

**PRESERVING TRADITION AND UNDERSTANDING THE PAST:
Papers from the Conference on Iroquois Research, 2001–2005**



Edited by
Christine Sternberg Patrick

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Front cover: Flat, black nineteenth-century beaded purse. Photo by Dolores Elliott.



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PREFACE

Since its inception in 1945, the Conference on Iroquois Research has brought people together to discuss the history, culture, and language of the Iroquois from their earliest existence to the present time. Over sixty years later, interest in Iroquoian studies is still enthusiastically embraced by scholars and non-scholars alike. Furthermore, understanding the traditions and history of the Haudenosaunee is important for both native and non-native people, and this collection of essays offers an opportunity to further this understanding.

The chapters herein represent recent research in the disciplines of history, archaeology, ethnohistory, and sociology, while some also offer insight into the efforts of the Haudenosaunee to understand their own history and preserve their traditions. The scholarly research of the authors often encompasses a uniquely Iroquoian viewpoint and provides valuable knowledge about a people who had a profound influence on the development of New York State, both before and after European colonization, and whose continuous presence still affects the state's politics, economy, and environment. While these essays began as twenty-minute oral presentations, they have been expanded for publication and updated to reflect scholarship published and events that have occurred since their original delivery at the Conference.

Finally, it would be remiss not to mention that the late Dr. Mary Druke Becker was the impetus behind the publication of this volume. Her energy, knowledge, and dedication to the study of Iroquois history and culture helped to propel the Conference successfully into the twenty-first century.

Christine Sternberg Patrick
April 20, 2009

INTRODUCTION

A Brief History of the Conference on Iroquois Research

Barbara Graymont and Christine Sternberg Patrick

When the first Conference on Iroquois Research met in 1945, it was in the hope and anticipation of reviving interest in Iroquois studies. The idea for this conference originated when William N. Fenton, Merle H. Deardorff, and Charles E. Congdon were coming home from a research trip to Hamilton College where they had reviewed the papers of the missionary Samuel Kirkland (1741–1808). The three men were fully aware that there were many aspects of Iroquois culture and history still waiting for scholarly study. They were therefore enthusiastic about the possibility that such a conference would stimulate further interest in the Iroquois and attract new scholars to the field.

Fenton, then at the Bureau of American Ethnology, had done his ethnological field work as a graduate student among the Allegany Senecas and had learned the Seneca language. Deardorff, a banker from Warren, Pennsylvania, and a member of the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology, had become acquainted with the nearby Senecas at the Cornplanter Grant in Pennsylvania and also with members of the Allegany Seneca Nation just to the northward, across the New York State border. Congdon, an attorney and historian from Salamanca, New York, was also a commissioner of the Allegany State Park, and he offered the park's administration building at Red House for the proposed conference.

William Fenton compiled a list of twenty individuals whom he knew were interested in revitalizing Iroquois studies. Out of this list, eighteen attended the first Conference on Iroquois Research, which was held October 26–28, 1945, at Red House. There were discussions on the fields of ethnology, archaeology, and linguistics as well as on the then-current state of Iroquois scholarship. The nearby Senecas gave a parting farewell to the conference by performing a group of social dances for the

attendees before the proceedings closed. The conference was such an intellectual success that another meeting was planned for the next year.

Frank Speck, one of those at the first conference and head of the anthropology department at the University of Pennsylvania, had once commented that he could not persuade students to go into Iroquois studies because they felt that the field had been covered so completely in the past that there was nothing left to do. This conference, as it continued over the years, would be a vehicle for disproving that notion and for examining the richness of Iroquois life and culture.

On October 4–5, 1946, the second conference was held again at Red House, where it would remain for most of the next eleven years. New participants joined the founding group in general discussions on research being done or needing to be accomplished in the fields of Iroquois ethnology, linguistics, history, and archaeology. The attendees also compiled a plan of studies for the future. Those who had been doing research in these various fields gave reports on their ongoing work. All looked forward to the next year's meeting, feeling that the original purposes of the conference were now bearing fruit.

The 1947 and 1948 conferences met with equal success. Interest in Iroquois studies grew, and the conferences brought in new people. There was no meeting at Red House in 1949, however. Instead, Iroquoianists attended the 48th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in New York City, where a special session, on November 17, was denominated the fifth Conference on Iroquois Research. The papers presented at this meeting were devoted to local diversity in Iroquois culture and were published the following year (Fenton 1951).

In 1950, the conference returned to Red House, and in their presentations the attendees gave evidence of the

important discoveries their research had produced. These were summarized in 1951 by Fenton and John Witthoft as separate portions of a joint article: "Iroquois Anthropology at Mid-Century," published in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*. Fenton covered the scholarly developments in Iroquois history, ethnology, and linguistics, and Witthoft dealt with archaeology.

Recognizing not only the importance of studying separate topics but also the necessity of integrating these topics to achieve a fuller understanding of the Iroquois culture, the 1951 and 1952 conferences at Red House each dealt with a single theme—respectively, "stability and change in culture history" and "ethnohistory."

There were no meetings in 1953 and 1954. In the latter year, however, a small group of Iroquoianists met privately for luncheon meetings at the sessions of the American Anthropological Association to plan for a future conference that would include both American and Canadian Iroquoianists. The end result was that strong support and participation from Canadian scholars have been important components of the conference ever since. This informal endeavor resulted in a conference that was sponsored by the New York State Education Department in 1955 and held in March at the New York State Museum in Albany. Strongly influenced by the new field of ethnohistory and recognizing the need for a broad spectrum of scholars for such research, the delegates to this conference expressed a keen desire to seek foundation funding for an ongoing regional study of the various areas of Iroquois cultural conservatism that had survived through three hundred years of ongoing attempts to force the culture of the dominant White society upon the Iroquois. Foundation support, however, was not forthcoming for such an extensive endeavor.

Despite the increased interest in Iroquois studies since 1945, the tenth conference of 1956, held again at Red House, had a small attendance. The reports presented there, however, were significant. Morris Freilich later published his paper on the Mohawks in high steel (Freilich 1958), and a report on a Seneca language project foreshadowed Wallace L. Chafe's careful phonemic recordings of the Seneca language and eventually his Seneca dictionary (Chafe 1960; 1967).

The eleventh conference emphasized the topic of revitalization. Anthony Wallace's presentation at Red House in 1957 discussed the story of the Peacemaker who had preached unity among the Five Nations, who had formerly lived in a state of perpetual warfare among themselves, and analyzed the narrative as a revitalization movement (Wallace 1958). Another highlight was R. William Dunning's report on a modern interpretation of the ancient Iroquois Feast of the Dead (Dunning 1958).

The following year the Iroquoianists met with Cherokee specialists at the 57th Annual Meeting of the

American Anthropological Association in Washington, D.C., for a joint two-session meeting on November 20. The rationale for this meeting's format was the long-held belief that Cherokee is an Iroquoian language. Although the languages differ in many respects, scholars believe that the northern Iroquois and Eastern Cherokees undoubtedly had a common origin sometime in antiquity. This scholarly cooperative endeavor represented the then-current research in both cultures, covering such issues as linguistics, archaeology, ceremonialism, revitalization, and acculturation. The papers given at this symposium were later published by the Smithsonian Institution (Fenton and Gulick 1961).

Highlights of the 1959 conference, which was back at Red House, were Merle Deardorff's history of the Kinzua Dam controversy and Annemarie Shimony's memorable study of Iroquois conservatism, which would be included in her book *Conservatism Among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve* (1961). Deardorff's presentation was especially timely since the conference found itself in the midst of the troubles that the Seneca people were experiencing with the federal government over the proposed building of the Kinzua Dam, which was meant to control flooding in western Pennsylvania. It would, however, also seriously flood western Seneca territory, thereby violating the federal government's promise in the Canandaigua Treaty of 1794 to honor Iroquois territorial integrity.

Although the conference was an intellectual success as far as scholarly work was concerned, it would be the last meeting held at Red House, because the conference members felt that they should not be meeting near Seneca territory during this stressful time for the Seneca people when there was little the conference members could do to help. The Kinzua dam eventually flooded the whole Cornplanter Grant in western Pennsylvania and a significant part of the Allegany Seneca Nation territory in southwestern New York. The end of this conference marked the beginning of an era of varying venues and often sporadic meetings.

In response to the decision to abandon Red House, Yale University linguist Floyd Lounsbury extended an invitation to members of the Conference on Iroquois Research to meet at Yale in 1960. Unfortunately, only a small group of ethnologists and linguists accepted the invitation to discuss the problems and progress encountered in their continuing research.

In recognition of the importance of Canadian scholars to the field of Iroquois studies, the conference accepted an invitation to hold its 1961 session at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario. The following year the Conference on Iroquois Research met during one session of the American Indian Ethnohistoric Conference at Albany, New York, indicating the growing influence of Iroquoianists in the developing field of ethnohistory. Albany's nearness to

the original Iroquois homeland also allowed the attendees to take a side trip to an old Iroquois site and to the home of Sir William Johnson. Milton Hamilton, one of the editors of the multi-volume *Sir William Johnson Papers*, gave the group a dinner address on Johnson as an early interpreter of Iroquois culture and polity (Hamilton 1963), while Harold Blau presented an analysis of the Iroquois dream guessing ceremony (Blau 1963).

The Conference on Iroquois Research did not convene again until 1965, when it met in Glens Falls, New York. As with previous meetings, established scholars as well as aspiring scholars and students made formal presentations on a wide variety of topics, including ceremonialism, acculturation, language, religion, factionalism, and the introduction of anthropology into the social studies curriculum for New York State's public school system. There were also several important reports on archaeological excavations in both Canada and New York State. The proceedings of this conference were published by the New York State Museum (Tooker 1967). This meeting marked an important new phase in the history and development of the organization. After twenty years, the nurturing role of the conference in rejuvenating Iroquois studies was well established. No longer would there be a hiatus of a year or more between conference meetings. The organization was now on a firm and permanent footing.

The next year, the conference met at a vacation lodge at Raquette Lake in New York's Adirondack Mountains, where the reclusive locale appealed to the attendees. Members of the group were totally immersed in the scholarly presentations and discussions of that weekend, without any distractions from the outside world. Accordingly, some expressed a desire that future meetings be held either in the same place or in a similar locale. An important opportunity to do so came the following year when the next meeting was held at the Institute on Man and Science in Rensselaerville, New York, not far from Albany. The 100-acre campus of the Institute on a hillside above the eighteenth-century village below provided a quiet and pleasant rural setting, usually with colorful fall foliage, for the assembled Iroquoianists. It was a location that would eventually become a permanent home for the Conference on Iroquois Research during the first weekend of every October.

Before the dormitories at the Institute were built, some of the delegates found sleeping accommodations in the private homes in the village. Meetings were held around the fireplace in the parlor of the Old Stone House on the Institute campus until the construction of the present, modern auditorium. These improvements, however, did not decrease the general air of congeniality and camaraderie that still pervades the conference proceedings and the communal meals provided at the Institute.

The group generally numbered about twenty in the earlier years at the Institute, but the fulfillment of the conference's original goal of revitalizing Iroquois studies meant that it grew to forty, then to sixty or more. It reached a record 115 attendees in 2005. The conference did not immediately settle upon Rensselaerville as its permanent location. It met at Peterborough, Ontario, for a joint meeting with the Algonquian Conference in 1970; at Albany, New York, in 1976; at Cherokee, North Carolina, for second Cherokee-Iroquois Conference in 1978; and at Albany for a joint meeting with the American Society for Ethnohistory in 1979. From 1980 until 2009, the conference has been scheduled in Rensselaerville.

The educational work that the Conference on Iroquois Research has accomplished by providing a forum for both established scholars and new students of Iroquois culture ensured that many individuals would gather for almost forty years in Rensselaerville to share their latest research and theories in a friendly and encouraging atmosphere. The diverse group of attendees also includes members of the Iroquois nations who are particularly interested in preserving and understanding their culture and past and who are a vital part of the academic exploration and discussion at the conference.

The Iroquois Conference, as it is often called, has continued to bring forth a growing amount of good, sound scholarship, such as that found in *Papers in Linguistics from the 1972 Conference on Iroquois Research* (Foster 1974), *Studies on Iroquoian Culture* (Bonvillain 1980), and *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies* (Foster et al. 1984). Many journal articles also had their beginnings at the conference including "Effigy Pipes, Diplomacy, and Myth: Exploring Interaction between St. Lawrence Iroquoians and Eastern Iroquoians in New York State" (Wonderley 2005) and "James Dean in Iroquoia" (Tiro 1999). Perhaps Mary Druke Becker best summarized the impact of the Conference on Iroquois Research: "It has been a forum for discussion of major research initiatives in Iroquois studies since its inception. Any systematic look at the acknowledgements, footnotes, and/or bibliographies of published work on Iroquois since [1945]. . . brings numerous citations to the Conference and papers presented at it" (1968, 45).

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Chapter 1

STYLISTIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL ANALYSES OF CERAMIC VESSELS FROM THE BAILEY SITE, ONONDAGA COUNTY, NEW YORK

Christina B. Rieth and Elizabeth Horton

INTRODUCTION

Iroquoian village and hamlet sites are known for their large and diverse artifact assemblages. Lithic and ceramic artifacts constitute the majority of the artifacts found on these sites in New York and southern Ontario (Lennox 1995; Ritchie and Funk 1973; Snow 1995). Detailed analyses of these materials often provide insights into the settlement, subsistence, economic, and interaction patterns of the community (Snow 1994; Rieth and Horton 2006).

Archaeological excavations by the New York State Museum's Cultural Resource Survey Program at the pre-contact Bailey site in Onondaga County, New York, produced a large ceramic assemblage consisting of vessel fragments (Rieth and Horton 2006). Stylistic and technological analyses of these artifacts contribute to our understanding of the chronology of the site and enhance our understanding of Native manufacturing techniques.

This chapter provides an overview of the ceramic assemblage from the Bailey site, describes how the vessels were used, and discusses the role of ceramic vessels within the larger realm of Iroquoian settlement and subsistence. A discussion of how this information can be used to understand Iroquoian culture and history follows.

SITE OVERVIEW

Archaeological excavations at the Bailey site were conducted between 2002 and 2004 in advance of highway construction along Route 31 in the Town of Clay, Onondaga County, New York (Figure 1.1). Materials recovered during excavations indicate that the site reflects the occupation of a horticultural hamlet. Accelerator Mass Spectrometry

dates derived from pottery encrustations and charred maize locate this habitation during the Late Prehistoric Oak Hill and Chance Phases (c. A.D. 1300–1450).

Artifacts were recovered from shallow storage features and a dense sheet midden encompassing much of the site. These are consistent with contemporaneous remains from Iroquoian sites in New York and include incised pottery and pipe fragments, bifaces, projectile points, a stone adze, charred floral and faunal remains, and lithic debitage (Rieth and Horton 2006). The recovery of charred berries, maize, squash, and nutshell suggest that the site was occupied for much of the year (Horton and Rieth 2004).

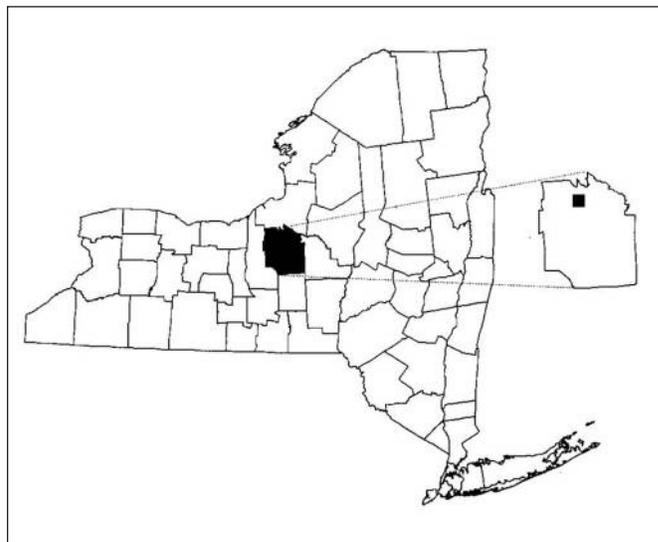


Figure 1.1. The location of the Bailey Site, Onondaga County, New York.

CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE

Sample Description and Analysis

For comparative purposes, the primary unit of analysis was the vessel rather than individual sherds. The ceramic sherds from each excavation unit were examined and organized into vessel lots. Ten or more sherds, a single rim sherd, or a nearly complete vessel therefore might represent vessels. Unlike other studies (Wray et al. 1987), body sherds were included in this analysis as they provide information about the surface treatment, size, and volume of the vessels. This information is important and assists archaeologists in determining vessel function.

Forty-three distinct vessels were identified from the 4,103 sherds. These artifacts were recovered from feature and non-feature contexts during the hand excavation of shovel test pits, test units, and test trenches. Figure 1.2 depicts some of the rim and body sherds recovered from the site.

Thirty-one different decorative and technological attributes were recorded for each vessel. These attributes included ceramic type; orifice diameter; lip shape and wall thickness; lip decoration; rim shape; interior decoration; collar/neck shape and height; collar design; collar base treatment and thickness; castellation and decoration; surface treatment; temper size/type; and vessel color.



Figure 1.2. Rim and body sherds from the Bailey Site, Onondaga County, New York. Collection curated at the New York State Museum, Albany.

RESULTS

Pottery Types

Pottery types were determined following MacNeish (1952). The number and percentage of each pottery type are shown in Table 1.1. The two most common types are the Garoga and Chance Incised types, with each type comprising greater than 20% of the overall assemblage. Garoga and Chance Incised pots are found on late prehistoric sites in central New York (Tuck 1971) as well as the Mohawk (Snow 1995) and Genesee valleys (Wray et al. 1987). Wagoner Incised, Rice Diagonal, Fonda Incised, Dutch Hollow Notched, and Onondaga Triangular types were also identified and represent types typically found on Late Woodland sites in New York (Snow 1995; Tuck 1971).

One cord-marked and two check-stamped vessels were recovered. Traditional pottery typologies often associate these types with Late Middle Woodland and/or Early Late Woodland groups in New York (Ritchie and MacNeish 1949). However, there is evidence that stamping may also be a Late Woodland and Contact period trait in parts of the Northeast (Chilton 1996, 109). Recovery of stamped pottery from the same proveniences as collared vessels suggest that these sherds were either (1) redeposited from an earlier ephemeral camp or (2) the Iroquois occupants of the site manufactured vessels using a variety of surface treatments.

Ten vessels (23.3%) lacked diagnostic attributes and could not be associated with a particular pottery type (Table 1.1). These vessels contain incised motifs and most likely date to the Late Woodland occupation of the Bailey site given their recovery contexts.

Orifice Diameter

The size of the orifice diameter is important and impacts the effectiveness of the container for use as a long-term cooking vessel. The orifice diameter of the vessels was measured using a standard rim diameter chart that matched the sherd curvature against a series of concentric circles. With the exception of very small pots, only those sherds that exhibited more than 4 centimeters of the rim were used to arrive at diameter estimates. Since the mouths of some Iroquoian pots are oval or square rather than round and often change at a castellation, these figures should be regarded as best estimates.

Diameter estimates could only be calculated for thirty-five (81.4%) of the forty-three vessels (Table 1.2). Results suggest that more than half of the vessels (20 or 57.1%) contain orifice diameters measuring less than 15 centimeters (5.91 inches). The remaining vessels (15 or 42.9%) contain orifice diameters measuring more than 15 centimeters (5.91 inches).

Table 1.1. Summary of Pottery Types Recovered from the Bailey Site (n=43).

Pottery Type*	Cultural Period	Number of Vessels	% Vessels
Garoga Incised	Late Woodland/Contact	13	30.2%
Chance Incised	Late Woodland/Contact	9	20.9%
Wagoner Incised	Late Woodland/Contact	4	9.3%
Rice Diagonal	Late Woodland/Contact	1	2.3%
Fonda Incised	Late Woodland/Contact	1	2.3%
Dutch Hollow Notched	Late Woodland/Contact	1	2.3%
Onondaga Triangular	Late Woodland/Contact	1	2.3%
Cord-marked	Late Middle/Early Late Woodland	1	2.3%
Check-stamped	Middle Woodland	2	4.6%
Unidentified	—	10	23.3%

*Types based on information contained in MacNeish (1952).

Table 1.2. Orifice Diameter.

Diameter (cm)	Number	Percentage
5–10	4	11.4%
10–15	16	45.7%
15–20	10	28.6%
20–25	5	14.3%

Lip Shape and Wall Thickness

Lip shape refers to the shape of the surface where the interior and exterior rim meet along the uppermost surface of the vessel. Four basic lip shapes were recorded in the assemblage: flat, thickened, rounded, and cleft. A flat lip shape is characterized by a surface in which the interior and exterior rim of the vessel form right angles with the lip. A rounded lip shape is characterized by a surface that is beveled or rounded in profile, while a thickened lip shape is characterized by a lip surface that is thicker than the rim of the container. This thickened surface is often rounded or squared. A cleft lip shape is characterized by a thickened surface that is divided into two sections as a result of incising or the application of some other decorative motif.

Of the forty-three vessels, forty-one (95.3%) were analyzed for their lip shape (Table 1.3). The remaining two vessels lacked a complete lip making it difficult to determine the final shape. The majority of the vessels (31 or

Table 1.3. Summary of Lip Shape.

Lip Shape	Number	Percentage
Flat	31	75.6%
Rounded	5	12.2%
Thickened	3	7.3%
Cleft	2	4.9%
Total	41	—

75.6%) contained a flat lip shape. A flat lip shape is commonly found on vessels in central and western New York (Engelbrecht 1996) and is also described by MacNeish (1952) as a predominant attribute on Iroquoian vessels throughout the Northeast. Rounded and thickened lip shapes, also seen in the Bailey site collection, are identified in limited quantities on other Iroquoian sites in the Schoharie Valley and central New York (LaFrance 1980). The only two vessels with a cleft lip shape were both identified on the check-stamped vessels.

Vessels containing flat and rounded/beveled lip shapes were found in the same stratigraphic levels, features, and loci across the site. Although Garoga Incised containers predominantly exhibited a flat lip shape, other containers such as the Wagoner and Chance Incised types appear to have a greater range of attributes on the vessels identified with flat and rounded lip shapes. Measurements of the lip thickness for all of the vessels contained in the collection were recorded to the nearest millimeter. The range of size varied from 3.94 to 10.49 millimeters with the average thickness being 8.45 millimeters.

Lip Decoration

Lip decoration refers to the range of motifs and their method of application around the lip of the vessel (Table 1.4). Following Engelbrecht (1996), Wray et al. (1987), and others, the decoration and thickness of the lip of the vessel provide important information about the style and the techniques used in vessel construction. Forty-one vessels produced information about the decoration of the lip of the container. Eighteen (43.9%) lack decorative motifs around the lip of the vessel. Among these types are sherds associated with Garoga and Chance Incised vessels.

Wray et al. (1987, Appendix E) indicate that incised lines around the lip are formed when a sharp object is inscribed into the surface of the clay, producing a line that often appears deeper than it is wide. The lip of the vessel often contains sharp edges and has a v-shaped appearance

Table 1.4. Lip Decoration.

Method of Application	Decoration	Number	Percentage
Plain	—	18	43.9%
Incising	Oblique lines (/ and \)	8	19.5%
	Vertical lines	5	12.2%
	Horizontal lines	3	7.3%
Notched	Notches	6	14.6%
Cord-marked	Horizontal lines	1	2.4%
Total		41	—

when viewed in cross-section. Sixteen vessels contained incised motifs around the lip of the vessel. The incised lines found on the vessels from the Bailey site were identified in a variety of styles: Eight vessels (19.5%) had oblique lines; five (12.2%) had vertical ones; and three (7.3%) had horizontal lines.

Notching and cord-marked motifs were found in limited quantities across the site. Notching was identified on six (14.6%) of the vessels and is represented by a series of exterior protrusions on the outer lip of the container. Cord-marking was identified on one (2.4%) vessel and the design consists of a single continuous horizontal cord-wrapped stick or paddle line encircling the lip of the vessel.

Rim Shape

The interior and exterior rim were recorded as concave, convex, or straight (MacNeish 1952). Only twelve vessels exhibited enough of the rim to yield information about rim shape (Table 1.5). Half contained a concave-convex rim shape while 25% contained a concave-straight rim shape. Smaller quantities of the following rim shapes were also identified: convex-concave (8.3%), convex-convex (8.3%), and convex-straight (8.3%). No containers with a straight interior rim shape were identified in the collection.

It is not known why the occupants of this site preferred a concave-convex or concave-straight rim shape. The

Table 1.5. Interior and Exterior Rim Shape.

Interior Rim Shape	Exterior Rim Shape	Number	Percentage
Concave	Concave	—	—
	Convex	6	50.0%
	Straight	3	25.0%
Convex	Concave	1	8.3%
	Convex	1	8.3%
	Straight	1	8.3%
Straight	Concave	—	—
	Convex	—	—
	Straight	—	—

Bailey site is not the only Iroquoian site to exhibit this type of rim attribute. Engelbrecht (1996, 60) reports that vessels with concave-convex and concave-straight rims were frequently found on pots from the Ripley site in Erie County, New York. Although Ripley was occupied later than the Bailey site, the presence of these characteristics on pots in different geographic areas and dating to different periods may be indicative of long-term changes in pottery manufacture that occurred over much of the Northeast.

Interior Decoration

The inner edge of the lip and the vessel interior just below the lip were also analyzed. Of the forty-one vessels analyzed, all but four (9.7%) containers revealed a plain interior. The remaining four vessels contained incised, oblique, or vertical lines and each lacked a collar. Similar interior motifs have been identified in central New York sites associated with occupations dating to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Tuck 1971).

Collar Shape and Height

Following the definitions outlined in MacNeish (1952), several collar types were identified at the Bailey site. These include a well-defined collar, appliqué collar, poorly defined collar, and no collar. Of the forty-one vessels analyzed, thirteen (31.7%) vessels contained a well-defined collar, one (2.4%) an appliqué collar, ten (24.3%) a poorly defined collar, and seventeen (41.4%) had no collar.

Of the twenty-four vessels with measurable collars, collar heights were determined by measuring the distance from the top of the lip to the base of the collar and are summarized in Table 1.6. The majority of the vessels (11 or 45.8%) contained a collar height between 12 and 21 millimeters. Most of these collars were well defined and decorated with oblique incised lines. Four vessels exhibited collars less than 12 millimeters high, and each of these were poorly defined. Three containers exhibited a collar height greater than 32 millimeters. Many archaeologists have argued that collar height increased through time (Chilton 1996, 102). Although larger collars appear on later

Table 1.6. Collar Heights.

Height (mm)	Number	Percentage
< 12	4	16.7%
12–21	11	45.8%
22–31	6	25.0%
32–41	2	8.3%
>41	1	4.2%

Iroquoian vessels, most vessels dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries contain smaller collars with height ranges similar to those found at the Bailey site.

Collar Design

In the Northeast, rim and lip forms are often considered to encode stylistic messages about the manufacturer (Engelbrecht 1996; Ritchie and MacNeish 1949). The presence of collared rims, their height, and their decoration are considered to be particularly diagnostic. For Iroquoian vessels, motifs of incised decoration, especially on vessel collars, form the core of type distinctions. These attributes are common on vessels dating after the fourteenth century, and the decorations usually consist of clear, symmetrical, geometric designs (MacNeish 1952; Ritchie and MacNeish 1949). An important quality of collars on globular or sub-globular Iroquoian vessels is that they are very pronounced. Collars often have castellations or peaks, drawing attention to the incised geometric designs. Wobst (1977) and Chilton (1996) have interpreted such attributes as a form of “information exchange.”

Analysis of decorative motifs of the twenty-four vessels with existing collars resulted in a large number of variations in collar design (Table 1.7). The largest number (14 or 58.3%) contained a series of oblique incised lines around the collar. Most of these vessels contained motifs with lines oriented to the right (\) as opposed to the left (/). Smaller quantities of vessels also contained other motifs including horizontal, opposed oblique (/ \), opposed oblique with horizontal or vertical lines, horizontal followed by oblique lines, punctates, and horizontal lines followed by opposed oblique lines.

Table 1.7. Collar Design.

Design	Number	Percentage
Plain	1	4.2%
Horizontal Lines	2	8.3%
Oblique Lines	14	58.3%
Opposed Oblique	2	8.3%
Opposed Oblique with horizontal or vertical lines	1	4.2%
Horizontal followed by oblique lines	1	4.2%
Row of punctates	1	4.2%
Horizontal followed by opposed obliques	2	8.3%

Collar Base Treatment and Thickness

At the Bailey site, smoothed lines, gashes, and notches were used to decorate the base of the collars. Punctates and other motifs are recorded for Iroquoian vessels from the Niagara Frontier (Engelbrecht 1996), central New York (Pratt 1976), and southern Ontario in Canada (Wright 1980), but they were not present on the vessels from the Bailey site. Analysis of the fifteen vessels with recordable collar base treatments indicated that nine vessels (60%) contained a notched collar base treatment. Notched collars are commonly seen on vessels found on sites dating to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in central and eastern New York. Four smoothed and two gashed collar treatments were identified in smaller quantities at the Bailey site.

Measurements of collar thickness were determined by measuring the base of the collar, which is often the thickest part (Engelbrecht 1996). As shown in Table 1.8, the majority (9 or 60%) of the vessels contained a collar base thickness between 10 and 15 millimeters. Smaller quantities of vessels contained a collar base thickness of 5-10 millimeters or greater than 15 millimeters.

Presence of Castellations and Decoration

Of the forty-three vessels identified, only four vessels (9.3%) contained one or more castellations. Of those, two (50%) contained one castellation, one (25%) contained two castellations, and the final vessel (25%) contained four castellations. Three of the vessel’s castellations were pointed, with the remaining container having a rounded shape.

Decorative motifs identified on the castellations of these pots included oblique and vertical lines. Three (75%) vessels contained castellations that were decorated with oblique lines while one (25%) vessel contained vertical lines. Decorative motifs found on these containers largely consist of geometric designs that are symmetrical. Unlike other Iroquoian vessels (Engelbrecht 1996; Pratt 1976, 208, 211; Wray et. al. 1987), none of the vessels from the Bailey site contained spouts or effigies, suggesting further variation in the construction of these containers by Iroquoian groups.

Table 1.8. Collar Base Thickness.

Thickness (mm)	Number	Percentage
5–10	2	13.3%
10–15	9	60.0%
> 15	4	26.6%

Surface Treatment

Surface treatment is related to the overall performance and function of the vessel (Chilton 1996). Roughening of the vessel surface can provide a more secure grip (Rice 1987, 232), while allowing the vessel to absorb heat more thoroughly and reducing the evaporation of liquids (Herron 1986). Prezzano (1985) argues that the application of various types of treatments can also increase thermal shock resistance and reduce thermal spalling.

At the Bailey site, the majority (40 or 93.0%) of the vessels contained a surface treatment consisting of incised, smoothed, and notched decoration. Body sherds exhibited a smoothed surface treatment while rim sherds were largely decorated with incised and notched surface treatments. Two (4.7%) plain vessels were recovered from the Bailey site. One (2.3%) cord-marked pot and one (2.3%) dentate-stamped vessel were also recovered.

Temper Size/Type

Analysis of the temper in the vessels provides important information about the manufacturing techniques used by native potters. The addition of temper to raw clay performs important functions that enhance the overall construction of the pot by lessening shrinkage and eliminating stickiness, as well as altering the overall appearance of the container (Chilton 1996, 81; Rice 1987). The addition of temper also serves to alter the firing and post-firing properties of the vessel (Rice 1987).

Identification of the types of temper used was completed using 10x magnification. It is extremely difficult to identify rock minerals in this fashion, particularly as these rocks and minerals have been fired in a clay body, sometimes reheated several times (especially in the case of cooking pots), and exposed to the elements in a depositional environment for hundreds of years. An alternative and superior means to identify inclusions is to make a thin-section from the sherds and examine the resulting microscopic slide under a petrographic microscope in polarized light. However, this process is costly, time consuming, and destructive to the sherds. Therefore, the non-invasive macroscopic method was preferred for this study.

The inclusions found in the containers from the Bailey site consisted largely of grit and grog. As used here, grit refers to fragments of crushed rock while grog refers to small fragments of pottery and ceramic material found in the sherd. Further examination of these sherds indicates gneiss, mica, and feldspar are major constituents.

Of the forty-three vessels identified, thirty-four (79%) contained a grit temper with inclusions ranging in size from 0.5 to 2 millimeters. Many of the inclusions have a semi-spherical shape and are moderately well sorted. A cord-marked vessel contained larger inclusions (in the 1–2 mm range). As demonstrated by Prezzano (1985),

Early Iroquoian vessels recovered from sites in central and southern New York often contain larger inclusions and are characterized as being earlier containers. The presence of large inclusions in vessels from the Bailey site may either indicate the presence of earlier vessels intermixed with later vessels or the potter's inexperience in reducing temper to a smaller size.

Grog was observed in six (13.9%) of the vessels. Grog-tempered vessels have not been recovered in great numbers from other Late Woodland sites in central New York. Given their limited number at the Bailey Site, it is possible that these pots were used for a different function than other containers, since grit-tempered vessels would not have held heat as well and would not have been conducive to long-term cooking.

