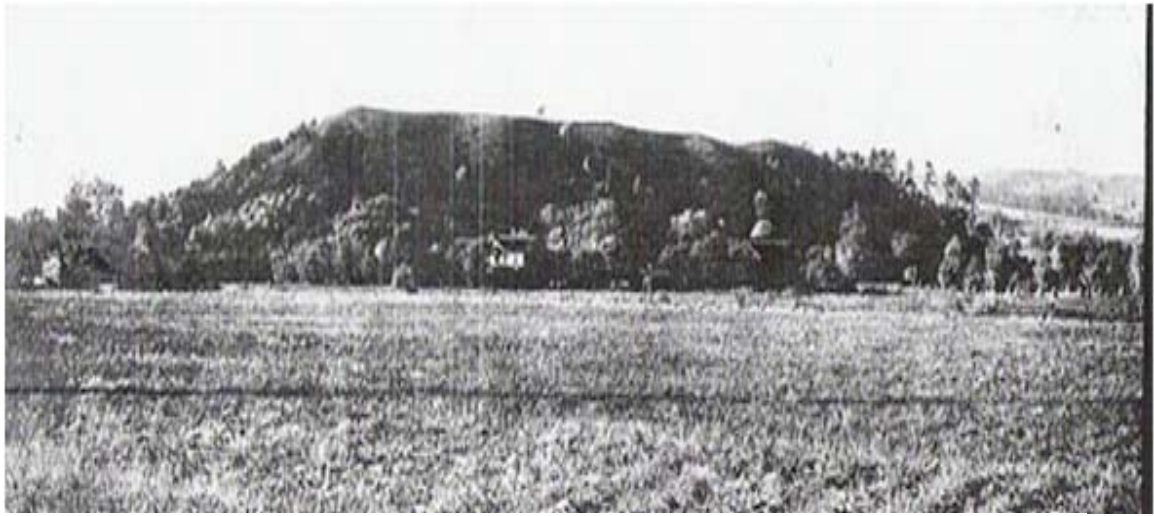
¹³³ This sub-section was mainly contributed by members of the Bucknell and Bloomsburg research teams.



- 6.Spanish Hill (36BR27)
- 7.Clapp-Liddard (36BR28)
- 8.Heath (36BR144) SB, SI
- 9.Ahbe-Brennan (36BR42) SB, SI
- 10.Tioga Point Museum (36BR1) SB, SI
- 11.Murray Garden (36BR2) SB, SI
- 12.Tioga Point Farm (36BR3) SB, SI, PS, RM
- 13.Murray Farm (36BR5) SB, SI
- 14.Kennedy (36BR43) SB, SI, PS, RM
- 15.Nagle Farm (36BR15) PS, RM, SI
- 16.Ulster Creamery (36BR9) PS, RM, SI
- 17.Rockwell I (36BR10) SB, PS, RM
- 18.Blackman (36BR83) SB, SI, PS, RM

- 19.Oscalui (Ogehage?) (36BR41) PS, RM
 - 20.Sick (36BR50) SI, RM, PS
 - 21.Wilson (36BR58) PS, RM, SI
 - 22.Strickland (36BR76) PS, RM, SI
 - 23.Cass (36BR57) PS, RM, SI
 - 24.Wysox Flats (36BR56) PS, SI
 - 25.Homets Ferry (36BR70?) PS, SI
 - 26.Wyalusing (Gohontoto?) (36BR68) PS, SI
- SBSusquehannockburial(s).SI Schultz Incised pottery, in burials or found on surface.
PSProto-Susquehannock pottery, in burials? Or found on surface.

From: Richard J. McCracken, "Susquehannocks, Brûlé and Carantouannais: A Continuing Research Problem," *The Bulletin and Journal of Archaeology of New York State*, Number 91, Fall 1985, pages 39-51



Spanish Hill in the 1950s



Champlain's 1632 Map showing Carantouan

Susquehanna Headwaters: Background History and Susquehannock-Haudenosaunee Connections

Previous to the formation of the Iroquois confederacy, around 1000 A.D., archeologists believe there was a culture called Owasco, who were the ancestors of the modern Iroquois nations and occupied the upper Susquehanna region until the fourteenth century.¹³⁴ Linguists have found that Iroquoian languages were not only spoken by the contemporary Iroquois groups but also by the Huron, Erie, Petun, and Susquehannock nations. Utilizing this information and archeological evidence, it has been deduced that during a time of global warming, the Owasco moved northward along the upper tributaries of the Susquehanna River, out of central Pennsylvania, into what is now New York state. Most settled on the bountiful lands around Lake Ontario and eastward down the Mohawk Valley (Figure A at the end of this section).¹³⁵ According to Daniel Richter, the new planting areas allowed communities to grow in numbers and live together on a more permanent basis than in the previous period. Furthermore, over time, these clusters of communities became more isolated from one another for one reason or another and the cultures and dialects of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca, Cayuga, and Susquehannock became more distinct.¹³⁶

Francis Jennings points out that the Susquehannocks, who were once thought to be of southern origin, have been confirmed through archeological evidence to be of Mohawk ancestry and split from the Mohawks around 1300 A.D.¹³⁷ After this split, the relationship between the Iroquois and the Susquehannocks would fluctuate between congenial trade relations to mortal enemies. Martha Sempowski has argued that the Susquehannocks may have served as an important intermediary between the Iroquois and coastal Algonquian groups and that these congenial relations prevailed for some time during the sixteenth century.¹³⁸ Also, archeologist Robert E. Funk notes how Proto-Susquehannock pottery (ca. A.D. 1450-1575) has been found

¹³⁴ Charles R. Cobb, "From Frontier to Border Along the Iroquois Southern Door," *Archeologies: Journal of the World Archeological Congress* 1 (2008): 110-128.

¹³⁵ Dean R. Snow, *The Iroquois* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 1-21.

¹³⁶ Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 15.

¹³⁷ Francis Jennings, "Glory, Death, and Transfiguration: The Susquehannock Indians in the Seventeenth Century," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 112 (February 15, 1968): 15-53.

¹³⁸ Martha L. Sempowski, "Early Historic Exchange Between the Seneca and the Susquehannock" *Archeology of the Iroquois: Selected Readings & Research Sources*, Jordan E. Kerber, ed. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 194-218.

along the upper Susquehanna River at sites in Tioga County, New York, and Bradford County, which confirms Susquehannocks lived in small settlements in that part of the valley.¹³⁹ However, by the seventeenth century, the Susquehannocks were further south and competed with the Iroquois for territory and trade with the colonists.

During the seventeenth century the Iroquois or *Haudenosaunee*¹⁴⁰ were a confederacy comprised of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and the Senecas. The Iroquois were referred to collectively as the Five Nations (in the eighteenth century the Tuscaroras would also be incorporated into the confederacy) and occupied the vast territory of what is now upstate New York (Figure B). Due to their geographical settlements, the Mohawks were considered the guardians of the eastern door, the Senecas were guardians of the western door, and the Onondagas kept the fire at the center. The precise date of the formation of the confederacy is still unknown. However, some scholars insist the confederacy began as early as 1142 A.D.¹⁴¹ while others claim that it was formed between 1590 and 1605 A.D.¹⁴²

Before the establishment of the confederacy, war was a way of life for all of the Iroquois nations.¹⁴³ Iroquois leader and scholar John Mohawk describes how the establishment of the confederacy was a response to this violence and the pursuit of alternative, more peaceful relations. According to Mohawk:

The story has it that there was an individual born among the Hurons, on the north side of Lake Ontario, who grew up in a society that was each against all. Blood feuds left not only villages fighting villages but also individual households fighting individual households. Assassinations were common. Violence ruled the day. People committed atrocities of every kind against each other--from cannibalism to murder to mass murder.Coming out of this environment, one individual came up with an idea. He said that violence is a really bad idea....He goes to the people he's living with, and he says to them,

¹³⁹ Robert E. Funk, *Archeological Investigations in the Upper Susquehanna Valley*, New York State (New York: Persimmon Press, 1993), 85-86.

¹⁴⁰ Throughout this paper, "Iroquois" and "Haudenosaunee" are both used to connote The Five Nations.

¹⁴¹ Bruce E. Johansen and Barbara A. Mann, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Native American Legal Tradition* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1998), 157.

¹⁴² Robert D. Kuhn and Martha L. Sempowski, "A New Approach to Dating the League of the Iroquois," *American Antiquity* 66 (April 2001): 301-314.

¹⁴³ Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1988), 13.

'You have to stop these cycles of violence.'So this individual, whom we'll call the Peacemaker, began to say, to put it in modern English, that essentially war makes people crazy....He goes from village to village and persuades people that first we have to have a pact that says that we're not going to commit violence anymore....¹⁴⁴

The "Peacemaker" that John Mohawk is referring to is the Wyandot prophet Dekanawidah who would enlist the aid of Aionwantha (Hiawatha) to spread his teachings of a united and peaceful Haudenosaunee confederacy. Dekanawidah and Aionwantha would eventually be able to subdue one of the most powerful and violent Onondaga chiefs, Tadodaho. According to Chief Oren Lyons, when the Peacemaker finally brought together the leaders of the Five Nations he outlined the fundamental doctrine of the new constitution, stating, "I'm going to base this constitution on the first principle which is peace, the second principle which is equity for the people, and the third principle which is power, the power of the good minds."¹⁴⁵ After the establishment of the confederacy, Onondaga became the central fire of the Haudenosaunee and the Onondagas became the "fire keepers" of the new confederacy.¹⁴⁶ Francis Whiting Halsey makes a curious observation about the strategic location of Onondaga when he writes:

It is interesting to reflect that this federation of warlike people had for its capital a small village near Onondaga Lake where general congresses were held, and the policy of the League agreed upon. ...They were at the headwaters of great rivers, and thus were able to reach nations less powerful than themselves....Past the confluence of the Unadilla and Susquehanna rivers, messengers of peace or war, warriors going to battle and returning from victories in the south, made their way.¹⁴⁷

The confederacy symbolized the Five Nations' unity and worked to end serious conflicts, such as blood feuds, among its members.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, by bringing internal peace among the

¹⁴⁴ Melissa K. Nelson, ed., *Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future*, "The Iroquois Confederacy" by John Mohawk (Rochester: Bear & Company: 2008), 54-58.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, "A Democracy Based on Peace" by Chief Oren Lyons, 59-65.

¹⁴⁶ Bruce E. Johansen and Barbara A. Mann, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Native American Legal Tradition* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing, 1998) 81-82.

¹⁴⁷ Francis Whiting Halsey, *The Old New York Frontier* (New York: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1901), 15.

¹⁴⁸ Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois*, 35.

tribal members of the confederacy, it allowed each to then focus on other goals such as trade or raids against other groups outside of the confederacy.¹⁴⁹ Later, the confederacy would serve as a mechanism for negotiating with the European colonists¹⁵⁰ and perhaps even become adopted as a model for American democracy and federalism.¹⁵¹

According to Robert D. Kuhn and Martha L. Sempowski, the strength of the Iroquois confederacy would soon be recognized as “its members successfully subdued or assimilated virtually all non-League native neighbors in the region.” During the first three decades of the seventeenth century, the people of the Five Nations obtained firearms, powder, blankets, pots, knives, and other trade goods from the European colonists in exchange for furs, mostly beaver pelts. By 1640, the beaver population had dwindled and the Iroquois were forced to find new hunting territory for the pelts. Their search would eventually lead them to lands claimed by other tribes and sparked a series of wars often referred to as the Beaver Wars. By the 1660’s, the Iroquois had driven out or conquered the Huron, Tobacco, Neutral, and Erie nations along with many others. After securing the vast, western territories, the Iroquois gained access to the wealth of furs, which could then be exchanged in major trade centers such as Albany.¹⁵²

This is not to imply that the Iroquois tribes did not suffer losses during this time of war, thousands were killed. In response to this, the captured enemy of the Iroquois would often be brought back to the villages and adopted into the tribe to replenish the family members who had died and to swell the ranks of the confederacy. The Five Nations had absorbed so many prisoners that a Jesuit missionary remarked how “more Foreigners than natives of the country” reside in Iroquoia.¹⁵³

After the Iroquois defeated the western tribes, their attention would be turned towards the Susquehannocks who had moved out of the northern valley in the late sixteenth century and had been engaged in blood feuds with the Iroquois ever since.¹⁵⁴ According to Richard Aquila, by the

¹⁴⁹ Richard Aquila, *The Iroquois Restoration: Iroquois Diplomacy on the Colonial Frontier, 1701-1754* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1983), 37.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 34.