Three (6.9%) vessels contained open cavities suggesting that the inclusions may have leached out after breakage or may have disintegrated during the firing process. Softer materials, such as limestone and shell, are particularly prone to disintegration during firing and are poor candidates for long-term cooking containers

Interior/Exterior Vessel Color

The interior and exterior color of a vessel is partially derived from the characteristics of the paste and from the presence, size, and composition of inclusions. The final color of the sherd is often masked or altered during firing (Rice 1987) and/or later use. Consequently, the color of pottery fragments should be interpreted with extreme caution.

For the purpose of this study, interior and exterior colors were recorded using Munsell Soil Color Charts (1998). If the vessel contained several different colors, the two most prominent colors were recorded. In instances where the surface treatment varied across the surface of the artifact, the predominant color was recorded.

In addition to surface color, information about the color of the vessel core was recorded. Core color is important because it can provide important information about the conditions under which the vessel was fired. Firing atmospheres are characterized by either darker interior or exterior profiles.

The sherds from the Bailey site contained variable interior and exterior colors that generally fell within the brown color palate of the Munsell soil color charts. Common exterior colors consisted of 10YR 5/3 and 7.5YR 3/2 (Munsell 1998). The interior colors are darker, ranging from 10YR 2/2 to 10YR 5/2.

Analysis of the core color of these vessels revealed that the site's occupants might have utilized several different firing techniques. Overall, approximately 59% of the vessels have a dark interior color, which suggest that they were fired upside down, or at least under conditions where the interiors of the vessels were deprived of

oxygen (Arnold 1985; Rice 1987). The remaining 42% contained a lighter interior indicating that these vessels may have been fired right side up in a kiln (Arnold 1985; Rice 1987). The use of both types of firing techniques is interesting and may either suggest individual variation on the part the potter or that there was “no wrong or right way” to fire a pot.

Noticeably absent from the color palate are sherds with an orange hue. The collections of the New York State Museum document pottery sherds with this color from other sites in Onondaga County. Their absence in the Bailey site assemblage suggests that recovered vessels were likely fired under more formalized, oxygen-poor firing conditions, such as in pits or kilns. Alternatively, it may indicate that clay sources utilized at the Bailey site contained less iron than those used at other Iroquoian sites.

Other

Twenty-one sherds from twelve (27.9%) vessels contained interior and/or exterior encrustations. Residues from two vessels provided Accelerated Mass Spectrometry (AMS) dates of 710 +/-40 B.P. (Beta 184152) and 340 +/-40 B.P. (Beta 184153) (Table 1.9).

In summary, the pottery sherds recovered from the Bailey site suggest that most containers were well-fired grit-tempered containers with an incised decoration on the exterior surface. These characteristics resemble similar vessels found on Late Prehistoric sites in central and eastern New York (Chilton 1996; Snow 1995). Small cord-marked and check-stamped vessels were also recovered and suggest that earlier decorative attributes may have continued into the Late Woodland Period.

DISCUSSION

Analysis of the pottery sherds allowed us to address research areas associated with the (1) chronology, (2) style, and (3) function of the containers (Horton 2003) and contributed to our understanding of the pre-contact occupation of the Bailey site.

A general framework for the chronological affiliation of pre-contact vessels was established with the publication of Ritchie and MacNeish (1949) and MacNeish's (1952) pottery typology for New York. Under this scheme, collared, castellated, and incised pots occur later in time than thick-walled, interior and exterior cord-marked vessels in New York and throughout much of the Northeast (Chilton 1996; Engelbrecht 1996; Prezzano 1985; Ritchie 1993; Tuck 1971).

The vessels from the Bailey site are largely collared containers with a smaller vessel-wall thickness and a globular body shape. Well-defined incised collared rims are found on many of these containers and are considered diagnostic attributes of Iroquoian containers. Incised oblique, vertical, and horizontal motifs surround the collar of the container and form the core of the type distinctions at the site (MacNeish 1952) with most of the containers associated with the Garoga and Chance Incised types. These types are generally found on sites dating after circa A.D. 1300 and are consistent with the AMS dates.

Changes in the manufacture of vessels after the introduction of maize are commonly described in the archaeological literature of the Northeast (e.g. Chilton 1996; Prezzano 1985). Braun (1983) and others (Prezzano 1985) have argued that the thickness of the vessel wall has a direct impact on the vessel's resistance to thermal shock and the ability of the vessel to be used as long-term cooking containers. According to Braun (1983), thinner-walled vessels are less likely to crack when used to cook foods (i.e. maize) that have extended cooking times. The average wall thickness of the vessels recovered from the Bailey Site is 8.45 millimeters. Changes in vessel construction to better accommodate longer heating times of pots for cooking food generally represent later phenomena associated with vessels found on sites dating after A.D. 1200. Thinner vessel walls and the out-flaring shape of the neck and rim of the container are consistent with attributes associated with expected changes in these pots after the introduction of maize horticulture. Comparative data from later Iroquoian and Algonquian sites in eastern New York and New England (Chilton 1996), as well as earlier sites in central New York (Prezzano 1985), suggest that the vessels from the Bailey site have an average wall

Table 1.9. Accelerator Mass Spectrometry Dates from the Bailey Site (NYSM #11165).

Unit	Feature No.	Material	Radiocarbon Age (BP)	Calibrated Date Range (2 Sigma)
Unit 11	Fea. O	Charcoal	370+/-40 BP	AD 1450 to 1650
Unit 25	Fea. B7	Charcoal	3810+/-40 BP	BC 2430 to 2140
Unit 2	Fea. A/J	Maize	140+/-40 BP	AD 1430 to 1520
Unit 2	Fea. R	Maize	50+/-40 BP	AD 1470 to 1660
Unit 28	Fea. P	Encrustation	710+/-40 BP	AD 1250 to 1300
Unit 23	Fea. B9	Maize	150+/-90 BP	AD 1520 to 1580, AD 1630 to 1660
Unit 23	Level 6	Encrustation	340+/-40 BP	AD 1440 to 1640

thickness between larger thicknesses in earlier non-horticultural and later horticultural groups with thinner-walled vessels. These measurements, combined with the recovery of maize and other domesticated plants from the site, supports the belief that the site's occupants were manufacturing durable containers that could withstand long cooking episodes.

Although recent research (Schulenberg 2002) suggests that use dates of Iroquoian vessel types are more fluid than described by Ritchie and MacNeish (1949), the basic tenets of their scheme are still appropriate for our study, with thinner-walled collared vessels replacing thicker-walled non-collared containers after A.D. 1300.

The limited orifice size of more than half the vessels provides further evidence that the vessels at the Bailey site were not haphazardly constructed, but were created to meet the cooking needs of the site's occupants. Following Chilton (1996), Braun (1983), and Prezzano (1985), the vessel orifice diameter is important since vessels with smaller orifice diameters have a greater chance of restricting evaporation than vessels with larger orifice diameters. This vessel form allows for higher cooking temperatures, reducing the cooking time of some Iroquoian foods such as maize.

Iroquoian population grew after A.D. 1300 and settlements became more nucleated (Tuck 1971) with a greater reliance on tropical cultigens and other cultivated plants such as maize, beans, squash, and sunflower, all of which were recovered from the Bailey site (Horton and Rieth 2004). Social and economic ties between communities likely led to the development of regional exchange networks as increasingly distinct political units were developing during this period (Tuck 1971).

Through variation in vessels and their decorations, potters may have indicated differences in sociopolitical groups. Clay pots were used for cooking in household and communal settings and were highly visible in the community on a daily basis. Since maize stews were cooked for a long period of time, pots would often be set on the hearth for many hours. With the base of the pots either sitting in or dangling over the fire, the pronounced collar on the vessels were a visible, centrally located icon for anyone entering the communal area. Collars often have castellations, which draw attention to the geometric designs on the vessel.

Two small vessels, which probably held less than one quart, were also identified. Neither vessel has the large formal collars found on the medium-sized containers and both lack evidence of interior or exterior residues. Engelbrecht (2003, 85) comments on the potential function of small containers, stating that, in general, "non-collared vessels often lack evidence of food remains, suggesting that they were used for storage or tea brewing."

Partial refitting of three larger vessels suggests that

they may have measured more than 40 centimeters in diameter and likely held more than 10 quarts of material. The limited number of large vessels recovered suggests that large groups did not likely use pottery communally, but instead for storage or individual cooking by smaller family units. Following Snow (1994, 13), smaller vessels were used by smaller kin groups and facilitated transportation of non-solid food and water. Larger vessels are commonly found on later village sites in central New York (Bradley 1987; Pratt 1976; Tuck 1971). They are often associated with multifamily longhouses and may reflect "communal dining" by the large kin groups that existed among the Iroquois at the time of European contact.

Although the social behaviors that influenced these group interactions are not well understood, ethnohistorical descriptions provide the basis for the archaeological study of group interactions. In addition, it is possible that decorative attributes were accompanied by distinct technological changes in pottery (Arnold 1985), but this hypothesis would need to be tested with a much larger sample of Iroquois pottery sherds than was recovered during the Bailey site excavations.

The process of decorating pots has the potential to both reflect and constitute Iroquoian society. As Wobst (1977, 329) states, "those sets of material culture which potentially are visible to all members of a given social group are much more likely to show . . . expression of stylistic form." While the potential for social messaging is clearly marked in decorative attributes, it is important to point out that style is not simply encoded in or tacked onto finished products. It is also encoded in the operational sequence of manufacture, or technical style (Arnold 1985; Lemmonier 1986; Prezzano 1985). It is likely that sociopolitical information was communicated through style not only while pots were sitting in the hearth, but when groups of women gathered to make pots. The slab building of pots with consistent sizes and shapes and the repetitive incising of decorations on collars provide the potential for pots to embody messages about group membership, the role of women, social integration, and the egalitarian ideal of Iroquoian society. Thus pots, as a central and visible output of the joint effort of women within the matrilineage, have the potential for carrying social messages in both manufacture and use.

The vessels from the Bailey site may have been manufactured to reflect a combination of the potters' individual and/or group identities. Important vessel attributes consisting of arrangements of incised oblique and horizontal lines are embodied in the collar and castellation of the vessels from the Bailey site. The fact that other types of designs (e.g. circular motifs) seen on contemporaneous Iroquoian pottery were not found on these containers further suggests some communal idea of what was appropriate and what was not an appropriate decoration for

pottery. Consequently, the arrangement and selection of particular vessels was probably not random but rather embodied some important attributes of cultural identity and social relationships between regional groups.

Given the site's location along the Seneca River, a major waterway, it is likely that the occupants of the Bailey site regularly came in contact with other groups traveling through the region as evidenced in the recovery of one Dutch Hollow Incised vessel from the site. This pottery type is commonly associated with groups living in western New York and is found in limited quantities on sites in central and eastern New York (MacNeish 1952). For non-local groups traveling through the region, visible stylistic identifiers of site inhabitants, signaling their position within larger sociopolitical frameworks, would have been important given the internal hostility among many Iroquoian groups after A.D. 1300 (Snow 1995).

CONCLUSION

The clay vessel fragments from the Bailey site produced information about native manufacturing techniques and vessel function prior to European contact. The results of this analysis suggest that the ceramics from the Bailey site represent a diverse assemblage of containers associated with the pre-contact occupation of the site. Stylistic attributes of the vessels are consistent with the AMS dates recovered from the site and suggest that the Bailey site was occupied after A.D. 1300. Although cord-marked and check-stamped pottery fragments were recovered from the site, there is currently no evidence to suggest that a substantial earlier component dating prior to c. A.D. 1300 is represented at the site.

Analysis of the vessels from the Bailey site indicates that a range of containers was found at the site. Comparison of orifice diameter, wall thickness, and collar/lip size of these vessels suggests that the largest number of vessels (38 or 88.3%) were medium-sized containers that could have held several quarts of material. These vessels were probably used for cooking and food preparation. Encrustations on these containers support the belief that these containers were used prior to being discarded and were not manufactured to sit on a shelf or be used in some non-utilitarian manner. Given the utilitarian nature of these artifacts and the potential for these artifacts to break easily, it seems likely that that a single family may have used many different cooking vessels. While it is not known how long these vessels were used, Engelbrecht (2003) argues that Iroquoian households may have used vessels for as little as three months to as much as several years before discarding them. Ethnohistoric data suggests that the Iroquois used clay pots for a variety of tasks within a community. While clay vessels are

commonly described as cooking containers, they also may have served other functions, including to brew tea for medicinal purposes (Engelbrecht 2003, 85), to store food, or to use as drums (Parker 1968).

The pottery sherds recovered from the Bailey site suggest that most containers were well-fired grit-tempered containers with an incised decoration on the exterior surface. These characteristics resemble similar vessels found on Late Woodland sites in central and eastern New York (Chilton 1996; Snow 1995). Small cord-marked and check-stamped vessels recovered suggest that earlier decorative attributes may have continued into the Late Prehistoric era.

Analysis of the style and functional attributes of the sherds suggests that the vessels may have been constructed to convey information about the potters' and/or users' identities and their group affiliations. Specific attributes associated with the construction of the collar, castellation, and overall decoration may have been incorporated by potters to convey information about group differences and the social behaviors reflected in those differences. The location of the site next to a major waterway would have undoubtedly resulted in regular interactions with both friendly and enemy groups. The ability of individuals to identify with a particular group can be expressed through the group's material culture. The highly visible nature of Iroquoian pots would have served to reinforce corporate identities through even the most utilitarian of daily activities.

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Chapter 2

THE ELDEST MEDICINE: Red Osier Dogwood in Iroquois Folklore and Mythology

Anthony Wonderley

About a hundred years ago, an enormous corpus of Iroquois (*Haudenosaunee*) folklore and myth was committed to paper by both native and non-native scribes. Among the more serious efforts¹ were collections assembled by William Beauchamp (1922), Elias Johnson (1881), Arthur Parker (1989 [1923]), Erminnie Smith (1983 [1883]), and Hope Emily Allen (1948; Wonderley 2004). Even more substantial compilations, recorded at least partly in the native languages, were assembled by Jeremiah Curtin (2001 [1922]), J. N. B. Hewitt (1918; Rudes and Crouse 1987), and Frederick Waugh (1912-1918; Randle 1953). Very similar (and presumably closely related) Huron and Wyandot folklore was made available at the same time by other researchers (see Barbeau 1915; Connelley 1899; and Hale 1888, 1889). The years witnessing these documentary efforts—1880 to 1925—were a sort of golden age for documenting such stories.

It seemed obvious at the time that recording this material was a valuable thing to do. Few doubted that oral narrative reflected key aspects of culture ranging from details of daily life to quintessential symbols and values. And, because such content was, in effect, chosen by the people themselves, oral narrative constituted a kind of tribal autobiography providing an insider's view of the culture (for example, see Boas 1916, 393). I think the anthropologists, folklorists, and Indians of that era got it right. The great body of Haudenosaunee oral narrative they preserved bears eloquent witness to a cultural outlook now a century gone and otherwise inaccessible.

Those familiar with Iroquois oral narrative have remarked on its distinctiveness, usually with reference to such aspects of narrative genre as character, episode, plot, tone, and so forth (Fenton 1947; Thompson 1929, xxii; Morgan 1962 [1851], 166). What may be the most unique feature of all in Iroquois folklore, however, is the

frequent reference to red osier dogwood. Often called red willow, the plant is not itself a story or a protagonist or even a single stock occurrence but rather what folklorists call a motif. Reference to it constitutes a discrete unit recurring in many tales and myths. As a recognizable element spanning many topics, red willow connects disparate plots and establishes a thread of common identity among them.

WHAT IT IS

Iroquois folklore once abounded with references to “red willow,” “osier,” and “dogwood,” terms in English² that almost certainly referred to the same plant: red osier dogwood or *Cornus sericea* (formerly and synonymously *C. stolonifera*), a native deciduous bush commonly growing six to twelve feet high. At home in a northern habitat of swamps and marshy soils, the shrub is remarkable for its wildlife value. Its small white fruits are eaten by bluebirds, cardinals, kingbirds, bobwhites, ruffed and sharp-tail grouse, and several species of woodpecker. Deer, elk, moose, cottontails, and snowshoe hare eat its twigs (Petrides 1972, 77; Soper and Heimburger 1982, 359).

Its most notable feature, however, is its color. As new growth occurs during the late spring and summer, its branches are green. In the late fall, they begin to turn red and become progressively redder over the winter. At their late-February peak, they are a deep, blood-red dominating the winter landscape. In the woods around my central New York home, they provide nature's first clear signal that spring rebirth is imminent.

In a general sense, red willow (almost certainly meaning several species of *Cornus* and not necessarily *C. sericea*) is well known ethnobotanically throughout much

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Figure 2.1. Red willow in winter.
Photo by Anthony Wonderley.

of native North America as medicine for eye and respiratory ailments and for fever (Densmore 1928, 288; Driver 1969, 558; Moerman 1998, 178–80). Dogwood frequently is mentioned as the material of arrow shafts. Throughout the eastern half of the United States, red willow is best known as an important—possibly the principal—ingredient of *kinnikinnick*, an Algonquian word for smoking material made from wild plants and often mixed with tobacco (Springer 1981, 220; Yarnell 1964, 181). Native people may have been smoking kinnikinnick prior to the appearance of tobacco about 2,500 years ago (Hall 1977, 513–14; Rafferty 2001; Yarnell 1964, 86). In the Iroquoian area, the practice of smoking almost certainly preceded tobacco since the word for “pipe” predates that for “tobacco” (Mithun 1984, 274–76).

Dogwood occurs in the Iroquois pharmacopoeia as a plant for treating respiratory problems. It also is regarded as the chief ingredient of an emetic (an oral purgative to induce vomiting) taken in the spring to purify the body (Fenton 1942, 524; 1945, 50; Herrick 1995, 178–79; Thomas 1994, 72). The plant, therefore, occupies a respectable niche in Iroquois curative practice but is certainly not among the most pharmaceutically important plants to Haudenosaunee people (Herrick 1995, 21, 91–92). One would never guess, on the basis of these apparently practical applications, that red willow pervaded Iroquois folklore around 1900.

WHAT IT DID AND HOW IT WORKED

Red osier dogwood was thought to be efficacious in several forms and states. For one thing, it was “the typical Iroquoian magic material” (Randle 1953, 629), something

employed in Iroquois oral narrative to achieve any act that needed to be done immediately or to change any condition requiring instant alteration. A red osier switch was a magic wand that could enlarge a table and make food appear or transform a dog into a monster bear (Hewitt 1918, 672–79; Waugh 1915: J. Davis 201 f25³). In the hands of a hero in an Iroquois story, a red-willow branch could change logs into giant men, lengthen one’s legs in a fight, and animate a manikin helper (Curtin 2001 [1922], 346; Waugh 1915: T. Smoke 201 f29). Poles made of red willow marked off the course of a footrace against an evil sorcerer (Curtin 2001 [1922], 31). Scrapings of red-willow bark thrown into a pond would induce a giant bloodsucker living there to rise to the surface (Waugh 1915: J. Jamieson 201 f29). And, throughout Iroquois folklore, arrows that never miss are often said to be of this material (Curtin 2001 [1922], 33, 346; Waugh 1915: G. Davis 201 f29 and Waugh 1918: E. Cook 202 f23).

Some applications of red willow required burning, as one might expect from its association with kinnikinnick. At least one hero story has the protagonist demonstrate his power by converting red-willow smoke, inhaled from a pipe as kinnikinnick, into wampum beads (Hewitt 1918, 262–66, 516). More notable was the idea of igniting osier to fly through the air. In one recurrent vignette, the hero rises on the smoke of burned red-willow shavings to pursue some witches making a getaway (Curtin 2001 [1922], 188; Waugh 1915: “Ooksayik” 201 f26).

The most frequent use of red willow in Iroquois folklore, however, was as a weapon against supernatural enemies (Allen 1948, 41–42; Curtin 2001 [1922], 426). The branches of the bush could be employed against a foe in various ways as Frederick Waugh discovered on the Six Nations Reserve, Ontario:

- A bear fighting a giant lizard is aided by a man who, with twigs of red willow, spears parts of the reptile as they fly off to prevent them from reassembling (Waugh 1915: Mrs. P. John 201 f27).
- A person kills a magical animal called “It-Eats-All” with red osier dogwood switches (Waugh 1915: T. Smoke 201 f27).
- A stone ax, hafted with red osier dogwood, is used to kill a witch (Waugh 1918: E. Cook 202 f24).

Generally speaking, however, the osier weapon was an arrow:

- A boy shoots a cannibal bird with an arrow of red willow (Waugh 1912: P. John 201 f6).
- A hunter kills a monster bear with twelve dogwood arrows (Waugh 1915: D. Jack 201 f24).
- A bear engaged in mortal combat against her wizard husband is helped by a human’s red-willow arrow (Waugh 1918: D. Jack 202 f23).

- Ten human hunters, each supplied with three arrows of red osier dogwood, overcome a monster cricket (Waugh 1918: E. Cook 202 f24).
- A giant bloodsucker is slain by a Thunder (celestial beings charged with exterminating large snakes) in concert with arrows of red willow shot by a boy (Waugh 1915: J. Jamieson 201 f29).
- Thunders kill a giant snake with the help of a mortal who shoots red-willow arrows (Waugh 1915: S. Hill 201 f28; and see Shimony 1994 [1961], 162).

A weapon of red osier dogwood is specified in the snake-that-swallowed-a-village (Wonderley 2005, 229–31), probably the best-known serpent tale in Iroquois folklore. The story tells of an odd-looking pet snake that matures into a monstrous man-eater, sometimes described as having two heads. Eventually the serpent overwhelms the people of a nearby village who walk into the creature’s open jaws. According to an Ontario version (Waugh 1918: E. Cook 202 f24), the last survivor manages to kill the snake with a red-willow stave. When several people emerge from the carcass, they are immediately given an emetic made from red osier dogwood to restore them to full health. Other variants were recorded among the Senecas of New York in the 1880s (Hewitt 1918, 106, 420–21) and the Iroquoian-speaking Wyandots of Oklahoma in the 1910s (Barbeau 1915, 146–48).

The snake-that-swallowed-a-village must have been regarded as important for it was one of the very few stories to be recorded—repeatedly—during the first half of the nineteenth century (see Beauchamp 1892, 20–21; Morgan 1962 [1851], 159–60, n.1; Schoolcraft 1975 [1846], 60–61). Some versions specify that the snake was dispatched by arrows of red osier dogwood. For example, Mohawk Chief John Norton stated in 1816 that a surviving youth slew the monster with three red-willow arrows (Klinck and Talman 1970, 110). A Seneca account of 1823 (but said to date to the late 1700s) described a boy killing the snake with an arrow “made of a kind of willow” (Seaver 1990, 143). In a Seneca version of 1838, the monster’s career was ended by a boy firing “an arrow of willow” (Severance 1904, 81).

The imagery of this story remains vigorous today. A Haudenosaunee journalist recently published the plot as a traditional tale of two environmentally destructive serpents (named Canada and the United States) slain by a Mohawk boy armed with a special bow of willow (George-Kanentiio 2000, 30–34). The contemporary telling, therefore, still retains at least a vestigial allusion to killing evil ones with red osier dogwood.

One could also employ red willow in liquid form as a bath to rejuvenate some vitalistic function. In a story about a Stone Giant, for example, the mythological forest monster has a severed human hand that miraculously

indicates the location of game. Because the game-pointer does not work when it dries out, one must recharge its magical life by immersing it in a solution made from red willow (Beauchamp 1922, 147).

Dogwood frequently is mentioned in Iroquois folklore as the main ingredient of an emetic that restores health to a body imperiled by some contact with the supernatural. It “was used to induce vomiting,” according to F. Roy Johnson (1967, 201). “In ancient times, the mere sight of a magical snake or some other like monster could bring death if a great magical medicine was not used.” A man who battles a giant bloodsucker is so cured after downing a decoction made from bark scrapings of the red osier dogwood (Waugh 1915: J. Jamieson 201 f29). Similarly, William Fenton observed (1987, 156) that red willow is used to treat a nosebleed resulting from seeing a powerful non-human being.

Red willow also was regarded as an antidote to witchcraft (Waugh 1915: “Ooksayik” 201 f26). As an Oneida story summarized in 1919 put it:

Once a woman that wasn’t good fell in love with a young man and his people didn’t like her but she gave him some love powder and he fell in love with her. His family felt very bad and his grandmother cut three red whips and stewed them and gave him to drink and he was cured of his craze (Allen 1948, 73).

The anti-witchcraft beverage mentioned here presumably counteracted the love potion as an emetic. What seems to be regarded as poison induced by an other-worldly connection is, in all these instances, vomited out.

A red-willow emetic also corrected an unpleasant personality. This is what happened to a Stone Giant when offered a red-osier-dogwood drink:

After the Stone Giant had drunk about half of the medicine, he grew pale and nauseous and vomited . . . Mixed in with his vomit were all kinds of bugs and crawling things, for the medicine had knocked the evil out of him. Again he drank of the potion and vomited up more of the vile matters. Finally the Stone Giant stopped vomiting and was rid of the evil that had possessed him (Rudes 1994, 474).

A substance that could cure a brute of his villainous nature was very strong medicine indeed. It counteracted baneful effects from the numinous and, to us, non-normal world and domesticated monsters through the action of cleansing and purification. It was medicine of a spiritually powerful sort that cured the body from the inside out.

The red-willow associations described in this section apparently are unique to the Iroquois region or, in the case of the snake-that-swallowed-a-village, to the Iroquoian-speaking community. Robert Hall (1977, 157–59; 1983, 40–41) has long argued that red willow is

connected to ancient rituals involving sacred smoke, to a symbolism of weaponry employed to make peace, and to concepts of immortality. Certainly arrows and kinnikinnick are often said to be of red willow in Great Lakes folklore. However, in the predominantly Midwestern setting of Hall's arguments, red willow is only one of several reddish plants connoting life continuity, the others being red cedar, bearberry, and sumac (1977, 505–6). Of these, red cedar is the one most frequently named as the weapon one wields against non-human foes (Barnouw 1977, 122, 132–37; Hoffman 1896, 148–49). Further, red cedar carries the strongest ceremonial associations in Delaware/Lenape and Great Lakes traditions (Smith 1995, 72–73; Speck 1931, 127, 171) and in the archaeology of the Mississippian heartland (Johannessen 1993, 199; Pauketat et al. 2002).

The Southeast is home to a philosophy of purificatory emetics similar to that of the Iroquois (Hudson 1976, 340–41, 415–16). However, the substance inducing vomiting is not the osier bush but rather redroot and other plants believed to “render the user pure and properly prepared for participation in his ritual encounters with the sacred” (Grantham 2002, 55).

HOW THEY ASSERTED ITS AGE

Embedded in the Iroquois creation myth is the tradition that dogwood was the first plant on our earth, springing up at water's edge around the circumference of Turtle's back. In a 1971 Oneida account, the woman who fell from the sky sees that the “first two things that came to be growing were the red willow” and something else the narrator could not recall. A 1912 Oneida version insists on the same incident: “The earth began to grow bigger, and [the woman] could see the red osier dogwood bushes” (Lounsbury and Gick 2000, 40, 165). Mohawk Seth Newhouse specified this detail in the late 1890s: “At that time she looked and saw that willows had grown up to bushes along the edge of the water” (Hewitt 1974 [1928], 288). Around 1876, Seneca Esquire Johnson related the plant to the creative activities of the Good Spirit: “and at once the earth was made beautiful with the green grass. He then made the red willow grow on the wet land” (Caswell 1892, 232). An Oneida account by James Dean documents what is probably the red willow integrated into the creation myth more than two centuries ago: “The earth continued to expand and soon formed a small island, skirted with willow and other aquatic shrubbery” (Lounsbury and Gick 2000, 158).

The most magisterial rendering of this great epic is that given in 1900 by the great synthesizer of Iroquois lore, John Arthur Gibson.⁴ Gibson stated that the good twin (the demiurge also characterized as the Good Spirit) cre-

ated grass, the sunflower, and then red willow. In other passages, however, Gibson insisted that red willow was the first plant to grow on this earth (Hewitt 1974 [1928], 544, 573). “Here,” the good twin announced after creating it, “I have planted a medicine which then shall be the eldest one of all those that shall continue to grow here” (Hewitt 1974 [1928], 491). Dogwood's great age was later confirmed by Frank Speck (1995 [1949], 31) who was given to understand that the red willow was the oldest plant referenced among the trees and bushes in the Thanksgiving Address—the all-purpose ritual invocation used to open and close formal social gatherings.

What the medicine was supposed to do is unclear although, a little further on in Gibson's account, the good twin wafts his grandmother up to the sky on red-willow smoke. Then, turning to the first human couple, he says that, in the future, only the word and mind will be able to go up, and they only on tobacco smoke (Hewitt 1974 [1928], 552–53). Thus, Gibson mythologically dated red willow to an age preceding people and tobacco use.

The prominence accorded red willow by the Iroquois in their cosmogony is not characteristic of mythology elsewhere in the Northeast. The closest one can come to it occurs in the Nanabozho cycle of the Great Lakes as an apparent mythic charter to smoke red-willow kinnikinnick. In some versions, Nanabozho punishes his rear end for its failure to keep watch while he sleeps. Blood from the Algonquian trickster-hero's self-induced wound stains the osier bush red, which, hereafter, shall be available for humans to smoke (Barnouw 1977, 29–30; Bloomfield 1928, 231; Kohl 1985 [1860], 393; Michelson 1917, 113, 179, 415; Skinner 1927, 340).

HOW THEY IROQUOIANIZED FOREIGN STORIES

When the Iroquois incorporated outside material into their story-telling repertoire, they included some reference to red osier dogwood. Like a stamp of approval, the addition seems to have certified the tale as authentically Iroquois. A comparison of how narratives about horned serpents and disobedient children were told in non-Iroquois and Iroquois settings illustrates this process of incorporation.

Present throughout much of North America was a motif consisting of three sequential conditions or elements. First, a human must get across a body of water, frequently because he/she seeks rescue from having been marooned on an island or escape from an enemy in close pursuit. Second, the human receives assistance from a horned beast—usually a serpent, but sometimes a fish, a walrus, or a more complicated mythical being of composite attributes. Third, the passenger riding on the beast's

head often induces the beast to continue in its efforts or to speed up by feeding the steed, giving it eagle feathers, shooting arrows in front of it, or tapping its horns. As a story or as an episode within a larger narrative, this sequence is documented in the Southeast (Grantham 2002, 183–84; Lankford 1987, 205–6; Swanton 1929, 126–28, 172–75, 234–39), in New England (Fewkes 1890, 269–70), in the northern Great Lakes (Michelson 1919, 383–85; Skinner 1911, 92–93; and see Barbeau 1915, 102–3), and in the Plains (Dorsey 1997 [1905], 26–27; Lévi-Strauss 1990 [1968], 436–37, 445, 451–52).

This motif, which I call crossing-water-on-a-horned-beast,⁵ shows up in a Seneca tale in which a horned serpent rescues a young woman stranded on an island. Placing the woman on his head, the snake carries her to the safety of the mainland while under attack by a pursuing Thunder. Earlier, the snake had instructed his passenger to equip herself with twelve osier switches. In one version, the woman “noticed that the snake began to slacken the speed and started to sink lower than usual; so . . . she took one whip and give it a sharp lash . . . then [the snake] seem to take new life, started out with its head up again and renewed speed” (Cornplanter 1986 [1938], 61–62). “In the awful fury of the tempest,” according to another, “the great serpent cried in terror: ‘Oh use your lashes! Oh spur me onward! My strength is failing! Scourge me!’” (Parker 1989 [1923], 226).

The motif also occurs in an Oneida story that tells of a boy who rides a magic bull while fleeing from dangerous enemies in close pursuit.⁶ When the boy and bull hesitate at the bank of a river, the bull says, “I am about worn out and I can hardly get across the stream, but you cut seven whips of red willow. When you see me begin to sink, begin to whip me with the whips one at a time and throw each one away when it is worn out.” The youth does so and the two of them just barely make it across (Allen 1948, 34–35, 47–48).

The girl on the snake and the boy on the bull are the only Iroquois examples known to me of crossing-water-on-a-horned-beast and both make reference to red willow. Red willow is not, on the other hand, mentioned in any of the examples of the motif documented elsewhere.

The specific application of osier described here—whipping—is new. However, its effect (replenishing the vigor of a weary supernatural) resembles the restoration of the Stone Giant’s depleted game-pointer noted above.

The second example of how a foreign tale was customized to an Iroquois setting comes straight out of the Brothers Grimm. The German story of “The Willful Child” is quoted below from the Grimms’ “large edition” of 1857 (story no. 117).

Once upon a time there was a child who was willful, and would not do what her mother wished. For this reason God had no pleasure in her, and let her

become ill, and no doctor could do her any good, and in a short time she lay on her death-bed. When she had been lowered into her grave, and the earth was spread over her, all at once her arm came out again, and stretched upwards, and when they had put it in and spread fresh earth over it, it was all to no purpose, for the arm always came out again. Then the mother herself was obliged to go to the grave, and strike the arm with a rod, and when she had done that, it was drawn in, and then at last the child had rest beneath the ground (Grimm and Grimm 1944, 534–35).

An Iroquois version, given by an Oneida in 1918, runs as follows:

Once there was a little girl who was very naughty but her mother never punished her and in time she died and her mother was very sad. She was buried and one day a man was going past the cemetery and saw her hands sticking out of her grave. He told her mother who was terribly broken up over it and went to see the minister about it. The minister asked if the child had ever been punished. The mother said no. She had been very naughty but never punished. Then the minister asked how old she was and the mother said she was 12. Then he told her to get 12 red whips and whip her hands with one at a time and then throw it away. She got them and the hand began to draw back as soon as she began with the first whip and when she had used the whole 12 they had entirely disappeared (Allen 1948, 38).

Here again, the Iroquois took a story of apparent foreign derivation and added to it an allusion to red willow and, again, the application is whipping. Now, however, lashing is done to correct youthful disobedience. The whips seem to cure by drawing brattiness out as if it were a discrete substance. A similar alteration of attitude or personality was experienced by the Stone Giant who took a red-willow emetic.

Descriptions of osier lashing seem oddly specific as to the number of whips involved. Why? Whipping with osier is not punishment. It is medicine that soaks up an offending condition (fatigue, nastiness) like a sponge. Several whips are needed because, applied one at a time, the curing action is regarded as gradual and cumulative. And, having absorbed the noxious property, the whips must be disposed of carefully.

Although lashing with dogwood is unique to Iroquois oral narrative, a broadly similar concept of whipping may have been known to the neighboring Lenape. On the one hand, there may be allusions to ceremonial whipping among those people during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Harrington 1921, 58; Speck 1937, 8). On the other, restorative whipping is mentioned in an early-

twentieth-century folktale about a boy with thunderbird power who teams up with Wehixamokäs, a trickster-warrior character. The latter gets into a fight with giants who all but subdue him:

So this friend of his, this boy, had more power than Wehixamokäs had. So he helped Wehixamokäs. He horsewhipped Wehixamokäs because he was scared and was getting overpowered. So by his assistance, Wehixamokäs and he managed to escape from those giants (Bierhorst 1995, 115).

CONCLUSION

Red osier dogwood shows up nearly everywhere one looks in the Iroquois folklore of 1900. Its smoke conferred great power. Wizards could rise through the air on it and, when inhaled through a pipe, the smoke could convert red-willow kinnikinnick into wampum beads. As the *deus ex machina* of storytelling, red willow provided an instant magical solution to any difficulty. Weapons of red willow were essential in battles against malignant supernatural enemies. Furthermore, one could repair the capabilities of certain malfunctioning objects by soaking them in liquid derived from red willow.

A red-willow emetic counteracted witchcraft, corrected villainous behavior, and revitalized a person after otherworldly encounters. A lashing with osier switches restored the vigor of an imperiled supernatural friend and corrected childish misbehavior. In both cases, the action was curative: debilitating, malefic, or offending substances were removed from the body. As medicine, red willow cleansed and purified. It renewed health and replenished strength.

This powerful medicine was very old. In the case of the snake-that-swallowed-a-village, the idea is documented as being at least two hundred years old. More importantly, the Iroquois made a point of stressing a far-greater antiquity by defining red willow in their cosmogonic narratives as the first plant and most ancient medicine in our world. Foreign tales apparently were adopted into the Haudenosaunee storytelling repertoire through the simple expedient of adding an incident involving red osier dogwood to the plot. In 1900, the associations of red osier dogwood comprised an extraordinary bundle of ideas about medicine, smoke, wands, and weapons found nowhere else.

How much of the old beliefs about osier have survived to see a new century? One osier concept alive and well today is the notion that red willow is the proper substance for correcting unruly children. Whipping with such a switch is still regarded as more cure than punishment because “it is the ‘medicine’ in the red willow rather than

the ‘spanking’ which corrects the ways of the child” (Shimony 1994 [1961], 210). An obstinate child “should be whipped four times with a red whip,” according to Chief Jacob Thomas (1991, 2) because “a red willow whip is considered to be the appropriate medicine.”

Although narrative knowledge of red willow apparently is much diminished, what does remain carries conviction. When the prophet Handsome Lake was vouchsafed a vision of the House of Punishment, according to Chief Thomas,⁷ he saw a mother and daughter imprisoned forever in a boiling pot because they had not administered the medicine properly (Thomas 1994, 110–11). “The child said to the mother, ‘You should have scolded me more and punished me with a red whip.’”

ENDNOTES

1. A number of other compilations, dating from the same period and purporting to recount Iroquois folklore, seem to me inauthentic. The stories published by Canfield (1902), Converse (1908), and Powers (1923), for example, are fanciful or so thoroughly reworked as to be of dubious value for nearly any research purpose. Similarly, Parker’s *Skunny Wundy* (1994 [1926]), a children’s book of “Seneca Indian tales,” is very much a consciously crafted literary work. His slightly later *Rumbling Wings* (1928) is even more clearly the creative product of his own imagination.
2. Words for this bush in various Iroquoian languages are given below with their English equivalents.
 - Oneida: o-nikw^htala? (red) nika-kwil-ó:t^ (willow; kind of whip) (Lounsbury and Gick 2000, 75);
 - Onondaga: kwen-tah-ne-u-hoon-too-te (red tree) (Beauchamp 1893, 116);
 - Seneca: gwen'den'en niyo'enno'den' (red shoots) (Fenton 1945, 50);
 - Tuscarora: tikätci? rurätkwäräyë^n? (red medicine stick) (Rudes and Crouse 1987, 136);
 - Wyandot: u'gyohara' (dogwood) u-hskwira' (stick) (Pearson 2001, 136).

The botanical term usually seems to combine “red” with something like “branch” or “stick.” “Red willow” may be as good a translation as any. Of course, one can never be certain the precise referent, in every instance, is *Cornus sericea*.
3. When citing the unpublished papers of Waugh (1912–1918), I reference the informant (in this case, J. Davis), the box (201), and the folder (f25). Not knowing the informant in one instance, I provide the story title (“Ooksayik”).
4. Chief Gibson may also have alluded to red osier dogwood in his 1912 version of the League Tradition, that is, the origin story of the Iroquois Confederacy. The passage in question occurs in the Roll Call of the Chiefs (On the Journey), the first ritual of the Condolence Council: “they spread out whips for them . . . at the mucky place” (Woodbury 1992, 575).
5. Some examples of crossing-water-on-a-horned-beast were listed by the great folklorist Stith Thompson as variants of the “Whale-boat” motif (R245). In Whale-boat, “a man is carried across the water on a whale (or fish). In most cases he deceives the whale as to the nearness to the shore or as to hearing thunder” (Thompson 1929, 327).

Lankford (1987, 208) agreed with this classification for the south-eastern examples with which he is most familiar. Lévi-Strauss (1990 [1968], 444–57), on the other hand, identified the incident in question with the Ferryman motif, often a crane who extends his neck across a body of water to aid the escape of a story's protagonist. While crossing-water-on-a-horned-beast could well be a subset of Whale-boat (or, conceivably, the Ferryman), my grouping calls attention to traits that set it apart from the other examples of Whale-boat and are not essential to the definition of the Whale-boat motif.

6. The Oneida story illustrates borrowing from the outside world with a vengeance because the full plot is an amalgam of at least two stories of wide Eurasian distribution: "The Little Red Ox" (Thompson 1981, 178; motif A511A) and, in its Native American context, "The Enchanted Horse" (Thompson 1929, 208, and see Thompson 1946, 59–60).
7. Red osier dogwood is not mentioned in earlier Handsome Lake texts as given by Morgan (1962 [1851], 233–59) and Parker (1913).

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Chapter 3

IROQUOIS MOURNING AND CONDOLENCE INSTALLATION RITUALS: A Pattern of Social Integration and Continuity

Denis Foley

The multiple forms and social contexts of the condolence ceremonies used by traditionalist Iroquois groups, among themselves and in their relations with external parties, have long been the subject of academic study. To understand the continuance and importance of these ceremonies from the seventeenth century until the present time, the concepts of condolence, ritual, and involution need explanation. Condolence is used to distinguish a series of ceremonies held at various levels of Iroquois society to mourn the death of an individual. Ritual is a highly conventionalized set of behaviors that individuals believe will help, by supernatural means, to protect, purify, or enrich the participants, whether members of their own group or not. Involution is the increasing complication of a simple pattern by the elaboration, inversion, and repetition of its component units (Gluckman 1968, 285)

Renewal, or purification, occurs only when the mourners adhere to a rigid ritual pattern. Every member of traditionalist Iroquois society is in one of two moieties during condolence ceremonies: either the clear-minded or the mourning. If the pattern is not completed by the clear-minded segment, then malignant forces, which are defined in the traditionalist concept of death, may destroy not only specific individuals but possibly Iroquois society itself. This destruction is a negative sanction on those who do not comply with their ritual obligations. The mourning ritual therefore creates a positive ethic of cooperation at the lineage, clan, tribal, confederate, and alliance levels. The completion of the mourning ritual allows for closure in the section of Iroquois society that has experienced a death. An ethic of cooperation based on ritual reciprocity can mend society despite overbearing political factions or ongoing personal disputes. Onondaga Chief Peter Sky terms this process a mutual privilege, the "privilege of the *Hai-Hai*." The term *Hai-Hai* appears to have various

meanings. Chief Sky translated it as hail-hail, similar to the meaning given by Horatio Hale (1883) in his translation titled *The Iroquois Book of Rites*. However, the Jesuits translated "*Hai-Hai*" as an imitation of the cry of souls. John N. B. Hewitt concurred with the Jesuit Fathers (1898, 287).

In an effort to elaborate on a previous study of alliance condolence procedures (Foley 1973), this analysis examines current and past condolence rituals within a narrow framework of similarly structured Iroquois ritual mourning patterns: the traditional burial rites; the semi-annual *Ohgi'we*, which honors all who died during the last six months; the Feast of the Dead, which is held every ten to twelve years to honor all who have died since the last such ceremony; the Chief Installation Ceremony of the twenty-first century; and the colonial and current Ally Greeting Ceremony at the Wood's Edge to Wipe the Tears from a Loss. A comparison of these ceremonies shows that they all contain systemic patterns that remain intact over time and place. Each ceremony can be classified as a variant of one model—a reciprocal-privilege burial ritual. The content and social structure of condolence ceremonies are reducible to a few component rituals because it is formed by the repetition, juxtaposition, and addition of repeated rituals and reciprocal role behaviors. Each condolence unleashes a spiritual force that satisfies and honors the all-powerful dead and renews both the individual mourners and the related subsystems that form Iroquois society.

The involution of core mourning rituals is an Iroquois device to overcome the social and psychological stigmas resulting from death and the subsequent loss at the lineage, clan, community, and confederate levels. The condolence ceremony also extends to all allies whether they are First Peoples or not. If the Iroquois consider someone as a fictive brother/sister or nephew/niece, the traditionalist

may condole that individual for suffering a personal or corporate group loss.¹

The survival of traditional Iroquois society and its political organization amid proselytizing, land losses, and political intervention by a larger society says much for the staying power of reciprocal ritual privileges and the importance of mourning rites as integrating forces for layered social, political, and religious units.

The ceremonial culture of the Northeast Woodland Iroquois Confederate Tribes—the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca, who were later joined in the eighteenth century by the Tuscarora and Tutelo as “props” to the Longhouse—was among the first to be studied by working with a skilled native informant. Lewis Henry Morgan, who is considered the father of American anthropology, gained his insight through the use of a collaborator, or “co-author” as today’s traditionalist Seneca state. The Seneca Chief, and later Civil War general, Ely S. Parker described the burial and Confederate chief’s installation rituals to Morgan, thus providing him with an insider’s view of Iroquois ceremonialism. Morgan also used his Iroquois contacts to view the rituals in person, first observing them at Tonawanda in October 1847. His friend Horatio Hale, a distinguished practitioner in early North American linguistics, observed these same rituals, as performed by Mohawk Chief John “Smoke” Johnson in October 1879 (Morgan n.d.; Fenton 1989, xiii).

The condolence ceremonies impressed these early observers. Morgan (1851; 1877) described eighteenth-century condolences in detail, and Hale (1883) translated *The Iroquois Book of Rites* from mid-eighteenth-century Mohawk and Onondaga versions. Hale termed the Chief Condolence and Installation Ceremony the “Iroquois Veda” (1883, 37).² This Iroquois ceremony extends back into the pre-contact era and at minimum is over five and a half centuries old, having its origins in the founding of the Iroquois League by the Peacemaker and his assistant *Hiwatha*. Thus, it may be the oldest ongoing installation ceremony of an existing national government official in the Americas.

Morgan’s and Hale’s descriptions and analyses have been enhanced and elaborated upon by a long list of prominent observers, anthropologists, and linguists. The Reverend William Beauchamp (1907), an Anglican priest at Onondaga, produced an excellent examination of Iroquois adoption, civil, religious, and mourning rituals. He also demonstrated the persistence and continuity of Iroquois ceremonialism by showing that the formalized Welcome at the Wood’s or Water’s Edge can be found in Jacques Cartier’s visit in 1535 to the Huron village of *Hochelaga* at present-day Montreal (1907, 421). In the twentieth century, Smithsonian ethnologists John N. B. Hewitt (1917; 1928; 1944; 1945) and William N. Fenton (1946; 1953) recorded and described the material culture,

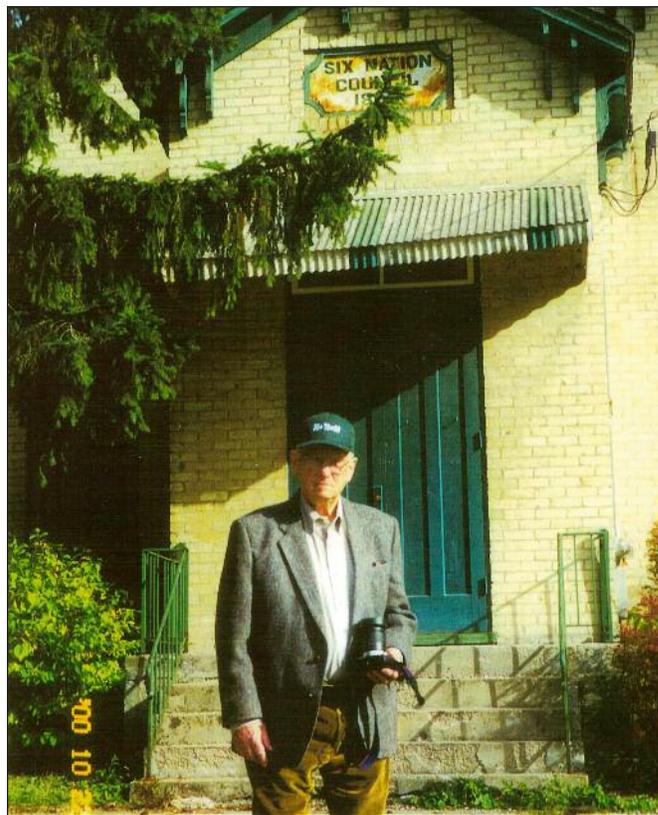


Figure 3.1. William Fenton at Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, in front of the council house, October 22, 2000.

Photo by Denis Foley.

texts, dance, and ritual organization of individual chiefs’ condolences. Fenton’s (1998) classic *The Great Law and the Longhouse* is in part a historical search for the hereditary condolee chiefs’ titles and an explanation of ritual continuity, including condolence behaviors, within the changing circumstances of the Iroquois Confederacy as it faced interference from competing colonial powers and Christian missionaries (Figure 3.1). Hanni Woodbury (1992) began working in 1979, with William Fenton’s encouragement, on a text that was dictated in Onondaga by Chief John A. Gibson to anthropologist Alexander Goldenweiser in 1912. It contains extensive materials on the condolence council rituals as well as the story of the formation of the League.

Today’s Condolence and Installation Ceremony, whereby a new chief is appointed to succeed a deceased chief, is a six- to seven-hour ritual beginning in the early afternoon. Morgan and Beauchamp believed that the earliest condolences were five-day affairs (Beauchamp 1907, 395). In this ceremony, one moiety consists of the Four Younger Brothers (the Cayuga, Oneida, Tuscarora, and Tutelo), who may condole or be condolee by the other moiety, which consists of the Three Older Brothers (the Mohawk, Onondaga, and Seneca). The condolers express bereave-



ment as they “wipe the eyes,” “unplug the ears,” and “clear the obstructions of grief from the throat” of the mourning moiety, nation, clan, lineage, and family. The genius of linking a primal need to overcome grief with reciprocal civil protocols may in part account for the survival of the Iroquois Confederacy itself as well as the Chief Condolence and Installation Ceremony. The ceremony evidently has profound significance at an individual emotive level and also at a more general societal level.

The Iroquois Confederacy has fifty hereditary chiefs: nine Mohawk, nine Oneida, ten Cayuga, fourteen Onondaga, and eight Seneca. Each position, and its corresponding name, is restricted to a lineal descendant in the female line of a particular clan. A clan mother, therefore, nominates

a chief from within her own lineage. That nomination is first referred to the nation and then to the Grand Council of Chiefs, which has to approve the selection, along with the condoling moiety. The Grand Council of Chiefs will not sanction the traditional Condolence and Installation Ceremony for a Christian, because today all chiefs must be members of a Longhouse and followers of Handsome Lake’s Good Message (Figure 3.2).

The nomination process and the decision to hold a chief’s Condolence Ceremony is a consensual one. The celebratory feast and the accompanying dances, however, are arranged and paid for by members of the new chief’s lineage, who may solicit contributions throughout the reservation community. The general community assists by allowing the use of its longhouse and cookhouse.

The Condolence and Installation of a chief represents a burial ceremony extended to the confederate level. In this ritual process, all layers of Iroquois social structure are intermeshed. At the 2000 condolence of Mohawk Chief Brian Skidders, grown men’s eyes teared up when they heard the *Hai-Hai*—the cries of the dead themselves and the beginning verse of the Eulogy of the Founders. These were tears of joy. The words said by Younger Brothers over the trail to the Akwesasne Longhouse emotionally linked the present Iroquois with previous generations. Onondaga mourner Chief Peter Sky stated that he was honored to be condoled by the Younger Brothers at a Condolence Ceremony (Figure 3.3).

The conceptions of death held by current Iroquois traditionalists and the need for rituals to placate the dead are consistent with earlier practice. Eighteenth-century Jesuit

Figure 3.2. Early twentieth-century condolence cane, exact date and origin unknown. This cane serves as a mnemonic for the Roll Call of the Founders. From a private collection, with permission of the owner. Photo by Denis Foley.



Figure 3.3. Akwesasne condolence participants and Six Nation Hereditary Chiefs, 2000. Photo courtesy of Joyce King.

missionary Joseph-François Lafitau explained that mourning rituals were a key element in the Iroquois belief system:

It could be said that all their work, all their sweating and all their trade came back almost solely to doing honor to their dead. They have nothing precious enough for this (Fenton and Moore 1977, 413–14).

The Iroquois reaction to death was focused on specific mourning rituals. According to Lafitau, one's failure to observe these rituals could have serious consequences:

If one missed this ceremony they regarded as a punishment from Heaven all the grim accidents which could happen to him afterwards (Fenton and Moore 1977, 421).

The rituals had to be carried out according to previous custom. If not properly fulfilled, the dead would suffer. Lafitau maintained:

The funeral honors which have been rendered the dead in all times and the care which was taken to fail in nothing of the established customs have as foundation only the common opinion of all the nations that the souls would suffer for it if they failed in the least of things which people believed proper in their obsequies (Fenton and Moore 1977, 423–24).

Death and the reaction to death constituted a model constructed upon an elaboration of the opposing themes of despair and renewal. The practice of dividing Iroquois society at the League level into two moieties continues at the village level. Following a death, the clear-minded, or *akatonis*, are responsible for the burial of an individual ten days after his death and for conducting the appropriate rituals.

Since mourning was a cultural focus of the Iroquois, it is not surprising that they took care to wipe the tears of their allies so that they would not die of grief. Simon LeMoynes, a Jesuit missionary of the mid-seventeenth century, reported that the chief men of the Onondaga addressed the Jesuits' Father Superior as follows:

The Elders of our country have the customs of wiping away another's tears when they are affected by any misfortune. We come, *Achierdisé*, to perform that friendly duty toward thee. We weep with thee, because misfortune cannot touch thee without piercing us by the same blow . . . As to our two nephews who are dead, they must not go naked into the other world; here are fine grave-clothes wherein to cover them. Here is something also wherewith to place them in their graves, to prevent the sight of them from renewing thy grief, and to remove all sorts of lugubrious objects away from thy eyes (Thwaites 1896–1901, 43:277–79).

LeMoynes's account is significant. First, it illustrates that through fictive kinship, the Iroquois regarded themselves as uncles who had to wipe the eyes of those who mourned. The two deceased Frenchmen became their own dead nephews, thus, extending the fictive *akatonis* principle to the alliance level. Second, the description demonstrates the obligation of the living to condole another on his loss.

An outline of a 25 February 1690 Condolence Ceremony, which was held in Albany by the Mohawks to condole recent English deaths suffered at nearby Schenectady, illustrates the elaboration of a negative symbol during the ceremony. This occurs when the removal of a negative symbol is followed by the insertion of a positive one, as in the following outline of the Requickening Address, in which the renewal metaphors are assigned to the clear-minded and the grief metaphors to the mourners:

Moiety Clear-minded	Moiety Mourners
Wipe tears	Grief blinds
Remove dead, Gather dead	Grief causes sickness
Belt of Vigilance	Blindness
Cleans blood from house, Sweeps clean	House defiled
Restores sun	Dark clouds

(O'Callaghan 1850–1851, 2:91–92).

All mourning rituals contain the Requickening Address, which uses cultural metaphors to symbolize death and renewal and sets the ideal standard for dealing with loss. The central symbols of despair and renewal pervade Iroquois mourning rituals. The Iroquois despaired for a multitude of reasons. First, the living grieve at the death of a loved one. Second, the departed soul could return and cause maladies for the living. Third, death imbalances the mind, and if not treated correctly, mental illness or even death can occur among the mourners (Shimony, 1961, 257). Consequently, when in mourning one not only felt loss over the death of an individual, but one also became a potential victim of the deceased's spirit.

Two types of despair-renewal rituals existed. One kind was the condolence of a loss at various levels of socio-cultural integration: the village, confederacy, or alliance. At the heart of this ritual was the Requickening Address in which each component serves as a metaphor for the body, nature, or energy (fire or light). The second type of ritual was the communal Feast of the Dead in which all the dead of the community were gathered from their individual graves and reburied communally. It closely parallels the mourning service for an individual.

The Origin of the Feast of the Dead myth describes a time when the Iroquois lived on scattered hillsides. The story begins with one boy undertaking a journey to find other men. During his journey he sets aside a portion of his hunt for other men and animals. During the night, in his dreams, the dead come and eat his food. In one dream

these dead people identify themselves and say they are very hungry. Throughout his journey he meets more dead people, who leave only after they are fed. After five winters the young warrior becomes lonely for his parents and decides to abandon the dead. Before leaving, he holds a final feast at which a spokesperson for the dead requests that the boy remember the songs of the dead and recall how the dead distributed food among themselves. The spokesman then asks the boy to go among his own people, tell them what he saw, and teach them the songs of the dead. The boy does so and institutes proper mourning rituals.

The Feast of the Dead is the most sacred of Iroquois rituals. As Simeon Gibson emphasized and Howard Skye linguistically demonstrated to William Fenton (Fenton 1953, 143) it is closely related to the Northern Iroquoian ten-day Feast of the Dead that Jesuit missionary Jean de Brebeuf described among the Huron in 1636 (Thwaites 1896–1901, 10:261, 279–81, 289).

The current Feast of the Dead begins with a tobacco invocation, which asks the dead not to interfere with the families still alive, and includes a Requickening Address. Unlike the other mourning rituals, the symbolic community-wide gathering of the bones and the related but distinct *Ohgi'we*, a feast honoring all Iroquois dead, are today a women's ritual (Tooker 1991, 135; Shimony 1994, 231). Both are performed at the women's side of the longhouse, and distinct men's and women's songs are sung. The prescribed mourning songs and food offerings ensure that the dead will journey to the afterlife satiated and not harm the living (Goldenweiser 1912–1914, Book 16:2 and Book 19:16–49). Thus a moiety structure based on gender, rather than clan and lineage, is practiced today.

The question of the interrelationships between types of condolences is an intriguing one. While the death of a commoner or village chief only calls for condolence ceremonies conducted at the local village level, the death of a sachem—a hereditary chief of the League—requires condolence at the confederate level. The participants are still divided into two moieties so that representatives of the opposite moiety on the confederate level, either the Three Brothers or Four Brothers, conduct the ceremony. The mourning rituals at the burial of a sachem differ in content and sequence from the Condolence of a commoner. The burial of a chief is a more elaborate affair. Shimony (1961, 257) suggests that the form used for the condoling and requickening at the burial of sachems is similar to that used at the Condolence and Installation Council. It seems apparent that the Condolence used at Installation developed from the Condolence at the Burial of Sachems. Distance, weather, and the perils of almost continuous warfare made it impossible for all the Confederate chiefs of the clear-minded moiety to be present ten days after a death for the burial and Condolence Ceremony. They re-

condoled the dead chief the next time all the clear-minded and mourners were together, which would be at the Installation Ceremony. The confederate-level Condolence, therefore, occurs at the installation of a new sachem.

Because it is held at the confederation level, the Condolence Ceremony for a sachem begins with a Welcome at the Wood's Edge. Later the speaker of the clear-minded moiety recites the fifteen verses of the Requickening Address. Wampum strings are colored and ordered to represent a specific metaphor of the Requickening Address, e.g. wiping tears from one's eyes, and accompany each relevant verse. The condolers give the string to the mourners. When the condolers complete their verses, the mourners repeat mirror images of these verses to the clear-minded and then return the wampum. This ritual reversal is an example of involution, since the same contextual units are used in combination. The use of wampum demonstrates both involution and reciprocity because the clear-minded give wampum to the mourners and then the mourners return the wampum to the clear-minded in cadence with their associated metaphoric verses.

The Condolence at the Installation repeats the original burial ceremonial sequence and includes additional rituals such as the Welcome at the Wood's Edge, the Roll Call of the Fifty Chiefs, and the Eulogy to the Founders/Over the Forest Chants. In other words, the Condolence at the Installation is an elaborate burial ceremony without the deceased being present. At a Mohawk Condolence held in Canada in 1782, the clear-minded speaker noted, "we speak words over the corpse," yet no corpse was present. The chief had died two weeks earlier (Hewitt 1928, 96).

In a similar manner, the Alliance Condolence represents an extension of this fictive burial procedure to groups of a different band, tribe, or nation, including Euro-Americans. The modern greeting of white delegations that are aware of Iroquois protocol contains a tobacco ceremony, a revised or abridged Requickening Address, purple wampum, and a symbolic across-the-fire exchange. For example, when the Hyde Foundation's wampum belts were returned to the Onondaga Longhouse in 1988, Chief Jacob Thomas conducted an abridged Requickening Address that included a symbolic exchange of wampum.³

The forms and patterns of the Condolence Ceremony do not change significantly through time. For example, Fenton's (1946), Shimony's (1961), Michelson's (1988), and King's (2000) descriptions are similar in content, social organization, and sequence to Morgan's (1851) and Hale's (1883; 1895) accounts. Foley's field interviews of Onondaga Runner James Sky (1973), as well as those of Chief Peter Sky (2001) and Cayuga ritualist Kenneth Maracle (2006), both performers of the ritual from 1999 to 2006, contain an identical format and similar content to



Figure 3.4. Elder Kenneth Maracle, Cayuga wampum-maker, holding a replica of a two-row wampum belt, at the Iroquois Museum, Howes Cave, New York, 2004. Photo by Denis Foley.

earlier published accounts of Hewitt, Fenton, and Shimony (Figure 3.4). The essential parts of the ritual—a tribal moiety division into Elder and Younger Brothers; a *Hai-Hai* or Eulogy to the Founders of the League; a mourner’s symbolic Chant of Welcome at Wood’s Edge; Fifteen Words of Requickening with wampum exchanges; and the Installation Ceremony itself—are present, including the Roll Call of Chiefs and Six Songs of Farewell, a feast, and late-night social dancing.

The Requickening chants of nineteenth- and twentieth-century condolences reflect a similarity in content with those contained in a Mohawk chief’s Condolence in 1782 that Hewitt translated (1928, 95–99). The eighteenth-century version presents in detail the early Matters of Requickening with wampum exchange. It is spoken by the clear-minded and contains the wiping of the tears, clearing of the throat, removing of the blood spots on the mat, and a very brief section of the Eulogy to the Founders.

A description of an alliance ceremony held in 1774 shortly after the death of Sir William Johnson and the subsequent appointment of Guy Johnson to the post of Indian Superintendent lacks the detail of the accounts noted above. The scribe who recorded this ceremony abridged the various parts, as he may not have considered them important from a English governmental

perspective or because he did not understand them. Nevertheless, elements of the traditional ceremony are clearly recognizable. The sequence, the moiety organization of the Three Elder and Four Younger Brothers, the use of wampum, and the recorded condolence are significantly similar to more detailed descriptions (Figure 3.5). There is, however, no specific reference to the Six Songs of Farewell to the dead chief, although the “chants” mentioned could be these. It is important to note that this installation was not to the position of sachem, and this may account for some differences (O’Callaghan 1853–1887, 8:497–98).

A Condolence occurs at the alliance level when two allies, or potential allies, meet in a situation wherein one has experienced a loss. One Iroquois speaker explained this custom to William Johnson in 1756:

As it is the established Custom amongst us whenever we have a meeting of our Bretheren the English, or they enter our Fireplace to condole the Losses of their people (O’Callaghan 1853–1887, 7:131).

Four specific criteria determined whether “a loss” required a Condolence Ceremony. First, the allies perform a Condolence if any of the principals, such as translators, sachems, or representatives of an ally in former conferences has died. Second, if a Condolence has been held for the deceased, but a number of principals were not present at that Condolence, the ceremony is repeated again. This situation occurred in 1774:

As some of the principal men now present did not attend the last congress [July 19, when the Six Nations condole the loss of Sir William Johnson], they must continue in grief ‘till the Ceremony of Condolence is performed (O’Callaghan 1853–1887, 8:498).



Figure 3.5. Johnson Hall (Sir William Johnson Presenting Medals to the Indian Chiefs of the Six Nations at Johnstown, N.Y., 1772) Edward Lamson Henry (1841–1919), 1903, oil on canvas, 21.25 x 37 inches. Albany Institute of History & Art Purchase 1993.44.

Third, condolences are a prerequisite to public conferences if a member of one of the principal's group has killed any one of the others. Fourth, condolences occur if either group has lost a member of high status or if a principal has suffered a severe loss. The former class includes famous pine tree chiefs or warriors. The latter class includes close relatives of the principals.

Differences in form exist in condolences held outside Iroquoia since geographical context determines the sequential structure of the alliance condolences. When the Iroquois were summoned to Montreal, Albany, or Johnson Hall, elements could be omitted such as the Welcome at the Wood's Edge and the March of the Clear-Minded. If the Condolence occurred in colonial territory, a reconstructed conference of the period (1690–1774) could be as follows:

- I. Introduction or short greeting.
- II. Condolence Business.
 - A. Requickening, speeches, belts transferred.
 - B. Mourners return condolences and belts.
- III. Public Business.

A more elaborate condolence form appears to occur when the conference is held in Iroquois territory, where the material culture elements and the ritualists themselves are all available for a full elaboration of the ceremony. An excellent example of this form is apparent in a 1756 account of a condolence ceremony during an Iroquois meeting with Sir William Johnson (O'Callaghan 1853–1887, 7:133–34). First, it began with the preparation in the woods. This included the gathering of the clear-minded into a group and a last discussion of what was to be said. Second, it was followed by the march of the clear-minded. At this junction a roll call was sung:

Then Sr William marched on at the Head of the Sachems singing the condoling song which contains the names laws & Customs of their renowned ancestors, and praying to god that their deceased Brother might be blessed with happiness in his other state, this Ceremony was performed by Abraham the chief Mohawk Sachem, Tesanunda, and Canaghquayeson chief Sachems of Oneida.

Third, the meeting of the clear-minded and mourners at the wood's edge came next:

When they came within sight of the Castle the Head Sachems and Warriors [of Onondaga] met Sr William, where he was stopped they [the mourners] having placed themselves in a Half Moon across the Road sitting in profound silence, there a Halt was made about an hour during which time the aforesaid Sachems sung the condoling song.

Fourth, the welcome of the clear-minded by the mourners followed:

This being over, Rozinoghyata, with several other councillors or Sachems rose up, and shook hand with Sr William and bid him and his company wellcome to their Town or Castle.

Fifth, the mourners escorted the clear-minded to the long-house as they continued the condoling song:

Then Sr William marched on at the Head of the Warriors the Sachems falling into the Rear and continued singing their condoling song.