¹⁵¹ Donald A. Grinde, Jr. and Bruce E. Johansen, *Exemplar of Liberty: Native America and the Evolution of Democracy* (California: American Indian Studies Center, 1991).

¹⁵² Aquila, *The Iroquois Restoration*, 35-39.

¹⁵³ *Jesuit Relations*, XLVII, 139-153. As cited by Daniel K. Richter, “War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 40 (October 1983): 528-559.

¹⁵⁴ Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1988), 71.

1600's, "the feuding had escalated into full scale warfare due to economic rivalry in the fur trade...[and]...the proximity of the two tribes..."¹⁵⁵ Like many of the other Indian nations during this time, the Susquehannocks had also sought out sources of peltry and trade goods and frequently transported goods along the Susquehanna River's West Branch toward Lake Erie where the headwaters of the Susquehanna, the Ohio, and the Great Lakes gave easy transportation for heavier burdens.¹⁵⁶ Cadwallader Colden remarks on the advantage of the Susquehanna River when he writes:

*The Province of New York has, for the Conveniency of Commerce, advantages by its Scituation beyond any other Colony in North America.....At 50 miles from Albany the Land Carriage from the Mohawks river to a lake from whence the Northern Branch of Susquehanna takes its rise, does not exceed 14 miles. Goods may be carried from this lake in Battoes or flat bottomed Vessels, through Pennsylvania, to Maryland & Virginia...*¹⁵⁷

The Iroquois would soon learn that the Susquehannocks would not be easily conquered and the wars between the two would drag on for many years. In part, this was due to the populous and well-fortified towns of the Susquehannocks. According to the Livingston Indian records:

*[The Susquehannocks] had a fort on the Lower Susquehanna River equipped with bastions and mounted artillery...It was not until the Marylanders had turned against them that the Susquehannocks were at last dislodged from their river bank stronghold. Some of the Susquehannocks went south, only to suffer further humiliation at the hands of Maryland and Virginia. Others went north and were incorporated by the Iroquois, as some of the Hurons had been. A few were later allowed to settle in the Susquehanna Valley again, at Conestoga, near the present city of Lancaster. The Iroquois emerged in 1675 as the strongest military power on the continent.....*¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Aquila, *The Iroquois Restoration*, 40.

¹⁵⁶ Francis Jennings, "Glory, Death, and Transfiguration: The Susquehannock Indians in the Seventeenth Century," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 112 (February 15, 1968): 15-53.

¹⁵⁷ Christopher Morgan, E.B. O'Callaghan, editors. *The Documentary History of the State of New York Vol. IV* (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1850), 112.

¹⁵⁸ Lawrence H. Leder, ed., *The Livingston Indian Records 1666-1723* (Gettysburg: The Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1956): 21.

Richard Aquila points out that historians still debate on whether or not it was strictly the Iroquois who defeated the Susquehannocks or whether it was the Virginia and Maryland frontiersmen.¹⁵⁹ Francis Jennings concurs and asserts, “The Iroquois, far from conquering the Susquehannocks, provided sanctuary and support for them.”¹⁶⁰ Regardless, the Iroquois now saw the opening of the Susquehanna valley and attempted to assert control in that area.

According to Francis Jennings, the traffic along the Susquehanna Valley became so heavily traveled that it was often referred to as ‘the warriors’ path. Furthermore, the demography as well as geography made it attractive to the Iroquois. Not only was this area occupied by the pacifist Quakers whom avoided the use of armed force against Indians, there was also a thriving Indian population along the river around the trading post at the mouth of the Conestoga Creek. This Indian population was made up of fragments of nations and held together by the policies of the Iroquois confederacy and Pennsylvania’s government.¹⁶¹

Eventually, however, advancing English settlements would pose new problems for the Iroquois in both Pennsylvania and New York. For example, in James Arthur Frost’s book, *Life on the Susquehanna: 1783-1860*, he describes how by the 1680’s the Iroquois had formed an alliance with the governor of New York which continued to resist the advances of the French and Pennsylvanians but allowed Albany merchants to establish trading posts in the upper Susquehanna Basin. Shortly thereafter, many colonists began to infiltrate the Valley and attempted to settle as farmers. Frost notes how it was:

*... no easy task for the agricultural settler to establish himself in the Upper Susquehanna Valley. ...white aggression could not be fully checked. Pioneers penetrated the northern tip of the drainage basin well before the Revolution. Within the next three decades small settlements were firmly entrenched near the head of Lake Otsego...and in 1763 the Six Nations sent a message to the governor of the state protesting the settlement of its citizens along the Susquehanna River.*¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Aquila, *The Iroquois Restoration*, 40.

¹⁶⁰ Francis Jennings, “Glory, Death, and Transfiguration”

¹⁶¹ Francis Jennings, *The Founders of America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1993), 285.

¹⁶² James Arthur Frost, *Life on the Susquehanna: 1783-1860* (New York: Columbia University, 1951), 2-3. Letters of protest from the Iroquois Nations of colonial settlement along the upper Susquehanna can

Early Haudenosaunee Culture and the Upper Susquehanna/Headwaters

The landscape that the colonists encountered when they first arrived in the upper Susquehanna Valley was covered with forests of hemlock, maple, elm, pine, and oak.¹⁶³ Other varieties are discussed by John Bartram who writes how he “passed by very thick and tall timber of beach, chestnut, linden ash, great magnolia, sugar birch, spruce and white pine...all the trees were crowded with wild pigeons.”¹⁶⁴ In 1701, Charles Wooley gave an account of his observations, remarking on how the rivers “are plentifully furnish’d with ...Pearch, Trouts, Eels, Bass and Sheepshead.”¹⁶⁵ Some of the animals of the forest were the bear, black and gray wolf, the panther, deer, and squirrel.¹⁶⁶ As Allen Taylor points out, many colonial settlers would look at pigeons, deer, wolves and other animals as menaces that threatened their livelihoods. For example, Benjamin Gilbert of Otsego complained in his diary how “the bears have deprived me of a hope of making one Barrel [of] Cider. This year the Wolves are very plenty and have injured me much.” Allen explains how “the settlers used more land more intensively because they came in greater numbers and ...sought a marketable surplus” whereas the indigenous had confined their horticulture to subsistence and restricted their settlements.¹⁶⁷ Francis Halsey gives an example of this when he writes, “Around the Susquehanna villages small clearings had usually been made. Apple-orchards had been planted and here were frequent corn fields; but otherwise the virgin territory bore few indications that men were dwelling upon it.”¹⁶⁸ Moreover, it is important to note that as the Iroquois navigated the waters of the upper Susquehanna in their birch bark canoes or walked along the many trails, they would encounter the same plants and animals. However, their perceptions of their surrounding environment were different than the colonists. The plants, animals, and landscape were an integral part of Haudenosaunee culture and self-understanding.

also be found in the *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* “Documentary History of New York State” Vol. I-IV.

¹⁶³ Richard Aquila, *The Iroquois Restoration: Iroquois Diplomacy on the Colonial Frontier, 1701-1754* (Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1983), 31.

¹⁶⁴ John Bartram, *Travels in Pensilvania and Canada* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966), 28-36.

¹⁶⁵ Charles Wooley, “A Two Years Journal in New York and Part of Its Territories in America,” *Historic Chronicles of New Amsterdam, Colonial New York and Early Long Island* (New York: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1968), 37.

¹⁶⁶ William Cooper, *A Guide in the Wilderness* (New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 25-33.

¹⁶⁷ Alan Taylor, “Wasty Ways: Stories of American Settlement,” *Environmental History* 3 (July 1988): 291-310.

¹⁶⁸ Francis Whiting Halsey, *The Old New York Frontier*, 21-31.

The Iroquois population on the upper Susquehanna was centered in small villages¹⁶⁹ located on hilltops and away from waterways and major routes of travel.¹⁷⁰ This was due, in part, to avoid the flood waters and also because the hilltops provided a strategic defense against the constant threat of warfare from other tribes. However, the Iroquois frequently had hunting and fishing camps along the river, as indicated by artifacts (Figure C) and many trails that were etched into the landscape near waterways from frequent travel. For example, Lewis H. Morgan recalls how:

*Upon the banks of the Susquehanna and its branches, the sources of which are near the Mohawk, and upon the banks of the Chemung and its tributaries, which have their sources near the Genesee, were other trails, all of which converged upon Tioga, at the junction of these two principal rivers. They became thus gathered into one, which, descending the Susquehanna, formed the great southern trail into Pennsylvania and Virginia...For centuries upon centuries....these old and deeply worn trails had been trod by the red man.”*¹⁷¹

Another narrative regarding native trails is given by Francis Halsey who writes:

*The trails which followed the Susquehanna and its branches formed the great route to the south and west from Central New York. Into the most distant regions the tribes of the Iroquois from the earliest ages had gone over this highway of their own building for purposes of war, plunder, and pleasure. Along the banks of this stream trails had been deeply worn by red men's feet. Generations had passed over them, and the white man, coming later, put them to use before constructing roads of his own. In many cases the white man's roads were actually built by widening the trails, as was the case with the present road from Sidney to Unadilla on the northern side of the river and the main thoroughfare of Oneonta.*¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Francis Whiting Halsey, *The Old New York Frontier*, 21.

¹⁷⁰ Snow, *The Iroquois*, 52. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 17.

¹⁷¹ Lewis H. Morgan, *League of the Ho-Dé-No-Sau-Nee or Iroquois* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1902), 45.

¹⁷² Francis Whiting Halsey, *The Old New York Frontier*, 29.

The early villages of the Iroquois were stockaded (Figure D), however, Arthur C. Parker clarifies how many of the later villages of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were without such walls. The houses of the Iroquois, called *Longhouses*, were made of bark and were large communal dwellings. These structures could hold from five to twenty families and sometimes more. As Parker notes, "...the permanency of their village life is indicated in a measure by their vast fields of corn and other vegetables. Agriculture exercised an immense influence over their life...there are accounts of expeditions sent out to procure new seeds and vegetable foods."¹⁷³ Indeed, the Iroquois were an agricultural people who referred to corn, beans, and squash as the "sacred three sisters."¹⁷⁴ They would supplement what was grown with hunting, fishing, and gathering.

Mathew Dennis eloquently describes the Iroquois horticultural landscape as one that "emerged through a process that was at once natural, cultural, spiritual, and gendered." He goes on to point out how the roles of men and women were "complementary and reciprocal, but the core of Iroquois habitations was decidedly feminine." Women farmers produced the major portion of Iroquois subsistence and were considered the "owners of the land and soil."¹⁷⁵ Iroquois men helped to construct houses, clear fields and hunt. Because Iroquois women had such a vital economic role, this would translate into political power in other areas. For example, men's identity and status were often linked to their relationship to the women.¹⁷⁶ When an Iroquois man would marry he would go and live with his wife's clan. Additionally, within the political structure, women could nominate all officers to vacant titles. In selecting male chiefs, women had exclusive power to nominate but the whole community had the right to vote on their choice. However, in selecting clan mothers, there was no open voting on nominees, this decision rested with the women.¹⁷⁷ Respected female elders were often given the role as "clan mothers" and had responsibilities ranging from naming the children of the clan to dividing up the labor and duties of the group according to the needs of the community.

¹⁷³ Arthur C. Parker, "The Origin of the Iroquois as Suggested by Their Archeology," *American Anthropologist*, New Series 18, no. 4 (Oct.-Dec., 1916): 479-507.

¹⁷⁴ Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds for All* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 51

¹⁷⁵ Arthur C. Parker, "The Constitution of the Five Nations," *New York State Museum Bulletin* (Albany: The University State of New York), no. 184 (April 1916), 42.

¹⁷⁶ Mathew Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in the Seventeenth-Century America* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), 28.

¹⁷⁷ Bruce E. Johansen and Barbara A. Mann, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Native American Legal Tradition* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing, 1998), 126.

It goes without saying that the political power that Iroquois women asserted in their community was markedly different than what European women were experiencing. Later on, women of the Iroquois nations would inspire nineteenth century feminists such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton. In her memoirs, Stanton reflects on writings on Iroquois women from a missionary who observed:

*Usually the females ruled the house. The stores were in common; but woe to the luckless husband or lover who was too shiftless to do his share of the providing. No matter how many children, or whatever goods he might have in the house, he might at any time be ordered to pick up his blanket and budge; and after such an order it would not be healthful for him to disobey...The women were the great power among the clan, as everywhere else. They did not hesitate, when occasion required, "to knock off the horns," as it was technically called, from the head of a chief and send him back to the ranks of the warriors.*¹⁷⁸

Although women were greatly respected and had considerable power within their particular clans, individuals could not assert absolute authority over other members. According to José Antônio Brandão, the structure of the clan system intended to avoid such power and "provided the basic framework for cooperative effort at both the tribal and intertribal levels."¹⁷⁹ Mathew Dennis discusses how this clanship model was also applied to the confederacy. He notes how the decisions of the confederacy were often based on the "...discussions in households, villages, and tribes throughout Iroquoia...these were the discussions of ordinary men and women rather than specialized elite..."¹⁸⁰ G. Peter Jemison, from the Seneca Nation, mirrors this when he explains the "one good mind" that it took to make decisions and how "...when the Confederacy was born, each nation agreed to act as a part of a league. There is autonomy for each nation, each

¹⁷⁸ As cited by Sally Roesch Wagner, "The Iroquois Confederacy: A Native American Model for Non-Sexist Men" *Iroquois Women: An Anthology*, edited by W.G. Spittal (Ontario: Irocrafts, Ltd., 1990): 217-²²¹.

¹⁷⁹ José Antônio Brandão, *"Your Fyre Shall Burn No More": Iroquois Policy Towards New France and its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 22.

¹⁸⁰ Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace*, 96.

nation has its own fire. Each nation has its own chiefs, its own Clan Mothers, but when it comes to matters that impact the entire Confederacy, then we act as one.”¹⁸¹

The clan was an important unit because it provided economic and moral support to its members and also aided in facilitating exchanges between other groups. Different animals and birds of the region, such as bear, wolf, turtle, and hawk, were used to represent different clans. Each member of a clan was a relative regardless of which nation they belonged to. For example, a wolf clan member of the Mohawk and a wolf clan member of the Seneca were considered relatives. People belonging to the same clan were considered family; therefore, marrying within ones clan was discouraged. A man would always be a member to the clan of his birth, but live matrilocally in the longhouse of his wife’s clan. Thus, kinship ties were spread across nations, which had the effect of creating group cohesion and discouraging internal wars. Dean Snow also illustrates this point when he remarks how, “A clan identification provided fictive kinship for men traveling away from home; a turtle was always welcome in the home of the turtle, regardless of distance and language barriers.”¹⁸² Wampum was another facet of Haudenosaunee culture that would serve to bridge the communication and activities of each nation.

Wampum were beads meticulously fashioned out of shells and utilized or distributed throughout the northeastern territory for ornamentation, communication, ceremonies, and tribute. Most of the desired marine shells for wampum were whelk, oyster, and quahog that came from the Atlantic coast around the Chesapeake Bay. According to Dean Snow, “The Susquehannocks were probably a conduit for much of the trade in the sixteenth century. Shell, and later spirals made of European brass, moved from them northwestward to the Seneca...”¹⁸³

Among early Europeans was a misconception that wampum was the equivalent of money to native people. Such as in 1644 when Reverend Johannes Megapolensis, who was assigned to the fur trading center at Fort Orange (present day Albany) wrote, “Their money consists of certain little bones, made of shells or cockles, which are found on the sea-beach. They value these little bones as highly as Christians do gold, silver and pearls....”¹⁸⁴ While wampum beads were

¹⁸¹ As quoted in the PBS Documentary, “Warrior in Two Worlds: The Life of Ely Parker” <http://www.pbs.org/warrior/indexf.html> (accessed July 23, 2009).

¹⁸² Snow, *The Iroquois*, 57.

¹⁸³ Snow, *The Iroquois*, 67.

¹⁸⁴ John Franklin Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664* (New York: Scribner, 1909), 176.

highly valued within Haudenosaunee culture, their value was not in monetary terms but for the more dynamic functions that it served.

The use of wampum ranged from ornamentation to conveying diplomacy and tribute. It also served as a type of historical record that included legally binding treaties. Indeed, many of these beaded accounts would be held by the Keepers of the Wampum who served as interpreters and custodians of the belts. Beads lighter in color would often have positive connotations whereas the darker beads would illustrate more serious, often political, concerns. One example of documentation through beadwork can be seen on the renowned Hiawatha Belt (Figure E). At the center of the dark beaded belt is a white pine tree or the “Great Tree of Peace” which is the symbol for the confederacy. Connecting to this tree are the individual nations symbolized as white beaded squares.

By the early seventeenth century, Europeans colonists had perverted the original function of wampum into a legal form of currency in order to better negotiate with Native Nations for territory and favors. Shortly thereafter, the mass production of such beads from Europe and the east coast colonies would lead to a decrease in their value.

As illustrated, Haudenosaunee culture reflected a deep connection and dependence on the land and animals that surrounded them in the upper Susquehanna valley. Interactions with the environment permeated Haudenosaunee language, culture, and social organization and therefore it was, as Gregory Cajete observes, “...the very center and generator of self-understanding.”¹⁸⁵ This also becomes apparent when looking at the cosmology of the Iroquois, particularly the *Creation Story*, which has many versions, some of which take days to tell. The story explains how humans once lived in the Sky World. Below the sky, earth did not exist; there was only dark water with birds and animals swimming around. In the middle of Sky World was a tree that produced all sorts of fruits and flowers. One night, Sky Woman, who was the wife of the chief of Sky World and with child, had a dream that the tree became uprooted. She told her husband the dream and he was convinced that it was a prophecy that needed to be fulfilled. He then wrapped his arms around the tree and uprooted it, leaving a big hole in the sky. Sky Woman leaned over to look into the hole and lost her balance. As she fell through the hole she grabbed a handful of seeds from the tree. Meanwhile, the birds and animals of the water world below saw her falling and decided that she would need help. Each animal dove down into the water to bring

¹⁸⁵ Gregory Cajete, editor. *A People's Ecology: Explorations in Sustainable Living* (New Mexico: Clear Light Publishers, 1999), 6.

up dirt for Sky Woman to land on, however, many animals failed. Only one tiny muskrat went down deep and was able to grasp some earth. When he reached the surface and opened up his paw that contained a small piece of earth, the Great Turtle offered to carry it on his back. It was on the back of the turtle that Sky Woman was placed and the earth began to grow. Sky Woman's daughter would be called "Mother Earth."¹⁸⁶

Animals occupied a central place in Haudenosaunee culture, not only did they provided food and clothing, but by living closely to them one learned many valuable survival techniques. Gregory Cajete explains how hunting was considered not only a means to provide for a family, but also a spiritual act: "The hunted animal became one of the guides of relationship and community in Indigenous education."¹⁸⁷ Therefore, in order to show honor and gratitude to animals, many indigenous dances emulated the movements and behaviors of animals to celebrate their sacred nature. Indeed, Paul Kayanesenh Williams further clarifies why animals are so esteemed, explaining, "When we are born, we may be naked, but it is our relatives, from the rest of Creation [referring to plants and animals], who will share what they have...we will spend our lifetimes continually learning who our relatives are, and learning to give them the proper thanks."¹⁸⁸

The Upper Susquehanna Region

According to archeologist Robert E. Funk, the earliest visit of Europeans to the Upper Susquehanna Valley within New York State was by a Dutchman called Kleynties and his traveling companion in 1614.¹⁸⁹ They set out from an area around present-day Albany to determine what surrounding regions held prospects for the fur trade. The traders canoed up the

¹⁸⁶ This version of the Creation Story was paraphrased from the following sources: Chief Arthur Gibson as told to J.N.B Hewitt, Fenimore Art Museum, www.fenimoreartmuseum.org/node/1529 [Accessed July 28, 2009]. The Iroquois Museum Website, "Creation Story" www.iroquoismuseum.org/creation.htm. Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force, *Words that Come Before All Else: Environmental Philosophies of the Haudenosaunee* (Native North American Travelling College, 1995), 2. Doug George-Kanentiio also gives an account of the Creation Story and how the Iroquois came to live in New York state in his essay, "Iroquois Roots" found in *Archeology of the Iroquois: Selected Readings & Research Sources*, Jordan E. Kerber, ed. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007) 391-402.

¹⁸⁷ Gregory Cajete, editor. *A People's Ecology: Explorations in Sustainable Living* (New Mexico: Clear Light Publishers, 1999), 9.

¹⁸⁸ Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force, *Words that Come Before All Else: Environmental Philosophies of the Haudenosaunee* (Native North American Travelling College, 1995), 2.

¹⁸⁹ Robert E. Funk, *Archeological Investigations in the Upper Susquehanna Valley*, New York State (New York: Persimmon Press, 1993), 85.

Mohawk, walked a trail to Otsego where they encountered the lake. From here they continued their water journey down the Susquehanna to Tioga Point where they were captured by a group of Susquehannocks.¹⁹⁰ If Kleynties and his companion came upon Lake Otsego, they may have been as taken with its beauty as others who have written about it. For example, in *The Deerslayer*, novelist James Fenimore Cooper narrates how:

*An exclamation of surprise broke from the lips of the Deerslayer...when, on reaching the margin of the [Otsego] lake he beheld the view that unexpectedly met his gaze. ...On a level with the point lay a broad sheet of water, so placid and limpid, that it resembled a bed of the pure mountain atmosphere compressed into a setting of hills and woods.*¹⁹¹

Similarly, on June 30th 1739, William Johnson writes as follows:

*The lake the Natives call Otsego is a bright gem set in the dark forest...around the lake, mountains swell up its sides and give way to valleys and rolling hills. At the foot of the lake there is an ancient apple orchard, and it is alive with the singing of birds. As I walked this place I crushed a clay pipe bowl underfoot....we met some Oneida people, their faces were streaked with vermilion, lampblack and white lead, the present village consisted of 3 wigwams and about 30 souls.*¹⁹²

According to Dave Rickard, during the time that Johnson wrote his description of the lake, there were groups from the Mohawk, Oneida, and Tuscarora nations occupying the lands around the shore of Lake Otsego and the Susquehanna River below. [Arthur C. Parker also describes sites in Otsego County (Figure F) where artifacts, burial grounds, and camps were found around Lake Otsego and the upper Susquehanna region.¹⁹³] Richard goes on to point out

¹⁹⁰ John H. Brubaker, *Down the Susquehanna to the Chesapeake* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 5.

¹⁹¹ James Fenimore Cooper, *The Deerslayer* (New York: Bantam Classic, 2008), 17.

¹⁹² Town of Hartwick Historical Society, *Hartwick: The Heart of Otsego County*, NY (Hartwick: Syllables Press, 2002), 9-11.