The sequence of these five rituals was called the "Introduction" by the English translator and scribe who recorded this meeting. The last part of the ceremony was the recitation of the Requickening Address and the exchange of wampum belts:

The full council of all the Nations met, with Sr William at their Head, to perform the grand solemnity of Condolence for the Death of Caghswautioony cheif Sachem of Onondaga . . . All these compliments of condolence were enforced, by 11 Belts and 3 Strings of Wampum.

This sequence is similar to the sequence of the confederate-level condolence. The content is also similar except that the Six Songs of Farewell occurs only at the confederate level.

In the late twentieth century, *Hatahts'ikrehtha'* ("he makes the clouds descend"), Cayuga Chief Jacob ("Jake") Thomas, became a condolence ritualist for the Confederate chiefs at the Six Nations Reserve, Ontario (Foster 2005, 221). The hereditary chiefs here were ousted from formal governing power in 1923 by Canadian authorities in a bloodless coup. An elective council replaced the chiefs. After this event the Alliance Condolence evolved into a version that stresses discontent at the white man's suppression of Iroquois rights. In this ceremony Thomas used the traditional purple wampum strings, which he symbolically passed over the fire to his white allies. Chief Thomas, however, changed the accompanying metaphors of wiping tears from the eyes, unplugging the ears, and removing blood from the mat to metaphors reflecting the theft of Iroquois lands and broken promises and treaties. Recriminations intended for the non-Iroquois participants were added through new metaphors: removing the fog that prevents one from seeing the truth, removing dirt from one's ears so the story of the Iroquois people can be heard, and washing the blood of the Iroquois people from the white man's hands so that they may know the clasp of true friendship.

Chief Thomas, who had a dry wit, used the newer condolence form periodically when he greeted recalcitrant

Canadian or American power brokers. He used strings of wampum, each representing an article of requickening, which he symbolically presented to the guest delegation.⁴ His words of requickening documented Canadian or American actions and decisions that broke the Covenant Chain of Alliance, which dates as far back as the colonial Dutch period.

The version he used for Americans begins as follows:

We hold in our hands fourteen strings of purple; these we hand, one by one, to you—authors of many American history books, writers of cheap, inaccurate, unauthentic, sensational novels, and other writers of fiction who have poisoned the minds of young America concerning our people, the Red Race of America; to the producers of many western cowboy and Indian television programs; to those treaty breakers who delight in dispossessing Indian Peoples by constructing dams on Indian Lands in violation of sacred treaties; and to those of this our country, who are prone to build up the glory of our ancestors on the bones and life blood of our Old People

With this first string of wampum we take away the fog that surrounds your eyes and obstructs your view, that you may see the truth concerning our people (Thomas n.d.)

Chief Thomas used this form selectively until his death in 1998 (Figure 3.6).

The Thomas parody represents an extension of the condolence ritual to those who are not honest allies. Yet discussions, policies, and business must be undertaken with such partners. The Iroquois no longer threaten the frontier of New York State. They do not hold the balance of power as they did in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Therefore, a Condolence held today is sometimes both a sarcastic parody and an intentional warning to a wayward ally.

It is clear that similarities of pattern, content, and fictive organization are present in the Iroquois traditionalist member's burial, the *Ohgi'we*, the community-wide Feast of the Dead, the Condolence and Installation of a hereditary sachem or superintendent, an Ally Greeting ceremony, and the current abridged Greeting to Outsiders. Each contains a Requickening Address, and the ritual sequences include reciprocal repetition of this or other key components. In addition, continued division into moieties appears at all levels since a persistent binary division of the participants in the specific ceremonies still exists. In the case of the Feast of the Dead and its accompanying *Ohgi'we*, as all are mourners, there is a male-female division rather than the more usual clear-minded and mourning moieties. In the case of the new

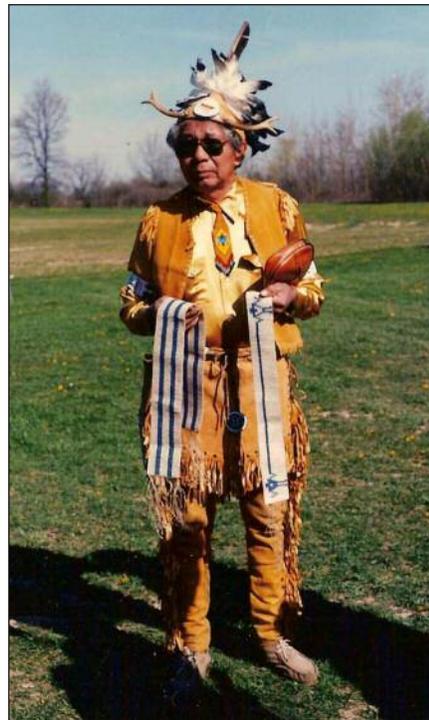


Figure 3.6. Chief Jacob Thomas holding replicas of a two-row wampum belt, left, and a friendship treaty belt, right, at Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, Onondaga Longhouse, 1988. Photo by Denis Foley.

Requickening Address typified by Chief Jacob Thomas, the wampum exchange after each metaphor of requickening is symbolic. These rituals form a systemic, conservative pattern that has remained similar for over five centuries. In essence, condolence ceremonies have continually integrated traditional social groups at all levels of Iroquois society despite vast social, political, and economic change.

ENDNOTES

1. The Iroquois traditionalists still condole their allies in both the larger society and other First Nations. For example, in 2006 at the Iroquois Indian Museum, Howes Cave, New York, ritualists from the Onondaga Longhouse of the Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, gave an abbreviated condolence for Iroquois Indian Museum board member and anthropologist Mary Druke Becker.
2. The Veda is the oldest text of the Indo-European language group and contains the rituals and myths of ancient India. It is part of a Hindu oral tradition dating to at least 1500 B.C.E.
3. Chief Jacob Thomas (1922–1998), of the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, Canada, was a performer of all the condolence rituals. He provided a traditional Cayuga version to linguist Michael Foster, who is presently translating the complete ritual, which has approximately seven hours of chants and protocols.

4. In the Alliance Condolence, Thomas used fourteen metaphors of Requickening. Various descriptions of condolences refer to either fourteen or fifteen Matters of Requickening depending on the clear-minded speaker. It appears that two metaphors can sometimes merge, thereby creating a single matter. Alternately, the last matter, or the final burden, which speaks of the “Torch of Notification,” can be omitted (Fenton 1998, 154–56).

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Chapter 4

IROQUOIS BEADWORK: A Haudenosaunee Tradition and Art

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The Iroquois tradition of raised beadwork began in western New York in the late eighteenth century. It is slightly older than the other great North American Indian beadworking tradition that the Lakota, Cheyenne, and other people of the Plains developed. Raised beadwork is unique to the Haudenosaunee; it is made nowhere else in the world. The Senecas, who decorated clothes, sashes, and small pincushions with small glass beads in the eighteenth century, probably invented the style of Iroquois beadwork that still exists today. They were making beaded pincushions by 1799 and purses by 1807. In the mid-nineteenth century, ethnohistorian Lewis H. Morgan noted in his *League of the Ho-de'-no-sau-see, or Iroquois* the "delicacy, even brilliancy of their bead-work embroidery" on women's clothing (1851, Book 3:384), and he included illustrations of beadwork on a needle case, woman's skirt, cradleboard, heart-shaped pincushion, and work bag, the forerunner of a modern purse. He reported that in 1849 he had purchased five varieties of work bags as well as three varieties of pin cushions and five varieties of needle books (Morgan 1850, 57).

The Iroquois tradition of beadwork continued to evolve in the nineteenth century, and by 1860 Mohawks near Montreal and Tuscaroras near Niagara Falls were creating elaborate pincushions, purses, and wall hangings adorned with raised beadwork. Despite the similarity of items created, the two geographic areas developed different styles of beadwork (Table 4.1). Throughout the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, at the height of beadwork production, the Tuscaroras sold their beadwork mostly at Niagara Falls, on their reservation, and at the New York State Fair. They preferred to use small clear and white beads. During this same period, the Mohawks used larger clear beads and also employed red, blue, green, and yellow beads on most of their early pieces

(Figure 4.1). While they sold their goods at nearby Montreal, the Mohawks also traveled extensively throughout North America to sell at fairs, exhibitions, wild west shows, and Indian medicine shows. Some even sold their beadwork when they traveled to England to perform Indian dances at Earls Court, an exhibition ground in London. Photographs taken in 1905 show these performers attired in clothing decorated with Mohawk beadwork.

My personal family experience illustrates typical Iroquois beadwork transactions in the twentieth century. My story starts in 1903 when my grandmother went to the Afton Fair, a small agricultural fair in central New York. She took my nine-year-old father, but his sister, then eleven, was sick and could not go. My grandmother brought her home a present from the fair. It was a beautiful pink satin-covered bird-shaped pincushion that sparkled with light green beads (Figure 4.2). My aunt treasured this bird throughout her long life and displayed



Figure 4.1. Two needle cases that illustrate differences in nineteenth-century Mohawk (left) and Niagara (right) beadwork.

Table 4.1. Fifty Different Traits in Iroquois Beadwork.

	Niagara	Mohawk	Thomas-Hill
20th and 21st century use of plastic, metal, and leather additions	✿		
Asymmetrical heart designs with flower on one side and bird on other	✿		
Beaded panels for the Improved Order of the Redmen uniforms		✿	
Beadwork production highest between 1880 and 1920	✿	✿	
Birds often have perches and dates under the tail		✿	✿
Canoes have flat bottoms		✿	✿
Canoes have narrow bottoms	✿		✿
Card holders	✿	✿	
Checkbook covers and cell phone holders			✿
Clamshell needlecases	✿		✿
Corn husk dolls	✿	✿	✿
Covers for picture albums and address books			✿
Dates beaded in numbers larger than 1/2 inch tall		✿	✿
Dolls with faces made from leather	✿		
Eyeglass cases	✿		✿
Five-point pincushions		✿	✿
From 1860s to 1895 purple velvet preferred		✿	
From 1895 to 1925 hot pink cloth popular		✿	
Heavy beaded edging with no cloth binding		✿	
Large clusters of beads hanging from flower centers		✿	✿
Mat and pincushion sets	✿		
Multi-level mail holders		✿	
Picture frames shaped like animals or things	✿		
Picture frames with more than one window		✿	
Place names of locations outside of New York State		✿	
Place names of locations within New York State	✿		
Polished cotton on the back of nineteenth-century pieces	✿	✿	
Preference for blue, green, red, yellow, and white beads on each piece		✿	
Pressed paper flower decorations used in the 1920s		✿	
Raised beadwork often over one inch high		✿	✿
Red and blue cloth preferred	✿		
Relatively large pincushions and picture frames		✿	✿
Short shoe form pincushions	✿		
Simple beaded edging with cloth binding	✿		✿
Single and double match holders and whisk broom holders		✿	
Sprengperlen used lavishly until 1917		✿	
Sprengperlen used sparingly	✿		✿
Strawberry emeries and pincushions	✿		✿
Symmetrical designs on heart and trilobe heart pincushions		✿	
Tall boot or shoe form pincushions	✿	✿	✿
Three dimensional birds have wings down		✿	
Three dimensional birds have wings up	✿		✿
Trees and mat sets	✿		✿
Trifold needlecases	✿	✿	
U.S. and other national flags pictured		✿	✿
Urns		✿	✿
Use of checkerboard or salt and pepper technique of alternate bead colors		✿	
Wide variety of animals and birds pictured		✿	
Wide variety of mottoes and labels of pieces		✿	
Words beaded in letters larger than 1/2 inch tall		✿	



Figure 4.2. 1903 Mohawk bird purchased by my grandmother. 8.5 x 7.5 inches.
In Afton Historical Society collection.

it proudly in her china cabinet, where I saw it when I was a child. At her death this cherished heirloom was passed on to her daughter who later donated it to the Afton Historical Society in Chenango County, where it is presently on view.

My research indicates that this bird was made by a skilled Mohawk beadworker from a Mohawk community located near Montreal and several hundred miles from the Afton Fair. This pincushion probably got to the fair with a group of Mohawks who traveled by train or wagon to perform at fairs, medicine shows, and exhibitions. While at these venues, they also sold their handmade baskets and beadwork.

In 1958 I bought a small red heart-shaped pincushion at a booth in the Indian Village at the New York State Fair, which is held near Syracuse (Figure 4.3). It was a present for my mother, who displayed it prominently on her bedroom dresser for the next twenty-five years until I inherited it. Mary Lou Printup, a leading Tuscarora sewer, later identified this pincushion as one she had made. She, like most Tuscarora beadworkers prefer to be called “sewers,” a term not popular with some other Iroquois beadworkers. In my research and writing, I use the word “beadworker” to refer to all except those individuals who specifically prefer to be called “sewers.”

When I purchased the red heart I had no idea that this pincushion had anything in common with the bird that my grandmother acquired fifty-five years earlier. I knew that I wanted to get something special for my mother, and this pincushion was special because it was beautiful and made by a native artist. In buying it I shared something with my grandmother, who died before I was born, that is, the purchase of a piece of Iroquois beadwork. Most likely the purchase of the bird was my German-born



Figure 4.3. 1958 heart pincushion purchased at the New York State Fair. Niagara Tradition. 4.5 x 4 inches.

grandmother’s only interaction with a Haudenosaunee woman, and my purchase at the State Fair was my first interaction with a Tuscarora sewer, the first of many.

In a similar manner Iroquois beadworkers and their non-Indian customers, often tourists or attendees at a public entertainment venue, have been brought together by beadwork for over two centuries. These transactions undoubtedly number in the tens of thousands.¹ During honeymoon trips to Niagara Falls and visits to agricultural fairs, exhibitions, and other attractions, people purchased Iroquois beadwork as mementos to remember these places and experiences. The beads often form designs featuring birds and flowers, natural themes that appealed to the Victorian women who drove the market of souvenir sales in the nineteenth century. Studies by Beverly Gordon (1984; 1986) and Ruth B. Phillips (1998) describe the souvenir trade and point out the importance of these items to the people on both sides of the transactions.

Souvenir beadwork was so treasured that the pieces were frequently kept in cedar chests or keepsake boxes. Therefore, when unwrapped one hundred or more years later, they are often in pristine condition. Ironically, few contemporary beadworkers have samples of their ancestors’ work because it was usually made for sale to strangers, although some beadwork was created as gifts for family and friends.

Because most pieces were made for sale to tourists, many people have dismissed Iroquois beadwork as “souvenir trinkets” not important enough to collect, study, or exhibit. In fact, they are often called whimsies, a term that I believe trivializes them and diminishes their artistic and cultural value. But within the last two decades Iroquois beadwork has become the subject of serious study and museum exhibitions. At least four traveling exhibits of

Iroquois beadwork have been installed in over a dozen museums and seen by thousands of museum visitors in the United States and Canada since 1999.² This scholarly recognition has resulted in an increased appreciation of these beadwork creations and the artists who made them. What were considered curious tourist souvenirs when they were made are now generating increased respect from both the general public and the Haudenosaunee.

Contemporary beadworkers see their work as a significant part of Haudenosaunee culture and an important link to the past. In Haudenosaunee communities beadworkers are admired as continuing a revered tradition. Although there are a few male beadworkers, the majority are women, and in a matrilineal-society with powerful clan matrons, the economic benefit of beadwork sales increases the influence of the women even more.

Iroquois beadwork is still sold at Niagara Falls, the New York State Fair, and several pow wows and festivals in the northeast; the methods of beadwork distribution have changed little over two hundred years. The beadwork itself, however, has changed tremendously. Over the last two centuries the styles of beadwork have evolved from simple small pincushions and purses to highly elaborate shapes, becoming works of art in the traditional sense. The beads selected have progressed from the very small seed beads used around 1800 to the larger seed beads of 1900 and finally, by 2000, to a wider variety of bead sizes and colors.

Iroquois beadwork remains a unique art form distinguished by several characteristics found only in work created by Haudenosaunee beadworkers. Iroquois beadwork features a design in glass beads that have been sewn on a fabric that is stretched over a backing of cardboard or cloth lining. The materials used in the beadwork are predominately small seed beads, cloth, cardboard, paper, and in pincushions, a stuffing. The beads are sewn onto the fabric in geometric or natural designs using waxed, doubled white thread.³ The beads are usually sewn over a paper pattern that remains in place under the beaded elements. Although not practiced at all times in the history of Iroquois beadwork, the most distinctive trait is that the beads are raised above the surface of the cloth face. Some pieces have raised beaded elements that are over an inch high. The beads are raised by putting more beads on the thread than is needed to span the pattern so that the beads form an arch above the pattern. The amount of extra beads determines how high the arches are, that is, how much the beadwork is raised. Various velvets were and still are the favored fabrics, but other fabrics such as wool, twills, silk, and satin are also used. Pincushions often have beaded velvet fronts and polished cotton backs. Polished cotton is a shiny stiff material that is also referred to as chintz or oilcloth. On the majority of late twentieth-century and contemporary twenty-first-centu-

ry pieces, the back is a colorful calico. Some pieces, mainly in the Niagara Tradition, have a silk or cotton binding around their perimeters to cover the cut edges and attach the front and back fabrics. Tight beadwork on the edging often binds Mohawk pieces together so a cloth binding is not necessary. Flat purses as well as fist and box purses are constructed in the same manner, with cardboard as the base.

Pincushions were usually stuffed with sawdust, but sweet grass, cotton, cattail fluff, newspapers, and polyester have also been used. Contemporary craftsmen remember that their mothers preferred pine sawdust because of the nice aroma.⁴ Small strawberry-shaped pincushions are traditionally filled with emery, used to sharpen and polish needles. Velvet and twill-covered picture frames and other wall hangings on cardboard bases have polished cotton backs on earlier pieces and calico on more recent ones. European glass beads were often augmented with metal sequins on nineteenth-century pieces and with plastic sequins and other plastic novelty beads since the late twentieth century. Bone and shell beads and leather, which are often used in other American Indian beadwork, rarely occur in Iroquois beadwork.

The most common form of Iroquois beadwork, and the form most easily recognizable by people who are not familiar with Iroquois beadwork, is the flat black purse or bag featuring identical colorful, beaded floral designs on both sides. Most flat bags have flaps on both sides, but the opening is across the top where the two sides meet. The face fabric is usually black or very dark brown velvet, and the interior is often a light-colored linen or polished cotton. A binding, usually red, is attached around the closed sides of the purses. A beaded fringe is sometimes added. The fringe is merely sewn to the binding and does not hold the two sides of the bag together; it is purely decorative. The flaps usually are edged with white beads that are larger than the beads that outline the flaps and body (Figure 4.4). The flaps and body are sometimes outlined with short parallel lines like a stockade. The faces of the flap and body are covered by stylized flowers in shades of blue, red, yellow, and white connected with green stems, which are sometimes striped in two shades of green. Some bags feature a small slit pocket under one of the flaps. It may have been meant to hold a comb or mirror.

Although there are great similarities between existing bags, they could not have been made by the same person. Based on the numbers of flat black bags in personal and museum collections and the frequency that they appear on eBay, I estimate that at least twelve thousand flat bags were made between the 1840s and 1910. And there is evidence that some may have been made earlier. A chronology of these purses has not been developed, but traits such as striped buds, the use of very small seed beads, and beaded "flairs" seem to indicate an early date. The



Figure 4.4. Four flat, black nineteenth-century purses. Note the four colors in the flowers. Average 7 x 6 inches.

use of the four-color motif indicates that they were made by Mohawk beadworkers, and at least one bag is lined with a Montreal newspaper from the 1840s (Karlins Karklins, personal communication, 2000). An interesting observation is that although some bags are similar, no two identical bags have been encountered.

Similar floral beadwork is found on glengarry-shaped caps that indicate a Scottish influence easily found in the St. Lawrence Valley, and some of the bags may be inspired by the shape of Scottish sporrans. Similar floral beadwork was also applied to moccasins, mats, watch pockets, and other small items. Even with so many examples of this type of beadwork, the place of manufacture has not been determined. Although they are identified as Tuscarora in some collections, they do not share traits with known Tuscarora beadwork and are probably not Tuscarora. If they were made by Mohawk beadworkers, as is suspected, the exact location of their manufacture is not known. It is ironic that we know so little about the origin and evolution of the most common form of Iroquois beadwork.

In *Flights of Fancy: An Introduction to Iroquois Beadwork*, I defined sixty forms or types of Iroquois beadwork. Variations in size and material, however, increase the number of types or, at least, subtypes. There are twenty-five basic pincushion shapes, twenty shapes of wall hangings, eight purse and container shapes, and many miscellaneous forms such as dolls, mats, and trees, plus moccasins, shirts, skirts, leggings, hats, and other items of

clothing. Approximately half of all Iroquois beadwork falls in the pincushion category; purses comprise about a quarter, with wall hangings and miscellaneous forms making up the remainder. Necklaces, earrings, barrettes, small souvenir pins, and wirework are not included in this study. I have personally examined over six thousand pieces of Iroquois beadwork and have studied photographs of over twenty thousand more, and I have never seen two identical pieces of any kind, except for a few intentionally matched pairs of wall hangings. It would have been so easy for the beadworkers to replicate the same pattern over and over and mass produce identical pieces, but they did not. This fact illustrates the creativity of the beadworkers who wanted to make each piece a little bit different. Some bead artists, moreover, created works of great imagination featuring incredible animals and fantastic flowers.

In addition to the distinctive floral and faunal designs on the beadwork, upper case letters and numbers are sometimes included in the designs on Iroquois beadwork. These designations fall into five categories: an expression of sentiment; the year the piece was made; the location of the sale; an identification of the function or form of the piece; and the name of the image on the beadwork. Although beaded words appear on items made by Native Americans in Iowa and Alaska, they are usually only of place names found in those two areas and not sentiments, dates, or labels such as those often found on Iroquois beadwork.

For those desiring Iroquois beadwork expressing sentimental thoughts there are pieces with beaded sayings such as REMEMBER ME, THINK OF ME, LOVE ME, I LOVE YOU, GOOD LUCK, CALL AGAIN, TAKE ME DEAR, TRUE LOVE, O MY DEAR, SMILE DEAR, JUST ONE GIRL, HONEY, DEAR FATHER, DEAR SISTER, and DEAR MOTHER. These sentiments are perfect on gifts for loved ones. Of course many pieces have been purchased during honeymoon visits to Niagara Falls, but the most common expression on beadwork from there is merely FROM NIAGARA FALLS (Figure 4.5). Perhaps the mental image of the Falls carries so much power that no other words are necessary.

Some expressions display Indian humor such as the small cardboard canoes that are labeled FAST on one side and BOAT on the other. There is a horseshoe wall hanging that asks ARE YOU SINGLE, a purse that pictures a labeled MICKEY MOUSE, and one that states IN GOD WE TRUST OTHERS PAY CASH. And there is a 1926 FOX on a BOX (Figure 4.6). Others carry a serious religious message with JESUS PROTECT OUR FAMILY, GOD BLESS OUR HOME, JESUS NEVER FAILS, and GOD IS LOVE. The earliest expressions appear on beadwork made in the 1860s and become most popular during the 1890s and the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Much Iroquois beadwork is easy to date because dates



Figure 4.5. Front and back of a mid-nineteenth-century Niagara needle case. 2.5 x 4 inches.



Figure 4.6. FOX on a BOX purse with 1926 beaded on the end. Note the four basic colors used in the Mohawk Tradition.



Figure 4.7. Front and back of an 1850 Niagara pincushion. 3 x 3 inches.

are frequently beaded on them. As early as the 1830s beaded dates were incorporated into Seneca flat purse designs. The earliest known bead-dated pincushion is a small, square Seneca pincushion with 1850 beaded on the back. This is the only piece that I have seen with a beaded date on the back instead of the front (Figure 4.7). Birds often display a date under the tail, such as the 1903 date beaded under the tail of my aunt's bird. Years became common on pieces made after 1895, with the years between 1900 and 1920 the most frequent.

Sometimes beadwork has a date written on the back in pen. The earliest written date that I have seen was made in the late 1790s. It may be one of the earliest Iroquois pincushions ever made. Often a piece was so important to the owner that a date and even a name and a place was written on the back. While these notations are invaluable in dating individual pieces they are also useful in dating similar items that carry no date. The notes frequently convey information otherwise difficult to find. For example, one pincushion has written on the back, "New York State Fair, Sept 17, 1889." Furthermore, "25 cts" is penned on the side. This Mohawk trilobe pincushion demonstrates that there were Mohawks at the State Fair that year, which was several decades before the Indian Village was constructed in the 1920s. And the price for a nice, but not special, pincushion was twenty-five cents. A new, generic pincushion today sells for about twenty-five dollars.

The name of the place where the beadwork was sold is often beaded on the front. About fifty different place names have been observed, and the most common place names are NIAGARA FALLS, MONTREAL, CAUGHNAWAGA, OTTAWA, STATE FAIR, SARATOGA, and TORONTO (Figure 4.8). The existence of more distant places shows that the beadwork traveled many miles with its makers and sellers. There are pieces that carry names such as ST LOUIS, BANFF, KLONDIKE, TORONTO NATIONAL EXHIBITION, CHICAGO WORLDS FAIR, STE ANN DEBEAUPRE, RIVIERE DULOUP, MT CLEMENS, ALLENTOWN EXHIBITION, DEVILS LAKE, BROCKTON FAIR, YORK FAIR, and FORT WILLIAM CANADA.

In a humorous vein many pieces carry beaded titles that identify the function or shape of the particular piece of beadwork. Identifications include BOX, SOUVENIR, WHISK, INDIAN CANOE, SCISSORS, PICTURE FRAME, PIPECASE, BANJO (a whisk broom holder in the same shape as a banjo), and MATCHBOX. The word BOX on the lid of a box purse, SOUVENIR on a pincushion, and PICTURE FRAME are the most common words (Figure 4.9).

In a similar manner animals that are pictured on pieces are sometimes identified with the beaded name next to the animal. Examples include PIG, LION, BIRD, FOX, and DOG. (Note the word PIG beneath the pig's stomach on Figure 4.10) Over forty different animals have been



Figure 4.8. 1920 Mohawk heart pincushion with a place name. 4.75 x 5 inches.



Figure 4.10. 1912 Mohawk purse in hot pink, with FIG. 5.25 x 5.25 inches.



Figure 4.9. 1938 Mohawk SOUVENIR star pincushion. 4.25 x 4.75 inches.



Figure 4.11. Mohawk boot pincushion with MONTREAL spelled backwards. 5.5 x 4.25 inches.

observed beaded on beadwork. In addition to the ones listed above are chickens, ducks, owls, squirrels, cats, geese, deer, moose, goats, rabbits, elephants, horses, zebras, camels, rhinoceroses, cows, and an amazing variety of unidentifiable animals that may not be intended to represent real birds or animals but may have been created to showcase a beader's creativity.

Frequently words were misspelled, including BUX for box, SOUENIR for souvenir, OTAWA for Ottawa, PICTUPE and PITCHUR for picture, BAST BOAT and FAST BOST for fast boat, MARRY CHRISTMAS for Merry Christmas, MONTREAL MATCHAL for Montreal matches, and EXHIBITIN for exhibition. Many of these can be explained by the fact that many Mohawk beadworkers were illiterate, although they often spoke Mohawk, English, and French. To create the beaded words, they had someone print out the desired words so they could

copy the letters; words were misspelled when they were copied incorrectly. There are humorous family stories of Mohawk school kids intentionally printing out "naughty" words that should not have been beaded on pincushions, but I have never seen one. One piece has Montreal spelled LAERTNOM when the beadworker did not notice that the pattern had been reversed. Notice on Figure 4.11 that the L on the left is crowded sidewise on the heel. Also note the unidentifiable animal on the top of the boot.

The Mohawk Tradition of Iroquois beadwork is very distinctive, and the Mohawk beadworkers of Kahnawake, Kanasatake, and Akwesasne were the most productive. Their work outnumbers ten to one that made by all other Haudenosaune beadworkers. Moreover, besides those living in the St. Lawrence River Valley there were Mohawks in the late nineteenth century who lived in Manhattan and Brooklyn, where they made a great



Figure 4.12. Improved Order of the Redmen jacket in the Mohawk Tradition. 35 x 19 inches, 12 x 5 inch chest panels.

deal of beadwork to sell on the streets of New York City and on the docks to sailors. Because these sales did not provide enough income, some families made beadwork for regalia worn by a fraternal organization known as the Improved Order of the Redmen (Figure 4.12).

Although the earliest Mohawk beadwork dates to the 1860s, the period of greatest productivity was between 1880 and 1920. Nineteenth-century beadwork features large, clear beads with floral and bird motifs. Words and dates are beaded in large letters often more than an inch tall. The earliest types are pincushions, picture frames, and wall pockets. Often added to clear beads are those in four basic colors: red, yellow, green, and blue. When there is one color, the other three are usually also included. It is rare to find a piece that has clear beads highlighted by beads of only one color.

The most common type of Mohawk beadwork is the purple, pillow pincushion, a large rectangular pincushion averaging 8.5 by 10 inches (Figure 4.13). Thousands of these pincushions were created. They feature one or more birds and flowers made of mostly clear beads sewn onto purple velvet. Often a vase or basket form is also portrayed. Beaded horses, angels, and words are noted, but are rare. Although other colors of velvet were used, purple in various shades was the favorite. The velvet pincushion



Figure 4.13. Mohawk purple pincushion, one of most common forms of Mohawk beadwork. 8 x 10 inches.

center is framed by clear leaves often alternating with colored leaves. The colored leaves are positioned so that leaves of the same color are always opposite each other on the outer edges. Sometimes a few colored beads are incorporated into the center design. Out of the hundreds of this type of pincushion studied, no two identical ones have ever been observed. The backs of the pincushions are usually polished cotton in pink, blue, purple, or red. Clear edging beads surround most pincushions, and many have loops on each corner. Many are stuffed with sawdust, which make them heavy; some weigh over two pounds. The largest pincushions are four inches thick. Smaller ones and lighter ones are stuffed with cotton or sweet grass. It is thought that these large pincushions were used to store large Victorian hatpins. They were made from the 1870s to the first decade of the twentieth century. Pieces made in the 1870s sometimes feature crossed U.S. flags, a design which may have been inspired by the U.S. Centennial. Although most likely made on reserves near Montreal, Canada, they obviously were made for the U.S. tourist market.

Purple heart-shaped and trilobe heart-shaped pincushions are also common and are obviously related to the large rectangular purple pincushions. Leaves in the four basic colors alternating with leaves in clear beads are often found along the top of the hearts. Most have hangers to place them on a wall. Picture frames with one, two, or four picture openings were also made in the same color combinations (Figure 4.14). There are also box purses with purple velvet sides. Sometimes the short sides of the boxes are covered with red or blue fabric instead of purple. Boxes also feature beaded elements in the four colors alternating with clear ones. The use of the same bead colors with purple velvet makes it obvious that pincushion makers also made boxes and picture frames. The picture frames and box purses were constructed of fabric glued over thin cardboard like that used in cereal boxes or shirt



Figure 4.14. Mohawk picture frame with two openings. 8.5 x 9.5 inches.



Figure 4.16. Hot pink Mohawk trilobated heart-shaped pincushions.



Figure 4.15. 1890s Mohawk boot pincushion, with a close-up of the toe. 8.5 x 6.5 inches.

boxes. The beadworkers had to sew through the cardboard, fabric, and paper pattern to sew the beads in place. They needed sharp needles and strong fingers.

In the 1890s new forms and different fabrics were adopted by the Mohawk beadworkers. Gold and green cloth encrusted with clear, green, amber, and sometimes pink or blue beads were featured. The new forms included stuffed birds, wall pockets, horseshoe wall hangings, whisk broom holders, and match holders. Pincushions in the shape of high-heeled Victorian boots, which began in the 1880s, were elaborated into large fancy boots in the 1890s (Figure 4.15).

Mohawk beadworkers started around 1895 to use hot pink cloth, which soon replaced purple velvet as the favored material. For the next twenty years hot pink was used on heart pincushions (Figure 4.16), picture frames, purses, and horseshoe wall hangings. Leaves in the four colors still appeared along the tops of hearts, but they now were in new shades of blue, red, yellow, and green beads. Animals and flowers, often raised over an inch above the hot pink surface, were often executed in a checkerboard technique that alternated clear or white beads with colored beads. During this time chalk-white beads replaced the clear beads that were so popular in the nineteenth century.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the wall hangings, especially the match holders, evolved into striking pieces of art. Some were almost completely covered with tubular beads called *sprengperlen*, which would have sparkled in the flickering light of kerosene lamps (Figure 4.17). The *sprengperlen* were made in factories in Bohemia, and when the factories there closed in 1917, these large beads were no longer available. So after 1917 the wall hangings and pincushions that had featured showy *sprengperlen* designs and loops changed to all seed beads.

Mohawk beadwork became much simpler after 1930, and although still made by a few families today, there are far fewer Mohawk beadworkers than a century ago. Classes are being organized so new Mohawk beadwork will be created in the twenty-first century. On the other hand, there are at least a dozen people who are active beadworkers on the Tuscarora Reservation near Niagara



Figure 4.17. 1909 Mohawk match holder, with *sprengperlen*. 7.75 x 6 inches.



Figure 4.18. 1990 Niagara GOOD LUCK horseshoe. 6.5 x 6.5 inches.