¹⁹³ Arthur C. Parker, "The Archeological History of New York" *New York State Museum Bulletin* (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1920) no. 237, 238, 668-670.

how this area had long been used as a seasonal hunting and fishing area.¹⁹⁴ Samuel M. Shaw also believed the area around the village of Cooperstown was a “favorite place of resort” for indigenous nations. He goes on to explain how, “according to an early tradition of the country,” there is a rock near the outlet of Otsego Lake where some Iroquois nations would hold meetings or gatherings.¹⁹⁵ This seems to correspond with John Brubaker’s assertion that the Iroquois once called the lake area “O-te-sa-ga...a place of greeting”¹⁹⁶

Johnson termed the lake a “gem,” perhaps due to the shimmering green hue that is sometimes characteristic of its waters. In Richard Smith’s *A Tour of Four Great Rivers*, he observes this green color and attributes the phenomenon to the lake having a limestone bottom.¹⁹⁷ (The green color is actually produced by how the light reflects off the abundance of algae.) In the chapter entitled “The Susquehanna: By wagon road from Canajoharie to Otsego Lake....June 5, 1769,” Smith describes the animals around lake such as ducks, loons, 22- inch long trout, chubs, catfish two-feet in length, pike, and shad.¹⁹⁸ He also remarks on the indigenous dwellings and trails he passed as he paddled through the area and how the river from the Lake Otsego region is “full of Logs and Trees and short crooked Turns...Navigation for Canoes...requires Dexterity.”¹⁹⁹

As mentioned earlier in this paper, the proto-Iroquois culture, the Owasco, occupied parts of the Susquehanna River Valley until the 14th century, at which time, some of the group dispersed and moved northward (to become the present Iroquois nations) while one group (the Susquehannocks) moved further south. According to Dolores Elliot of the American Indian Program in New York State,²⁰⁰ this left the upper Susquehanna Valley probably with some

¹⁹⁴ Town of Hartwick Historical Society, *Hartwick: The Heart of Otsego County*, NY (Hartwick: Syllables Press, 2002), 9-11.

¹⁹⁵ *A History of Cooperstown* including “The Chronicles of Cooperstown” by James Fenimore Cooper, “The History of Cooperstown” by Samuel M. Shaw, “The History of Cooperstown” by Walter R. Littell, (New York: The Freeman’s Journal Company, 1921), 3.

¹⁹⁶ John H. Brubaker, *Down the Susquehanna to the Chesapeake* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 5.

¹⁹⁷ Richard Smith, edited by Francis W. Halsey, *A Tour of Four Great Rivers: The Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna, and Delaware in 1769* (New York: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1964), 35.

¹⁹⁸ “Before the course of the Susquehanna was interrupted by mill-dams, shad and herring used to make their way up into the lake.” James Macauley, *The Natural, Statistical, and Civil History of the State of New-York* Vol. I (New York: Gould & Banks, 1829), 109.

¹⁹⁹ Richard Smith, edited by Francis W. Halsey, *A Tour of Four Great Rivers: The Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna, and Delaware in 1769* (New York: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1964), 29-69.

²⁰⁰ Email communication.

“satellite villages” to perhaps guard the southern border of Iroquoia. While there were not many permanent settlements in the valley at this time, the territory was used for hunting and fishing by various groups. Furthermore, according to Francis Halsey, the Susquehanna River and its tributaries were utilized for travel:

*The upper Susquehanna and its branches, including the Unadilla, penetrated lands in which dwelt or hunted Mohawks, Oneidas, and Onondagas, while the Chemung penetrated the lands of the Senecas. These rivers, uniting at Tioga Point to become one river, flowed down from a large territory in which dwelt the Iroquois nations.down these streams from the Long House of the Iroquois went almost every Indian who journeyed to the south, with Tioga the great central point of meeting.*²⁰¹

During the late 17th century, the Iroquois would also begin to use the upper valley to resettle several displaced nations such as the Nanticokes, Tuscaroras, and Tuteloes, among others.²⁰²

By the 18th century, the presence of Iroquois nations in the Upper Susquehanna Valley was more common due to the colonial settlements that began to infringe on their territory in the north. In 1763, Sir William Johnson writes how the Oneidas had “Two Villages, one 25m from the Head of the Mohockk, the other 12 West of Oneida lake with Emigrants in several places towards the Susquehanna River...” He goes on to point out how the Tuscaroras and the Cayugas had several villages “about the Susquehanna” as well.²⁰³ Peter Mancall describes the diverse populations in the valley, writing:

Otsiningo, also known as Chenango, was probably the most tribally mixed village, or cluster of villages, in the eighteenth-century Susquehanna Valley. From the mid-1720's to the late 1770's, Indians from eight tribes inhabited the

²⁰¹ Francis Whiting Halsey, *The Old New York Frontier*, 21-31.

²⁰² Email communication, 6/15/09.

²⁰³ The Papers of Sir William Johnson. “Documentary History of New York State,” Vol. 4, 240.

region along the Chenango River between its juncture with the Tioughnioga to its confluence with the Susquehanna in present-day Binghamton...²⁰⁴

In “A Report of the Susquehanna River Expedition” sponsored in 1916 by the Museum of the American Indian, William King Moorehead writes how “Broome County was thickly inhabited by Indians” and he also provides an informative map of the camps, trails, and village sites in Tioga (Figure G).²⁰⁵

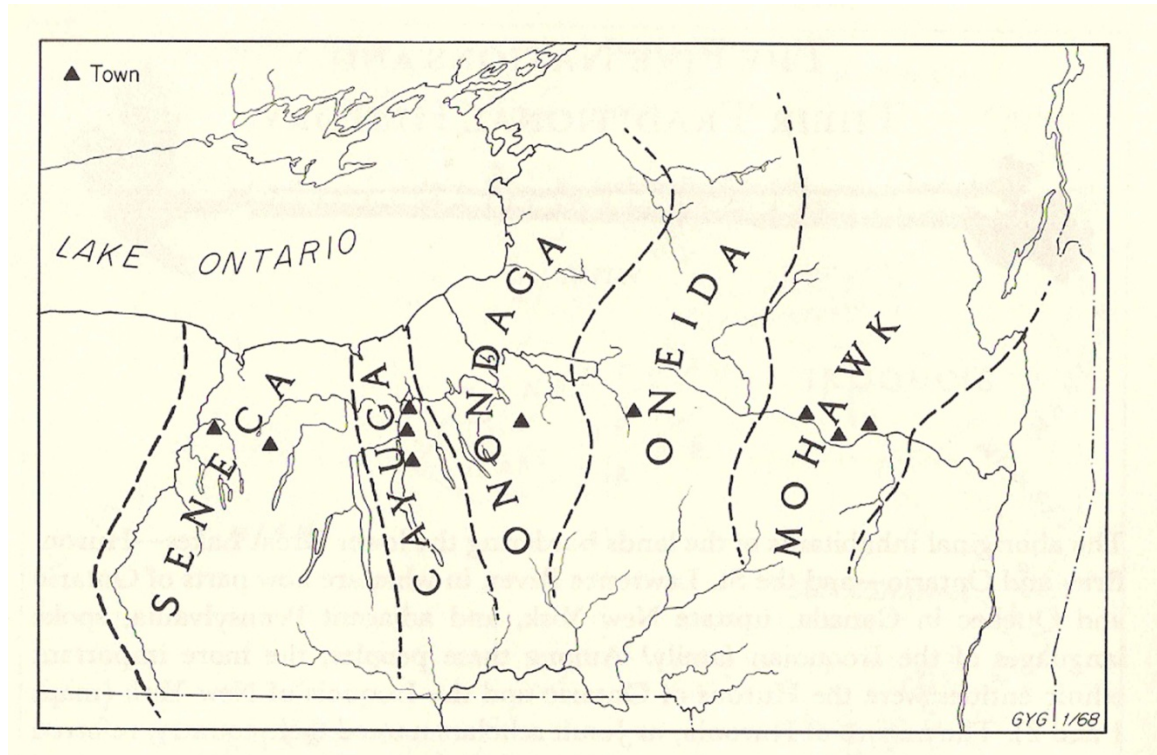


Figure A. Source: Dean R. Snow, *The Iroquois* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996): 22.

²⁰⁴ Peter C. Mancall, *Valley of Opportunity: Economic Culture along the Upper Susquehanna, 1700-1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 20-46.

²⁰⁵ Warren King Moorehead, edited by Arthur C. Parker, “A Report of the Susquehanna River Expedition” *The Museum of the American Indian* (Massachusetts: The Andover Press, 1938), 39.

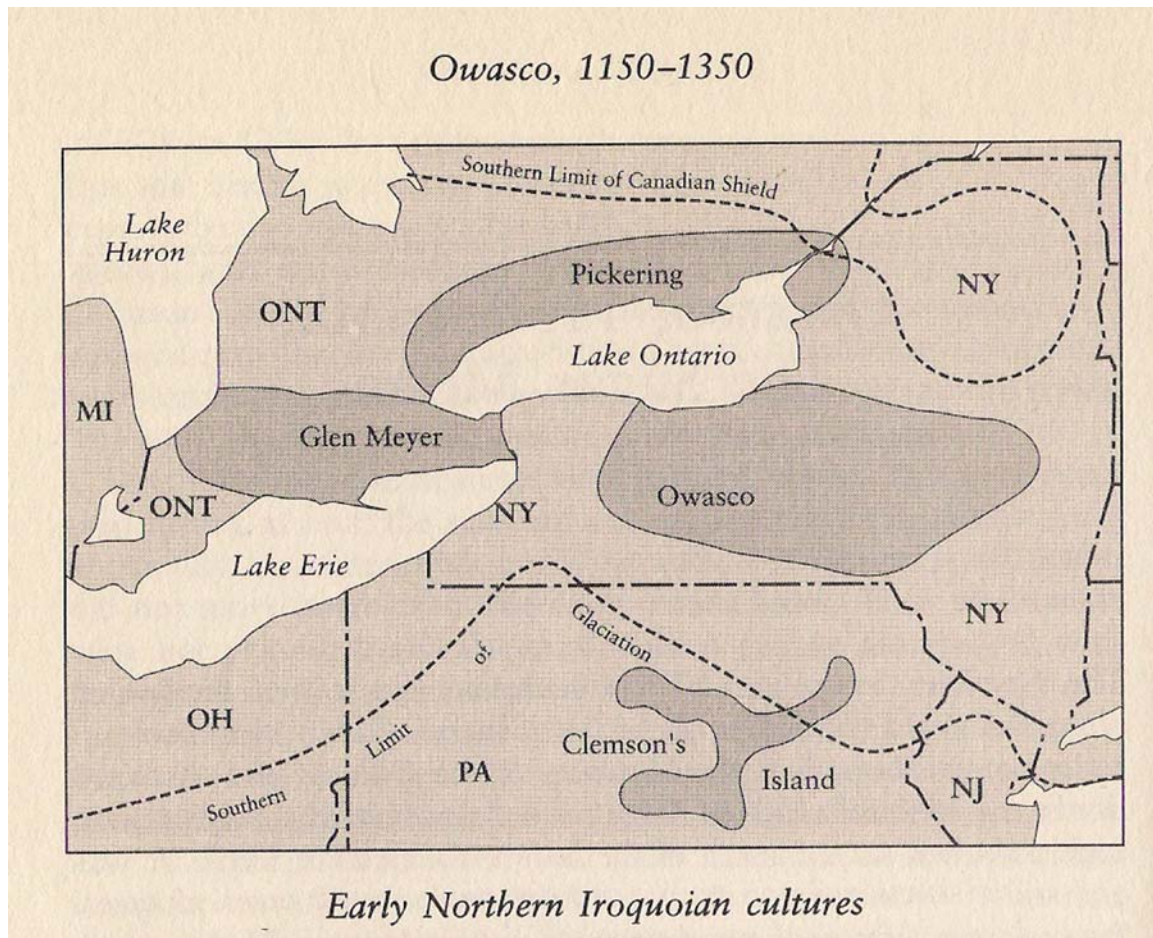
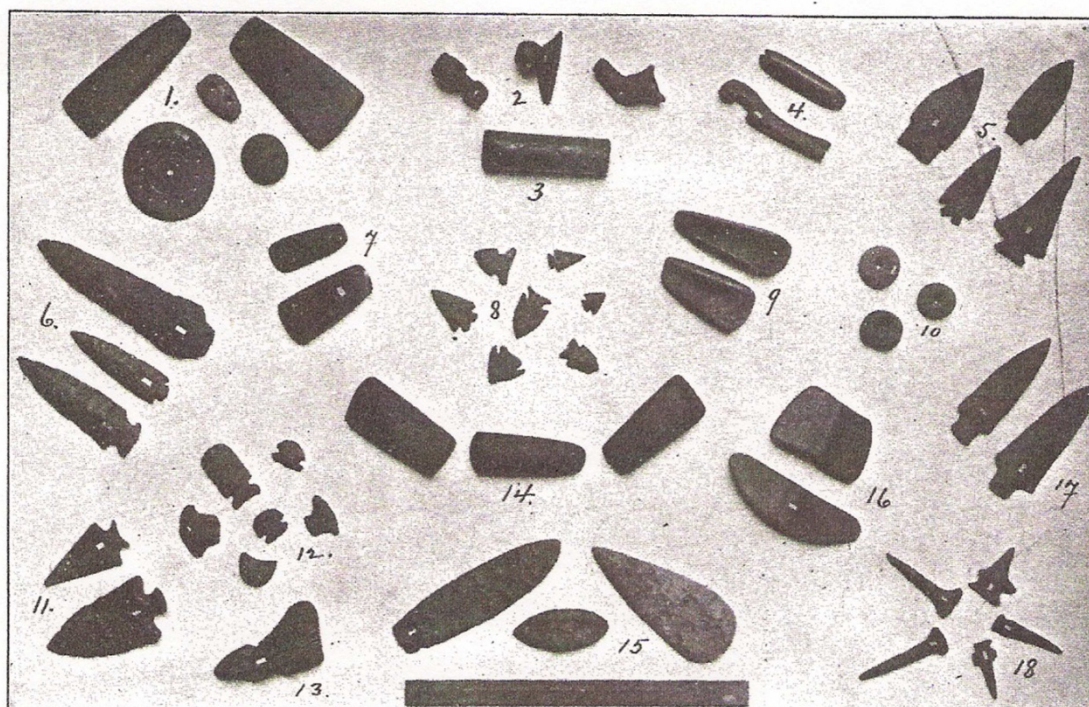


Figure B. Map by Gwynneth Y. Gillette²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ As cited by William Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1998): 4.



INDIAN RELICS FOUND ON THE UPPER SUSQUEHANNA

- | | | | | |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| (1) Gorgets; two being of the kind known as "moon-stones." | (3) Shaman pipe, snake carving. | (7) Small adzes. | (11) Spear points. | (15) Knife blades. |
| (2) Pipes. | (4) Amulets. | (8) Arrow points. | (12) Scrapers. | (16) Banner stones. |
| | (5) and (6) Spear points. | (9) Small gouges. | (13) Sinew stone. | (17) Spear points. |
| | | (10) Stone beads. | (14) Small axes. | (18) Perforators. |

Photographed from specimens chosen from the collection of Willard E. Yager, of Oneonta, New York.
A foot-rule is given at the bottom of the page to show the sizes of the relics.

Figure C: Source: Smith, Richard. Ed. Francis W. Halsey. A Tour of Four Great Rivers: The Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna, and Delaware in 1769. New York: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1964.

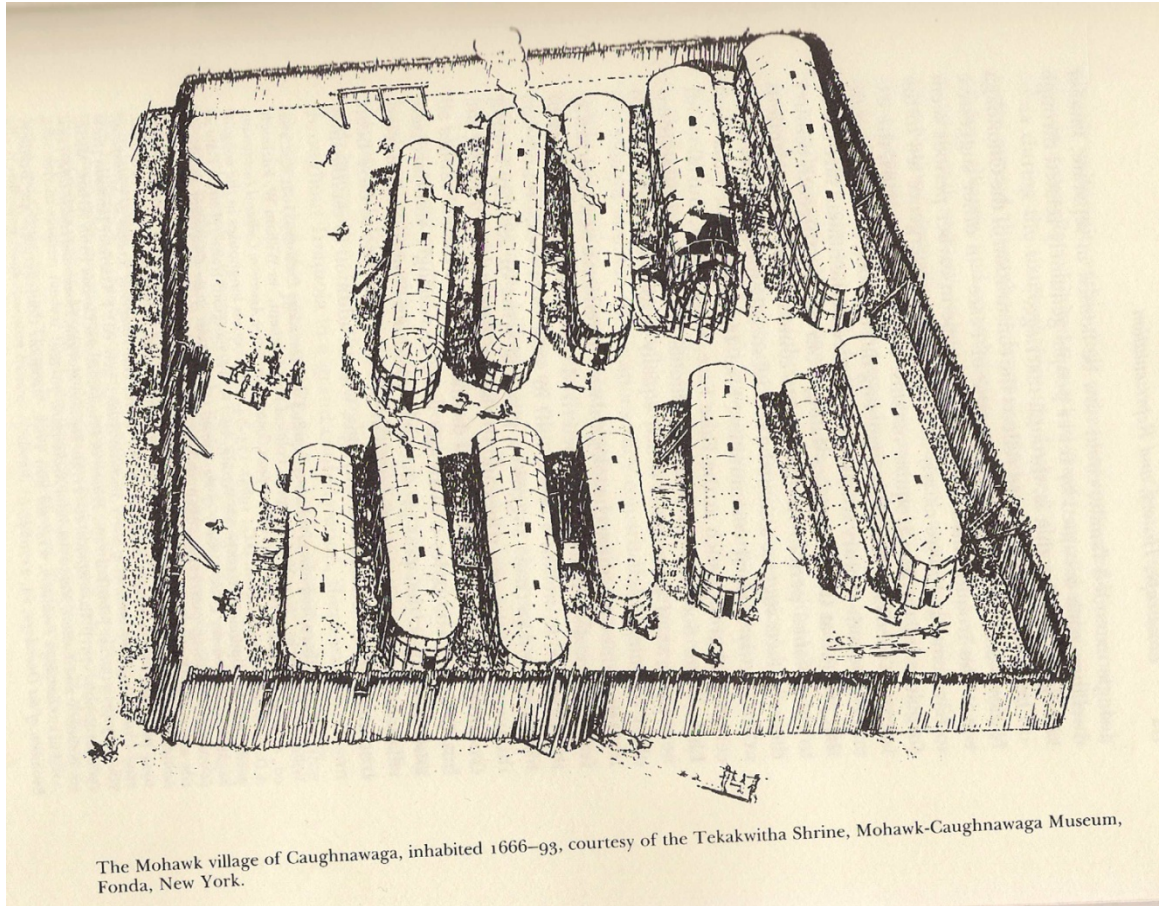


Figure D: Source: Mathew Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois European Encounters in the Seventeenth-Century America* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), 61.

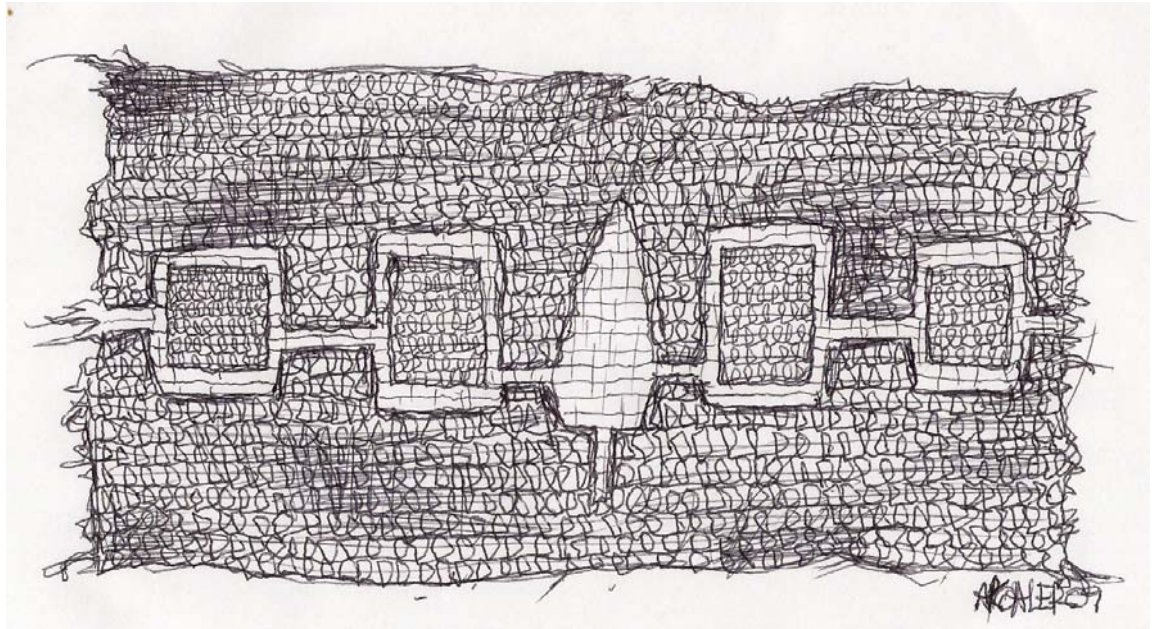


Figure E. *Hiawatha Belt*, as drawn by Andrew M. Kohler

4. Conclusions from the Research Teams

a. Lower Susquehanna

Based on both historical data and geo-rectified GIS mapping of John Smith's 1612 map of the Susquehanna River, the research team concludes that the stretch of the Susquehanna River from Smith's Falls to Harrisburg meets at least two of the three criteria for designation as a connector trail.

It meets criterion a) in that it is directly associated with Smith's explorations of the Chesapeake and b) in that it is the location of Susquehannock settlements mentioned and located by Smith on his map; namely, the area known as Washington Boro, has been identified by historians and archaeologists as the "Susquesahanough" located on Smith's map.

Furthermore, the stretch of the river from Smith's Falls to Harrisburg is also the location of the culturally significant (but historically neglected) petroglyphs at Safe Harbor (an excellent stop off on a water trail) and also the Indian Steps museum (<http://www.indiansteps.org/>) and Susquehanna Gateway Heritage Center (<http://www.lyhr.org/>). In terms of significance to the history of the United States, Washington Boro and Conestoga are both crucial sites in the development of the emerging Republic in the mid-18th century. The sites around Lancaster and Washington Boro were the frequent location for Council meetings between the Iroquois and the Colonial government. The Lower Susquehanna should thus be designated a connector trail.

Possible Partnerships along the Lower Susquehanna:

Susquehanna Gateway Heritage Area (<http://www.lyhr.org/>)

Susquehanna Greenway Partnership

(<http://www.susquehannagreenway.org/greenway/site/default.asp>)

Indian Steps Museum (<http://www.indiansteps.org/>)

b. Middle Susquehanna River

From Harrisburg to below Sunbury.

Recommendations

Based on historical and archaeological research the team recommends that the Middle Section of the Susquehanna River, that runs through present day Cumberland, Dauphin, Perry, and Juniata counties, meets criteria b) and c). During the period of John Smith's explorations of the Chesapeake Bay, this stretch of the Susquehanna River provided the major trade and travel routes from the Iroquois in the North and the Native peoples (Susquehannock and Nanticoke) in the south. Smith mentions the Nanticoke in his account. In addition, as a river system, it links the Susquehannock and Nantocoke settlements listed by Smith on his map with the Chesapeake and with the origin area of the Susquehannock and the later destination of both peoples farther up river. Furthermore, its natural history relates to the Chesapeake Bay through fish and bird populations, in ways similar to those explained in the narrative for the confluence area. It includes stretches of river landscape with islands evocative of pre-settlement times.

Possible Partnerships along the Middle Susquehanna

The State Museum of Pennsylvania (<http://www.statemuseumpa.org/>)

Ned Smith Center for Nature and Art (<http://www.nedsmithcenter.org/>)

Conrad Weiser State Forest and Bucknell Roaring Creek Facility
(<http://www.dcnr.state.pa.us/FORESTRY/stateforests/weiser.aspx>)

c. The Confluence Area of the Susquehanna

From the Sunbury area to Lock Haven on the Lower West Branch and through the Wyoming Valley

Recommendation

Based on historical, archaeological and GIS mapping the research team recommends that the section of the Susquehanna from the confluence at Sunbury up the West Branch to Lock Haven be designated a connector trail. The team is satisfied that this section of the river satisfies criteria b) and c).