Falls in western New York. Many are descended from the sewers who made exquisitely detailed beadwork in the 1860s and 70s.

While pincushions, needle cases, match holders, whisk broom holders, small canoes (probably comb or match holders), purses, and picture frames are functional, wall hangings shaped like horseshoes seem to have no practical use. These cardboard-based pieces, which range from 3 to 12 inches tall, often feature beaded words (Figure 4.18). Although GOOD LUCK is the most common motto on horseshoes, there are a wide variety of sayings such as I LOVE YOU DEAR, CALL AGAIN, REMEMBER ME, THINK OF ME, O MY DEAR, and SOUVENIR. They



Figure 4.19. Picture frame by Dolly Printup Winden, with a 1931 photo of her grandmother Matilda Hill sitting near her own beadwork. 11 x 9 inches.

became a popular souvenir form in both the Mohawk and Niagara areas starting in the 1890s and continue so today. They are made to hang from the toe end of the horseshoe and not with the toe pointing down as a real horseshoe would be nailed over a doorway.

Perhaps the most prominent twentieth-century Tuscarora sewer was Matilda Hill. In 1905, she returned to the Tuscarora Reservation from the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania at the age of thirteen and soon started sewing. She made thousands of pieces and employed many people to help with the beadwork production. She had sewing bees in her home during which beadwork was made in an assembly-line fashion in which different individuals cut the cloth, did the beading, stuffed pincushions, sewed them closed, and put on the fringe. She continued to create colorful pieces of beadwork until her death in 1985. Her daughter and granddaughter continue to sew fancy beadwork (Figure 4.19).

There were several other families at Tuscarora who made beadwork. The women were so well known for their beadwork that many are identified as “beadworker” in the U.S. Census records of the early twentieth century. Although many photographs of nineteenth-century Tuscarora beadworkers exist, most are unidentified. It is hoped that someday the photographs and the names of the beadworkers listed in the census records can be matched.

If Iroquois beadwork can be assigned to one of the two major traditions, the eastern Mohawk Tradition and the western Niagara Tradition, it is the western one that is more difficult to identify with a particular nation. Whereas the Mohawk Tradition was practiced mostly by members of Mohawk communities, the beadworkers in the Niagara Tradition came from places inhabited by members of more than one Iroquois nation. Although the Tuscaroras may be the most recognized of the sewers in the Niagara Tradition, it is also likely that there were beadworkers on the Grand River Reserve in Canada, which is occupied by Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras. But as of now, no beadworkers from the Grand River Reserve have been identified. Of those living on the Tuscarora Reservation today, there is at least one prominent “Tuscarora” beadworker whose mother was Mohawk and father was Onondaga.

Beadwork in the Niagara Tradition that was made no later than the 1840s was collected by Lewis H. Morgan and pictured in three publications (1850; 1851; 1852). The most common pincushion forms are six- and eight-lobed pincushions about four inches in diameter (Figure 4.20). Hundreds of these were made. A central flower made of clear beads is repeated from pincushion to pincushion while the “sprays” between the clear flower petals are made of various colored beads. The central flower and the parallel pincushion outlines were made by laying down long strings of very small beads and tacking them down with a needle and thread from the back. The beads never left the string that they were put on at the glass factory. So, technically, the beadwork is not raised. Velvet and wool, often red or black, are the favored fabrics for the beaded side of the pincushions, while tan polished cotton



Figure 4.20. 1840s Niagara pincushion, similar to those collected by Lewis H. Morgan. 4.5 x 4.5 inches.

most often covers the back. The edges are bound with silk. Outlining the circumference are parallel lines of beads that commonly alternate lines of white beads with those of blue beads. At least a portion of the beadwork Morgan collected was made by Senecas on the Tonawanda Reservation in western New York. Some of the beadwork was made by Caroline Parker Mt. Pleasant, who is one of the earliest named Seneca beadworkers. Although raised at Tonawanda, she lived her adult life on the Tuscarora Reservation. She may have taught residents there how to make beaded pincushions.

There is a large quantity of nineteenth-century beadwork that was made on the three Seneca reservations in New York State. In fact, the earliest known photograph of Haudenosaunee women is of female beadworkers who are identified as Seneca. It was taken at Niagara Falls in 1859 by William England, a visiting English photographer (Figure 4.21). The caption on the back of the postcard made from this photograph reads:

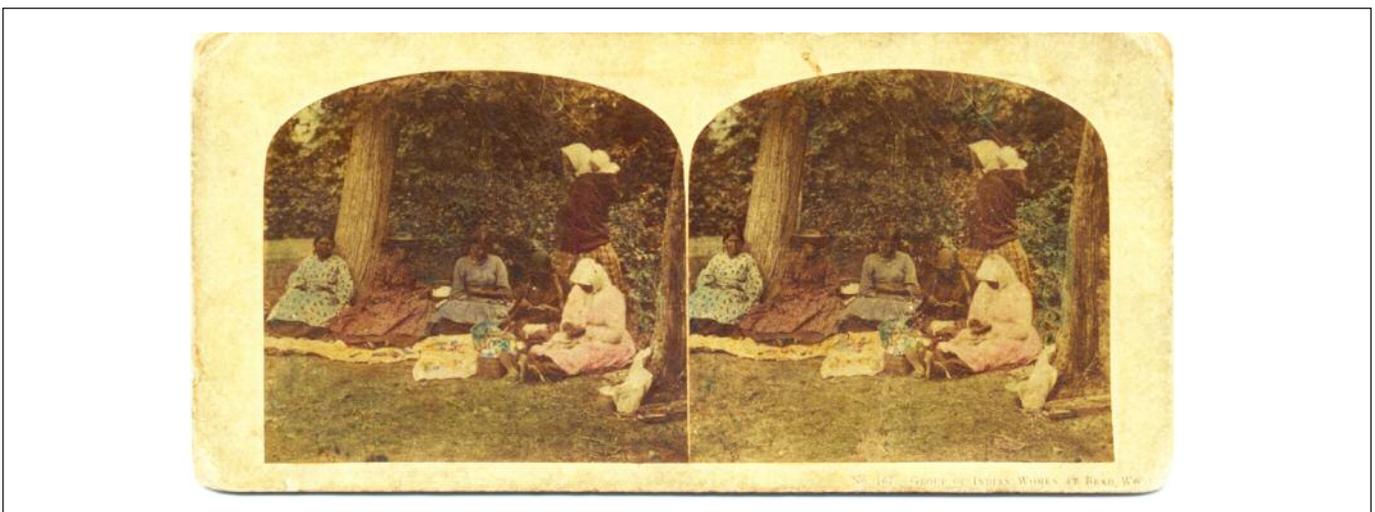


Figure 4.21. 1859 stereoscopic card of Seneca beadworkers at Niagara Falls. William England (1830–1896), photographer.

Goat Island during the summer season is much frequented by vendors of souvenirs of the Falls, for few can pay a visit here without carrying away some little article of curiosity as a remembrance thereof: hence those who keep shop "under the shade of the greenwood tree," drive a considerable and profitable trade. Amongst them the Indian women are conspicuous, as seated on the sward they curiously contrive purses, pincushions, needle-books, slippers, caps, and other numerous articles in elegant bead work, which for beauty of design and neatness of execution is unsurpassed. In the neighbourhood of Niagara in times past, ere the white face set foot upon their territory, were the hunting grounds of the Seneca Indians, and it is the remnant of this scattered tribe that gains a subsistence by the manufacture and sale of fancy articles upon the ground where at one time the tribe held undisputed sway. About four miles from Niagara, is a small Indian village, where the old laws and customs of this people are still observed.

By the time England visited Niagara Falls, the Senecas had been creating flat purses with beaded dates for fifty years. The major beaded motif of these bags is composed of zigzags or triangles between parallel lines. Both sides of the purses are beaded with different designs. These bags were probably made on the Seneca Nation of Indians in southwestern New York State. After 1850, the use of clear beads on red cloth dominated Seneca-made pincushions, box purses, mats, and trees, but by the beginning of the twentieth century, there apparently were few or no Seneca beadworkers making these tourist items. No doubt some beadwork was done for personal gifts and on clothing, but that is all that is known.

Recently there has been an effort to revive beadwork at the Seneca Nation of Indians. Several adults and children have taken workshops taught by master beadworker Samuel Thomas, Cayuga. Thomas, who is self-taught, learned to bead as a teenager, and over the last twenty-five years he has become a very prolific beadworker. He and his mother, Lorna Hill, estimate that they have made over twenty thousand pieces. They make pincushions, picture frames, boxes, cases for glasses and cell phones, checkbook covers, photo album covers, and dozens of other forms. Their style is a combination of the Mohawk and Niagara styles, often using motifs and techniques from both areas on the same piece. Thomas developed a unique style by studying old pieces in museums and private collections and then adding his own artistic flair. Because of their productivity and the new style that they have developed, I have defined a third tradition of Iroquois beadwork: the Thomas-Hill Tradition.

Although there are resident beading classes at Tuscarora and Kahnawake, Thomas is the most active

Haudenosaunee who is promoting Iroquois beadwork. He teaches beadwork at both the Seneca Nation in New York and the Oneida Nation in Wisconsin. His popular workbook (2004), which illustrates his beadwork techniques, is used by beadworkers in Wisconsin as well as on the Akwesasne, Onondaga, and Seneca Nation reservations, where raised beadwork had almost disappeared at the end of the twentieth century. Moreover, Alaskan beadworkers have ordered copies of the Thomas workbook. It is also used by countless non-Indian beaders.

Thomas has taught dozens of workshops to both Indian and non-Indian students in Ontario Province, Canada, and in several states as far away from Iroquoia as Oklahoma and New Mexico. His workshops at the National Museum of the American Indian fill up quickly. Through his workshops and workbooks he has played a major part in the growing understanding and appreciation of Iroquois beadwork. Additionally, Thomas's exhibitions use beadwork to illustrate basic principles of the traditional Longhouse religion. In this way he teaches people that the spirit of the Great Law persists in the twenty-first century.

Recently Thomas has extended his teaching beyond North America by holding a workshop in Great Britain. Thus, he brought the tradition of Haudenosaunee beadworking full circle by returning to one of the original sources of the beads first used by the Iroquois. Thomas has also made several trips to Kenya where he spent considerable time conducting workshops and encouraging the production of beadwork for sale as souvenirs to tourists on safari. It is serendipitous that a member of the Haudenosaunee has recently introduced beadworking to another part of the world where the tourist industry is an important source of native income, just as it was for his ancestors. Thomas's most recent project, GA-NRA-DAIS-GO-WA'H, the Great Tree of Long Leaves, involved creating a fifty-branched, six-foot tall, beaded tree using both Iroquois and Kenyan beading techniques. Figure 4.22 is Thomas's model of this tree and is the size of beadwork created by nineteenth-century Senecas.

For thousands of years the ancestors of the Haudenosaunee made beads for decorative use. Prehistoric beads were made from natural materials such as stones, bones, clay, shells, and quills. Wampum, tubular shell beads, were important in religious, diplomatic, and trade situations, and they were also used for decorative purposes. Although wampum may be the most well-known of the beads used by the Haudenosaunee, glass beads became equally important after their arrival from Europe. These sparkling bits of glass, which came in a rainbow of many colors, proved very attractive to the Iroquois people. Like the beads made of natural materials, the glass beads were at first used to decorate bodily ornaments, clothes, and other possessions. The newly



Figure 4.22. Twenty-first-century model of a beaded tree and mat by Samuel Thomas, Cayuga.

acquired glass beads gradually replaced quills and other decorations made from natural materials. As a result, these glass beads became important trade items between the Haudenosaunee and the Europeans. In 1669, Jesuit missionary Jacques Bruyas enticed his Oneida pupils to attend school on a daily basis by offering “a string of glass beads, or two little glass cylinders” to those who could “repeat on Sunday all that is said during the week” (Beauchamp 1905, 389). A century later, Indian trader and British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, William Johnson included “Small white Beeds, & other Coloured D[itt]o Small” in a 1761 “List of Such Merchandise as is Usually sold to the Indians” (Sullivan 1921, 334-35). Therefore, it seems only natural that such a longstanding relationship between the Haudenosaunee and beads would continue into the nineteenth century. By that time, however, the direction of the trade had reversed, and non-Indians paid money for beaded items made by the Haudenosaunee. As the demand for Iroquois beadwork increased throughout the nineteenth century, money from beadwork sales became a major source of income for many families. Beadwork sales peaked between the 1890s and the 1920s. During that time the wild west shows, medicine shows, 1893 Chicago World’s Fair, the 1901 Pan-American Exposition, the 1904 Saint Louis World’s Fair, and the

increase of tourism to Niagara Falls and Montreal fueled sales of Iroquois beadwork. Many pieces of remarkable artistic quality were made during that quarter century. Although interest in Iroquois beadwork diminished after that and fewer individuals created beadwork, interest in Iroquois beadwork revived during the last two decades of the twentieth century. For the first time, Iroquois artists won major awards for their raised beadwork creations at the Mashantucket Pequot Tribe’s Schemitzun Indian Marketplace in Connecticut, the Indian Market and Festival sponsored by the Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art in Indianapolis, Indiana, and the Santa Fe, New Mexico, Indian Market. This recognition has encouraged others to learn and practice traditional raised beadwork techniques. With an increasing number of Haudenosaunee interested in creating traditional beadwork and a growing number of beadwork collectors, the future of Iroquois beadwork appears promising in the twenty-first century.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report on Iroquois beadwork is the result of thirty years of research in museum and private collections and talking with beadworkers. Thanks to them for allowing me to study their beadwork. I also have to acknowledge the rich resource of eBay where over twenty-five thousand pieces have appeared in the last ten years. Through eBay I have met beadwork collectors throughout North America and Europe who have generously shared information on their collections. Historical researchers George Hamell and Paul Huey were also willing to share many interesting beadwork references they have unearthed. Fellow beadwork collectors and researchers Karlis Karklins (from Ottawa, Canada) and Richard Green (from Birmingham, England) have also been generous in sharing their findings. Special thanks go to Samuel Thomas (from Niagara Falls, Canada) who is probably the only Haudenosaunee who is as devoted to learning about Iroquois beadwork as I am. Without the patience and computer skills of my husband, Tom Elliott, none of this would have been possible. Thanks to them all.

ENDNOTES

1. Estimating twenty beadworkers each making fifty pieces a year for two-hundred years results in an estimated total of beadwork pieces created at two-hundred thousand.
2. For more on my Iroquois beadwork research, see “Two Centuries of Iroquois Beadwork,” in *BEADS*, Vol. 15, Society of Bead Researchers, Ottawa, Canada, 2006, and *Iroquois Beadwork, Volume 1: A Short History*, Iroquois Studies Association, 2008. For further information on beadwork, see also www.otsiningo.com, the website of the Iroquois Studies Association, Inc.

The exhibition *Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life* was shown at the McCord Museum in Montreal (1999–2000), the Castellani Museum of Niagara University (2000), the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec (2001), the National Museum of the American Indian in New York City (2001–2002), the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (2002), and the Mashantucket Pequot Museum in Connecticut (2002–2003). *Flights of Fancy: 200 Years of Iroquois Beadwork* was shown in the Yager Museum at Hartwick College in Oneonta, N.Y. (2001), the Chemung County Historical Society Museum in Elmira, N.Y. (2002), and the DeWitt Historical Society of Tompkins County, in Ithaca, N.Y. (2003–2004). *Ska-ni'-Kwat, The Power of the Good Mind* has been exhibited at the United Nations Headquarters in New York City (2003), the Woodland Cultural Centre in Brantford, Ont. (2003), the Mashantucket Pequot Museum in Connecticut (2003), The Iroquois Indian Museum in Howes Cave, N.Y. (2003), Woolaroc Museum in Bartlesville, Ok. (2004), the Seneca Iroquois National Museum in Salamanca, N.Y. (2005–2006), and the New York State Museum in Albany, N.Y. (2006–2007). *Made of Thunder, Made of Glass: American Indian Beadwork of the Northeast* has been installed in four New England museums (2006–2009). *Native American Beaded Whimsies* was displayed in The Schwenkfelder Library and Heritage Center in Pennsburg, PA (2007–2008). And the most recent exhibit is *Sewing the Seeds: 200 Years of Iroquois Glass Beadwork* at the Rockwell Museum in Corning, N.Y. (2009).

3. In traditional Haudenosaunee homes black thread is reserved for sewing burial clothes.
4. The analysis report on samples of pincushion stuffing that were sent to the State University of New York College of Environmental Science and Forestry in Syracuse confirmed that the sawdust was pine and came from five different species of pine.

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Figure 5.2. “Joseph Brant,” by Charles Willson Peale, 1797. Although Brant held a captain’s commission in the British Indian Department and had helped to form the Brownstown Confederacy in uniting the Ohio tribes against American expansion in 1786, the Mohawk leader soon came to believe that the Confederacy’s best chance of retaining any of their lands was to compromise with the United States on a permanent boundary. Consequently, the Confederacy’s more militant leaders lost faith in Brant, and some even began to view him as a traitor. Courtesy of Independence National Historic Park.

Similarly, other Iroquois leaders at this time, specifically the Seneca headmen Cornplanter (Figure 5.3) and his nephew Red Jacket (Figure 5.4), also strove to simultaneously retain leadership roles among their own peoples while attempting to influence the peoples and events in the West. Like Brant, neither Red Jacket nor Cornplanter had ever held the title of a League sachem within the Iroquois confederacy, but all three men had risen to the role of chiefs and diplomats, based on their talents. Brant and Red Jacket were known for their oratorical skills and were thus regarded by their respective peoples as Pine Tree chiefs, a separate category of leaders/orators who did not hold sachem titles (Snow 1994, 139, 172). In addition, all three had fought for the British during the American Revolution (Fenton 1998, 18). After the war, however, the three men had emerged as rivals, with each leading a separate Iroquois community-faction: Brant at Grand River, Upper Canada; Red Jacket at Buffalo Creek,

New York; and Cornplanter at his Allegany reserve in northwestern Pennsylvania. The United States government would attempt to tap the talents and influence of each of these leaders in hopes of brokering a permanent peace with the western nations.

Yet, as the war in the West continued, the positions of these Iroquois headmen grew precarious. Knowing that his people had been divided and weakened by the American Revolution, Red Jacket understood that they could no longer resort to war as a means of countering American interests in New York. Thus, the Seneca leader met with U.S. commissioner Timothy Pickering in the summer of 1791 at Newtown Point, along the Chemung River in southwestern New York, and negotiated a status of neutrality for the Seneca people living within the United States (Prucha 1994, 95). Similarly, Cornplanter, though not present at this meeting with Pickering, also understood that his small community at Allegany was vulnerable and could never again engage in such hostilities. And for Brant and his followers, the advantage of living in Canada was not enough to guarantee their security if they chose to enter the ongoing conflict in Ohio. Thus the lack of a military option significantly diminished the diplomatic leverage of all three Iroquois factions, just when the allied western tribes spoke only of continued warfare.

Brant became painfully aware of his delicate position in November 1791, when a delegation of Shawnee chided and shamed him by presenting him with a package containing the scalp of Richard Butler, a high-ranking American officer and Indian agent who perished in St. Clair’s Defeat earlier that month (Kelsay 1984, 457)². On 17 January 1792, missionary Samuel Kirkland wrote to Secretary of War Henry Knox, noting not only that Brant had lost influence among the “western Confederacy,” but that his misfortunes had led him to indulge “himself too freely with the *intoxicating draught*.” (Abbot et al. 2000, 525–26, n. 1; italics represent Kirkland’s emphasis).

As the Iroquois headmen lost influence among the western nations, the British Indian Department grew in prominence. While the British government proclaimed neutrality and urged its officials in Canada to reduce Indian expenditures, actual ties and relations with the Indians in the West were shaped and carried out primarily by Alexander McKee and other Indian agents in the field (White 1991, 455; Horsman 1962, 270–71; Calloway 1987, 51, 64–65, 70–74). Known as “White Elk” among the Shawnee, McKee was reputedly the son of an Irish-born trader and a captive white woman, and like his father, he too appears to have later married a captive white girl living among the Shawnee. These familial ties between McKee and his adopted peoples would heavily influence his diplomacy and all important personal decisions. As one historian put it, McKee “looked after their [the Shawnees’] well-being and they his” (Nelson 1999, 24–28,



Figure 5.3. “Ki-on-twow-ky, or Corn Plant, a Seneca Chief.” Lithograph by J. T. Bowen; published by F. W. Greenough, Philadelphia, 1836. In the midst of a bitter rivalry with both Brant and his own nephew Red Jacket, the Seneca leader Cornplanter shared a common goal with them in also seeking a diplomatic solution to the war in the Ohio country, serving as a U.S. peace emissary to the region in 1792 and 1793. However, Cornplanter also allegedly served as an informant to U.S. general Anthony Wayne, making the Seneca’s presence in the Ohio country all the more precarious.

Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Digital ID# cph 3b15133.

63). Within this nebulous situation, McKee’s position became particularly delicate as he balanced the demands of the British government and the expectations of Native Americans. Shawnee leaders Blue Jacket, Captain Johnny, and Snake, along with the Miami chief Little Turtle and the Delaware Buckongahelas were among those leaders in the northwest country who viewed McKee as an essential conduit of British support.

John Graves Simcoe, the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, though hoping to continue using the diplomacy of the Six Nations, also relied heavily on McKee, expecting him to maintain British interests within the Ohio confederacy, both in matters of trade and war (Figure 5.5). Simcoe and other British leaders had grown increasingly concerned about the activity of the traders in the Ohio Valley and its potential to undermine government policy. If the British fur trade became the sole element in devel-

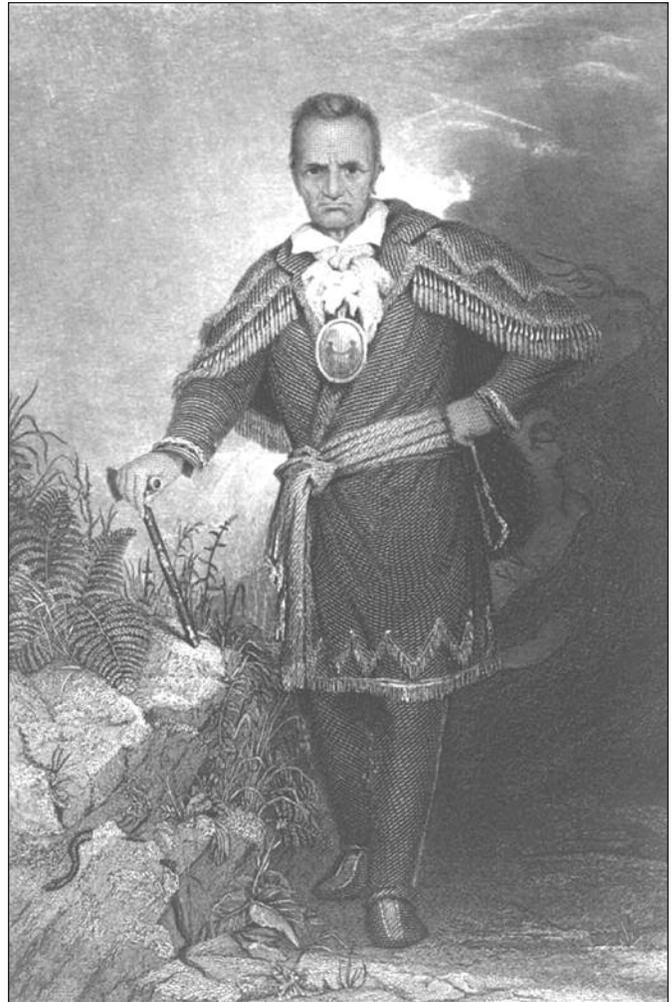


Figure 5.4. “Red Jacket,” based on a portrait by Robert Walter Weir, 1826. Stemming from an embarrassing career as warrior during the American Revolution, the Seneca Red Jacket had to overcome several charges of cowardice, including the degrading epithet that Brant gave him, “cow killer.” Nevertheless, Red Jacket, Cornplanter’s nephew, risked his life when he bravely delivered the U.S. government’s message of peace to the militant confederates at the council held at the Glaize in northwest Ohio in 1792, and he emerged as perhaps the finest Iroquois orator of the age.

Library of Congress, General Collections, Microfilm 54641 E.

oping ties between the British and Indians, Whitehall could find itself bound to the traders’ diplomacy, conducted by profit-seeking individuals on the frontier (Willig 2008, 27–30). In a letter of 24 September 1792 to McKee, Simcoe complained that the “self-interested & Venal Traders” would lead the Indians to believe “that G. Britain will sooner or later engage in a War with the States in the defence of the Western Indians.” Later, on 10 November, Simcoe wrote that if the traders should find it in their own interest, they would not hesitate to “counteract the general Instructions & Conduct of his Majesty’s



Figure 5.5. “John Graves Simcoe,” by John Wycliffe Lowes Forster, copied from an original miniature, circa 1900. Appointed as the Crown’s first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada (Ontario) in 1791, John Graves Simcoe, former officer of the Queen’s Rangers during the American Revolution, was immediately faced with the difficult question of determining the degree of support that his government would continue to give to the militant Native groups in the Ohio country. Although Britain was ostensibly neutral in the struggle between the Ohio tribes and the United States, Simcoe instructed his agent, Alexander McKee, to encourage the Native Confederacy to continue their resistance and to reject all negotiations with American officials. This influence thwarted the efforts of all the Iroquois peace emissaries, who might have otherwise been more successful.

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Servants, & buoy up the Indians by that false hope” (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:208, 5:23, 25). In a letter of 21 January 1793 to George Hammond, the British minister plenipotentiary to the United States, Simcoe defended the practice of distributing Indian gifts at a distance farther from the posts, partly to “rescue the Savage from . . . the rapacity of Our Traders” (MPHS 1896, 522).

Given the disturbing and possibly negative influences of traders in the Ohio country, Simcoe relied on McKee to influence the western confederacy in Britain’s favor but without making any permanent commitments that could propel Britain into an active military role in a war with the United States. On 30 August 1792 Simcoe sent careful instructions to McKee, indicating the specific goals and

policy he wanted carried out in the confederacy’s general council scheduled to meet that fall at the Glaize, the point where the Auglaize River flows into the Maumee at present-day Defiance, Ohio, and the site of a British and French trading town and seven villages of various Indian nations (Tanner 1978, 15–39). McKee’s assignment was to achieve a peace settlement that would encourage the continued development of “so numerous a Confederacy” among the Natives and to preserve the Indians’ territory by creating an “extensive . . . Barrier” lying between American territory and British possessions (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:208). In addition to preserving the integrity of Indian possessions, Simcoe also hoped that such a buffer occupied by a militant confederacy would permanently protect Upper Canada’s sparsely settled Loyalist communities from American expansion.³

In order to carry out Simcoe’s instructions without alienating the Indians, damaging the unity of the confederacy, or igniting a war between Britain and the United States, McKee remained purposefully vague in his communications with Native leaders along the Maumee. Although he obeyed Simcoe by not promising the King’s intervention, no record exists that McKee ever expressly told the Indians that this would never happen. In fact, the subsequent words and actions of the confederacy’s leaders indicate that they continued to harbor hopes that their British Father would defend their interests. During deliberations in the council at the Glaize, a deputation, primarily under militant Shawnee influence, addressed McKee as Simcoe’s representative. Shawnee civil chief Painted Pole served as spokesperson, and he made it clear that the confederacy’s delegation expected the British to protect Indian interests:

Father; At this Council fire which is in the center of our Country, is placed the Heart of the Indian Confederacy to which we have always considered our father to be joined, therefore we hope on this great occasion, that he will exert himself to see justice done to us, as it must be through his power & mediation that we can expect an end to our troubles (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:229).

Knowing that Native hopes hung on every word he spoke, McKee remained evasive and passed the speech on to Simcoe, allowing the latter to draft a response. Simcoe, answering in late October 1792, adopted a well-established practice in Euro-Indian diplomacy, seizing upon the Indians’ own rhetoric as he implied the King’s goodwill towards them:

You say “at this Council fire, which is in the centre of your country, is placed the heart of all the Indian Confederacy, to which you have always considered your Father to be joined.” The King your Father from

the earliest moment of his reign, has believed this union to be necessary for your welfare, & no less so to that of the neighbouring countries; and . . . your late superintendant general, Sir William Johnson, in all his Councils inculcated its propriety (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:230).

By borrowing the rhetoric of the militant Native leaders and by alluding to Sir William Johnson, Simcoe was in effect aiming to continue the British-Indian alliance in the West that had existed prior to and during the Revolutionary War, 1775–1783. Moreover, Simcoe and McKee's diplomatic endeavors mirrored those of the Ohio confederacy's leaders who attempted to use the implied threat of British support to compel the Americans to agree to a peace that would preserve Native American territorial claims. Similarly, Simcoe hoped to use the strength of a united Indian confederacy to bring about a peace agreement that would protect Upper Canada against U.S. expansion. He expected that the implied threat of continued Native warfare would compel American leaders to seek terms favorable to the British. Although both Simcoe and the Indian leaders may have acted in self-interest and tried to manipulate each other, they also recognized that their interests were intertwined. In Simcoe's case this took the form of urging Britain's Native allies to strengthen the confederacy, arguing in his October address that it was "necessary for your welfare" (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:230).

Simcoe's warning strengthened Native suspicions of American intentions, which captured American documents clearly outlined. These documents, found in American general Arthur St. Clair's baggage after the Indians decimated his army on 4 November 1791, outlined a chain of U.S. military posts along the Maumee River and a system of imposed agricultural reforms for the Indians.⁴ The council at the Glaize would address not only possible responses to these American intentions but also the Ohio confederacy's territorial goals and the extent to which the confederacy should rely on British support (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:227; Nelson 1999, 163; Sugden 2000, 137–38; Sword 1985, 145, 148). While tribal leaders advocated the notion of unity and strength within the confederacy, these issues at the Glaize exposed the fact that the confederacy lacked clear leadership and its members were divided on the objectives for which they were fighting. Moreover, the council also would mark the loss of Iroquois influence that had existed for generations among the western nations. Since the time of the last Beaver Wars (circa 1678–1701), the Iroquois nations perennially held a significant degree of diplomatic leverage over the westerners, based in part on British-supported Iroquois claims of conquest.⁵ After the American Revolution, however, adherence to this viewpoint rapidly diminished among the western nations.

In spite of the growing sentiments within the Shawnee-led faction that favored a continuation of war and resistance, Iroquois leaders still hoped to maintain their influence within the confederacy. Yet, they could now only do so by effectively brokering a peace. Since the Iroquois had been divided, defeated, and in many cases driven from their homes in New York State during the American Revolution, they, as previously noted, were now in no position to offer further military support to anti-American resistance movements. This then meant that their difficult task would also include fairly representing the interests of the United States and actually attempting to negotiate a peace between the Americans and the belligerent tribes. Such a task would prove impossible, particularly at a time when any compromise was unacceptable to the most influential of the confederacy's leaders. Even worse, the confederacy viewed any type of contact with the United States' government as disloyal, putting Brant, Red Jacket, Cornplanter, and all other peace emissaries under much suspicion and at great personal risk.⁶

Furthermore, the delegates who sought peace were anything *but* united within their own ranks. Secretary of War Henry Knox and Timothy Pickering, commissioner over northern U.S. Indian affairs, hoped to inundate the council at the Glaize with pro-American voices but did not take necessary measures to unite these messengers. In addition to utilizing the peace efforts of Brant, Red Jacket, and Cornplanter, U.S. officials commissioned Hendrick Aupaumut, a "Stockbridge" Indian, specifically a Christian Mohican who had sided with the United States during the American Revolution and who now advocated a policy of assimilation for Indians. Rather than aiding the process, however, Aupaumut's well-intentioned participation endangered the missions of the Iroquois delegations, and it personally presented a challenge to Brant. The Mohawk leader feared that Aupaumut's peace overtures would prejudice the minds of the western confederacy's leaders and undermine Brant's efforts, even before the latter could arrive at the Glaize. Consequently, when Brant encountered Aupaumut at Canandaigua, New York, in late May 1792, just prior to their respective journeys to the Glaize, Brant advised him to first submit his pro-American peace proposals to the British Indian agents (Aupaumut 1827, 78). The Mohican emissary was not so easily duped and simply did not respond to Brant. Such an action would have buried Aupaumut's proposals from the start, as Brant likely intended.

Another difficulty stemmed from the nature of the American demands. Though willing to draw a boundary and genuinely wanting to negotiate a peace, the American government's proposals sought to reaffirm most of the terms of previous treaties, the very issue that united the Ohio confederacy in opposition. The Treaties of Fort McIntosh (1785), Fort Finney (1786), and Fort

Harmar (1789) involved significantly large land cessions north of the Ohio River, a boundary that the Ohio confederacy continued to hold sacred, standing fast to their initial declaration at Brownstown in 1786.⁷ The United States had negotiated these treaties with small factions of Shawnee, Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Ojibwa, Potawatomi, and Six Nations (the latter mostly Seneca), none of which represented a majority consensus among the Ohio peoples (Prucha 1994, 49–51, 54–58, 448–49; Wallace 1970, 156–59). Moreover, these agreements would give roughly three-fourths of present Ohio to the United States; indeed, certain communities such as Gallipolis and Marietta already thrived north of the Ohio River and much of the surrounding lands had already been sold (Horsman 1961, 194–95). Writing to American emissary Marinus Willett on 18 April 1792, Secretary of War Henry Knox laid out the terms of peace, declaring

1st That we [the United States] require no lands but those which we conceive to have been fairly purchased of those tribes who had a right to sell. 2dly That if any of the tribes Can shew just right to any lands they Claim by virtue of the last treaty they Shall be liberally compensated for such right. 3dly That we are not only willing to be at peace with all the Natns but to impart to them such of the blessings of Civilization as will serve their children and <illegible> serve to perpetuate them in the land of their forefathers (Abbot et al. 2002a, 280, n. 3).