Important Indian trail networks with origins in pre-settlement times of the Smith era, and involving the peoples with whom he was directly in contact closer to the Chesapeake,

linked this area to the upper Susquehanna region in the area discussed by the following research team. These trails crossed from the West Branch in today's Lock Haven and Williamsport areas over to the Tioga-Wyalusing area.

The Wyoming Valley area, including Wilkes-Barre, has been severely disrupted due to industrialization and its role as a prime American coal-mining region in much of the 19th and 20th centuries. However, a recorded 17th-century Indian archaeological site in Wyoming in this area correlates through georeferencing with one of Smith's map sites, as mentioned in the introductory section analyzing Smith's map. And on either side of the Wyoming Valley are important links, in the confluence area and at Spanish Hill, to the story of John Smith's voyages from Native American and natural-history perspectives. There are important opportunities for historical and environmental interpretation and restoration that could be spurred by connector trail designation in the Wyoming Valley itself, which was a fertile natural breadbasket in native times that was much scarred by industry subsequently and arguably is environmentally a recovering wasteland.

On this basis our team is satisfied that this stretch of the river corridor from the confluence through the Wyoming Valley and up to the juncture with the Chemung tributary at Athens, Pa., also satisfies criteria b) and c), and that there are locations on Smith's map that reference this part of the river. The following research team's recommendations (referencing back to their narrative) deals with the very significant Tioga-Wyalusing area in that segment, including Spanish Hill.

Finally, plans proceeding for a regional environmental and heritage center at Shikellamy State Park, sponsored by a consortium involving the state and area universities and environmental groups, would provide an ideal interpretive venue and gateway right at the river's confluence. A planned amphitheatre and video-projecting facilities would provide an opportunity to engage visitors with the history of 17th-century water and trail networks on this segment of the Susquehanna, in relation to the Chesapeake and the John Smith Trail.

Possible local partners and recreational potential

Friends of Shikellamy State Park (<http://www.friendsofshikellamystatepark.org/>)

Susquehanna Greenway

(<http://www.susquehannagreenway.org/greenway/site/default.asp>)

Northumberland County Historical Society

(<http://www.northumberlandcountyhistoricalsociety.org>)

Lycoming County Historical Society(<http://www.tabermuseum.org/>)

Bucknell University Environmental Studies Center(<http://www.bucknell.edu/x2250.xml>)

Susquehanna River Archaeological Center(<http://www.sracenter.org/>)

Eastern Delaware Nation

(http://www.allnativepeople.com/Eastern_Delaware_Nations.html)

d. Upper Susquehanna/Headwaters

Recommendations

Criteria 1, Associations with John Smith's Voyages. Our report highlighted the history and culture of the Iroquois nations who occupied the Upper Susquehanna Valley in relation to the origin of the Susquehannocks known to John Smith among them in this region, the presence of Susquehannocks recorded in the area during the 17th century, and later re-combining of the Susquehannocks with the Iroquois.

Criteria 2, Native American History. Beginning with proto-Iroquoian groups, our research found that the Susquehannocks lived along the upper Susquehanna River and are thought to be of Mohawk descent. Eventually, they would migrate south and maintain a relationship with the Iroquois that would fluctuate between congenial trading partners to enemies. Indeed, trade with the colonists would fuel economic rivalry between the two groups for beaver territory. Finally the Susquehannocks were defeated and removed from their southern territory and brought back to the upper Susquehanna region of the Iroquois where they were given sanctuary. In short, the histories of the Iroquois and the Susquehannock are deeply interwoven and tied to the river that was often utilized as a highway for trade, diplomacy, and war parties.

Criteria 3, Natural History. The Susquehanna Valley provided sustenance to the Iroquois and Susquehannocks and influenced their social, economic, and cultural organization. This valley was lush with vegetation and crowded with bird and animal species, all of which were sustained by the river and its tributaries. There were numerous places along these waterways that served as hunting and fishing camps for the Iroquois. For example, many artifacts have been found around the Lake Otsego and Tioga regions. Significant landscapes around the headwaters and upper portion of the river are either

preserved or engaged in conservation plans, and this portion of the proposed connector trail is a particular favorite of modern-day river paddlers and campers.

We believe that the John Smith Historic Trail should be extended to the Upper Susquehanna Valley because its history is directly linked to the other areas in the Chesapeake region in Smith's era. Furthermore, it will contribute to the public's historical knowledge of connections among Indian peoples known to Smith and the Iroquois, who remain probably the most robust Indian nations in the northeastern United States, and to the environment of the Upper Susquehanna Valley, leading to its conservancy and supporting the dynamic work of a number of conservation organizations in this portion of the river today. Our studies illustrate that the region strongly meets criteria 2 and 3 for connector-trail designation, but also has important if indirect associations with Smith's Voyages through the central importance of this region to the historical presence and fate of the Susquehannocks, with whom he engaged directly.

Potential Partners and Interpretive Opportunities

Haudenosaunee Confederacy (<http://www.haudenosauneeconfederacy.ca/>)

Eastern Delaware Nations

(http://www.allnativepeople.com/Eastern_Delaware_Nations.html)

Cooperstown/Otsego Tourism (<http://www.thisiscooperstown.com/>)

Fenimore Art Museum (Indian Art) (<http://www.fenimoreartmuseum.org/>)

Glimmerglass State Park(<http://nysparks.state.ny.us/parks/28/details.aspx>)

Otsego Land Trust (<http://www.otsegolandtrust.org/>)

Otsego 2000 (<http://www.otsego2000.org/>)

New York State Museum (<http://www.nysm.nysed.gov/>)

SUNY Oneonta Biological Field Station at Lake Otsego

(<http://www.oneonta.edu/ACADEMICS/BIOFLD/>)

Susquehanna River Archaeological Center(<http://www.sracenter.org/>)

Bibliography

- Adovasio, J.M., J.D. Gunn, J. Donahue, and R. Stuckenrath. "Meadowcroft Rockshelter: Retrospective 1976." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 47 (1977): 1-93.
- Aquila, Richard. *The Iroquois Restoration: Iroquois Diplomacy on the Colonial Frontier, 1701-1754*. Detroit, MI: Wayne University Press, 1983.
- Barton, Edwin M. *Columbia County: A History*. Bloomsburg, PA: Edwin M. Barton, 1984.
- Bartram, John. "Journal." In *Journals: Shamokin, The Indian Capital, 1737-1755*. Sunbury, PA: The Northumberland County Historical Society Archives, vol. 11.
- _____. *Travels in Pensilvania and Canada*. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966.
- Beauchamp, William Martin. *Moravian Journals Relating to Central New York 1745-66*. New York: The Dehler Press, 1916.
- Becker, Marshall J. "A New Haven for Some Acculturated Lenape of Pennsylvania During the Indian Wars of the 1760's." *Pennsylvania History* 60 (1993): 322.
- _____. "The Stature of a Susquehannock Population of the Mid-16th Century Based on Skeletal Remains from 46HM73," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 61, no. 2 (September 1991), 73-88.
- Bomboy, Robert P. *Danville: The Bicentennial History*. Danville, PA: The Danville Bicentennial Committee, 1991.
- Bradsby, H.C. *History of Bradford County, Pennsylvania*. Chicago: S. B. Nelson & Co., 1891.
- _____. *History of Luzerne County*. Chicago: S. B. Nelson & Co., 1893.
- Brandão, José António. "Your Fyre Shall Burn No More": Iroquois Policy Towards New France and its Native Allies to 1701. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.
- Brashler, Janet. "A Middle 16th Century Susquehannock Village in Hampshire County, West Virginia." *West Virginia Archaeologist* 39 (1987): 1-30.
- Bressler, James. "The Ault Site (36LY120): A Multicomponent Site Including a Fortified Shenks Ferry Village." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 79 (2009): 30-53.
- _____. "Excavation of the Bull Run Site 36LY119." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 50, no. 4 (1980): 31-63.
- _____. "Excavation of a Shenks Ferry Habitation Complex on Canfield Island, Lycoming County, Pennsylvania (36LY251)." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 63 (1993): 77-89.
- _____. "Indian Occupations of the Brick Farm Area: Susquehannock Occupation, 1600-1650." *Now and Then* 11 (1955): 93-101.
- _____. *Prehistoric Man on Canfield Island*. Williamsport, PA: Lycoming County Historical Society, 1989.
- Bressler, James, Ricki Maietta, and Karen Rockey. *Canfield Island Through the Ages*. Williamsport, PA: Lycoming County Historical Society, 1983.
- Bressler, James, and Harry D. Rainey. *Excavation of the Snyder Site*. Williamsport, PA: Lycoming County Historical Society, 2003.

- Bressler, James, and Karen Rockey. *Tracking the Shenks Ferry Indians at the Ault Site*. Williamsport, PA: Lycoming County Historical Society, 1997.
- Brubaker, John H. *Down the Susquehanna to the Chesapeake*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2002.
- Bushnell, David I. Native Villages and Village Sites East of the Mississippi, *Bulletin 69*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919.
- Cadzow, Donald. *Archaeological Studies of the Susquehannock Indians of Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1936.
- Cajete, Gregory, ed. *A People's Ecology: Explorations in Sustainable Living*. Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers, 1999.
- Calloway, Colin G. *New Worlds for All*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997.
- Carmer, Carl. *The Susquehanna*. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1955.
- Carter, John H. *Allumapees, King of the Delawares at Shamokin*. Sunbury, PA: The Northumberland County Historical Society, 1998.
- _____. *Early Events in the Susquehanna Valley*. Millville, PA: Northumberland County Historical Society.
- _____. "Indian Tribes of Shamokin." In *History of Sunbury*, 70-83. Sunbury, PA: The Northumberland County Historical Society, 1995.
- _____. *The Shamokin Indian Traders*. Sunbury, PA: The Northumberland County Historical Society, 1995.
- Chapman, Isaac. *History of Wyoming*. New Orleans: Polyanthos Press, 1971.
- Clark, John S., and Louise Welles Murray, eds. *Selected Manuscripts of General John S. Clark Relating to the Aboriginal History of the Susquehanna*. Wilkes-Barre, PA: The E.B. Yordy Co., 1931.
- Cobb, Charles R. "From Frontier to Border Along the Iroquois Southern Door." *Archeologies: Journal of the World Archeological Congress* 1 (2008): 110-128.
- Cooper, James Fenimore. *The Deerslayer*. New York: Bantam Classic, 2008.
- Cooper, William. *A Guide in the Wilderness*. New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1970.
- Custer, Jay. "Archaeological Excavations at the West Water Street Site, Lock Haven, Clinton County, Pennsylvania." *The Journal of the Lycoming County Historical Society* 18 (1997): 24-33.
- _____. "Pennsylvania Profile No. 12: An Unusual Indian Land Claim From Lancaster County." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 65 (1995): 41-47.
- _____. *Prehistoric Cultures of Eastern PA*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historic and Museum Commission Anthropology Series 7, 1996.
- Custer, Jay F., and E.B. Wallace. "Patterns of Resource Distribution & Archaeological Settlement Patterns in the Piedmont Uplands of the Middle Atlantic Region." *North American Archaeologist* 3 (1982): 139-172.
- Custer, Jay, Scott C. Watson, and Daniel N. Bailey. "A Summary of Phase III Data Recovery Excavations at the West Water Street Site (36CN175), Lock Haven, Clinton County, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 66 (1996): 1-53.