Not only were such statements diametrically opposed to the western confederacy's claims that *all* tribes north of the Ohio River held equal claims to *all* lands there, but they confirmed the confederacy's nativistic fears of U.S. intentions to impose civilization programs and agricultural reforms.

When the council at the Glaize officially commenced on 30 September 1792, tensions were clearly evident when the Shawnee leaders, whose influence within the coalition was rising, challenged the position of the Six Nations (Klinck and Talman 1970, 177–78). The Shawnee resented the fact that Six Nations' leaders now served as diplomats and liaisons between the United States government and the western nations in an attempt to broker a permanent peace. Shawnee spokesman Painted Pole (Messquakenoe) opened the council session of 2 October by upbraiding the delegates of the Six Nations for arriving late and revealing his suspicion that the Iroquois lacked genuine loyalty to the Ohio confederacy. Painted Pole sarcastically concluded, "We suppose you have been constantly trying to do us some good, and that was the reason of your not coming sooner to join us" (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:220). Buckongahelas, the most important Delaware leader, agreed, exclaiming,

Don't think because the Shawanoes only have spoke to you, that it was their sentiments alone, they have spoke the sentiments of all the Nations. All of us are animated by one Mind, one Head and one Heart and we are resolved to stick close by each other & defend ourselves to the last (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:220).

The militant leaders directed these statements at the Iroquois faction led by the Seneca chief Red Jacket, who arrived at the Glaize with a peace proposal from the United States. Any compromises proposed by the United States reaffirmed Indian possession of lands beyond those that had already been ceded. In addition, Red Jacket was to inform the confederacy's leaders that the U.S. government could—albeit only slightly—modify the boundary determined by the Treaty of Fort Harmar (1789). The mere willingness of Six Nations' leaders to discuss the loss of so much Indian land heightened suspicions that the Iroquois were indeed traitors to the western confederacy. On 4 October, Red Jacket seemed to confirm these suspicions when he encouraged a negotiated peace, stating, "Brothers, we know that the Americans have held out their hands to offer you peace. Don't be too proud Spirited and reject it" (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:222). The next day Painted Pole heatedly responded to Red Jacket, accusing him of selling out to the Americans:

I can see what you are about from this place. Brother of the 6 Nations, you are still talking to the Americans your head is now towards them, and you are now talking to them. When you left your village to come here, you had a bundle of American Speeches under your Arm. . . . Brothers of the 6 Nations, all the different Nations here now desire you to speak from your Heart and not from your Mouth & tell them what that bundle was which you had under your Arm when you came here. We know what you are about—we see you plainly (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:224).

Stunned by Painted Pole's indictment, Red Jacket defended himself and his fellow representatives from the Six Nations, exclaiming, "You have talked to us a little too roughly, you have thrown us on our backs" (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:224).⁸

A key difference that divided the opposing factions in the council at the Glaize was whether the best means of protecting Indian territorial claims was to trust British efforts or negotiate with the Americans. Given their circumstances, the Six Nations had little choice but to negotiate with the Americans and had already relinquished their claims to lands in Ohio and Pennsylvania at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784. At the same time, the state of New York began advancing its claims to Iroquois territory within its boundaries and would successfully expro-

appropriate most all remaining Six Nations' lands within the state by 1842 (Snow 1994, 153–67; Graymont 1972, 285–91; Hauptman 1999, 27–120; Jennings et al. 1985, 206). Thus as the American government sought to utilize the little remaining influence of the leaders of the Iroquois League, the western confederates understood that the Six Nations' leaders were virtually at the mercy of the Americans. It is no surprise, therefore, that the allied tribes on the Maumee were suspicious of Iroquoian loyalty. Later, Painted Pole again addressed the Six Nations pointedly, making it clear that no true ally could represent American interests:

All the Americans wanted was to divide us, that we might not act as one Man. . . . Now Brothers of the 6 Nations; This is the way they served you, and you have listened to them. We know they want to break you off from the Nations here. But the Great Spirit, has now put it in your hearts, not to be broken off by them, from the general Indian Confederacy (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:226).

In his final speech at the council, Painted Pole indicated upon whom the confederacy actually depended, asserting, “we have a reliance on our Father [the King] seeing justice done to us, as we have always found we may confidently depend upon him” (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:228). The Six Nations delegation, led by Red Jacket and now unwilling to be deemed an enemy to the hopes of their western allies, accepted the hard-line position against granting concessions to the Americans. The Iroquois delegation left the council promising to show unity with the rest of the confederacy at an anticipated conference with U.S. commissioners that was scheduled to meet at Sandusky in 1793 (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:227–28).

As the council began to wind down, Hendrick Aupaumut reported that the Shawnees took control of the proceedings, summarily rejecting all pro-American peace proposals and again demanding “the ancient line” (i.e., the Ohio River) for a boundary (Aupaumut 1827, 121). In the meantime the Shawnee and Delaware delegations continued to ignore the speeches that the Americans sent to them, passing them on to the officials in the British Indian Department. Thus, nothing in the ten-day conference had altered the confederacy's official position. The western leaders continued to embrace the idea of resistance, concurring with an earlier Shawnee and Delaware assertion of the previous June that the Americans “mean to dupe us as usual, but we mean to be ready to receive [i.e., fight] them” (“Speech of the Shawanoes and Delawares at the Grand Glaize,” 11 June 1792, Native American Collection).⁹

Red Jacket had been the most important pro-peace emissary at the Glaize, and it does not appear that Aupaumut ever had the opportunity to formally address

the entire body of Indians in the main council proceedings. However, Aupaumut did address a faction of leaders who remained after the ninth of October, and he had numerous informal dialogues with headmen throughout the council, enabling him to distribute his agenda accordingly. The key Delaware leader Big Cat seemed to trust Aupaumut and even wanted to compromise with the United States by dealing with him; Big Cat delivered a speech to Aupaumut, who promised to pass it along to the government, indicating Big Cat's concerns (for Big Cat's speech and Aupaumut's response see Aupaumut 1827, 122–28).

Similar to Aupaumut's experience at the Glaize, there is no record indicating that Cornplanter, despite being present, ever officially spoke there either. In fact, it appears that another Seneca, Farmer's Brother, was the only leader among Cornplanter's delegation from the Allegany reserve to have participated at all, but only minimally at that, since Farmer's Brother delivered his pro-peace speech in a private session, rather than in the main council (“Substance of a Private Council,” 6 October 1792, Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:225–26). Cornplanter's lack of participation is puzzling, but he may have kept silent due to a rumor that the militant Ohio Indians were plotting to kill him. Furthermore, these fears may not have been unfounded, since Cornplanter had allegedly passed information to U.S. Legion commander Anthony Wayne. If the militants had discovered this, they certainly would have considered Cornplanter a spy (Abler 2007, 89, 91).¹⁰ In any case, Cornplanter remained consistently silent, especially during his return to the Maumee the following year as the leader of a delegation of 110 Senecas from Allegany at a council at the Foot of the Miami Rapids (Abler 2007, 93; For “Proceedings at the Foot of the Rapids,” see Cruikshank 1923–1931, 2:5–23). Cornplanter's glaring silence at two of the most important international councils of the period meant not only that this leader was a non-factor during two years of negotiations with the western tribes, but also that his status as a diplomat had largely diminished. Cornplanter, never a sachem, would continue to represent only a minority of the Seneca people during crucial negotiations with U.S. and British authorities throughout the 1790s, and with this limited capacity, he would never quite manage to eclipse his rival and nephew Red Jacket as a diplomat.¹¹

To the Shawnees and other militant nativists at the Glaize, the diplomatic efforts of Cornplanter and other representatives from the Six Nations continued to appear more as collusion than compromise. Joseph Brant, who arrived after the council at the Glaize had officially ended in mid-October 1792, did not change their minds. Like Red Jacket, Aupaumut, and Cornplanter before him, Brant came with peace proposals from the American government, having just come from the U.S. capital at

Philadelphia. When he reached the mouth of the Maumee River, he met several of the western Indians, who informed him that the council at the Glaize had ended. Nevertheless, they briefly held a smaller council with the Mohawk chief. After hearing the determinations made at the prior council, Brant did not even bother to present the American proposals. In fact, Brant soon learned that even his son Isaac, in a bizarre episode, had previously arrived at the Glaize and countered everything that his father was expected to say by insisting that the confederacy not trust George Washington or any of the American proposals (Kelsay 1984, 478; Aupaumut 1827, 112–13).¹² Consequently, on 28 October Brant could only sit and listen to the words of the Shawnee leader Snake, who reiterated the Native position, exclaiming, “General Washington has always been sending to us for peace, Now if he is true and wants peace, the Ohio [River] must be the boundary line, as we long ago agreed upon, and we will meet him at Sandusky” (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 1:242). Hence, Brant had no chance to present the American overtures for peace even if he had wanted to, and he may have heard how Painted Pole and the other leaders had responded to Red Jacket’s earlier overtures, so the Mohawk leader said little. Instead, Brant merely encouraged the westerners to remain united and not to trust President Washington. Furthermore, the desperate Mohawk even fabricated stories against Aupaumut, attempting to discredit him and reposition himself as the key liaison with outsiders (Aupaumut 1827, 122, 129; White 1991, 459).¹³ In doing so, Brant managed to temporarily maintain some standing with the western Indians.

The failure of the diplomatic efforts of Brant, Red Jacket, and Cornplanter indicate a significant change within the Ohio confederacy. The Six Nations no longer had the influence over the western nations that they had possessed prior to the American Revolution. The very fact that an intertribal council as important as the one held at the Glaize could occur without Brant indicates the loss of the Mohawk leader’s status. With the possible exception of McKee, British leaders had not foreseen this growing rift in the confederacy. Less than a year later, however, Simcoe better understood Brant’s declining status and threw British support behind the more militant faction of the confederacy. The gulf between the Six Nations and the western confederacy became very apparent the following spring and summer during the council held at the Foot of the Miami Rapids, near present-day Toledo, Ohio.¹⁴ Brant’s icy reception there in late May 1793 confirmed his own plummeting status and that of the Six Nations. In his journal of the council, Brant recalled that the Shawnees accused him of being “a Traitor, & that I only came there to receive Money and that they would have nothing to do with me” (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 2:6).

Brant’s efforts to foster unity within the confederacy

were negated by his advocacy of a renegotiated boundary line with the American commissioners. In an attempt to promote a lasting peace, he envisioned a compromise based on a boundary along the Muskingum River. This would give the United States some territory northwest of the Ohio River, but in the spirit of compromise, it also would require the U.S. government to relinquish a considerable portion of the lands it had acquired in the Fort Harmar Treaty of 1789.¹⁵ Though Brant and his supporters might not have realized it, this proposal was doomed from the start because the American commissioners were not authorized to make any concessions remotely resembling Brant’s plan, which would have required them to relinquish perhaps more than half of the Harmar cession (Lowrie and Clarke 1832, 341; MPHS 1895, 608; Sword 1985, 247; Horsman 1961, 210; Taylor 2006, 281–82; Allen 1992, 79–81).

In spite of Brant’s declining influence among the Maumee tribes, he managed to gain some temporary support at the council from other factions present. The Ottawa, Ojibwa, and Potawatomi began to follow a more independent course (Simcoe to Henry Dundas, 10 November 1793, Cruikshank 1923–1931, 2:99–100). Geographically and economically their interests depended upon closer ties to the Great Lakes region and to the British fur trade there, than to the tribes of the Maumee and Wabash River Valleys. These tribes, like the Six Nations, had little to lose by endorsing the Muskingum boundary and relinquishing part of southeastern Ohio, a chunk of territory distant from their own country. They had little to gain from fighting a protracted war to defend the southern boundary of Shawnee territory. The possibility of a reasonable compromise with the Americans, therefore, grew ever more appealing. Thus in the midst of the proceedings at the Miami Rapids these three nations supported Brant’s proposal, opting for a peacefully negotiated boundary. On 24 July 1793, the Ottawa Chief Egushwa graciously acknowledged Brant’s past services and placed his trust in any settlement that the Mohawk leader thought most proper: “You were the Promoter of this Confederacy and from your knowledge of the English, of the Americans, & the Indians, you are able to judge of our true Interest, we therefore place full Confidence in You” (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 2:8). The dispute over this boundary widened the division in the western confederacy; henceforth the British could never again fully unite the tribes of the Old Northwest and Upper Canada.

At one point during the council, it appeared that Brant might have even garnered general support for his Muskingum compromise, but Alexander McKee took matters into his own hands and privately met with the leaders of the militant faction at midnight on 9 August. Serving as spokesman for this faction, Shawnee war chief

Captain Johnny issued without further discussion their “final Resolution” in favor of a boundary set at the Ohio River. When Brant protested this maneuver, Delaware leader Buckongahelas responded by “pointing at Col. McKee, [saying] that is the Person who advises us to insist on the Ohio River for the line” (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 2:16). Moravian missionary John Heckewelder, who headed a delegation of Quaker observers, later recalled that the message sent to the American commissioners from this council “was both Impertinent & Insolent” and used “Language . . . that no Person having knowledge of Indians, would believe it an Indian Speech.” Heckewelder added, “We saw quite plainly that the Indians were not allowed to act freely and independently, but under the influence of evil advisers” (Wallace 1958, 19; Lowrie and Clarke 1832, 355; Cruikshank 1923–1931, 2:24, 33).

Presumably, one of Heckewelder’s “evil advisers” was McKee, who, given the position of the western nations by the summer of 1793, found it easy to urge the Indians to insist on the Ohio River boundary. Moreover, the Native American position coincided with McKee’s own personal belief that this river was the only just boundary between the Indians of the northwest and the United States. Furthermore, McKee had always discouraged the Indians from engaging in treaties with the United States long before the 1793 council convened (Thornbrough 1957, 119). Simcoe’s instructions to McKee of 22 June 1793 advised him “to exert your ascendancy over the Indians in inclining them to accede to those [American] offers, if they be consistent with their safety, and benefit, or to reject them if they seem likely to prove injurious to their real Interests” (MPHS 1895, 555). These instructions allowed McKee to adhere to his own preference for a hard-line position, while supporting the British desire to impede U.S. expansion into the Northwest Territory. The British Indian Department had its closest ties to the Indians of the Maumee Valley, and beginning with the defeat of an American expedition under General Josiah Harmar in 1790, the backbone of Native American defiance to U.S. territorial claims to the Northwest Territory came from that quarter.¹⁶ Consequently, it made sense to build a confederacy around this core of resistance. Therefore, Simcoe and other British leaders apparently believed that the optimum degree of unity in the confederacy should come through those nations that had most eagerly participated in the recent victories over the Americans. Any American army sent to capture Detroit, which Britain had theoretically ceded to the United States in the 1783 treaty ending the Revolutionary War, would have to traverse this region of entrenched Indian resistance (Bemis 1957, 260).¹⁷ Finally, McKee’s marriage and kinship ties to the Shawnee caused him to further favor their interests.

As for Simcoe, the Lieutenant Governor based his

Indian policies on a belief that the United States sought “an alliance with the Six Nations,” hoping to turn “them against the Western Indians,” and like the western nations, he questioned Brant’s loyalty and no longer trusted him. Simcoe suspected that Brant “was pledged to [the U.S.] Congress to give it as his opinion to the Council, that the Indian Nations should give up part of the territory, on the northern side of the Ohio” (MPHS 1895, 549, 569). Finally, the Governor realized that Brant possessed goals that would not always coincide with British interests. He summarized his thoughts about Brant in a letter to British Home Secretary Henry Dundas on 20 September 1793:

He [Brant] is labouring to effect a pacification upon such terms and principles as He shall think proper and which will eventually make him that mediator which the United States have declined to request from His Majesty’s Government. . . . He considers the Indian Interests as the first Object—that as a second, tho’ very inferior one, He prefers the British . . . to the people of the States, yet I . . . consider the use He has made of his Power to be the subject of just alarm and that it is necessary by degrees and on just principles that it should be diminished (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 2:59).

Simcoe understood that Brant, already in the midst of a sovereignty dispute with the British government regarding the Grand River lands in Upper Canada, would place the interests of his Iroquois brethren in Canada and the United States before those of either the British or the western Indians. Consequently, the desire of both Simcoe and McKee for peace and unity was merely conditional. It was better to risk a continued war with a fractured Indian confederacy than to attempt to place a stronger confederacy in the hands of a principal chief whose loyalties to Britain had become dubious.

Although Brant complained of McKee’s interference, his protests fell on deaf ears. By late October 1793, he was virtually isolated, and in British opinion *he* was the cause of the fractured state of the confederacy. Writing again to Home Secretary Dundas on 10 November 1793, Simcoe declared, “I suspect that the principle of disunion arose from this Chieftain” (Cruikshank 1923–1931, 2:100, 102; Taylor 2006, 281–82). Simcoe’s anti-Brant explanation of the confederacy’s troubles failed to acknowledge the schism’s deeper and more complicated sources, which included old tribal rivalries, the competing political and territorial needs of the confederacy’s various members, and the degree of McKee’s manipulative influence among tribal leaders. But the existence of factional divisions after the council at the Miami Rapids was undeniable. Moreover, the emergence of three broad subgroups—the Six Nations, the Maumee Valley tribes, and the triumvi-

rate faction that consisted of the Potawatomi, Ojibwa, and Ottawa—was a major development that threatened to undermine the position of relative strength the confederacy had previously enjoyed through its victories over the U.S. armies led by Harmar and St. Clair in 1790 and 1791, respectively.

Tragically, any opportunity for a negotiated peace had passed, and continued reliance on British support proved fatal for the western confederacy on 20 August 1794, when General Anthony Wayne's U.S. Legion handily defeated the confederacy's warriors at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The British chose to remain officially neutral that day, even denying refuge to the defeated warriors who sought protection in their nearby Fort Miami (present-day Toledo) (Sword 1985, 299–311; Gaff 2004, 325–27, 364–65; White 1991, 467–68; Willig 2008, 52–58). In a twist of irony, this drubbing occurred at the Foot of the Miami Rapids, where only a short year before, the confederacy's leaders bickered with Brant and others about which boundary ultimatum they would present to the Americans. Defeated and betrayed by the British, the confederacy's leaders now sought peace on American terms, agreeing to meet with Anthony Wayne and U.S. military leaders at Fort Greenville the following summer. The watershed Treaty of Greenville that would result acknowledged U.S. sovereignty over most of Ohio and gave the United States several key sites throughout the Northwest Territory on which to erect military posts (Lowrie and Clark 1832, 564–83; Cayton 1998, 235–69). When Iroquois leaders learned that they would be allowed no part in those proceedings, they said only that their exclusion "hurts the feelings of the Six Nations" (Jennings et al. 1985, 59; Cruikshank 1923–1931, 4:88). No longer would the Six Nations exert significant diplomatic leverage or influence over other nations, and apart from limited participation in the War of 1812, the years of Iroquois frontier warfare had ended. After 1794 Iroquois concerns turned inward, focusing on how to best accommodate the needs of their own peoples.

ENDNOTES

I would like to express my gratitude to Christine Sternberg Patrick, an editor with the Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Retirement Series (Charlottesville, Virginia) for her thoughtful insights, suggestions, and editing prowess in the preparation of this manuscript.

1. As a youth, Brant had become the protégé of the late Sir William Johnson, who served as Superintendent of Indian Affairs from 1754 until his death in 1774. Johnson, who owned tens of thousands of acres in the Mohawk Valley, had taken Brant's older sister Molly as his mistress and eventual common-law wife. As a result of his close connection with Johnson, Brant learned English, received some formal education, accepted the Anglican faith, and received a captain's

commission in the British Indian Department. By 1786 he had twice traveled to England where he met several key figures, including Hugh Percy (later the Second Duke of Northumberland), Home Secretary Lord Sydney, Charles James Fox, King George III, and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

2. One of the most severe defeats that Native Americans have ever dealt Euro-Americans occurred on 4 November 1791 when an army of approximately 1,400 U.S. troops under the command of Arthur St. Clair, Ohio's territorial governor, was overrun and destroyed at the present site of Fort Recovery, Ohio. In this action, western confederated warriors under Blue Jacket and Little Turtle, with the assistance of the British Indian Department, killed at least 634 Americans outright and wounded hundreds of others. Dozens of Americans later died from their wounds (Sword 1985, 171–91; White 1991, 454).
3. The strategy of a buffer zone in North America was not a new concept, and it had been discussed among diplomats since the time of the French presence there in the mid-eighteenth century (Smith 1989, 46–63).
4. On 27 June 1792, Secretary of War Henry Knox wrote to Brant, promising "that the United States will make arrangements to teach the Indians, if agreeable to them, to raise their own bread and Cattle as white people do" (Northwest Territory Papers).
5. An example of this perception continuing long after the Beaver Wars was the controversial Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, through which Sir William Johnson and the British Indian Department used the Iroquois to acquire parts of western Pennsylvania, western Maryland, and the present-day regions of West Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and a portion of northern Alabama (Flexner 1989, 324–31; Jones 1982, 87–92; McConnell 1992, 248–54).
6. Several other emissaries carrying American peace-proposals had already been murdered by Ohio Indians, most notably Alexander Trueman and John Hardin in 1792 (Sword 1985, 210–12). Guyasuta, Cornplanter's uncle, believed that the western Indians also intended to kill Cornplanter (Abler 2007, 91).
7. The boundary previously established by the Americans ran north-south through eastern Ohio, then west across the middle of the present-day state, before turning northward to Lake Erie, theoretically leaving a large reserve of approximately only one quarter of the present state of Ohio for the Indians. For exact treaty language and boundary definitions within these agreements, see Kappler 1904, 6–8, 16–25, and Prucha 1994, 49–58.
8. Also see Densmore 1999, 39.
9. The speech was recorded by Thomas Duggan, Clerk, British Indian Department.
10. Not only did the Seneca leader Guyasuta believe that the western Indians were trying to kill Cornplanter, but according to Seneca oral tradition stemming from the account of Cornplanter's grandson, Solomon O'Bail, they nearly succeeded. O'Bail claimed that the Seneca delegation's food had been poisoned while on the Maumee, causing several Senecas to die during their journey home. Cornplanter allegedly became very sick and was said to have nearly died (Abler 2007, 91, 94; Wallace 1970, 165). In addition, there might have been a previous attempt on Cornplanter's life when the Seneca leader traveled to Ohio in 1791 (Sword 1985, 133). Regarding Cornplanter's service as an informant to Anthony Wayne, see Sword 1985, 225.
11. Though Cornplanter, like Brant, viewed Red Jacket as a coward, based on Red Jacket's history of flight and desertion during the Revolutionary War, it was Red Jacket who was brave enough to risk his life by speaking in favor of peace during the Glaze council proceedings. Moreover, Red Jacket, not Cornplanter, had met with Timothy Pickering at Newtown Point in 1791, received the famed

peace medal from President Washington in 1792, and later spoke in the important councils at Fort George, Upper Canada, in 1805 and Brownstown in 1810. Francis Jennings wrote that after the conference at Newtown Point “Red Jacket . . . emerge[d] dominant in his power struggle with Cornplanter” (Jennings et al. 1985, 202; see also Kelsay 1984, 636–37 and Densmore 1999, 78–79). In spite of this, Cornplanter did retain some local prestige among the Senecas in New York and at his Allegany reservation (Wallace 1970, 168–83).

12. Three years later Brant, apparently in self-defense, killed his son Isaac who was in a drunken rage at the time (Kelsay 1984, 563–65).

13. Apparently efforts by both Brant and the Senecas to discredit Aupaumut temporarily succeeded, as seen in correspondence from Henry Knox to George Washington, 6 Dec. 1792, in which Knox states,

That Captain Hendricks the chief of the stockbridge indians has proved unfaithful, having delivered the message, belt, and map with which he was entrusted for the hostile indians, to Mr McKee, the british Indian Agent, and that the said Hendricks did not repair to the council at all (Abbot et al. 2002b, 473).

Timothy Pickering, however, later vindicated Aupaumut, writing Knox on 13 Feb. 1793 that the emissary’s “conduct at the Westward” was faithful in that “he has acted usefully as well as honestley” (Abbot et al. 2005, 142, n. 2).

14. Reginald Horsman (1961) offers a good analysis of the proceedings at this council.

15. For the specified boundary determined by the Treaty of Fort Harmar, see Kappler 1904, 19.

16. In the fall of 1790, General Josiah Harmar led more than nine hundred militia and nearly three hundred regular U.S. troops against the Miami towns situated in and around present-day Fort Wayne, Indiana. In suffering a series of defeats in three days of separate engagements, Harmar’s troops sustained heavy losses with at least three hundred casualties, but they managed to destroy most of the Miami, Delaware, and Shawnee villages in the vicinity (Sword 1985, 101–16).

17. The second article of the Treaty of Paris defines the boundary between the United States and Canada.

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Chapter 6

THE HAUDENOSAUNEE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION PROCESS (HEPP): Reinforcing the Three Principles of Goodmindedness, Peacefulness, and Strength to Protect the Natural World

Brenda E. LaFrance and James E. Costello

INTRODUCTION

The Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force (HETF) was established in 1992 by the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (also known as Iroquois or Six Nations) to assist Haudenosaunee Nations (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora) in exercising their rights and responsibilities with regard to their environmental concerns. HETF is composed of delegates chosen by each of the Haudenosaunee Nations who are committed to identifying environmental problems in their communities. The goal of the organization is to develop culturally relevant processes and guidelines to assist the nations in finding solutions for these problems.

The Haudenosaunee Environmental Protection Process (HEPP) is designed to incorporate the traditional teachings of the Haudenosaunee as a guide in creating a process that protects the natural world. The HEPP also applies Haudenosaunee values to the environment, using Haudenosaunee knowledge to identify the consequences for violating natural law and to develop culturally based enforcement processes. Each nation is free to adapt the results of HEPP to meet specific needs within its own territory. Furthermore, the HEPP supports the

integration of Western research methodologies under the principle of the Two Row Wampum (Figure 6.1), which dates to the 1600s and is the first known recorded agreement between Europeans and the Haudenosaunee (Richter and Merrell 1987). According to the symbolism used in this wampum, the European ship and the Haudenosaunee canoe travel side-by-side on the “river of life” (Ransom and Ettenger 2001).

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS THROUGHOUT HAUDENOSAUNEE TERRITORIES

The Haudenosaunee (people of the longhouse) have lived in peace and harmony with the natural world for centuries. We share a deep spiritual relationship with our environment that is rooted in a respect for all life. We recognize that our own physical well-being is based on living in a healthy environment. Our lifestyles, knowledge systems, philosophies, and culture direct us to ensure that our communities within the Haudenosaunee territories are sustainable. Despite an ever-changing world and the continuing clash of values between Haudenosaunee and mainstream cultures, we still rely upon the basic elements of our cultural teachings for our way of life to continue.

Conservation and preservation are once again the principles of modern-day society. Knowledge long believed to be lost has exerted itself, and the new science of ecology has re-enforced that knowledge. The Haudenosaunee believe that Western science and the spirit of the natural world are two very powerful integrative tools for ecosystem survival and preservation. Our people have never been averse to evaluating new technologies, rejecting those that are harmful and incorporating those that are useful.

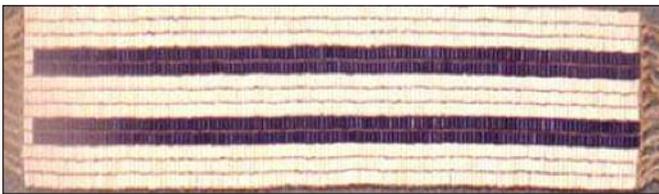


Figure 6.1. Photograph of the Two Row Wampum (Onondaga Nation, 2005).

Contamination of our territories has been identified for each Nation and its communities. This information can be found in *Haudenosaunee Environmental Restoration: An Indigenous Strategy for Human Sustainability* (Annunziata et al. 1995). Centuries of experience have taught the Haudenosaunee how to live in harmony with our environment. This knowledge is based not only on experimentation and observation but also on spirituality and intuition. Haudenosaunee knowledge systems endeavor to integrate the physical, social, and spiritual states into a cohesive force for the betterment of future generations. To this end, the Haudenosaunee have vigorously incorporated traditional knowledge so that we can have an equal voice in the global discussion.

The essence of traditional Haudenosaunee identity comes from our close connection to the natural world and to our homeland. Preserving that association has been important throughout our history. The Haudenosaunee have fought and struggled to preserve our territory for the benefit of the “seventh generation,” so that our grandchildren’s children will be able to enjoy and appreciate the wonder and bounty that the world has to offer.

It is important, therefore, to incorporate our traditional Haudenosaunee knowledge and laws into the HEPP as an expression of our sovereignty and thus for the protection of our society. At the same time, if we ever desire the assistance of our brothers (in the guise of the United States of America and Canada), we can demonstrate that this process meets or exceeds the requirements of federal environmental laws. Likewise, if our brothers need our help, we can share our process. Over time, our elders have consistently predicted that one day our Haudenosaunee children would be talking to the world about environmental protection, and we believe that day has come.

Historically, the Haudenosaunee have used the Silver Covenant Chain of Friendship, a recognized alliance of friendship between the Haudenosaunee and the English (Richter and Merrell 1987) to reinforce the principles of peace (binding us together), friendship (chain of friendship), and forever (while the sun shines and waters run). The HETF has undertaken a culturally based environmental project by incorporating the spirit of the Two Row Wampum and the Silver Covenant Chain of Friendship. This process is being created from within the canoe, from within who we are as Haudenosaunee. As friends, we are open to share ideas, methodology, and processes that assist each of us to attain our goal: a healthy environment for the “seventh generation.” By bringing out the Silver Covenant Chain of Friendship and symbolically polishing it, this project can be done cooperatively within the context and complexities of contemporary society.

In today’s world, we face new environmental problems that our ancestors never had to consider. There were no polluting factories, gasoline stations, or man-

made chemicals like PCBs to harm the environment. To the Haudenosaunee, the challenge before us is finding ways to continue protecting the natural world, preserving our unique relationship with it by using our ancient knowledge and tradition and confronting new environmental problems.

Although many Indian nations/tribes have created environmental codes in the last few decades, the majority of these codes are not based on traditional laws and knowledge. Instead they are a re-wording of federal and state environmental laws, combined with some cultural relevance, that have been adapted to the local level.

Tribes should be commended for creating environmental codes and for assuming environmental regulatory responsibilities. Such codes, however, which are absent of our traditional law and knowledge, promote assimilation by replacing traditional teachings and principles with federal and state laws. By creating culturally based environmental protection processes within their own territories, tribal governments assert their sovereignty.

Federal and state environmental laws are usually based on different perspectives and traditions. Haudenosaunee society is driven by the need to live in peace and harmony with the natural world as directed by our values based on the Ohen:ton Karihwatehkwen (Words that are spoken before all else), also known as the Thanksgiving Address.

INCORPORATION OF HAUDENOSAUNEE TRADITIONAL TEACHINGS

HETF has used the traditional teachings of the Haudenosaunee as a guide in creating its environmental process. Five concepts provide the framework: the Thanksgiving Address; Haudenosaunee Cosmology; Kaienerekowa (Great Law of Peace) with the One Dish, One Spoon Principle; the Code of Handsome Lake; and the Kaswentha (Two Row Wampum) in accordance with the Silver Covenant Chain of Friendship. The application of Haudenosaunee values includes consequences for violation of natural law and culturally based enforcement processes.

Our first instruction from the Creator is to recite the Thanksgiving Address, thereby acknowledging each particular natural or supernatural component of the environment with gratitude. Each component complements the natural, observable order and represents the parts of Creation: the things upon the ground with thanksgiving upward to the things in the sky world above (Parker 1913). These components are as follows: The People; The Earth, Our Mother; The Plants, Berries, and the Three Sisters; The Waters; The Fishes; The Trees; The Animals; The Birds; The Wind; The Thunderers, Our Grandfathers; The Sun, Elder Brother; The Moon, Our Grandmother; The Stars; The Four Beings; and Our Creator.

The Thanksgiving Address creates a natural basis for a Haudenosaunee approach to environmental protection (HETF 1999). We use the Thanksgiving Address to interpret the natural world for categorizing and assessing health. Each part of the natural and supernatural world is outlined to illustrate the relationships and responsibilities that promote health.

The recitation of each component invokes its purpose, the manner in which mankind benefits, and the terms of obligation given by the Creator. Following a statement that each component continues to carry out its tasks, those present are asked to be thankful in keeping with the Creator's wishes. The Four Beings, or "sky dwellers," have directed mankind to love one another and extend greetings with thanksgiving. Also, kinship is established with each component of the natural world; for example, the earth is referred to as "Mother Earth," the support for our feet.

The Haudenosaunee have been instructed by the Creator to give thanks for everything that the Creator has provided upon "Mother Earth." The Thanksgiving Address is recited in the morning and at the end of the day; it is used to open and close not only special events but also any gathering of the people. These greetings of thanks and praise are used during the cycle of ceremonies conducted in the spring, summer, fall, and midwinter. These ceremonies are an important way to thank the Creator for making the earth and placing human beings upon it.

Haudenosaunee Cosmology establishes the relationship between human beings and the rest of Creation. When the Creator made the various entities of the earth, he made the humans last. Through our teachings we are told that we are the younger brothers and sisters to all of Creation. The land, water, air, and sky provide us with the sustenance needed for survival. In turn we are to approach Creation in a manner that promotes the survival of "Mother Earth."

The annual cycle of Thanksgiving ceremonies begins with the Midwinter Ceremony that initiates a renewal of the entire natural world (NAITC 1984). Each ritual within the ceremony is a thanksgiving to Creation, the spiritual entities that protect and guide, and the Creator of "Mother Earth" and the "Sky World." Through these acknowledgments, each part of Creation will hear, take pleasure, and reaffirm their willingness to fulfill the Creator's instructions.

In terms of natural resource management, the Haudenosaunee demonstrate the concepts of consensus decision making and collective rights by following an overarching design of the One Dish, One Spoon Principle (MNCC 1996). To gain sustenance, the Haudenosaunee people were advised to eat from one dish using one spoon and to always avoid introducing into the dish a sharp implement (similar to a knife) that may cause harm

(the spilling of blood).

All Creation was placed upon "Mother Earth" for all people. Everyone would have access to it based on the needs of their own survival. Basic needs are provided as long as man approaches Creation according to the principle of Goodmindedness, thus maintaining a collective entitlement to natural resources. In conjunction with the Kaienerekowa (Great Law of Peace), the Haudenosaunee are to apply the One Dish, One Spoon Principle to all of Creation by utilizing the three principles of Goodmindedness, Peacefulness, and Strength, to ensure that all of Creation continues to flourish.

When the Creator sent the people a messenger, the Peacemaker, he instituted the Three Principles of the Kaienerekowa (Great Law of Peace): Goodmindedness, Peacefulness, and Strength (NAITC 1984). Goodmindedness stems from using a pure mind in all interactions with the natural world, including other people. Peacefulness flows from being in a state of Goodmindedness, and Strength comes from having Goodmindedness and Peacefulness. Thus a state of Goodmindedness allows a sense of peacefulness to spread across the land, while creating the strength to continue our ceremonies and offer our thanksgiving to the Creator.

The Creator's messenger was successful in securing the agreement between the Five Nations (later to become the Six Nations) that led to the establishment of a Confederacy of Nations, better known as the Haudenosaunee. The ultimate goal of the Peacemaker was to create an environment of peace where the thanksgiving ceremonies could continue. To eliminate competition, the Peacemaker sought and secured from each Nation an agreement to treat the natural world in a manner that required cooperation and conservation. He referred to this practice as the One Dish, One Spoon Principle. All of the resources of nature would be shared commonly to ensure survival. Today, this principle mandates environmental protection and conservation by all members of the Confederacy.

Throughout the development of HEPP, references will be made to the One Dish, One Spoon Principle and the Three Principles of Goodmindedness, Peacefulness, and Strength. Together they form the basis for the Haudenosaunee approach to the world.

When the Haudenosaunee first came into contact with the European nations, they realized that it was not possible to bring these people (the Dutch, French, English, and later the United States) inside the circle—the circle being the cultural values of the Haudenosaunee. Therefore a treaty of friendship and peace was made with each European nation, the first agreement being with the Dutch (Richter and Merrell 1987). These agreements are embedded in the Kaswentha (Two Row Wampum).

The design of this wampum symbolizes a path called the

“river of life” where both the Haudenosaunee canoe and the European ship travel. The symbolic paths were intentionally parallel in order to indicate the agreed understanding that neither nation was to interfere in the affairs or governance of the other. The three rows of white wampum between the two paths denote respect, friendship, and trust, three principles that keep the two nations close, but at a respectful distance. Lately the separation between the Haudenosaunee and both the United States and Canada, with their governments and laws, has been compromised.

The “river of life” is an apt symbol of the nature of Haudenosaunee treaty relations. While other peoples may view treaties as individual transactions, the Haudenosaunee see them in the context of the relationship they have with the other nation: if the relationship is the river, the treaties are stones that mark spots along its way. The Two Row Wampum agreement was first recorded by the Dutch, and over time the principles of the Two Row Wampum became the basis for all treaties and agreements that were made afterwards with the French, the English, and later the United States. In keeping with the principles of the Two Row Wampum, the methodologies and guidelines adopted by the HEPP will draw on some Western scientific processes.

Kariwiiio (good message), also known as the Code of Handsome Lake, provides additional guidance for the Haudenosaunee people because it defines the consequences to mankind and the natural world that occur when natural laws are violated (Thomas and Boyle 1994). This Code is a spiritual message sent to the people through a Seneca man named Skanienteriio (Handsome Lake). His responsibility was to re-establish the thanksgiving ceremonies that had fallen into disuse, while allowing for adaptations to reflect changes in Haudenosaunee circumstances. To this day the Kariwiiio is recited yearly in Haudenosaunee territory. Failure to perform the thanksgiving ceremonies will lead to the fulfillment of the prophecies recited in Kariwiiio.

The various traditional teachings of the Haudenosaunee, as discussed above, provide a firm basis for use as Haudenosaunee Environmental Criteria (HEC).

HAUDENOSAUNEE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION PROCESS (HEPP)

On behalf of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, the HETF is developing the Haudenosaunee Environmental Protection Process (HEPP) for adoption and implementation by its member Nations, according to their own needs. This process is based on our indigenous worldview and relationship with the natural world. This project will enable the HETF “to create a modern-day, culturally-based environmental protection process that will help the

individual Nations and communities of the Haudenosaunee to protect and restore the natural world, while preserving our unique relationship with it, as sustainable societies. This is the best way to promote our sovereignty and is most consistent with our culture” (Ransom 2001:3).

The HEPP Design Diagram, Figure 6.2, illustrates the method used to construct an environmental protection process that is based on Haudenosaunee culture and traditions. This method is designed to “strengthen the environmentally-based laws of the Haudenosaunee, and build the capacity of the Nations of the Haudenosaunee to plan, develop and implement environmental programs consistent with the culture of the Haudenosaunee” (Ransom 2001:8).

HOW WE ARRIVE AT GOODMINDEDNESS

Failure to use Goodmindedness causes injury to others whether they are humans, earth, animals, plants, birds, or even the Creator. This principle is compromised when the resources of the world are used in a manner that violates the One Dish, One Spoon Principle. Goodmindedness is best illustrated through behavioral examples. Respect for oneself and the natural world, which includes other people, is a fundamental behavior that exemplifies Goodmindedness and leads to honesty, understanding of environmental needs, and active conservation of the earth and all its inhabitants.

The state of Goodmindedness promotes and enables acceptance of responsibility and, ultimately, empowerment. From this flows Peacefulness, which then extends from one person to the world, including Creation.

Strength, moreover, is derived from the faith and trust that is the natural progression of Peacefulness. Through faith and trust the balance and harmony of nature is maintained. All the behavioral traits engendered by the Principles of Goodmindedness, Peacefulness, and Strength form the basis for the designation of Factors, Criteria, Indicators, and Measurement of Indicators in the HEPP model. When Goodmindedness and Peacefulness exist, then integrity and equity are inevitable and can be used to promote the continuation of Creation through environmental protection.

CURRENT HAUDENOSAUNEE RESEARCH

HETF applied the Thanksgiving Address to the HEPP model using the work of F. Henry Lickers, Director of the Department of Environment, Mohawk Council of Akwesasne (MCA). He has devised a culturally based Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) from which the

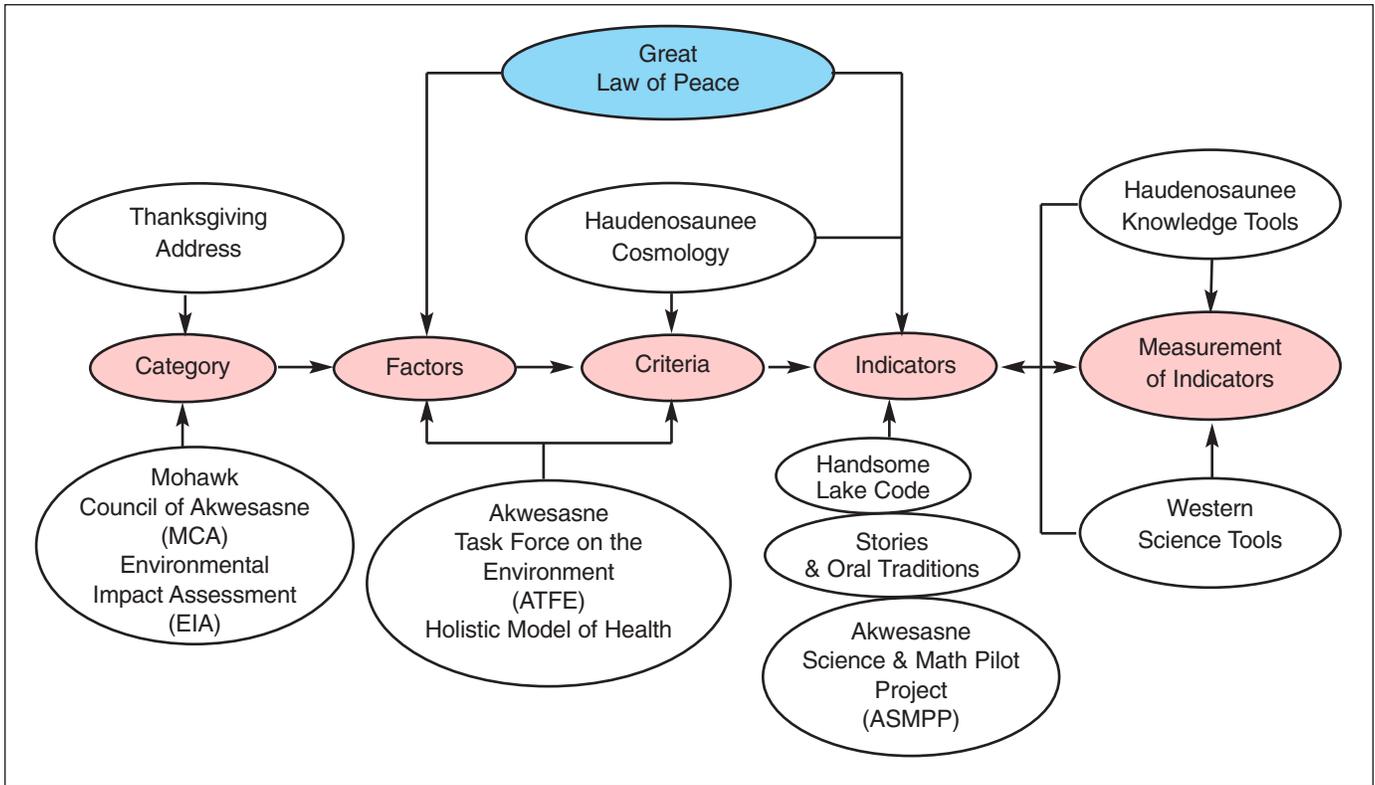


Figure 6.2. HEPP Design Diagram.

HEPP model has drawn. This assessment follows the Thanksgiving Address and has been utilized to devise the components of Category, Factor, and Criteria within the HEPP model. This approach has proven to be extremely effective in identifying and documenting Haudenosaunee Environmental Criteria that may be relevant for further assessment.

The HETF has also proposed to utilize the Akwasasne Task Force on the Environment Holistic Model of Health (Arquette et al. 2002) by encompassing the Three Principles established by the Peacemaker in the Great Law of Peace: Goodmindedness, Peacefulness, and Strength. This health model for risk assessment succinctly illustrates the criteria Haudenosaunee consider. In this model, three Factors have been selected to represent the health of Creation, including man: State of Wholeness, State of Good Relationships, and State of Survival. Each Factor is further defined through the Three Principles of Goodmindedness, Peacefulness, and Strength (Arquette et al. 2002).

State of Wholeness

The first Factor, State of Wholeness, examines the ability of each part of Creation to achieve a state of completeness

or wholeness. This analysis includes examining the ability of a Category, or part of Creation, to maintain each of the Three Principles:

State of Wholeness through Goodmindedness

1. Freedom from pain
2. Ability to cope
3. Happiness
4. Humor

State of Wholeness through Peacefulness

1. Relaxation
2. Ability to sleep
3. Belief
4. Identity
5. Hope
6. Ability to solve problems

State of Wholeness through Strength

1. Good nutrition
2. Exercise
3. Work
4. Fruits of labor
5. Order
6. Creativity

State of Good Relationships

The second Factor, State of Good Relationships, examines the ability of each part of Creation to find health and happiness through good intentions. This analysis includes examining the ability of a Category to maintain each of the Three Principles:

State of Good Relationships through Goodmindedness

1. Commitment
2. Respect
3. Responsibility

State of Good Relationships through Peacefulness

1. Ability to resolve issues
2. Love
3. Gratitude, Thankfulness

State of Good Relationships through Strength

1. Generosity
2. Collective thinking

State of Survival

The third Factor, State of Survival, examines practices that promote perpetuity or survival for each part of Creation being assessed. This analysis includes examining the ability of a Category to maintain each of the Three Principles:

State of Survival through Goodmindedness

1. Ability to make good decisions
2. Ability to make things

State of Survival through Peacefulness

1. Ability to heal
2. Ability to play
3. Ability to socialize

State of Survival through Strength

1. Ability to transmit knowledge to younger generations
2. Ability to work
3. Ability to make shelter
4. Ability to secure sustenance

RESPONSIBILITY OF EACH NATION

In keeping with Haudenosaunee protocol, consequences involving violations of the HEPP will be developed and are the exclusive sovereign right of each individual Haudenosaunee Nation. Traditional Haudenosaunee sanctions may be chosen by any one of the Haudenosaunee Nations. Also keeping with protocol, the Confederacy will participate in actual enforcement only

when requested. Remediation and restoration are linked to enforcement and will be handled in a similar manner. Also, each Haudenosaunee Nation will be able to document and assess their national issues. Ultimately, the Haudenosaunee may choose to integrate the information to assess the overall state of the Haudenosaunee environment.

PRINCIPLES INCORPORATED INTO HEPP

1. The Haudenosaunee are to use “one mind” in all that they do in order to promote peace and unity.
2. The One Dish, One Spoon Principle implies mutual responsibility and reciprocal relationships.
3. The HETF respects the diversity of Creation. Artificial conception and genetic alteration and manipulation violate our spiritual understanding of life.
4. All of Creation fulfills the responsibility assigned to them by the Creator. Because man has free will, he is the only violator.
5. Man has an obligation to ensure that we continue to fulfill our responsibility to all Creation:
 - a. Humans must strive to understand the natural world.
 - b. It is man’s influence that impacts the order of the natural world.

ASSUMPTIONS INCORPORATED INTO HEPP

1. Indicators will remain flexible for the users and their environment.
2. The written word is a minuscule portion of the total knowledge.
3. All of Creation is responsible to each other.
4. The health of the natural world is linked to all the people.

PRINCIPLES OF BALANCE & HARMONY

Haudenosaunee scientists and technicians held many discussions in an attempt to devise a process for measurement of the health of the natural world. Figure 6.3 illustrates the model they created to achieve this. The complete Category is the healthy Category, from Figure 6.2, contained in the HEPP and taken from the Thanksgiving Address. All Categories, or components of Creation, are interdependent. To optimize healthy relationships between Categories implies that balance and harmony are attained. In turn, balance and harmony

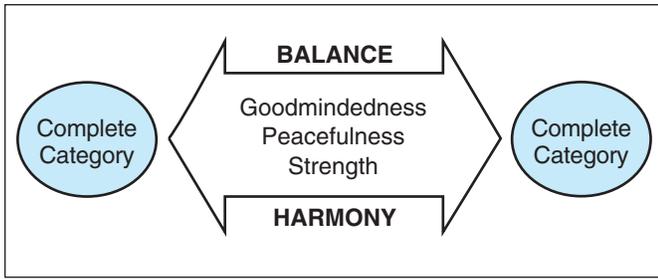


Figure 6.3. Maintenance of Balance and Harmony.

are maintained by Goodmindedness, Peacefulness, and Strength amongst Categories. When this state is achieved, we infer that the Categories are complete in their relationships and thus healthy. Western science would consider this a state of homeostasis and equilibrium.

Figure 6.4 depicts the interrelationships among Categories. It is a partial representation since a two-dimensional design lacks the ability to demonstrate the complexity of all relationships between Categories.

CONCLUSION

The HEPP is being developed based on a Haudenosaunee indigenous worldview and relationship with the natural world. Our individual Nations and communities will have the opportunity to protect and restore the natural world, while helping to preserve our unique relationship

with it as a sustainable society. Traditional teachings of the Haudenosaunee are used as a guide for creating this protection process and support its implementation in a manner consistent with Haudenosaunee values and culture, while maintaining the sovereignty of the Haudenosaunee people.

Finally, the HEPP has included Western research methodologies in accordance with the principles of the Two Row Wampum, when our brother's tools are considered useful to refine our findings in the natural world.

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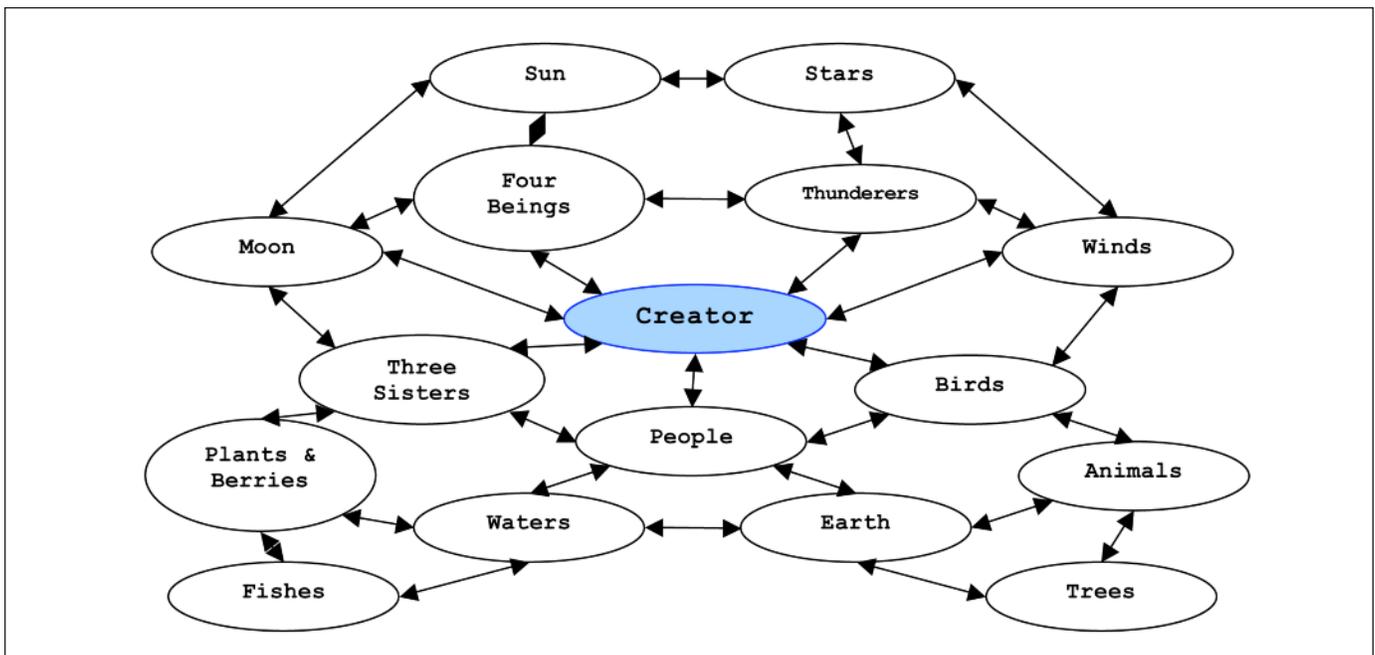


Figure 6.4. Relationships among Categories to Maintain Balance and Harmony.

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Chapter 7

THE HISTORY OF AKWESASNE: A Collaborative Project

Salli M. Kawennotakie Benedict

INTRODUCTION

A wonderful thing happened at Akwesasne. In January of 2003, the first university-accredited Akwesasne History course had its debut in the Akwesasne Community. This class was a collaborative effort by the Mohawk Council of Akwesasne's (MCA's) Iohahiio Adult Education Center (Iohahiio) and its Aboriginal Rights and Research Office (ARRO) with St. Lawrence University (SLU).

Special thanks are extended to Dr. Jon Parmenter, then Assistant Professor of History at SLU, who provided a comprehensive syllabus for this course and built a strong interest at St. Lawrence University in this special project, and to Vincenette Cook, Director of Education at Iohahiio, for providing the resources of Iohahiio as the environment for this valuable learning experience. The creation of this course and its inauguration at Akwesasne was an important experience for us all. Akwesasne is grateful to both Jon and Vincenette for accepting the exciting challenge to bring this course to fruition. The following is a report on the development of this concept and the good thinking that brought this course to our community.

WHO ARE YOU?

Who are you? This may be a simple question for some people that requires nothing more than providing their names and addresses. However, if you are from Akwesasne, revelation of your identity as an Akwesasne Mohawk person brings interest and beckons further inquiry. Somehow, just being an Akwesasronon (person from Akwesasne) obligates you to know much more about who you are. People may ask if we are Kanienkehaka (Mohawk) or Haudenosaunee, or if we are

part of the Seven Nations or the St. Lawrence Iroquois. They may ask if we are Canadian or American, or dual citizens. I believe that being Akwesasronon means knowing where you come from. This means knowing the complex cultural, historical, and political factors that have contributed to the Akwesasne we know today. For me, this means knowing the numerous people, events, and activities that are the threads that have been woven over time into the amazing fabric that is Akwesasne.

The history of Akwesasne is a complex one. It includes the study of the history of many nations, both Indigenous and European. Searching for bits of our historical fabric will help us answer some of the questions that we have about ourselves and that others ask of us. This quest will undoubtedly lead us to unlock caches of information that are not normally part of mainstream curricula, but this is not a simple task. For Akwesasronon, like other Indigenous peoples, our roles in mainstream history are generally underrepresented or misrepresented. Pertinent and accurate information is not always readily accessible or easily explained, and historical records were generally written by people from outside of our culture. Still, these are doors to the past that need to be opened, and their contents investigated, because they contain the history that can help to explain what has made Akwesasne and its people who they are today.

When we are asked questions about our current reality, we are drawn to the history that brought us here. Someone may ask why many Mohawk people do not speak Kanienke'ha, which is our Indigenous language. Another may ask why our community is divided by the U.S./Canadian border. These may be abrupt questions, and sometimes we may feel offended by their implications, but they are good questions that deserve a response. Our own perceptions of ourselves define our

relationships with others and how they will ultimately treat us. Who we are influences our society, our economy, and our everyday lives. How we define ourselves and how others define us has a direct impact on our survival as a community, as a people, and as a culture. Knowledge of our history will allow us to understand our current situations and explain to others how these circumstances developed. Our knowledge of history could help us choose the directions that we will take in the future and can help us build our future paths and strategies for survival.

I have noticed that the media has often built a negative portrait of Akwesasne. It seems to me that the focus of the mainstream media in general is to provoke angry responses rather than to gather accurate historical background for their stories about Akwesasne. It may take work on our part, but we need to insist that representatives of the media learn some Akwesasne history before they tackle their reporting assignments about us.

I have often thought of Akwesasne as a person with a unique character and a distinctive background:

- with a range of relationships with other communities both Native and non-native, both near and far.
- with brother and sister Mohawk communities at some distance from each other, struggling to keep the road to one another well-traveled.
- with values steeped in culture and tradition as the pressures of contemporary society test our cultural values in ways that we have never before encountered.
- with a history of events that were reactions to internal and external forces that continue to have a strong direct and indirect impact on this community today.
- and with a range of ever-increasing external influences, that will benefit or threaten the existence of this very important Mohawk community.

Akwesasne is truly a unique community that must address unique and complex issues on a daily basis. It is imperative that Akwesasronon be aware of the events and circumstances that brought them to the contemporary place that we know as Akwesasne today.

AKWESASNE HISTORY IS COMMUNAL

Akwesasne history can provide insight about the formation of its various institutions, as well as the kinds of governance structures that are recognizable today. There is also much information that can be collected about how certain values and moral structures in our community have changed over time, as well as about the precursors that led to the current state of its culture, health, economics, and social well-being.

Akwesasne history is our evidence about our interaction with other communities and nations. It is our evidence about the effects of our internal undertakings and their impact upon us today. Our history gives us the background information that we need to go forward. It reminds us about the foundations that have already been built and the connections that have already been made. Our history helps us to renew and continue the existing relationships that we have and provides us good examples for building new ones. Knowing the persona of the Akwesasne community—its character today and the history of how it came to have such a unique character—is essential in making plans for its future. It is the foundation of information that we need in order to plan our individual futures and the collective future of this community.

AKWESASNE HISTORY IS PERSONAL

I realize that I am part of the “Akwesasne Person,” and as such it is important to know who I am, just as it is important for every person at Akwesasne to know who they are. Akwesasne history, therefore, is very personal to me. It is intimate and interesting because it involves me. I am part of the families that belong to this history and to this land. The history of Akwesasne is part of my own identity and that of every person of this community.

Akwesasne history recounts the activities, initiatives, and challenges of our families and relatives who may have passed on. It can provide a record of personal and community accomplishments or mistakes that may have had a lasting impression far beyond their time, affecting numerous generations. It is personal because the current generation is the one that lives with the wisdom or whimsy and the caution or carelessness of those who went before them. Our people should be proud of Akwesasne history. Whatever the circumstances, it is part of a rich, complex heritage that continues to affect our contemporary reality. Akwesasne history, therefore, is a personal history for every Akwesasronon and a very important part of knowing who they are. It should be a part of their knowledge base and contemporary memories. Our history should be a source of pride and a guidebook for taking steps in the future.

ENOUGH TO TELL

I have studied the history of Akwesasne for most of my life. Most of my early education came from the transference of oral information from within my own immediate family as well as from relatives, friends, other community members, and individuals from other Haudenosaunee

communities. It is good that this kind of history was available to me because there was nothing written about Akwesasne in the history textbooks that were used in my days as a student.

Today, many scholars have provided us textbooks and academic monographs from which to draw information about our community. For that we are very grateful. However, the story told from within the culture is different from the one that is gathered from the outside. It is also useful to remember that there is much in the documentary record that does not have our direct input and that newspapers and other records do contain cultural biases and misunderstandings--and then there is the language barrier.

While we are very grateful that scholars have taken an interest in Akwesasne and have written their own interpretations of events within our community, there are good reasons to have this history written from an Akwesasne perspective. We need to move from the role of informants to new roles as the writers and chroniclers of the events that shape this complex community. It is time that those from within this community told their own story.

The class on Akwesasne history held in Tsi Snaihne provided time for the presentation of oral histories and accounts from those who lived through important periods in Akwesasne's history. From his own personal perspective, one presenter chronicled the incidents at the 1979 standoff between Akwesasne people and the New York State Police.

A presentation by Ernest Benedict told about the circumstances surrounding the coming of the St. Lawrence Seaway and about numerous other events and Akwesasne rights issues for which he could provide first-hand, personal accounts. Another classroom guest, Michael Kanentakeron Mitchell, provided information about the Border Crossing court case that had been taken to the Supreme Court of Canada. Moreover, I was able to provide information on the issues concerning the relicensing of the New York Power Authority and the New York Land Claim Settlement, which were current issues at that time. Because of the unique make-up of the class, a great variety of perspectives were gained from first-hand knowledge of events and from family and community oral history.

WHEN THE NEED ARISES

For many years Akwesasronon have talked about the importance of teaching Haudenosaunee history and culture in the classrooms within Akwesasne. Ray Tehanetorens Fadden was one who acted on this need throughout the 1940s, and in the following decade, he helped to build the Six Nations Museum at Onchiota,

New York, which is still in operation. In the late 1960s, Akwesasronon began talking about having a say in the education of our children and about taking control of our own schools. Akwesasne did just that in the 1970s by gaining a seat, and now several seats, on the Salmon River School Board. We also formed a Mohawk Board of Education in 1985 for the district schools in the northern portion of Akwesasne. In the late 1960s we talked about bringing education to the Native Communities instead of sending our children away from home. At this time the North American Indian Traveling College (also known as the Native North American Traveling College and Ronnathahonni Cultural Center) was formed and began its visits to remote communities, sharing Native culture and solutions to problems that were common within many Native communities.

In the 1970s, we began talking about immersion in our own Kanienke'ha (Mohawk language), and so we established the Akwesasne Freedom School. It continues to flourish, and with that same spirit, Kanienke'ha classes are being offered at other Akwesasne community schools, mainstream classrooms, and local high schools and universities. In the 1980s, we began talking about teaching Akwesasne history in the classroom, and in the early 1990s, Iohahio Adult Education Facility added classroom discussions about Akwesasne history to their existing Native Studies course. It was not until the mid-1990s that we began talking about teaching an accredited university course in Akwesasne history. That was accomplished in 2003 with a class taught in conjunction with St. Lawrence University. Thus, when people of Akwesasne saw an educational need in their community, they successfully worked toward achieving that goal, gradually achieving the promotion of our history, language, and culture at Akwesasne (see Figure 7.1).

TAKING UP THE CHALLENGE

Akwesasronon can be very critical of one another. We are politically complex, and we have been a community torn by self-destructive events and community strife. Sometimes we are the ones responsible for building the barriers within our community that can take decades or even a couple of generations to tear down.

When our history is not taught within our own educational system, we can easily become the victims of those chroniclers who have not shared our direct experiences. Past events can easily be used as swords to accuse others of wrongdoing. In Akwesasne, some of our own community newspapers fueled the battleground for those purporting to be experts on Akwesasne history, and our history was interpreted to suit specific political agendas. Community meetings became the forum for historical

1968	The founding of the North American Indian Traveling College
1972	The founding of the Akwesasne Library and Cultural Center and Akwesasne Museum
1973	The founding of the ONAKE corporation to promote the culture, history, and education of our people
1984	The founding of CKON-Sekon Community radio to promote the language, culture, and musical arts of Native people.
1990	The founding of the Mohawk Council of Akwesasne Archives
1999	The founding of the Tsiionkwanatio Heritage Center
1999	The founding of the Akwesasne Historical Society and Genealogy society
2002	The founding of the Akwesasne Women's Singing Society
2002	The founding of the Akwesasne Young Men's Singing Society
2003	"Akwesasne: A Community Study" History Class Held

Figure 7.1. Preserving Akwesasne History and Culture Timeline.

misrepresentations to be used in the heat of political debates without any opportunity for a fair challenge. Historically, Akwesasne people have lacked the means to address the misleading history being used as arguments within a given political debate. The political climate was set on a mission of destruction.

It was in this adverse atmosphere that the course "Akwesasne: A Community Study" was conceived in 1999 during conversations between the people of Akwesasne and St. Lawrence University. Jon Parmenter credits the suggestions and guidance of Maxine Cole, Mary Fadden Arquette, and myself with the early development of this idea. Some of us pondered how diverse views of history could be brought together and discussed in a safe environment and how the history of Akwesasne could be shared within a community where there already were hard feelings between various factions. We considered how the history of Akwesasne could be shared amid the revisionist work on which many had hung their hats and political careers. We even wondered how we could share our community's history when there was so much anger between peoples of the present.

THE AKWESASNE HISTORY COURSE CONVENES

The collaboration between Iohahiiio Adult Education and St. Lawrence University was successful. Akwesasne's Adult Education Facility, Iohahiiio, within the Tsi Shaihne District of Akwesasne, was the venue for the fifteen-week

course, held one evening a week between January and May 2003. Ten students from St. Lawrence University and at least twenty from Akwesasne traveled more than an hour each way to Tsi Snaihne for their weekly meetings.

Iohahiiio and St. Lawrence University were both strong advocates of this course and strove to create a learning environment for Akwesasne history that was conducive to critical and creative thought. Dr. Jon Parmenter created a syllabus that captured the evolving history at Akwesasne, provided room for class input, and promoted good academic discussion. (For the syllabus, see the appendix.) Dr. Fred Exoo of St. Lawrence University's Service Learning Program was also instrumental in seeing this project through to fruition.

Behind the scenes, Dr. Parmenter worked tirelessly to find ways to make this course affordable to members of the Akwesasne community. This feat was accomplished with some cooperation between several institutions, including a financial arrangement between St. Lawrence University, the St. Regis Mohawk Tribe Education Department, and the Akwesasne Mohawk Board of Education. Students could take the accredited course for bachelors, masters, or Ph.D. credit. Akwesasne provided the classroom space without any fee, and the course was advertised free of charge by local radio stations and newspapers. The classroom was open for audit by anyone in the Akwesasne community, and the St. Lawrence University Service Learning van brought the university students to Akwesasne through rain, sleet, and snow. The number in the classroom each week varied between twenty-five and thirty participants.