- Dennis, Mathew. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in the Seventeenth-Century America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Donehoo, George P. *A History of the Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania*. Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 1999.
- _____. *The Indians of Pennsylvania*. Sunbury, PA: The Northumberland County Historical Society, 1999.
- Donehoo, Joseph. *A History of the Indian Villages & Place Names in Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, PA: Telegraph Press, 1928.
- _____. *Pennsylvania: A History*. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1926.
- Edmonds, Margot, and Ella E. Clark. *Voices of the Winds: Native American Legends*. New York: Castle Books, 2003.
- Egle, William H. *History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: E.M.Gardner, 1883.
- Englebrecht, William. *Iroquoia: The Development of a Native Nation*. Syracuse, NY :Syracuse University Press, 2003.
- Eshleman, H. Frank. *Annals of the Susquehannocks & Other Indian Tribes of Pennsylvania, 1500-1763*. Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods, 2000.
- _____. *Lancaster County Indians: Annals of the Susquehannocks and Other Indian Tribes of the Susquehanna Territory from About the Year 1500 to 1763, the Date of their Extinction*. Lititz, PA: Express Printing Co., 1909.
- Ettwein, John. "Reverend John Ettwein's Notes of Travel from the North Branch of the Susquehanna to the Beaver River, Pennsylvania, 1772." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 25, no. 2 (1901):208-219.
- Fenton, William. *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.
- Fenton, William N. and John Witthoft. "Iroquois Anthropology at the Mid-Century." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 95 (1951): 102-110.
- Frost, James Arthur. *Life on the Susquehanna: 1783-1860*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.
- Funk, Robert E. *Archeological Investigations in the Upper Susquehanna Valley*. New York State. New York: Persimmon Press, 1993.
- Gardner, Eugene. "An Archaeological Study of Indian Village Sites in the Lower Wyoming Valley." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 9 (1939): 21-34.
- Gardner, William. "Early & Middle Woodland in the Middle Atlantic: An Overview." In *Practicing Environmental Archaeology: Methods & Interpretations*, edited by Roger Moeller, 53-86. New York: American Indian Archaeological Institute, 1982.
- Garrahan, Francis. "Airport II Site: A Clemson/Island/Oswasco Settlement on the North Branch of the Susquehanna River." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 60 (1990): 1-31.
- Gearhart, Herbert G. "Journal of Etienne Brule, Interpreter and Guide to Champlain, the French Governor of Canada; and who was perhaps the first white man to descend the Susquehanna River, 1615." In *Shamokin: The Indian Capital of the Province of Pennsylvania to 1755*. Sunbury, PA: Northumberland County Historical Society Archives, vol. 17.

- Geidel, Richard, Kenneth W. Robinson, Thomas W. Neumann, and R. Christopher Goodwin. *An Archaeological and Historical Overview of the Wyoming Valley Flood Protection Study Area*. Frederick, MD: R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Final Report. Volume 1, 1988.
- Godcharles, Frederic. "Large Andaste Vessel Restored by Dr. Stewart - Found Near McElhattan." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 8 (1938): 81-82.
- _____. "Valuable Recoveries at Fort Augusta: Work Done by WPA Project." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 8, no. 4 (October 1938): 75-78.
- Graybill, J. "The Shenks Ferry Complex Revisited." In *New Approaches to Other Pasts*, edited by Fred Kinsey and Roger Moeller, 51-60. Bethlehem, CT: Archaeological Services, 1989.
- Graymont, Barbara. *The Iroquois*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1988.
- Griffin, James B. "The Athens Excavations." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 3 (1931): 3.
- Grinde, Jr., Donald A., and Bruce E. Johansen. *Exemplar of Liberty: Native America and the Evolution of Democracy*. Los Angeles: American Indian Studies Center, 1991.
- Grumet, Robert S. *Historic Contact: Indian People & Colonists in Today's Northeastern United States in the 16th Through 18th Centuries*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.
- Grzybowski, Susan D. *Phase I Cultural Resource Investigation and Historic Architectural Assessment SR 0029 and 0006, LR 1013, Section E 10*. East Orange, NJ: Louis Berger and Associates, 1995.
- Halsey, Francis Whiting. *The Old New York Frontier*. New York: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1901.
- _____. *A Tour of Four Great Rivers: The Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna, and Delaware in 1769*. Edited by Richard Smith. New York: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1964.
- Hamilton, Kenneth. "John Ettwein's Visit to Friedenshutzen on the Susquehanna in 1768." *Settler* 4 (1957): 56-62. *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bulletin 30, Part 2*. Edited by Frederick Webb Hodge, 653-658. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1910.
- Hanlon, Edward F. *The Wyoming Valley: An American Portrait*. Woodlands Hills, CA: Windsor Publications, 2003.
- Hanna, Charles A. "The Shamokin Traders and the Shamokin Path." In *The Wilderness Trail, Or the Ventures and Adventures of the Pennsylvania Traders on the Allegheny Path*, 192-222. New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1911.
- Harvey, Oscar Jewell. *A History of Wilkes-Barre, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania*. Wilkes-Barre, PA: Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, 1909.
- Hatch, James W., and Ira C. Beckerman. *An Archaeological Reconnaissance of North Central Wyoming & South Central Susquehanna Counties, PA*. University Park PA: Penn State University Press, 1979.
- Hayes, D.R., D.C. Roper, J. Schuldenrein, and W.R. Stinson. *Archaeological Investigations at the Susquehanna SES: The Susquehanna SES Floodplain*. Jackson, MI: Commonwealth Associates, 1981.
- Heckewelder, John. "History, Manners & Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania & Neighboring States." *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* 12 (1876).
- Heisey, Henry W., W. Fred Kinsey, Jeffrey R. Graybill, et al. "Shenks Ferry Culture: A View from 1971." *PA Archaeologist* 41, no. 4 (December 1971), 1-70.

- Heisey, Henry W., and J. Paul Witmer. "Of Historic Susquehannock Cemeteries." *PA Archaeologist* 32 (1962): 99-130.
- _____. "The Shenks Ferry People: A Site and Some Generalities," *PA Archaeologist* 36, no. 1 (April 1964), 8-34.
- Heverly, Clement. *History and Geography of Bradford County*. Towanda, PA: Bradford County Historical Society, 1926.
- Higgins, Robert M. "An Indian Site in the Borough of Montoursville." *The Journal of the Lycoming County Historical Society* 13 (1986): 28-34.
- Hill, Ronald B. "A Brief History of the Andaste Nation." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 6(1936): 35.
- Hollister, H. *History of the Lackawanna Valley*. Baltimore: Heritage Books, 1998.
- Howard, J. Smoker. "The Chronological Placement of the Hershey Site and Implications on a Dynamic Socio-Cultural Landscape." *PA Archaeologist* 73, no. 2 (Fall 2003): 16-30.
- Hsiung, David C. "Death on the Juniata: Delawares, Iroquois, and Pennsylvanians in a Colonial Whodunit." *Pennsylvania History* 65 (1998): 445.
- Hultkrantz, Ake. *Native Religions of North America: The Power of Visions and Fertility*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1987.
- Hunter, Charles E. "A Susquehanna Indian Town on the Schuylkill." *PA Archaeologist* 53, no. 3 (September 1983): 17-18.
- Hyde, Marcella M. *Bradford County: The Story of its People*. Canton, PA: Marcella Hyde, 1985.
- Inskip, Gregory A. "Safe Harbor Petroglyphs – Carved by the Shawnee?" *PA Archaeologist* 60, no. 2 (September 1990): 71-74.
- Jameson, John Franklin. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. New York: Scribner, 1909.
- Jennings, Francis. *The Founders of America*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1993.
- _____. "Glory, Death, and Transfiguration: The Susquehannock Indians in the Seventeenth Century." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 112 (1968): 15-53.
- _____. "The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 110 (1966): 406-424.
- Jennings, Francis. "'Pennsylvania Indians' and the Iroquois." In *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, edited by Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, 75-91. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987.
- Johansen, Bruce E., and Barbara A. Mann, eds. *The Encyclopedia of Native American Legal Tradition*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998.
- Keith, Charles P. "The Red Neighbors." *Chronicles of Pennsylvania: 1681-1776* 1 (1917): 90-122.
- Kent, Barry C. *Susquehanna's Indians*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1984.
- Kent, Barry, Janet Rice, and Kakuko Ota. "A Map of 18th Century Indian Towns in Pennsylvania." *PA Archaeologist* 51, no. 4 (December 1981): 1-18.
- Kent, Barry, I.F. Smith III, and C. McCann, eds. *Foundations of Pennsylvania Prehistory*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical & Research Commission Anthropological Series 2, 1971.

- Kie, Elwyn V. *Pictorial & Written History of Bradford County, Pennsylvania, Volumes I& II*. Towanda, PA: Bradford County Historical Society, 1992.
- Kinsey, W. Fred, Jay F. Custer. "Lancaster County Park Site (36LA96): Conestoga Phase." *PA Archaeologist* 52, no. 3-4 (September 1982): 25-56.
- Kinsey, W. Fred III, and Jeffrey R. Graybill. "Shenks Ferry Culture: A View from 1971." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 41 (1971): 1-44.
- Kerber, Jordan E., ed. *Archeology of the Iroquois: Selected Readings & Research Sources*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007.
- Klein, Philip S. and Ari Hoogenboom. *A History of Pennsylvania*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1973.
- Kuhn, Robert D., and Martha L. Sempowski. "A New Approach to Dating the League of the League of the Iroquois." *American Antiquity* 66 (2001): 301-314.
- Leder, Lawrence H., ed. *The Livingston Indian Records 1666-1723*. Gettysburg, PA: The Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1956.
- Littell, Walter R. *A History of Cooperstown* (including "The Chronicles of Cooperstown" by James Fenimore Cooper, "The History of Cooperstown" by Samuel M. Shaw, "The History of Cooperstown" by Walter R. Littell). New York: The Freeman's Journal Company, 1921.
- Lloyd, Norman. *History of Lycoming County*. Indianapolis: Historical Publishing Co., 1938.
- Lucy, Charles L. "Notes on a Small Andaste Burial Site and Andaste Archaeology." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 20 (1950): 55-62.
- _____. "Pottery Types of the Upper Susquehanna." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 29 (1959): 28-37.
- _____. "The Tioga Point Farm Sites 36 BR3 and 36 BR52: 1983 Excavation." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 61 (1991): 1-18.
- _____. "An Upper Susquehanna Mixed Site." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 22 (1952): 95-97.
- Lucy, Charles L., and Ted Keir. "36 BR81: A Multicomponent Site Near Wyalusing, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 72 (2002): 1-16.
- Lucy, Charles L., and Richard J. McCracken. "The Blackman Site (36BR83): A Fortified Susquehannock Village in Bradford County, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 55 (1984): 5-29.
- Lucy, Charles L., and Leroy Vanderpoel. "The Tioga Point Farm." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 49 (1979): 1-12.
- Lyon, Norman. *The Drama of Early Wyalusing*. Wyalusing, PA: The Rainbow Club, 1938.
- Macauley, James. *The Natural, Statistical, and Civil History of the State of New-York Vol. I*. New York: Gould & Banks, 1829.
- McCracken, Richard. "The Trojan Site (36 BR149)." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 59 (1989): 1-21.
- McCracken, Richard J. "Susquehannocks, Brule and Carantouanais: A Continuing Research Problem." *The Bulletin and Journal of Archaeology for New York State* 91 (1985): 39-51.
- McCracken, Richard J., and Charles L. Lucy. "Analysis of a Radiocarbon Date from the Blackman Site, An Early Susquehannock Village in Bradford County, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 59 (1989): 14-18.