OVERALL APPROACH

Akwesasne's house rules.

In order to facilitate free and open discussion, the class followed the Iohahiiio house rules of classroom decorum, and newspaper reporters were not allowed into our class unless every student agreed to their presence. This arrangement worked very well, especially when a local reporter attempted to enter the classroom to harass a particular community member and political opponent. Understanding the ground rules and good communication were important to the success of the class.

Advance publicity was key.

Because the course was heavily advertised within the Akwesasne community, interest was high. Moreover, since 2003 was an election year on both sides of the Akwesasne community, the inaugural class included a former chief, a present chief, candidate chiefs, traditional

leaders, community government policy analysts, a Nation-Building employee, a cultural resource specialist, historical researchers, Akwesasne historical society members, Mohawk Cultural Center employees, two Mohawk lawyers, an Akwesasne environmental specialist, Akwesasne Mohawks who were part of various civil events at Akwesasne, and Mohawk and non-Mohawk students from the university.

Reciprocity between the community and the university.

In addition to establishing a class on Akwesasne history, it was also decided that the relationships between Akwesasne and St. Lawrence University should branch out in a new direction. For that reason the course mandated that university students intern within the Akwesasne community for three to four hours a week. The students had their gas and mileage subsidized by Dr. Exoo's Service Learning Program. The students kept a journal of their experiences and earned credit for their work at Akwesasne. It was agreed that the sponsoring organizations would provide the students with exposure to the Akwesasne community and some method whereby students could interact with its residents. Welcoming them into the Akwesasne community were: St. Regis Mohawk Tribe Department of Environment; Mohawk Council of Akwesasne Department of Health and Nutrition Program; Mohawk Council of Akwesasne Aboriginal Rights and Research Office; Akwesasne Boys and Girls Club; Center for Nation-Building and Governance Consultants; Native North American Traveling College; Akwesasne Library and Cultural Center; and Akwesasne Task Force on the Environment.

Integration of academic resources with personal accounts and insights.

Every history class should be so fortunate as to have first-hand accounts of major events. This class had speakers from Akwesasne talk about their own experiences with the work of Lulu Stillman; the work of Clinton Rickard; the Three-Nations Bridge blockade of 1968; the Stanley Island takeover of 1969; the Loon Island takeover of 1969; the 1979 encampment at Raquette Point; *Mitchell v. the Minister of National Revenue in the Federal Court and Federal Court of Appeal*; the *Minister of National Revenue v. Mitchell* at the Supreme Court of Canada; the St. Lawrence Seaway; Akwesasne Land Claims; re-licensing of the New York Power Authority; and our current work on the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights.

Shared investigation of historical issues.

Students completed the reading assignments before each class and were invited to bring to class their own research, first-hand accounts, ideas, comments, or other knowledge on that week's topic. All this information entered into the weekly discussions. The dialogue between Akwesasne and St. Lawrence students was essential to the success of the class. This inaugural class on Akwesasne history required the university students to act as the classroom sounding board and buffer between entrenched Akwesasne factions. They were the innocent observers, and without the university component the class may not have been as successful. The St. Lawrence students often provided everyone with a visible reminder that the controversial topics discussed in this classroom were academic discussions, helping to keep them in that context. This atmosphere allowed discussions that might not have otherwise occurred.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Akwesasne history needs to be taught at Akwesasne, and having a facilitator who encourages discussion works much better with a mature class than the more traditional lecture format used in colleges.

A dynamic variety of teaching tools, such as video, recordings, literature, academic essays, oral histories, and personal accounts, must be utilized.

Akwesasne students should be encouraged to write papers containing their own knowledge of particular events in Akwesasne history. They should be encouraged to collaborate with university scholars to record elements of Akwesasne history for the future.

Scholars writing about Akwesasne history should be invited to bring their work to Akwesasne for evaluation.

CONCLUSION

Knowledge about Akwesasne history has become an important ingredient in the strengthening of our community. It permits us to move forward using the best information and knowledge available to us. It allows us to benefit from the past experiences of our predecessors and ancestors. The study of Akwesasne history can provide information for Akwesasne and others about the emergence of Akwesasne's contemporary problems—its factionalism, its various crises, and its public image—as well as its unique reactions to the situations that inundate this community on a daily basis.

Akwesasne history helps us to deliberate, evaluate, and analyze the significance, benefits, hazards, or repercussions of any kind of change to our community. It is an essential component of Akwesasne Community-building, Mohawk Nation-building, and Haudenosaunee Confederacy-building.

APPENDIX

Syllabus for “Akwesasne: A Community Study”

HISTORY 348A/566—SPRING 2003:
“AKWESASNE: A COMMUNITY STUDY”

MONDAYS, 7:00–10:00PM,
IOHAH’IO ADULT EDUCATION CENTER
Instructor: Dr. Jon W. Parmenter, St. Lawrence University, Asst. Professor of History, Coordinator of Native American Studies

This course will analyze the historical roots of contemporary issues in the Mohawk community of Akwesasne, including environmental conditions, the international boundary, treaty rights, casino gaming, systems of governance, economic development initiatives, cultural resource management, and forms of historical awareness. The course will employ a wide variety of resources (primary documents, official records, scholarly studies, visual sources, and guest speakers) to broaden class members’ perspectives on Akwesasne’s rich history and complex contemporary circumstances. Beyond the classroom experience, SLU students taking this course will be placed in a service-related internship with one of several community agencies, in which they will spend 3–4 hours per week in a situation where they will have the opportunity to apply the knowledge they learn in class. **NOTE:** *This class is dedicated to open, objective discussion and reflection on matters of historical and contemporary concern to the Akwesasne community. The instructor is committed to providing the class with a balanced representation of divergent perspectives on Akwesasne’s history. Suggestions and comments as to how course content might be refined to better accomplish this goal are always welcome.*

READINGS:

Alfred, Taiaiake. *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 1999).
Nichols, Roger L. *Indians in the United States and Canada* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999). Optional reading.

Reading packets (will be distributed one week in advance at the class meeting, and copies will also be available at the Akwesasne Community Library)

REQUIREMENTS:

The grade will be evaluated as follows:

Participation (30%)

- attendance, contributions to class discussion, and diligent fulfillment of terms of internship placement contract (internship supervisors will provide the instructor with written evaluations of interns at the end of the semester)

*Internship Journal (30%)

- weekly reflection on personal experience in community service internship
- guidelines on entries will be distributed

*NOTE: community enrollees who are NOT full-time students are NOT required to complete a service internship; alternate assignments will be arranged for this component of the course grade

Study Question Responses (25%)

- weekly written responses to study questions on assigned readings

Final Essay (15%)

- equivalent of a take-home final examination

GRADUATE STUDENTS:

Students enrolled in the course as History 566 will receive graduate credit toward the M.Ed. degree in General Studies at St. Lawrence University. This course *cannot* be counted for credit toward either the M.Ed. in Counseling or the M.Ed. in Educational Administration. Additional coursework will be required of those students taking the class for graduate credit.

Week 1 Monday January 20

INTRODUCTION AND REGISTRATION
DISCUSSION OF COURSE GOALS

Week 2 Monday January 27

ELEMENTS OF COMMUNITY-BASED
HISTORICAL RESEARCH

ASSIGNED READING:

- Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, ix–xxiv.
Fenton, William N. “Locality as a Basic Factor in the Development of Iroquois Social Structure,” in Fenton, ed., *Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 149 (Washington, D.C.: U.S.G.P.O, 1951), 39–54.
Fixico, Donald L. “Ethics and Responsibilities in Writing American Indian History,” in Devon A. Mihesuah, ed., *Natives and Academics: Research and Writing about American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 84–99.
Fixico, Donald L. “Methodologies in Reconstructing Native American History,” in Fixico, *Rethinking American Indian History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 117–30.
Hudson, Peter, and Sharon Taylor-Henry. “Beyond the Rhetoric: Implementing a Culturally Appropriate Research Project in First Nations Communities,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 25.2 (2001): 93–105.

- Lassiter, Luke E. "Authoritative Texts, Collaborative Ethnography, and Native American Studies," *American Indian Quarterly* 24.4 (2000): 601–14.
- Morrison, Dane. "In Whose Hands is the Telling of the Tale?" in Morrison, ed., *American Indian Studies: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Contemporary Issues* (NY: Peter Lang, 1997), 5–26.
- Piquemal, Nathalie. "Free and Informed Consent in Research Involving Native American Communities," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 25.1 (2001): 65–79.
- Wax, Murray L. "The Ethics of Research in American Indian Communities," *American Indian Quarterly* 15.4 (1991): 431–56.

Week 3 Monday February 3

OVERVIEW OF AKWESASNE COMMUNITY HISTORIOGRAPHY

ASSIGNED READING:

- Akweks, Aren. *History of the St. Regis Akwesasne Mohawks*. (Hogansburg, NY: Akwesasne Counselor Organization, 1947).
- Bonaparte, Darren. "The History of Akwesasne: From Pre-Contact to Modern Times." [www.wampumchronicles.com]
- Bonvillain, Nancy. "The Mohawks," in Bonvillain, *Native Nations: Cultures and Histories of Native North America* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 2001), 66–94.
- Seaver, Frederick J. *Historical Sketches of Franklin County and Its Several Towns* (Albany, 1918), 571–89.
- Snow, Dean. *The Iroquois* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994), 201–10.
- Starna, William A., and Jack Campisi. "When Two are One: The Mohawk Indian Community at St. Regis (Akwesasne)," *European Review of Native American Studies* 14.2 (2000): 39–45.

IN-CLASS FILMS:

- "Akwesasne: Portrait of a Reservation" (SLU-IMV-89-073)
- "The Right to be Mohawk" (SLU-IMV-91-010)
- "Life on the Reservation" (Akwesasne Library #286)

Week 4 Monday February 10

ORIGINS OF AKWESASNE AS A SETTLER/MISSION COMMUNITY THE EARLY TREATY PERIOD, 1790–1868

ASSIGNED READING:

- "Treaty Documents Pertaining to Akwesasne, 1795–1868"
- Blanchard, David. "The Seven Nations of Canada: An Alliance and a Treaty," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 7.2 (1983): 3–23.
- Bonaparte, Darren. "The History of the St. Regis Catholic Church." [www.wampumchronicles.com]
- Buerger, Geoffrey. "Eleazar Williams: Elitism and Multiple Identity on Two Frontiers," in James A. Clifton, ed., *Being and Becoming Indian: Biographical Studies of North American Frontiers* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1989), 112–36.

- Erickson, Vincent L. "J. L. Tiarks: The Transculturation of an Innocent Abroad," in W. Cowan, ed., *Papers of the Twenty-First Algonquian Conference* (Ottawa, 1990), 114–25.
- George-Kanentiio, Doug. "The Mohawk Nation and the 1794 Treaty of Canandaigua," in G. Peter Jemison and Anna M. Schein, eds., *Treaty of Canandaigua 1794* (Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light, 2000), 121–26.
- Hauptman, Laurence. *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 213–20.
- Hough, Franklin B. *History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Albany, 1853), 182–203.
- Stanley, George F. G. "The First Indian Reserves in Canada," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française* 4 (1950): 178–210.
- Starna, William. "'The United States will protect you': The Iroquois, New York, and the 1790 Nonintercourse Act," *New York History* 83 (Winter 2002): 5–33.
- Surtees, Robert J. "The Iroquois in Canada," in Francis Jennings, et al., *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 67–83.

Week 5 Monday February 17

EVOLUTION OF COMMUNITY GOVERNANCE, 1802–2002

ASSIGNED READING:

- Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, 1–95.
- Bonaparte, Darren. "Saiowisakeron: The Jake Ice Story." [www.wampumchronicles.com]
- Delafield, Joseph. *The Unfortified Boundary*. . . . (New York: Private Printing, 1943), 135–68.
- Frisch, Jack A. "Factionalism, Pan-Indianism, Tribalism, and the Contemporary Political Behavior of the St. Regis Mohawks," *Man in the Northeast* 2 (1971): 75–81.
- Hauptman, Laurence. *Formulating Indian Policy in New York State, 1970–1986* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1988), 3–17.
- Hough, Franklin B. "The Akwesasne Council of Life Chiefs." [www.wampumchronicles.com]
- Lazore, Danielle M. "Akwesasne's Complex Legacy: Tracing Tribal Membership through History," *Native Americas* 19 (Spring/Summer 2002): 32–35.
- Petition of the St. Regis Indians of Franklin County, New York, Praying to be Allowed to Remain Upon their Reservation* (Washington, D.C., 1879).
- "Petitions of the Life Chiefs of St. Regis to Preserve Traditional Government (1892–1900)." [www.wampumchronicles.com]
- Starna, William A. "The Repeal of Article 8: Law, Government, and Cultural Politics at Akwesasne," *American Indian Law Review* 18.2 (1993): 297–311.
- Stone, Thomas. "Legal Mobilization and Legal Penetration: The Department of Indian Affairs and the Canadian Party at St. Regis, 1876–1918," *Ethnohistory* 22 (1975): 375–408.

Week 6 Monday February 24**THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY
AND ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE****ASSIGNED READING:**

- Cox, Heather M., et al. "Drowning Voices and Drowning Shoreline: A Riverside View of the Social and Ecological Impacts of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project," *Rural History* 10.2 (1999): 235–57.
- Hauptman, Laurence M. *The Iroquois Struggle for Survival: World War II to Red Power* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 123–50, 267–71.
- Hauptman, Laurence. *Formulating Indian Policy in New York State, 1970–1986* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1988), 89–107.
- Johansen, Bruce E. *Life and Death in Mohawk Country* (Golden, CO: North American Press, 1993), 1–21.
- LaDuke, Winona. *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life*. (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2000), 9–23.
- Marten, Kallen. "Akwasasne Environments, 1999: Relicensing a Seaway after a Legacy of Destruction," *Native Americas* 16 (Spring 1999): 24–27.
- Ransom, James W. "The Waters," in Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force, *Words that Come Before all Else: Environmental Philosophies of the Haudenosaunee* (Cornwall Island, ON: Native North American Travelling College, c.1999), 25–43.
- Tarbell, Alice, and Mary Arquette. "Akwasasne: A Native American Community's Resistance to Cultural and Environmental Damage," in Richard Hofrichter, ed., *Reclaiming the Politics of Health: Environmental Debate in a Toxic Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000), 93–111.
- Wilson, Edmund. *Apologies to the Iroquois* (NY: Random House, 1959), 72–125.

Week 7 Monday March 3**THE IMPACT
OF THE INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY, 1794–2003****ASSIGNED READING:**

- Berman, Howard. "Violation of the Human Rights of the Mohawk People by the United States of America," in National Lawyers Guild, Committee on North American Struggles, ed., *Rethinking Indian Law* (New Haven, CT: Advocate Press, Inc., 1982), 155–61.
- Bonaparte, Darren. "Border Struggles: Crossing the Line at Akwasasne," *Native Americas* 17 (Spring 2000): 34–37.
- Choksi, Anjali. "Evidentiary Issues Arising from Mitchell." [www.wampunchronicles.com]
- Duran, Elizabeth C., and James Duran, Jr. "Indian Rights in the Jay Treaty." *Indian Historian* 6 (1973): 33–37.
- Mathur, Mary E. Fleming. "The Jay Treaty and Confrontation at St. Regis Boundary," *Indian Historian* 3 (1970): 37–40.
- Mitchell, Michael. "Akwasasne: An Unbroken Assertion of Sovereignty," in Boyce Richardson, ed., *Drumbeat: Anger and Renewal in Indian Country* (Summerhill, ON: Assembly of First Nations, 1989), 105–36.

IN-CLASS FILM:

"You Are On Indian Land" (Akwasasne Library #368)

Week 8 Monday March 10**COMMUNITY HISTORIC PRESERVATION INITIATIVES****ASSIGNED READING: TBA****IN-CLASS FILMS:**

- "A Tale of Two Serpents" (SLU-IMV-89-074)
- "Music and Dance of the Mohawks" (SLU-IMV-89-067)
- "Mohawk Basketmaking: A Cultural Profile" (SLU-IMV-89-063)
- "Mohawk Literacy Awareness" (Akwasasne Library #360, 361, 362)

Week 9 Monday March 17 [Akwasasne only — SLU on break]**AKWASASNE NOTES: RED POWER AND BEYOND****ASSIGNED READING:**

Selections from *Akwasasne Notes*, TBA

Week 10 Monday March 24**HIGH STEEL AND IRONWORKING****ASSIGNED READING:**

- Einhorn, Arthur L. "Warriors of the Sky: The Iroquois Iron Workers," *European Review of Native American Studies* 13.1 (1999): 25–34.
- Hill, Richard. "Skywalkers," in Joseph Bruchac, ed., *New Voices from the Longhouse: An Anthology of Contemporary Iroquois Voices* (Greenfield Center, NY: Greenfield Review Press, 1989), 124–41.
- Mitchell, Joseph. "The Mohawks in High Steel," in Edmund Wilson, *Apologies to the Iroquois* (NY: Random House, 1959), 1–36.

IN-CLASS FILM:

"High Steel" (Akwasasne Library #69)

Week 11 Monday March 31**THE 1980 RAQUETTE POINT STANDOFF/THE 1990 CRISIS****ASSIGNED READING:**

- George-Kanentio, Doug. *Iroquois Culture & Commentary* (Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light, 2000), 179–99.
- Johansen, Bruce E. *Life and Death in Mohawk Country* (Golden, CO: North American Press, 1993), 23–132, 159–72.
- LaFrance, Ron. "The Right to Sovereignty," in G. Peter Jemison and Anna M. Schein, eds., *Treaty of Canandaigua 1794* (Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light, 2000), 175–82.
- Hauptman, Laurence. *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 213–20.
- Matthiessen, Peter. *Indian Country* (NY: Viking, 1984), 127–63.

Week 12 Monday April 7
NO CLASS MEETING THIS WEEK

Week 13 Monday April 14
*GAMING AND OTHER MODELS
OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT*

ASSIGNED READING: TBA

Week 14 Monday April 21
(SLU only—Easter Monday holiday in Canada)
AKWESASNE NOTES: RED POWER AND BEYOND

ASSIGNED READING:
Selections from *Akwesasne Notes*, TBA

Week 15 Monday April 28
*CONCLUDING DISCUSSION:
WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?*

ASSIGNED READING:
Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*,
97–146.
Landsman, Gail, and Sara Ciborski. “Representation and
Politics: Contesting Histories of the Iroquois,” *Current
Anthropology* 7 (1992): 425–47.

APPENDIX

PRESENTATIONS AT THE CONFERENCE ON IROQUOIS RESEARCH, 2001–2005

2001 Presentations

Thomas Abler	He Rode with Custer: An Iroquois at the Little Big Horn
José Brandão	The Ojibwa-Iroquois War Reconstructed
Herberto Dixon	Panel on Cayuga Land Claims Case: Courtroom Dynamics
William Englebrecht	Towards a Long Term View of Iroquoian Land Use
Pat Ferrero	Film Quartet: The Great Law of the Iroquois; Iroquois Women: Three Sisters; Skywalkers; and Urban Identities
Ute Ferrier	Iroquois Land Transactions in New York State
Denis Foley	Haudenosaunee: The Mourning and Condolence Installation Rituals
Laurence Hauptman	Panel on Cayuga Indian Land Claims Case: Repercussions of the Cayuga Case
Richard Hosbach	Comparison of the Architecture of Two Prehistoric and One Early Proto-Historic Oneida Longhouses
Randy John	Fishing and Hunting for Sovereignty
Neal Keating	Iroquois Representations, circa Y2K1
Herbert Lewis	Wisconsin Oneida and Iroquois Culture
Ellis McDowell-Loudan	An Update on Native American Mascot Issues
Bruce Pearson	Barbeau in Oklahoma: 40 Stories in 140 Days
Gerald Reid	Wampum Theft and the Kahnawake Longhouse in the 1920s
Axel Utz	Changing Group Identities in Mohican and Lenape Communities, Mid-18th Century
Phil Van Riper	Haudenosaunee Frumkeit?
Peter Whiteley	Panel on Cayuga Indian Land Claims Case: Conflicts over Cayuga Land
Anthony Wonderley	Where the Earth Opened: What Hope Allen Learned about Oneida Folklore, Kenwood, 1925

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2002 Presentations

Chris Alcantara	Certificates of Possession and Six Nations: A Potential Solution to the Aboriginal Housing Crisis on Reserves in Canada
Kathleen Allen	Current Archaeological Research on the West Side of Cayuga Lake
Regna Darnell	First Nations Studies at the University of Western Ontario
Dolores Elliott	Two Hundred Years of Iroquois Beadwork
William Englebrecht	Defensive Advantages of Longhouses
Denis Foley	William N. Fenton and the Chiefs' Delegation: Repatriating the Condolence Materials
James Folts	In the Shadow of the Confederacy: Munsee Delawares in the Upper Susquehanna Region
Laurence Hauptman	The Iroquois Origin of Caitlin's Indian Gallery
Marilyn Irvin Holt	Thomas Indian School in the Context of Orphanages/Boarding Schools
Randy John	Iroquois at Carlisle
Marlene Johnson	Answers and Questions on Her Experiences at Thomas Indian School
Neal Keating	Iroquois Art History: Problems and Goals
Jordan Kerber	Digital Imaging of Select Oneida Artifacts in the Longyear Museum of Anthropology, Colgate University
Theresa McCarthy	Haudenosaunee Clan Research and the Reconstruction of Traditional Haudenosaunee Identity
Ellis McDowell-Loudan	Expanded Perspectives on Native American Mascot and Symbol Use by Non-Native Americans
Sally McLendon	Carlisle Indian School 1910-1916: As Seen Through the Records of Two Students Who Met and Fell in Love There
Kay Olan	Kanatsiohareke Mohawk Language Program: Carlisle in Reverse
James Paxton	The Myth of the Loyalist Iroquois: Joseph Brant and the Invention of Tradition
Bruce Pearson	Cultural Insights from Barbeau's Wyandotte Narratives
David L. Preston	The Texture of Contact: European and Indian Settler Communities on the Iroquoian Borderlands, 1720-1780
Lori Quigley	Utilizing Constructivist Strategies to Teach Seneca Language and Culture
Blair Rudes	The Earliest Description of an Iroquoian People: The Spanish Among the Tuscaroras Before 1521
Rose Rudnitski	Rising Up: The Salmon River Boycott
Martha Sempowski	Spiritual Transformation: As Reflected in Late Prehistoric Effigy Pipes from Western New York
Eve P. Smith	The Relationship of Family Ties to Successful Adult Lives of Thomas Indian School Children, 1895-1943
Dean Snow	The Mohawk Longhouse in 1500
Michele Dean Stock	The Seneca-Iroquois National Museum: 25th Anniversary and Beyond
Karim Tiro	An Italian Count in Iroquoia, 1790
Anthony F. C. Wallace	Cornplanter's Talk: An Iroquois Map of Time
Anthony Wonderley	The Eldest Medicine: Red Osier Dogwood in Iroquois Folklore and Mythology

2003 Presentations

Clifford Abbott	If Whorf Had Done Iroquoian
Terry Abrams	An Iroquois Family Album: Images from the Collection of the Historical Club of the Tonawanda Reservation
Ernest Benedict	The Heroics of Anthropology
Salli Benedict	Teaching Akwesasne History at Akwesasne
José Brandão	The Newly Rediscovered Map and Deed of 1701: An Analysis
Jack Campisi	<i>The Iroquois and the Law: New Perspectives</i> —A Commentary
Wallace Chafe	Hewitt's Transcription of the Seneca Creation Story
W. Scott Ehardt	Iroquois Literacy: Colonialism and Resistance in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries
Dolores Elliott	Who are the Makers of Iroquois Beadwork?
William Englebrecht	Ongoing Research Project: The Eaton Site
Stephen Feeley	Migration and Identity: The Tuscarora Experience
Denis Foley	Travels with Bill: From Wampum to Walmarts
Michael Foster	Ongoing Research Project: Cayuga Text and Dictionary Report
Robert Gorall	An Overview of the Canandaigua Treaty from the Beginning of Negotiations in 1794 to the 200th Anniversary in 1994
Francis Hailey	A New Look at Bore Measurement of Clay Bowl Pipes
Christina Johannsen Hanks	Research Opportunities at the Iroquois Indian Museum
John P. Hart	Re-Dating the Three Sisters
Laurence Hauptman	<i>The Iroquois and the Law: New Perspectives</i> —"Playing by Their Rules": The Iroquois and the American Legal Process
Daniel Honyost	Do State Museums Marginalize Urban Indians and Privilege Reservation Culture in Their Exhibitions?
Richard Hosbach	The Dungey Site: A 1655 Oneida Iroquois Village
Wayne Lenig	Mohawk Archaeology and the Swart Collection
Michael Oberg	<i>The Iroquois and the Law: New Perspectives</i> —When Bad History Becomes Law: The Decision in the Grand Island Land Claim
Jon W. Parmenter	After the Mourning Wars: The Iroquois as Allies in Colonial Campaigns, 1676–1764
James Paxton	To Behave Like Brothers: Kinship and Alliances among Six Nations and Euro-Americans at Grand River, Upper Canada, and Buffalo Creek, New York
David L. Preston	George Klock, the Canajoharie Mohawk, and the Good Ship <i>Sir William Johnson</i> : Land and Legitimacy in the 18th Century Mohawk Valley
Gerald Reid	<i>The Iroquois and the Law: New Perspectives</i> —The Kahnawake Context of the Paul K. Diabo Case
Timothy Shannon	Ongoing Research Project: Reconsidering Colonial Treaties as a Literary Genre
Anthony Wonderley	Eastern Iroquoian Effigy Pipes

2004 Presentations

Ernest Benedict	Akwesasne: Unknown to Historians
Salli Bendedict	Approaches in Gathering Akwesasne History
Regna Darnell	Contemporary Decision Making and Traditional Subsistence Strategies
Art Einhorn and Marshall Becker	A Case of Pox and Wampum
Jack Ericson	Asher Wright and the Seneca Mission Press: Buffalo Creek and Cattaraugus
Reg Good	Admissibility of Testimony from Non-Christian Indians in British Colonial Municipal Courts
Elizabeth Horton and Christina Rieth	Technological Attribute Analysis of Ceramic Sherds from the Late Woodland Bailey Site, Onondaga, New York
Keith Jamieson	Mohawk Ideals, Victorian Values
Kurt Jordan	Post-Columbian Longhouses in New York State
Joyce King and Brenda LaFrance	Haudenosaunee Protocol and Protection of the Natural World
Jill Kinney	Joseph Elkinton's School at Allegany and the Training of Native Teachers
Laticia McNaughton	An Examination of the Nature of "Otgont" Beings and Their "Orenda" as Seen in Variant Versions of the Iroquois Creation Epic and Iroquois Stone Giant Stories
Andrew Miller	Iroquois-Abenaki Relations, 1680–1730
Kathryn Muller	The Evolution and Renewal of the Two Row Wampum
Mark Nicholas	"So We Wish the Reservation Be Divided": Power, Authority, Reservation Autonomy, and a Quaker Schoolhouse at Allegany, 1816–1825
Jon W. Parmenter	Reconsidering Iroquois Border Crossings: 1672–2002
Bruce Pearson	Iroquoian for Dummies
Lori Quigley, Rick Hill, Mary Todd, and Barry White	Teaching Preschoolers Seneca Language: Effects on Cognitive and Social Development
Gerald Reid	Haudenosaunee Nationalism and the Development of the Paul K. Diabo Case
Francis Scardera	The Lost Squier Site
Donald A. Smith	Carpenter Brook Revisited: Early Late Woodland Ritual Practice at Watery Places and Its Implications for Archaeology
Dean Snow	Assessing New Evidence on Iroquoian Origins
Robert Spiegelman	In Sullivan-Clinton's Wake: What's Remembered and What's Forgotten, or How and Why It's Scholarship That Matters
Karim Tiro	"We Wish to Do You Good": The Quaker Mission to the Oneidas, 1795–1800

2005 Presentations

Terry Abrams and Audrey Potter	Elisabeth Tooker's Tonawanda Genealogies
Carl Benn	Victorian Warriors: Mohawks in Egypt, 1884–1885
James Costello and Brenda LaFrance	The Haudenosaunee Environmental Process: Combining Traditional Knowledge with Contemporary Environmental Protection
Regna Darnell	Iroquoianists and the Iroquois Conference
Denis Foley	Travels with Bill: 1988–2003
James Folts	Records on the Iroquois in the New York State Archives—Preservation and Digitization Projects and Research Opportunities
Laurence Hauptman	The Two Worlds of Dinah Jones (1774?–1883)
Peter Jemison	Sullivan-Clinton: Tales of the Survivors
Neal Keating	A Tuscarora Graduate of Samuel Kirkland's Hamilton-Oneida Academy?
Herbert Lewis	Wisconsin Oneidas Recall Life in Indian Boarding Schools
Kathryn Merriam	Mr. Hewitt and Mrs. Kellogg
Bruce Morito	First Nation British/Crown Tradition: Mutual Respect and the Covenant Chain
Kathryn Muller	The Haudenosaunee Kaswentha Ethic: From the Great Peace to Early European Contact
Mark Nicholas	A Crisis in Hunting and Warring: Allegany Seneca Manhood, 1780–1800
Christine S. Patrick	"When the Calamity of the War Came": The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign
Bruce Pearson	Stories as Language and Teaching Tools
Lori Quigley, Mary Todd, and Barry White	Seneca Immersion Camp Assessment
Gerald Reid	"It is Our Custom": Kahnawake's Council of Clan Chiefs in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries
Brian Rice	Journeys in the Land of the Peacemaker: A Preparatory Methodology for Writing a Traditional Dissertation on the Rotinoshonni
Francis Scardera	Evidence for Rock Art in Iroquoia
Robert Spiegelman	The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign and its Geo-Politics
Timothy Willig	Diplomatic Turning Point in the West: The Ohio Confederacy and the Six Nations
Anthony Wonderley	Sky Dancers and Bear Chasers: What (If Anything) Does Haudenosaunee Star Lore Mean?

CONTRIBUTORS

Salli M. Kawennotakei Benedict is a Mohawk of Akwesasne. She has worked as a manager for the Mohawk Council of Akwesasne Aboriginal Rights and Research Office for over twenty years and contributed to the Akwesasne Communications Society, CKON Radio, Akwesasne Museum, *Akwesasne Notes*, *Indian Time*, and Native North American Travelling College.

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Dolores N. Elliott holds degrees in anthropology and archaeology. She is the developer of the Otsiningo American Indian Program and as such has directed powwows, festivals, bus trips, lectures, and workshops, including classes on Iroquois beadwork. Based on research in museums and her own extensive collection, she has written several books, articles, and online essays on Iroquois beadwork. She is a trustee of the Iroquois Indian Museum and a director of the Iroquois Studies Association. She can be reached at www.otsiningo.org.

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Barbara Graymont (Ph.D.) is an emeritus professor of history at Nyack College. She is the author of *The Iroquois and the American Revolution* (1972), editor of *Fighting Tuscarora: The Autobiography of Chief Clinton Rickard* (1973), and author of many articles on the Iroquois.

Elizabeth Horton is a Ph.D. candidate in anthropology at Washington State University. Her work examines how concepts of identity may be reflected through material culture. She served as the principle investigator for the Bailey Site excavations in Onondaga County, New York, and is an expert in faunal analyses at prehistoric and historic archaeological sites.

Brenda E. LaFrance is a management and education consultant from the Akwesasne Mohawk Nation Territory, where she currently resides. From 2003–06, she served as the Cultural Researcher for the Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force while developing the culturally based environmental protection process. She holds a B.A. in Biology / Chemistry from the State University of New York at Potsdam and an M.B.A. / M.S. in Computer-Based Information Systems from Clarkson University.

Christine Sternberg Patrick (Ph.D.) is a former editor for the *Papers of George Washington* and currently an editor for the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Retirement Series*. She is preparing a comprehensive edition of the journals, 1764–1808, of Samuel Kirkland, a missionary to the Oneida Indians.

Christina B. Rieth (Ph.D.) is State Archaeologist and Director of the New York State Museum's Cultural Resource Survey Program. Her research interests focus on the Late Prehistoric Period (A.D. 700–1400) in the Northeast as well as issues of ceramic technology, regional interaction and exchange, and prehistoric settlement. She can be reached at crieth@mail.nysed.gov.

Timothy D. Willig (Ph.D.) is an assistant professor of history at Indiana University South Bend and is the author of *Restoring the Chain of Friendship: British Policy and the Indians of the Great Lakes* (2008).

Anthony Wonderley (Ph.D.) is Curator of Collections and Interpretation at the Oneida Community Mansion, Oneida, New York. A Fulbright Fellow and a Fellow of the New York State Archaeological Association, he is the author of *Oneida Iroquois Folklore, Myth, and History* (2004), *At the Font of the Marvelous* (2009), and many articles on Iroquois archaeology, Northeastern folklore, and New York history.