- Macdonald, Douglas H. "Historic Settlement Patterns and Lithic Usage in the Upper Juniata River Basin." *PA Archaeologist* 76, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 48-62.
- Meginness, John. *Otzinachson: A History of the West Branch Valley*. Williamsport, PA :Lycoming County Historical Society, 1889.[reissued Baltimore: Gateway Press, Inc., 1991].
- Merrell, James. "'The Cast of His Countenance': Reading Andrew Montour." In *Through A Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, edited by Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Fredrika J. Teute, 13-39. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- _____. "Indian History during the English Colonial Era." In *A Companion to Colonial America*, edited by Daniel Vickers, 118-135. Oxford, Eng.: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.
- _____. *Into The American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1999.
- _____. "The Other 'Susquehanna Traders': Women and Exchange on the Pennsylvania Frontier." In *Cultures and Identities in Colonial British America*, edited by Robert Olwell and Alan Tully, 197-219. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006.
- _____. "Shamokin, 'the very seat of the Prince of darkness': Unsettling the Early American Frontier." In *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830*, edited by Andrew R.L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute, 16-59. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- _____. "Shikellamy, 'A Person of Consequence.'" In *Northeastern Indian Lives, 1632-1816*, edited by Robert S. Grumet, 227-257. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996.
- Miller, Randall M., and William Pencak. *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2002.
- Minderhout, David J., and Andrea T. Frantz. *Invisible Indians: Native Americans in Pennsylvania*. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2008.
- _____. "Native American Horticulture in the Northeast." *General Anthropology* 16 (2009): 1-7.
- Miner, William Penn. *History of Wyoming*. Philadelphia: J. Crissy, 1845.
- Mithun, M. "The Proto-Iroquoians: Cultural Reconstruction from Lexical Materials." In *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies*, edited by M. K. Foster, J. Campisi, and M. Mithun, 259-81. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1984.
- Moorehead, Warren King, and Arthur C. Parker, eds. "A Report of the Susquehanna River Expedition,"
- Moorehead, Warren K. *A Report of the Susquehanna River Expedition*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1936. [reissued: in *The Museum of the American Indian*. Andover, MA: The Andover Press, 1938.]
- Morgan, Christopher, and E.B. O'Callaghan, eds. *The Documentary History of the State of New York* Vol. I. Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1850.
- _____. *The Documentary History of the State of New York* Vol. IV. Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1850.
- Morgan, Lewis H. *League of the Ho-Dé-No-Sau-Nee or Iroquois*. New York: Burt Franklin, 1902.
- Murray, Louise Welles. "Aboriginal Sites Near Teaoga, Now Athens, Pennsylvania." *American Anthropologist* 23 (1921): 183-214.

- _____. *Clark Manuscripts: Aboriginal History of the Susquehanna*. Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods Publishing, 2008.
- _____. *A History of Old Tioga Point and Early Athens, Pennsylvania*. Wilkes-Barre, PA: The Raeder Press, 1908.
- Myers, James P., Jr. "The Reverend Thomas Barton's Authorship of the Conduct of the Paxton Men, Impartially Represented." *Pennsylvania History* 61 (1994): 155.
- Myers, Richard. *The Long Crooked River*. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1949.
- Neff, George H. "How the Indians Lived at Shamokin." In John H. Carter, ed, *History of Sunbury*, 515. Sunbury, PA: The Northumberland County Historical Society, 1995.
- Nelson, Melissa K., ed. *Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future, The Iroquois Confederacy*. Rochester, VT: Bear & Company, 2008.
- Newman, Walter S., and Bert Salwen, eds. *Amerinds and their Paleoenvironments in Northeastern North America*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1977.
- Orlandini, John. *The Ancient Native Americans of the Wyoming Valley: 10,000 Years of Prehistory*. Shavertown, PA: John Orlandini, 1996.
- _____. *Indians, Settlers, and Forgotten Places in the Endless Mountains*. Shavertown, PA: John Orlandini, 2008.
- _____. "The Passenger Pigeon: A Seasonal Native American Food Source." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 66 (1996): 71-77.
- _____. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Documentary History of New York State. Vol. I-IV. Albany: State University of New York
- Parker, Arthur C. "The Archeological History of New York" *New York State Museum Bulletin*. (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1920) no. 237, 238: 668-670.
- _____. "The Constitution of the Five Nations." *New York State Museum Bulletin* (Albany: The University State of New York) 184 (April 1916): 42.
- _____. *The Influence of the Iroquois on the History & Archaeology of the Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania*. Wilkes-Barre, PA: Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, 1911.
- _____. "The Origin of the Iroquois as Suggested by Their Archeology." *American Anthropologist New Series* 18 (1916): 479-507.
- Parucha, Leonard F. *The Last of the Susquehannocks*. Lock Haven, PA: Leonard F. Parucha, 2006.
- Pearce, Stewart. *Annals of Luzerne County*. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co., 1866.
- Peck, George. *Wyoming: Its History, Stirring Incidents & Romantic Adventures*. New York: Harper & Bros, 1858.
- Pendergast, James F. "Susquehannock Trade Northward to New France Prior to AD 1608: A Popular Misconception." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 62 (1992): 1-11.
- Perkins, Mrs. George A. *Early Times on the Susquehanna*. Binghamton, NY: Malette & Reed, 1870.
- Petrillo, Charles, and John Orlandini. *Indians of the Susquehanna & Wyoming Valleys: Selected Readings*. Wilkes-Barre, PA: Wyoming Historical & Geological Society, 1992.

- Purdy, Truman H. "Shikellamy." In *Legends of the Susquehanna, and Other Poems*, 7-32. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1888.
- Richter, Daniel. "A Framework for Pennsylvania Indian History." *Pennsylvania History* 57 (1990): 236-261.
- _____. *Native Americans' Pennsylvania*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania Historical Association, 2005.
- _____. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992.
- _____. "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience." *The William and Mary Quarterly Third Series* 40 (1983): 528-559.
- Rountree, Helen C., Wayne E. Clark, and Kent Mountford. *John Smith's Chesapeake Voyages, 1607-1609*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2007.
- Runkle, Stephen A. *Native American Waterbody and Place Names Within the Susquehanna River Basin*. Harrisburg, PA: Susquehanna River Basin Commission, 2003.
- Schoff, Harry L. "Report of the Archaeological Excavations Carried On at the J.T.Roberts Property, Montoursville, Lycoming County, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 7 (1937b): 8.
- _____. "A Report of the Excavation of the Ancient Indian Burial Mound near Muncy, Lycoming County, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 7(1937a): 3-5.
- Schrabisch, Max. "Aboriginal Shelters of Wyoming Valley & Vicinity." *Proceedings of Wyoming Historical & Geological Society* 19 (1926): 47-218.
- Shaffer, Gary D. "An Examination of the Bead Hill Site in the Wyoming Valley." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 68 (1998): 18-41.
- Shutt, Amy C. "Tribal Identity in the Moravian Missions on the Susquehanna." *Pennsylvania History* 66 (1999): 378.
- Sipe, C. Hale. *The Indian Chiefs of Pennsylvania*. Lewisburg, PA: Wennawoods, 1927.
- Smith, Ira F. III. "The Parker Site: A Manifestation of the Wyoming Valley Culture." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 43 (1973): 1-56.
- _____. "Schultz Site Settlement Patterns and External Relationships." *The Bulletin of the New York State Archaeological Association* 50 (1970): 27-34.
- Smith, John. *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580-1631) in Three Volumes*. Edited by Philip L. Barbour. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.
- Snow, Dean R. *The Iroquois*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 1994 [reissued 1996].
- Sorg, David J. "Lost Tribes of the Susquehanna." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 74 (2004): 63-72.
- _____. "Problematic Tribal Names of Pennsylvania." *PA Archaeologist* 76, no. 2(Fall 2006): 48-53.
- Spittal, W.G., ed. *Iroquois Women: An Anthology*. Ontario: Irocrafts, Ltd., 1990.
- Staats, F. Dayton. "Susquehannock Schultz Incised Bowl." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 49 (1979): 81-82.
- Stewart, R. Michael. "Clemson Island Studies in Pennsylvania: A Perspective." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 60 (1990): 79-107.

- _____. "Comparison of Late Woodland Cultures: Delaware, Potomac + Susquehanna River Valleys, Middle Atlantic Region." *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 21 (1993): 163-178.
- _____. "Trade & Exchange in Middle Atlantic Prehistory." *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 17 (1989): 47-78.
- Stewart, T.B. "The Andaste Camp Site at Pine, Clinton County, Pennsylvania." *Now and Then* 4 (1930): 76-78.
- Sugrue, Thomas J. "The Peopling & De-peopling of Early Pennsylvania: Indians and Colonists 1680-1720." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 116 (1992): 3-32.
- Taylor, Alan. "Wasty Ways: Stories of American Settlement." *Environmental History* 3 (July 1988): 291-310.
- Thieme, Donald M. "Hands Washed in a Muddy Stream: Corrections & Further Thoughts on Wyoming Valley Landscape Evolution." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 69(1999): 45-52.
- Thieme, Donald M., and Joseph Schrildenrein. "Wyoming Valley Landscape Evolution and the Emergence of the Wyoming Valley Culture." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 68 (1998): 1-17.
- Tioga Point Museum. Summary of Sites Represented in Native American Collections. Athens, PA: Tioga Point Museum, 1997.
- Tooker, Elizabeth. "The Demise of the Susquehannocks: A 17th Century Mystery." *PA Archaeologist* 54, no. 3-4 (September-December 1984): 1-10.
- Town of Hartwick Historical Society. *Hartwick: The Heart of Otsego County, NY*. Hartwick, NY: Syllables Press, 2002.
- Turnbaugh, William A. and Donald R. Schmidt. "Interpreting Finds from a Small Disturbed Site." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 49 (1979): 1-8.
- Twigg, Deb. "Revisiting the Mystery of 'Carantouan' and Spanish Hill." *PA Archaeologist* 75, no. 2 (2005): 24-33.
- _____. *Spanish Hill and Carantouan: The History, the People, and the Politics*. Sayre, PA: Susquehanna River Archaeological Center of Native Indian Studies, 2007.
- U.S. Census Bureau. *The American Indian and Alaskan Native Population*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, 2004.
- Waldman, Carl. *Atlas of the North American Indian*. New York: Checkmark Books, 2000.
- Wallace, Paul. "Historic Indian Paths of Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History: Journal of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* 76 (1952): 1-29.
- _____. *Indians in Pennsylvania*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1981 [1993].
- _____. "We came out of the Ground." In *Pennsylvania: Seed of a Nation*, 8-19. New York: Harper & Row, 1962.
- Wallower, Lucille. *Indians of Pennsylvania*. State College, PA: Penn's Valley Publishers, 1956.
- Weiser, Conrad. "Journey to Onondago." In *Journals: Shamokin, The Indian Capital, 1737-1755*. Sunbury, PA: The Northumberland County Historical Society Archives, vol. 11.
- Wellenreuther, Herman. "White Eyes and the Delaware's Vision of an Indian State." *Pennsylvania History* 68 (2001): 139.

- Weslager, C.A. *The Delaware Indians: A History*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1972.
- Witthoft, John. "Ancestry of the Susquehannocks." In *Susquehannock Miscellany*, edited by John Witthoft, 19-60. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1959.
- _____. "Pottery from the Stewart Site, Clinton County, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 24 (1954): 22-29.
- Witthoft, John, ed. *Susquehannock Miscellany*. Harrisburg, PA: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1959.
- Witthoft, John, and W. Fred Kinsey III. *Susquehannock Miscellany*. Harrisburg, PA: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1959.
- Wooley, Charles. "A Two Years Journal in New York and Part of Its Territories in America." *Historic Chronicles of New Amsterdam, Colonial New York and Early Long Island*. New York: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1968.
- Wren, Christopher. *Aboriginal Pottery, Susquehanna River Region, Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania*. Wilkes-Barre, PA: Wyoming Historical & Geographical Society, 1905.
- _____. "Some Indian Graves at Plymouth, Pennsylvania." *Proceedings of the Wyoming Historical & Geological Society* 12 (1912): 199-204.
- _____. *A Study of North Appalachian Indian Pottery*. Wilkes-Barre, PA: E. B. Yordy, 1914.
- Wykoff, M.W. *Iroquoian Prehistory and Climate Change*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Young, Robert Kennedy. *Tales of Tioga, Pennsylvania and Its People*. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co., 1916.
- Zinzendorf, Nicholas. "Journey to Shamokin." In *Journals: Shamokin, The Indian Capital, 1737-1755*. Sunbury, PA: The Northumberland County Historical Society Archives, vol. 11.